



A Thematic Analysis of UK Newspapers' Presentation of Vegans and Veganism

By Andrew Drummond

Media and Communication Studies: Culture, Collaborative Media, and the Creative Industries
Two-Year Master's Thesis
Accepted September 25, 2019
Examiner: Temi Odumosu
Supervisor: Tina Askanius

Abstract

This study focused on the representation of vegans and veganism in UK newspapers. Articles were collected from four national newspapers, covering the months of March and April 2019, and analysed through a thematic analysis. Carnism and framing were utilized in the theoretical framework. The goal of the analysis was to see how the practise of veganism was represented in 2019, and if this representation differed between right and left-wing publications.

The results show the most dominant themes around vegan representation to be positive ones. Newspapers of both political biases frequently referenced veganism's popularity, its health benefits, and its environmental justifications. However, animal welfare was not a frequent theme. In line with traditional conservative and liberal stances towards veganism, left-wing newspapers were more positive in their representation of vegans than those on the right.

Keywords: Carnism, Framing Theory, Thematic Analysis, Veganism, Vegans, Newspapers, Ideology

Introduction	2
Context	3
Veganism	3
Veganism and global warming	4
Veganism in the UK	5
Literature Review	7
The left, the right, and veg*nism	7
Veganism in media	9
Theoretical Framework	11
Social Constructionism	12
Framing Theory	13
Speciesism & Carnism	15
Methodology	18
Thematic Analysis	19
Research Design	20
Gathering Data	23
Ethics	24
Limitations	24
Carrying out Thematic Analysis	25
Results	36
Themes	38
Overarching Themes	38
Positive Representation	39
Negative Representation	39
Neutral Representation	39
Themes	39
Aspirational	39
Normal	41
Beneficial to the planet	42
A Fad	44
Unworkable	46
Hostile	48
Harmful to Society	49
Unhealthy	51
Neutral	52
Conclusion	53
Further Research	55

continued

References	57
Appendix	67
Appendix 1 - List of articles analyzed	67
The Daily Mirror	67
The Guardian	69
The Times	74
The Sun	79

Introduction

Report after report recommends that switching to a vegan diet can help reduce individuals' impact on the environment. Couple this with issues of animal welfare, and the health of the globe's human population, and vegans can no longer be seen as a small subset of extreme activists. And indeed, this image has been changing rapidly over the past decade. Veganism is going mainstream, tied to the growing recognition of the potential disasters that could result from climate change. However, this rise to prominence comes at the same time that right-wing ideologies are gaining ground across the world. And conservatives famously don't like veganism.

This thesis aims to explore how these two phenomena meet in the presentation of veganism in UK newspapers, of both right and left political bias.

The last study of vegan representation in UK newspapers was conducted in by Cole & Morgan in 2011, a time when the political landscape of the country was very different, and veganism had yet to hit the mainstream. Cole & Morgan's showed that the majority of writing about veganism fell into dominant negative discourses, labelling it a 'fad' and characterising vegans as difficult or foolish. Furthermore, there was little difference in this portrayal among newspapers that swung either left or right—veganism was almost universally dismissed across the political spectrum.

This thesis will employ a thematic analysis, following a framework laid out by Braun & Clarke (2006). The influence of newspapers on the public will be established through framing theory, while carnism and speciesism will provide the theoretical material on the subject of veganism.

My research questions are:

- 1. How do UK newspapers represent vegans and veganism in 2019?**
- 2. Are there differences in this representation between right and left-wing publications?**

Context

In this section I will outline some of the background to my research question, and its relevance to 2019. I'll begin with a definition of veganism and an overview of the reports and studies which have advocated plant-based diets in the fight against climate change. Given that I'm analyzing UK newspapers, I will then look at the current state of veganism in the UK and the cultural conversations surrounding it.

Veganism

The Vegan Society defines veganism as:

A way of living which seeks to exclude, as far as is possible and practicable, all forms of exploitation of, and cruelty to, animals for food, clothing or any other purpose. (The Vegan Society n.d. -a)

Vegans do not eat meat of any kind, but as opposed to vegetarians, also do not consume dairy products, honey, or eggs. The practice also avoids using animal-derived products in other areas of life, for example leather clothing or furniture. While some people do go vegan purely for health reasons, the majority base their decision on ethical and moral considerations, relating to animal welfare and the environment. This means that veganism is not merely a diet, but a

philosophical outlook, which is why I will continue to refer to it as a ‘practice’ throughout this thesis.

While vegans may have existed throughout history, the word was not coined until 1941. London’s The Vegan Society, an off-shoot The Vegetarian Society, first met in that same year (Farhall 1994, p. iii). The past decade has seen veganism gaining new prominence, thanks to celebrity endorsement, best-selling books, social influencers, and a growing range of products on supermarket shelves (AP 2011). It’s no longer odd to see vegan options on the menus across the world and even the larger chains are taking note, with McDonalds offering a McVegan in select countries, Guinness draft going vegan in 2017, and Ben & Jerry’s building an extensive range of ice creams made with almond milk. Forbes magazine named 2019 “the year of the vegan” (Banis 2018).

Veganism and global warming

The meat and dairy production industry is a sizeable contributor to climate change. In 2005, greenhouse gas emissions from the livestock supply chain accounted for 14.5% of “all human-induced emissions” (Gerber et al. 2013, p. 15). This is due to livestock producing methane, which is far more potent greenhouse gas than CO₂ (Yvon-Durocher et al. 2014, p. 488). Aside from emissions, the livestock sector plays a major role in deforestation (as forests are cleared to make space for cattle and the soy to feed them), and is the world’s largest consumer of land and fresh water (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, n.d.).

A 2018 study recommended a huge decrease in meat consumption was crucial to reducing the environmental effects of the food industry, recommending that Western countries in particular should cut their consumption by up to 90% (Springmann et al. 2018). This echoes the findings of a study two years earlier, which found that adoption of a vegan diet by the world’s population would lower emissions by 19% by 2050 (Springmann et al. 2016).

As well as these environmental factors, there's plenty of evidence that the types of animals reared for eating possess the same intelligence and emotional complexity as species we keep as pets (Marino & Colvin 2015; Marino & Merskin 2019), and that reducing meat intake can be beneficial for humans' health (Kerley 2018).

Given all these concerns, veganism can have many positive effects on individual health, and the wider health of the planet. It's unrealistic for the world's population to switch to a vegan diet, but examining the benefits of the practice, and discussing them in a sensible manner, from all sides of the political spectrum, seems to be logical route to take.

Veganism in the UK

The number of people following vegan diets in the UK has increased dramatically over the past five years. In 2018, there were 600,000 people who identified as vegans, up from 150,000 in 2014 (The Vegan Society n.d.-b). Nearly a quarter of Britons drink plant-based alternatives to cow's milk (Wood 2019), and the UK leads the rest of the world in the numbers of vegan products being launched (Hammett 2019).

There are moments when the discourse is brought to the front of the national conversation, giving both sides of the argument a subject to latch onto as an example of their stance on the issue. One such moment came in early 2019, when the bakery chain Greggs released a vegan sausage roll.

A ubiquitous fixture on UK high streets, Greggs' first shop opened in 1951 near Newcastle, in the Northeast of the country. Since then, it's expanded its number of locations to over 2000, and now boasts more stores across the UK than both McDonald's and Starbucks. As a 2016 *The Guardian* article put it, "Britain is a Greggs nation" (Cumming 2016).

Greggs' product range includes a wide range of on-the-go food and drink, including pastries, soups, coffee, and sandwiches, but they're best known for their top selling product—their sausage roll—which sells 2.5 million units every week. The company's official Twitter bio (as of July 22, 2019) highlights this level of recognition—it reads: “Welcome to the official Twitter page of Greggs. Long live sausage rolls!” (Greggs, n.d.) And on January 2, 2019, Greggs announced a new addition to their product line, a vegan version of the sausage roll. Instead of meat, the filling is a meat-substitute developed alongside the vegetarian food brand Quorn, while the encasing puff pastry is not finished with a milk glaze.

The vegan sausage roll proved to be a huge success for Greggs, regularly selling out in the days following its release, and driving a 60% increase in the value of the company's shares from January to May 2019 (Georgiadis 2019). Its release received both extensive coverage from media outlets and ignited debate across social media, with #greggsvegansausageroll the top trending hashtag on UK Twitter the day of the roll's release. Much of this Twitter discussion was spurred by a tweet from Piers Morgan, a conservative pundit, TV presenter, and former editor of the now-defunct *News of the World* tabloid newspaper, who labelled Greggs “PC-ravaged clowns” (Morgan, 2019) for making the roll.

The reply from Greggs' official twitter account—“Oh hello Piers, we've been expecting you” (Greggs, 2019)—proved to not only further extend coverage of the topic (the tweet has 19.1k retweets as of July 22, 2019) but also spoke to the assumed bias against veganism by persons with right-wing beliefs. While Piers Morgan is an outspoken TV personality, so is not exactly a representative sample of all conservative thinkers, the fact that an individual with his ideology professed such negativity against the product, and also equated veganism with political correctness (aka ‘PC’), came as little surprise. I will explore this link to ideology further in the literature review.

In this section, I've shown that a) universal uptake of a vegan, or at least a less-heavy meat diet, is a critical step in curbing climate b) the UK is a country where veganism is gaining increasing

prominence. My research question deals with veganism's representation in UK newspapers, so I believe these two points show its relevance and its timeliness.

Literature Review

Before conducting my thematic analysis, I will review literature and past studies which are relevant to my thesis. I will first set out the role that ideology has been proven to play in acceptance of veganism. Secondly, I will review the handful of studies which have looked at the portrayal of vegetarians and vegans in newspapers.

As the amount of research on veganism is relatively small compared to that on vegetarianism, I will be drawing on studies of the latter in this section. For simplicity's sake, when referring to both vegans and vegetarians together, I will use the term veg*n.

The left, the right, and veg*nism

Piers Morgan's tweet is an example of the ideological divide on veganism that has long been assumed—those who lean right are against it, while those who lean left are more accepting of the practice.

Along with from stances on political and social issues, political ideology influences also all manner of everyday practices and behaviours. Carney et al. (2008) found there were significant and measurable personality differences between college age Americans who identified as either liberals and conservatives. Two underlying cognitive traits for these disparities were pinpointed—Openness to New Experiences and Conscientiousness. Liberals think more analytically than conservatives (Talhelm et. al 2015), while both sides of the political spectrum tend to choose partners who hold the same views as themselves (Klofstad 2013).

It's safe to assume then that uptake or acceptance of veganism can be linked to ideology. And research does in fact bear this out, with numerous studies showing empirical evidence for this relationship.

Allen et al. (2000) found that omnivores placed higher value on social power, and man's dominant position in the natural world, whereas as vegetarians valued "equality, peace, and social justice" (p. 417). Correlation has been found between speciesism and ethnic prejudice—a form of discrimination more prevalent among conservatives than liberals—through the The Social Dominance Human–Animal Relations Model (Dhont et al. 2016). And in a study conducted in Britain, vegetarians were more likely to align with liberal causes, such as volunteering for charitable organizations and strengthening local government (Gale et al. 2007).

In a meta-analysis on research surrounding veg*ns, Ruby (2012) concludes:

Broadly speaking, Western vegetarians tend to be liberal in their political views, place emphasis on environmental protection, equality, and social justice [...] The small but growing body of research investigating vegans suggests that, compared to vegetarians, they hold stronger beliefs about meat eating, animal welfare, and the environment. (p. 146)

Hodson & Earle (2018) found that individuals with conservative beliefs were also more likely to lapse from a vegan or vegetarian (veg*n) diet back to an omnivorous one. The researchers concluded that there were two main motivating factors behind this decision:

- 1) Their decision to try a meat free diet in the first place was not as likely to be for social justice reasons as those with left-wing beliefs.
- 2) They did not feel socially supported in their new diet. This can be manifested in awkward situations (such as dining out with friends) or feeling isolated from fellow conservatives.

Veganism in media

There exists a growing body of media made for the explicit purpose of advocating a vegan diet, and of debunking myths around meat consumption. These includes numerous documentaries, such as *Cowspiracy* (2014) and *Forks over Knives* (2011). Vegans cite films of this type, many of which are available on streaming services, as one of the most influential factors in their decision to consider taking up the practice (Vomad 2018).

Meanwhile, social media has been credited to a large extent with veganisms surge in popularity over the past decade (Chan, n. D., Lupton 2018). In a study of digital media and representation of alternative food cultures, Lupton (2017) found that memes and videos framing veganism in mocking ways were common, but social media also provided an effective space for vegan or animal rights activist groups (such as PETA) to “disseminate information about healthy vegan diets and challenge industries that kill animals” (p. 5).

Elsewhere, vegan representation in traditional media outlets is less positive. Aguilera (2014) analysed portrayals of vegans in a number of media, including mainstream Hollywood movies and television cooking shows, through the lens of feminist critical theory. She concluded that veganism was often gendered, with meat strongly associated with masculine ideals whereas a plant-based diet was characterised as feminine. By presenting “meat consumers in a position of superiority and dominance over animals” (p. 95), these depictions recall primal stereotypes of male hunters and female gatherers, and subsequently diminish the potential appeal of the practice. These findings echo the sentiments expressed by activist Melanie Joy (2010), who also identified this gendering of food. She writes that it’s hardly surprising given that our vision of masculinity is so intrinsically linked to “dominance, control, and violence” (p. 110).

Cole & Morgan (2011) are some of the few researchers to examine veganism and newspapers—they looked at discourses on the subject in UK newspapers from 2007. Their study

was grounded in the Foucauldian concept of discourse, which asserts that ways of knowing or thinking become cemented as social practice. Behaviour outside of these practices then becomes harder for people to comprehend or empathise with, and it is not seen as the 'norm'. In relation to veganism, this process results in speciesism, and the routine slaughter of animals it entails, being affirmed as normal behaviour, while veganism is seen as something unusual.

Cole & Morgan assembled a sample of articles from every UK national newspaper in the year 2007 which mentioned 'vegan', 'vegans', or 'veganism'. Using this sample, they conducted a two stage thematic analysis, first dividing these articles into broad 'positive', 'negative', or 'neutral' tones, in the way that they portrayed vegans, and then constructing discursive themes for the most dominant of these tones. Of the 397 articles they found, 74.3% were characterized as 'negative' in tone. Within these articles, veganism was written about with derisive or derogatory language, or dismissed as a phase. Vegans themselves were stereotyped as both hostile and oversensitive, and their motivations for pursuing this lifestyle were not covered with any analytical depth. This was true across newspapers of all political slants, although this aspect wasn't implicitly part of the study's design.

Six discursive themes were identified:

1. veganism as 'ridiculous'
2. veganism as 'asceticism'
3. veganism as 'difficult or impossible'
4. veganism as 'a fad'
5. vegans as 'hostile'
6. vegans as 'oversensitive'

The authors conclude that these negative discourses, representative of 'vegaphobia', serve to marginalize veganism, and "helps non-vegans to avoid confronting the ethics of exploiting, imprisoning and killing nonhuman animals" (p. 149). Furthermore, it shows that in 2007 UK

newspapers were unwilling to seriously engage with the health, environmental, and ethical debates surrounding veganism, further normalising speciesism.

Cole & Morgan's study was adapted by Masterman-Smith et al. (2014) to Australian newspapers. Their paper took a comparative approach, sampling articles from the years 2007 and 2012, to see if the discourses Cole & Morgan identified were indeed also present in Australian newspapers, and whether these had shifted over time. Examining both national and local papers, they found that negative-toned articles did outweigh positive- and neutral-toned articles in both years of their sample.

However, as opposed to Cole & Morgan's research, the percentage of negative articles was far lower—46% in 2007 and 45% in 2012. The reasons for this discrepancy are not addressed by Masterman-Smith et al., and it would need a comparative study of the political biases of two countries' newspapers, and the uptake of veganism, to begin to explain why this difference may exist.

Theoretical Framework

The following chapter lays out the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. First, the paradigm of social constructionism in which this thesis is grounded, and then an outline of framing theory. Lastly, I will examine the interconnected concepts of speciesism and carnism.

Social Constructionism

In answering my research question, I will be working within the social constructionism paradigm. With its roots in sociology, it's an approach which gathered pace in the Sixties with the publication of Berger & Luckmann's *The Social Construction of Reality* (Burr 2003, p. 7). In essence, social constructionism posits that societies, and the meanings and realities that are

integral to them, are developed through interactions between societal actors. It stands in opposition to other paradigms that suppose that our world is built around constant, unalterable forms and phenomena—such as essentialism (DeLamater & Hyde 1997).

Social constructionism is a broad field, but generally all social constructionist approaches share some common denominators. As outlined by Burr (2003), these are:

- **A critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge.** The world around us is divided into categories, but we should not assume these divisions are natural. There is nothing inherent to an object or concept which causes it to be placed in one category or another, rather these partitions are socially constructed.
- **Historical and cultural specificity.** Our understandings of the world are ever shifting. Social mores, codes, and taboos have changed over time, and also vary from one culture to another. We cannot think we ‘know better’ than a person living in the past, as all knowledge is relative.
- **Knowledge is sustained by natural processes.** Our shared ways of understanding the world are developed through interacting with others. These ways of understanding are not implicit in the natural world itself.
- **Knowledge and social action go together.** As knowledge shifts over time, so then does our action relating to it. For instance, if a certain behavior used to be thought of as socially distasteful, but has become acceptable, then society’s actions towards that behavior, and those who exhibit it, also changes.

Looking at veganism through the lens of social constructionism is essential to understanding the ways that an omnivorous diet has become the societal norm in most modern Western countries, whereas veganism is still viewed as a ‘choice’. From a social constructionist viewpoint, eating

meat is also a ‘choice’, but it isn’t often viewed in this way—instead it’s considered humans’ natural diet.

Working within social constructionism does also raise questions about this thesis’ validity, as a lack of objective fact is fundamental to the approach. With this in mind, I acknowledge that the conclusions drawn from my analysis are subject to all the aforementioned processes, and that my interpretation of them is no doubt coloured by my own socially-constructed knowledge.

Framing Theory

One of media research’s key concepts is that of media effects (Neuman & Guggenheim 2011). This term encompasses a broad range of research built around the notion that the media, in its many different forms, influences behavior.

Debate continues around the historical development of the field. Media effects research has commonly been divided into three phases (Neuman & Guggenheim 2011), although both a four-phase (Scheufele 1999) and six-phase model (Neuman & Guggenheim 2011) have been proposed. Despite these different conceptualizations, three broad bodies of work can be identified which demonstrate how the research has evolved over time (Werder 2009).

The first arrived in the early twentieth century, and centered around the idea of audiences as passive receivers, powerless to resist the messages emanating through the mass media. This first period gave way to a second, which posited that the media’s influence was far less pronounced, and was limited by people’s motivations in selecting some media over others. The last phase instead emphasises the cumulative effects of mass media. As audiences are drip fed the same messages again and again, they “start to adopt the media's framing of reality as their own representation of it” (Werder 2009, p. 633).

One of the key theories of this cumulative phase is framing theory. The concept of frames was popularised by sociologist Erving Goffman, building on the works of Bateson (1972). Goffman defined frames as "schemata of interpretation" (1974, p. 21) that help us make sense of the social world. In our everyday existence, we are faced with having to react to and interpret situations and information constantly, and frames help us to organise this chaos (Jacobsen & Kristiansen 2015, p. 122).

As a theory for analysing media communication, it's important to understand that framing is not a one way street. As Scheufele (1999) emphasises, it examines the interplay between 'media frames' and 'individuals frames'.

Media frames are an organising principle for how journalists report the news. They choose to highlight some details of a story over others, they present events couched in certain moral judgements, and they piece together a narrative. This process results in aspects of a story growing in their "salience" (Entman 1993, p. 53), increasing the probability that readers will receive these details as the most important. As Hallahan (1999) summarises:

As a property of a message, a frame limits or defines the message's meaning by shaping the inferences that individuals make about the message. Frames reflect judgments made by message creators or framers. (p. 207)

Any number of linguistic tools can be employed in framing, including "metaphor, jargon/catchphrases, contrast, spin, and stories" (Fairhurst 2005, p. 168). On the journalist's part, these frames can be driven by intent, but "motives can also be unconscious ones" (Scheufele 1999, p. 106).

However, the effects of Media frames are regulated to a certain extent by individual (or audience) frames, the cognitive structures that every reader possess themselves (Entman 1993).

This of course means that news messages framed in one way by a journalist does not lead to the same construction of meaning in the minds of two different readers.

Framing theory has been used to study a wide range of topics and their portrayal in the media, including nuclear power (Gamson & Modigliani 1989), global warming (Olausson 2009), and terrorist attacks (Pece 2018). Of particular pertinence for this thesis is a study by Friedlander et al. (2004), who examined the frames used in Australian newspapers covering the topic of meat consumption. They found the most common frames present in writing on the subject included “animal welfare” and “economy”, but ‘climate change’ was applied far less frequently.

Speciesism & Carnism

I will now outline two interrelated concepts, speciesism and carnism, which are important to the theoretical framework of this thesis. Speciesism is an overarching ideology, founded on the idea that humans have assigned different species different levels of moral worth. This means that we consider ourselves more valuable than any other species, while also justifying our mistreatment or discrimination of some species over others (Caviola et al. 2019). Carnism is a sub-set of beliefs to speciesism, by which humans think it is acceptable to consume animals regardless of the suffering involved in the meat production process. As charitable organization Beyond Carnism puts it, “Carnism is a ‘sub-ideology’ of speciesism, just as anti-Semitism, for instance, is a sub-ideology of racism” (Beyond Carnism, n.d.)

Speciesism was coined by Richard Ryder in 1970. Having hunted birds in youth, and worked as a psychologist in a hospital that carried out experiments on rats and monkeys, he felt a growing unease at the moral ambiguities of humans’ relationships to animals. Speciesism was his attempt to explain this behaviour along the same lines as other forms of discrimination, such as sexism or racism, analogies which he regards as “psychologically important whether it is explicit or implied” (Ryder 2017, p. 43). Whereas sexism is discrimination based purely on a person’s sex, speciesism is a similarly blind discrimination based purely on an animal’s species. It also speaks

to the same ingrained social practices and structures which have perpetuated this form of discrimination over the years.

Speciesism has entered the academic lexicon, though Ryder (2017) makes clear that there are two important tenants to the ideology which some of the subsequent definitions have not included. For Ryder, speciesism encompasses:

- 1) Discrimination against other species by humans because of the belief that humankind is superior. This belief justifies inhumane treatment or exploitation of other species.
- 2) The belief that exploitation of some types of animals is justified but others not, based purely on the basis of their species. For instance, cats and dogs are kept as pets, and mistreatment of them is considered unlawful, whereas animals which have been categorised as livestock are killed by the millions every day.

Ryder also makes clear that speciesism cannot be attributed to animals other than humans. While animals can tend to be “hostile” (p. 43) to other species, this is due to instinct rather than learned cultural beliefs.

The concept of carnism, coined by social psychologist Melanie Joy in 2001, focuses on one of the most visible manifestations of speciesism—humans’ consumption of meat. Joy defines carnism as “the belief system in which eating certain animals is considered ethical and appropriate” (Joy 2010, p. 30). It speaks to what has been termed the ‘meat paradox’, the seemingly explicable psychological dissonance between most humans’ love of animals and reluctance to do them harm, while at the same time including them in their daily diet (Loughnan et al. 2014).

As Joy explains, the concept of carnism is a way of making the ideology around eating meat conspicuous (ibid.). There exists, after all, a term for the ideologies that drive people to abstain from eating animals, namely vegetarianism or veganism. We recognise these aren’t just a dietary

preference for vegetables, but instead entails a set of beliefs, mainly centered on the ethics of animal production—otherwise vegetarians and vegans could as well be called ‘plant-eaters’. Yet there didn’t exist a similar word for those who choose to consume meat. It’s a discrepancy which speaks to modern society’s “meat bias” (Joy 2001, p. 26)—eating meat is accepted as the norm, and the ideology which support is more or less invisible, and so it is only deviations from this dominant thinking which need to be given a name. Carnism is then “essentially the opposite of veganism” (Gibert & Desaulniers 2014).

Carnism includes a raft of mental mechanisms, collected under the term ‘psychic numbing’, which allows believers to distance themselves from any feelings of unease at process by which meat reaches their tables (Pedersen 2012, p. 111). Psychic numbing also perpetuates the “three Ns of justification” (Piazza et al. 2015, p. 115), three myths which help to discourage critical thinking about meat eating. They are that meat eating is *natural*, *normal*, and *necessary*. Researchers have since suggested adding a fourth N to the schema, *nice*, which captures the pleasure that people derive from eating meat (Piazza et al. 2015, p. 115). These myths form the bedrock of a carnist society, justifying a system an exploitative system with such success that they have become accepted as “universal truths” (Joy 2010, p. 97).

Joy (2010) goes onto to detail a number of institutions which legitimise these myths, but she singles out two as the most important—the legal system and the news media (p.103), the latter of which is of special relevance to this thesis. The news media’s framing of the carnism perpetuates it through both omission and prohibition, Reports on the terrible conditions within slaughterhouses and industrial farming establishments are far more likely to come from animal advocacy groups than media outlets. At the same time, advocacy groups can struggle to get their adverts shown in mainstream channels. At the same time that that this omission and prohibition takes place, news, lifestyle, and culture coverage perpetuate carnist ideology by reporting on meat consumption (from recipes to the yearly spectacle of the US President sparing a turkey for Thanksgiving) as the only option. As Joy concludes:

The news media media deliver carnism to our doorstep by informing us not only of ‘the way things are,’ but also of the way things ought to be, are meant to be, and have to be. In other words, the news media bring home the the Ns. (p. 105)

Several critiques of carnism come from Helena Pederson (2012), who is doubtful about both the theories sweeping generalization of carnists and the extent to which the ideology’s invisibility affects the choice to eat meat. She gives the example of animal studies scholars, individuals with in depth of knowledge of the food production process and animal’s cognitive abilities, who remain carnists themselves. She questions whether this refutes the theory’s assertion that carnism is kept in place by ignorance or denial of how ‘the sausage is made’. While I agree with this to some extent, it slightly mischaracterizes Joy’s arguments. Joy makes it clear that it’s the *perception* of an animal’s worth that is key to carnist ideology, not just ignorance of meat production processes.

Methodology

In this section I will first detail the research method I will be using for this paper, namely thematic analysis. I will then outline my study’s research design, sampling methods, my approach to gathering my data, as well as any ethical considerations pertaining to my data collection that I need to take into account

Thematic Analysis

The use of thematic analysis in the field of media and communications research is widespread, although it’s a method which often goes unremarked upon. According to Boyatzis, “Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information” (1998, p. vi), yet the methods’ definition and framework have long been a source of confusion. With no clear outline about how to conduct a thematic analysis, many different approaches have been employed, although often

in these cases, thematic analysis is acknowledged as more of a tool than a method in itself (Maguire & Delahunt 2017). This was a problem addressed by Braun and Clarke (2006), who both delineated the method's history and practices, and introduced six-phase guide to conducting a thematic analysis which has become widely used by researchers ever since.

Thematic analysis is useful for a number of reasons. First and foremost, it's a flexible method, which unlike other research methods, is not necessarily tied to certain research paradigms or theoretical positions (Braun and Clarke 2006). This means that thematic analysis can also be utilized for both deductive or inductive approaches. The deductive approach (sometimes referred to as 'top-down' or 'theoretical') tends to set out the researchers case at the beginning of the research, deriving hypotheses from established research or theories, and then analysing data to prove these hypotheses correct or incorrect. On the other hand, inductive is more interested in new analyses and theories which emerge from the data itself (Woiceshyn & Daellenbach 2018). While this thesis won't be presenting hypotheses, it does include a review of previous literature and a theoretical framework. It therefore must be utilizing a deductive approach.

Secondly, thematic analysis is something of a "foundational method" (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 4) for qualitative researchers. The processes involved, including the gathering of data and then the sorting of that data into themes or categories, lays the bedrock for more involved research methods such as content or discourse analysis. This being the case, thematic analysis is a fairly straightforward method to employ, and one which shouldn't prove too complicated for researchers who don't have too much experience with more advanced qualitative methods—I count myself in this bracket.

As to conducting a thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide sets out the process. These phases will be expanded upon during the research design, but they are as follows:

Phase 1: Familiarising yourself with your data

Phase 2: Generating initial codes.

Phase 3: Searching for themes.

Phase 4: Reviewing themes.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes.

Phase 6: Producing the report.

These phases will be expanded upon during the research design.

Research Design

In conducting my thematic analysis, I followed Braun and Clarke's six phases. This is the best way to guide analysis and ensure a level of validity to the findings. One major difference I will be making to this framework is I will in essence be conducting two thematic analyses, one on data from the two left-wing newspapers in my sample, and another from the right-wing. This will allow me to compare the two, and see if the same themes are found in each.

With both of these analyses, I intend to sort my codes into three overarching themes of 'positive', 'negative' and 'neutral'. This is inspired by Cole and Morgan's study, which took a two step approach to its analysis. While my research design is different, I believe this approach will both help to structure my analysis, and will make it easier to draw comparisons with Cole and Morgan's earlier study. These three overarching themes will comprise various themes, covering the different aspects of positive, negative, or neutral presentation in the articles.

Sampling

My research questions aims to identify the differences between vegan representation in left-wing and right-wing newspapers, so it was important to identify which newspapers I would use for my study. Given the fact that I was conducting this study by myself, and with limited time constraints, I decided to draw articles from just four national UK papers, with one tabloid and one broadsheet paper for each ideological standpoint.

Broadsheet and tabloid are strictly the names of different sizes of newspaper formats, but over the years these terms have become intrinsically linked to the style of content different newspapers propagate. Tabloids, which first emerged in Britain in the early 1900's, tend to be sensationalist in their writing. While they cover world news and politics, they also place great importance on popular culture and celebrities. Broadsheets, on the other hand, give more space to 'hard news', and write in less colourful language (Bird 2009, Connell 1998). The formats of newspapers have changed over the years, and many Broadsheet newspapers in the UK are now actually printed in the tabloid size, yet the distinction between the terms in relation to style and quality remains.

I should also note at this stage why I am choosing newspaper articles rather than online articles from the same sources.

1. The readership of daily newspapers in the UK is still fairly robust when compared to other countries. While numbers of papers sold have fallen dramatically with the rise of the web, national UK newspapers in total still boast a circulation of around 7-8 million (Kienast 2019).
2. Content from physical editions is often replicated (or altered with minor changes) for the newspaper's online editions, or vice versa. This means the majority of the articles I am analyzing would have appeared both in print and online, meaning potential the potential readership is far larger than just print circulation numbers alone. The UK newspaper with the largest online presence is The Sun, which in April 2018 received over 30 million unique monthly visitors to its websites (Tobitt 2018).

To choose the four newspapers I would use, I chose to pick the four newspapers which fit my criteria by the size of their readership. Circulation numbers for 2019 were available through the statistics website Statista (Kienast 2019), while the political leaning of each newspaper was

confirmed through a 2017 survey posted on the UK-headquartered data company website YouGov (Smith 2017). Sunday editions were excluded from my selection process.

The four newspapers I selected were:

Name	Founded	Type	Political lean	Circulation (as of April 2019)
The Sun	1964	Tabloid	Right	1,371,190
The Daily Mirror	1903	Tabloid	Left	499, 820
The Times	1785	Broadsheet	Right	406, 280
The Guardian	1821	Broadsheet	Left	134, 570

In choosing the size of my sample, I wanted a data set of a size that would provide good results without being too large to a lone researcher as myself, especially as I was conducting the analysis and all the reading and coding involved manually. According to Rose (2016), “The sample should not be so large that it overwhelms the resources you have available for analysing it” (p. 91). One of the inspirations for thesis, Cole & Morgan (2011), analyzed 397 articles, drawn the 2007 calendar year.

A data set of this size was simple unworkable for my purposes, and so I chose to limit by sample to a certain range of months. In conducting phase 1 of Brun and Clarke’s six phases, I was able to ascertain the approximate number of articles that could fit my sample criteria for each month, and decided to focus the analysis on two months. I settled on March 2019 and April 2019, as these were the most recent complete months available through the Newsbank archive.

I also considered January or February 2019, but felt that this would give me an unrepresentative set of data, as Veganuary is held during the month of January. Veganuary is an awareness-raising campaign that encourages people to try a vegan diet for the first month of the year. In 2019,

250,000 people worldwide signed up (Smithers 2019). The same month also saw the launch of the aforementioned vegan sausage roll from Gregg's. Both of these events received extensive press coverage, and so were likely to result in both January and February including an unusually large amount of writing on the topic of veganism.

While far from as comprehensive a corpus as some of the previous studies in this area, this sample size gives me a fairly balanced set of data, and one that represents a large swathe of the news readership in the UK.

Gathering Data

Data was gathered with the electronic news resource site Newsbank (newsbank.com), which is accessible for free through the Malmö University library. Newsbank's database stores tens of millions of articles, journals, government docs, and newspapers articles from across the globe, including an extensive archive of digitised articles from the four newspapers which make up my sample.

The selected newspapers were searched for the words 'vegan', 'vegans', and 'veganism', for the period March 2019 - April 2019, and then all the resulting pieces, excluding duplicates (for some reason, searching through the archives of both The Sun and The Times often produced two or three copies of the same article) were downloaded as PDFs.

Ethics

Ethics surrounding the gathering of data are always important to consider in the field of media and communications. Most of these pertain to the use of data gathered from individuals, usually through surveys, interviews, and big data databases, where matters of anonymity and consent are paramount—no matter if the data in question is empirical or secondary (Tripathy 2013). The role

of the researcher must also be considered, as they have a duty of care towards participants in their studies (Slowther et al. 2006).

With regards to this thesis, these types of concerns are somewhat limited. The data gathered is publicly available material, produced by news organizations. Everyone involved in these articles have given their consent for this material to be made public, from the journalists themselves to any subjects who have been interviewed.

As a researcher, it's also important to study a topic using valid methods which guard against misrepresenting data or findings (Barker 2008). This thesis has been written by following clear theoretical and methodological frameworks to ensure reliability, and that any analysis of results are founded in established methods.

Limitations

A common criticism of thematic analysis as a research method is that it fails to capture context (Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 19). Unlike content analysis, thematic analysis is a qualitative method, yet can be subject to the same problem—snippets of text are coded for analysis, and the rest of the corpus is discarded. In the case of this thesis, there could for instance be a case of a generally positive article about veganism, which only uses the term 'veganism' during a lone negatively-toned paragraph. It is then only that paragraph that gets found through searching and subsequently coded. There is also the question of nuance and humor—context is important to grasping the complete meaning.

This problem was addressed as much possible through following phase 1 and phase 2 of Braun and Clarke's guidelines. Phase 1 allowed the complete read through of the entire corpus, and so initial codes were captured with the knowledge of the full context. This meant that some coded texts were only sentences, whereas others were expanded to an entire paragraph.

Another limitation was lack of time and size of corpus. Given the choice to carry out the analysis manually, the corpus had to be limited in size. Employing software to analyze a far larger corpus would have been advantageous, and means that the results of analysis cannot be generalised to the same extent as data gathered from a longer time period.

Carrying out Thematic Analysis

Below is an outline of Braun and Clarke's six phases of thematic analysis, along with a description of how each one was carried out for this thesis.

Phase 1: Familiarising yourself with your data - Reading all of the data at least once in this first phase helps to establish the scope of the content. It also lets the researcher begin to identify ideas and patterns which might be used later on in the coding process. Braun and Clarke stress it's important to be comprehensive when carrying out this phase, and not be selective with the reading. If verbal data is being analysed, then the transcription process can also be part of this phase.

All of the articles in the corpus were read during the data gathering process through Newsbank, and once more after being collected in PDFs.

Phase 2: Generating initial codes - Not to be confused with themes, which are identified at a later stage, codes are "the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information" (Boyatzis 1998, p. 63). This is the first step in sorting the data into different groups, and can be done either manually or with the help of electronic software, depending on the size of the sample. Data can be coded multiple times if appropriate.

Every article was coded. This was done by searching for the original search words in each article, and then highlighting enough of the surrounding text so that context was preserved. This meant the majority of the text that was collected was full sentences or short paragraphs. Texts

were then copy pasted into a schema created on Microsoft Excel. Each text was recorded alongside bibliographic information about the article in which it was found (date, author, newspaper, etc.), as well as the article’s title, and lastly the code(s) which that text generated.

Phase 3: Searching for themes - Once a researcher has a list of codes, they can then be sorted into encompassing themes. This arranging of codes into themes can be aided by using visual methods, such as mind maps, and themes can be combined and sorted into sub-themes as the sorting continues.

Braun and Clarke take issue with the word “emerge” (p. 7) which is often used around this stage, as it detracts from the active role played by the researcher. With this in mind, these themes were constructed through a process of sorting, elimination, and combining, until workable themes which captured all of my codes as concisely as possible were created.

Phase 4: Reviewing themes - These themes are not final, and phase 4 is important is reassessing them and analyzing if they “work” (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 21) or not. They must be considered in relation to the sample—are these themes truly capturing the data set? Additional themes might be added at this stage, or existing themes merged or reworked, until a thematic map is settled upon.

Below are the thematic maps for both left-wing and right-ring newspapers.

Left-Wing		
Code	Theme	Overarching Theme
Delicious Cool Good for human health Popular Affordable Profitable	Aspirational	Positive Representation
Everyday Unfairly ridiculed Easy	Normal	

Good for environment Good for animal welfare Better than meat	Beneficial to the planet	
Elite Trendy Hypocritical Hippy	A fad	Negative Representation
Challenging Extreme Bizarre Objects of derision Isolating Disgusting	Unworkable	
Angry	Hostile	
Nutritionally deficient	Unhealthy	
Neutral	Neutral	Neutral Representation

Right-Wing		
Code	Theme	Overarching Theme
Cool Delicious Popular Affordable Profitable	Aspirational	Positive Representation
Unfairly ridiculed	Normal	
Good for environment Better than meat	Beneficial to the planet	
Elite Trendy Hippy	A fad	Negative Representation
Boring Objects of derision	Unworkable	
Angry Oversensitive	Hostile	
Nutritionally deficient	Unhealthy	
Bad for farmers Violent Unpatriotic	Harmful to society	
Factual	Neutral	Neutral Representation

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes - This phase is focused on capturing the “essence” (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 22) of each theme. An analysis of each theme needs to be written, which makes the case for each theme’s importance and its uniqueness in relation to the other themes.

Aspirational (containing the codes ‘Popular’, ‘Delicious’, ‘Cool’, ‘Good for human health’, ‘Affordable’, and ‘Profitable’)

This theme described veganism or vegans as a positive practice, one that encompasses social or monetary success, and generally portrays veganism as something which would benefit the reader. Examples of coded text below:

‘Popular’

I encountered it first in a Starbucks wrap. Now you can get it everywhere from Pizza Express to supermarkets. Vegan restaurants probably have a claim as the earliest adopters, but it took off so fast that there is not much in it. (Williams 2019, The Guardian, March 27, p. 7)

‘Delicious’

Meera Sodha's recipe for vegan caramelised onion ramen - Sticky onions combined with miso, stock and sake make a heavenly French-Japanese marriage. (Sodha 2019, The Guardian, April 6, p. 11)

‘Cool’

In Glasgow, with an hour to kill between meetings, I went to one of my favourite hangouts for a coffee. Mono is a vegan café bar with a fantastic independent record shop, Monorail, attached. (Farquharson 2019, The Times, March 5, p. 22)

‘Good for human health’

And in terms of all of his DEXA scans and health markers, he is in a much stronger position than when he wasn't vegan. (Atkinson 2019, The Sun, March 31, p. 36)

‘Affordable’

His list of great products is near endless (lifetime achievement award goes to Dazzle Dust glitter), but I’ve opted for these, his famous, vegan-friendly nail polishes. The colours are delicious, the finish – very shiny, slightly plumped, always vivid – is remarkable for four quid. (Hughes 2019, The Guardian, March 16, p. 48)

‘Profitable’

Vegan-friendly sausage roll? A hit at Greggs? The bakery chain better known for steak bakes said publicity around its new Quorn-filled snack had led to an "exceptional sales performance" this year. (The Times 2019, March 4, p. 35)

Normal (containing the codes ‘Easy’, ‘Everyday’, and ‘unfairly ridiculed’)

Veganism is not a hardship, and vegans are not social outliers - this practice is perfectly normal. Also included in this theme are instances of pushing back against remarks or ideas that paint veganism as extreme. Examples of coded text below:

‘Easy’

A simple, budget spring salad that adds a healthy dose of veg to your midweek meal. This easy vegan dish also makes great leftover lunches. (Allen, The Daily Mirror, 2019, p. 17)

‘Everyday’

Then I went home and ate nine vegan sausage rolls with hot sauce. (Ranganathan, The Guardian, 2019, p. 66).

‘Unfairly ridiculed’

At one point during cross-examination, the barrister seemed to suggest that the knowledge that her client was a vegan should have alerted Royal to his HIV positive status. “I looked at the judge and I was like, that’s one of the most ridiculous questions I’ve ever heard”. (Smith, The Guardian, 2019, p. 4)

Beneficial to the planet (containing the codes ‘Good for environment’, ‘Good for animal welfare’, ‘Better than meat’)

The positive effects that the practice has on both the environment, and tackling climate change, as well as for livestock animals. Any times veganism was compared favourably to meat eating in relation to sustainability was also coded within this theme. Examples of coded texts below:

‘Good for environment’

I started reading about climate change. One day I learned that there is massive environmental damage and climate change caused by animal agriculture – 80% of deforestation is caused by agriculture. All my illusions about being an environmentalist disappeared. I thought: “I just can’t be this person any more.” I became a vegan six years ago. (Pidd et al. 2019, The Guardian, March 14, p. 4)

‘Good for animal welfare’

FAKE SNAKE: Snap up this spring’s trend for snakeskin shoes but without feeling guilty. Topshop has launched a vegan shoe collection so you can fulfil your feet goals without going hell for leather. Mules, £59. (Chilcott 2019, The Sun, April 15, p. 32)

‘Better than meat’

Experts have advised people to eat no more than 17oz, or 500g, of meat a week, and only about half a bacon rasher a day. One in eight people are now vegetarian or vegan. (The Times, 2019, April 1, p. 18)

A fad (containing the codes 'Elite', 'Trendy', 'Hippy', 'Hypocritical')

This theme includes any codes which characterize veganism as a passing fashion which won't last, or one that is enjoyed by a small subset of the population with no broader appeal.

'Hypocritical' is included as this implies people are just jumping on the latest bandwagon, but aren't actually 'real' vegans. Examples of coded text below:

'Elite'

She went vegan last year after a doctor told her it could reduce the chances of getting stomach cancer. "You can do it if you have a good chef," she says encouragingly.

(Gilbey 2019, The Guardian, March 8, p. 4)

'Trendy'

The fashion kids like Veja, who knows why, possibly because some of its styles are vegan, but you can never really tell with the fashion set. (Rose 2019, The Times, March 16, p. 57)

'Hippy'

ECO-WARRIORS blockading Waterloo Bridge sang songs and cheered on celebrity luvvies yesterday. The smell of cannabis was thick in the air as protesters also set up a skateboard ramp in the middle of the bridge. They daubed political slogans on the pavement in chalk, including "If the future isn't vegan there is no future" and "Free Julian Assange and Chelsea Manning". (Grove 2019, The Sun, April 22, p. 2)

'Hypocritical'

I have a house covered in solar panels, eat a vegan diet and drive modest little cars. But I have massive carbon footprints from jet fuel, to meet family and professional obligations. (The Guardian 2019, April 16, p. 50)

Unworkable (containing the codes ‘Challenging’, ‘Extreme’, ‘Bizarre’, ‘Objects of derision’, ‘Boring’, ‘Disgusting’, ‘Isolating’)

Veganism is a radical practice, and one which requires an inordinate amount of effort to make work. It’s also so seen as weird by the wider society, making it hard to sustain. Examples of coded texts below:

‘Challenging’

Faced with going vegan for a month, how will he cope when his burgers are replaced with cabbage and chickpeas? (Wallis 2019, Daily Mirror, March 19, p. 31)

‘Extreme’

Last year, the sociologist Zeynep Tufekci wrote a piece for the New York Times headlined YouTube, the Great Radicalizer, which argued that the video platform was pushing people towards more extreme content because it helped generate clicks. “Videos about vegetarianism led to videos about veganism. (Mahdawi 2019, The Guardian, March 26, p. 3)

‘Bizarre’

She is married to James Bond star Daniel Craig. Fifty Shades of Grey author EL James is 56. She is worth a reported £69 million. Actor Peter Sarsgaard is 48. He is a vegan. (The Daily Mirror 2019, March 27, p. 26)

‘Objects of derision’

Players wanting out, a manager as uncomfortable as a vegan in a black pudding factory.
(Thomas 2019, The Sun, April 7, p. 9)

‘Boring’

There is one rule for hen dos. The bride has to get boozed up on cheap fizz. So what's with the invites to healthy hen parties about? Hikes, vegan dinners, yoga retreats - thanks but no thanks. (Chilcott 2019, The Sun, March 4, p. 32)

‘Disgusting’

The best way to experience a pulled-jackfruit burger with slaw and (vegan) mayo is to look at a picture of it, then eat something else. (Williams, The Guardian, March 27, p. 7)

‘Isolating’

A lads’ night out is no safe haven for the vegan teetotaller. When we went to eat, my friends looked at my options and said they would rather eat their own families than anything I had to choose from. (Ranganathan 2019, The Guardian, April 27, p. 74)

Hostile (containing the codes ‘Angry’, ‘Oversentivie’)

This theme shows vegans as easily offended and outraged, and quick with angry responses which are more forceful than they need to be. This is often achieved by pairing ‘vegans’ with adjectives like ‘militant’ or ‘screaming’. Examples of coded texts below:

‘Angry’

The prolific YouTuber, who had posted uncompromising videos about the evils of eating animals and built a vegan clothing brand, told followers of his channel that he had started eating animal products again. The fury that followed from many vegans was startling in its ferocity, with some wishing upon him a fate that they would not consider for any beast. (Whitworth 2019, The Times, April 4, p.6)

‘Oversensitive’

One more thing. Before you leave, take a trip to Quy Nhon's Cho Dam market. It's not for the faint-hearted, it's certainly not for vegans (time your tour badly and you might get splattered with blood when you pass the Eel Beheader). (Thomas 2019, The Times, March 9, p. 38-39)

Harmful to society (containing the codes ‘Violent’, ‘Bad for farmers’, ‘Unpatriotic/not tradition’)

Veganism causes harm to others, or the entire nation. This can be through vegans’ dietary choices, which impact the livelihoods of meat or dairy farmers, or the businesses and people affected by protests or activist’s actions. Examples of coded texts below:

‘Violent’

Groups of militant vegans have attacked and vandalised slaughterhouses, steak restaurants and shops selling meat in Lille, northern France. (The Sun 2019, April 9, p. 24)

‘Bad for farmers’

Veganism may be booming but a study has found that 64 per cent of Scots are concerned about its impact on traditional farming. In a survey of 2,000 adults for the trade body Quality Meat Scotland, 92 per cent ate red meat and 49 per cent said that they were trying to cut down, with the main reason given being animal welfare and environmental concerns. QMS claimed that consumers were being confused and misled by information on red meat production that "often relates to very different production systems in different parts of the world". (The Times 2019, April 20, p. 22)

‘Unpatriotic/not tradition’

AUSTRALIAN Prime Minister Scott Morrison has criticised animal rights activists as "shameful and un- Australian" after dozens were arrested in nationwide protests. (The Daily Mirror 2019, April 9, p. 6)

Unhealthy (containing the code 'Nutritionally deficient', 'Unnatural')

By practising veganism, individuals are putting themselves at risk by not consuming the required amounts of vitamins or protein that they need to live a healthy life. They can also put their own children at risk by feeding them vegan food. Examples of coded text below:

'Nutritionally deficient'

Vegan diets can be dangerously low in macro nutrients such as protein, carbohydrates and fat. (Woolf 2019, The Daily Mirror, March 5, p. 26)

'Unnatural'

As the popularity of veganism continues to mushroom — and indeed sprout — the world is learning of its many ups and downs. Thus Monday's headline: "Tim Shieff, a YouTube star and former vegan, declared he had ejaculated for the first time in months after eating raw eggs and salmon." (Moran 2019, The Times, March 29, p. 2)

Neutral (containing the code 'Factual')

This theme does not present veganism positively or negatively, it merely states facts. Common occurrences include listing a vegan product in a product guide type article, or a vegan menu item. Example of coded text below:

'Factual'

The 15,200 sq ft store in Dunboyne will anchor a 25,000 sq ft town centre development incorporating four other units, office space and a Frank and Honest café outlet. The supermarket will have a vegan section and a health and wellness aisle. (Brennan 2019, The Times, April 2, p. 33)

Phase 6: Producing the report - This last and final stage is about communicating the results of the thematic analysis to the reader as concisely as possible, while including illustrative data extracts and links to theoretical material. In short, Braun and Clarke state that the report needs to concisely show what has been found and how it relates to the research question(s).

Phase six comprises the following sections of this thesis.

Results

The results of the thematic analysis are presented below:

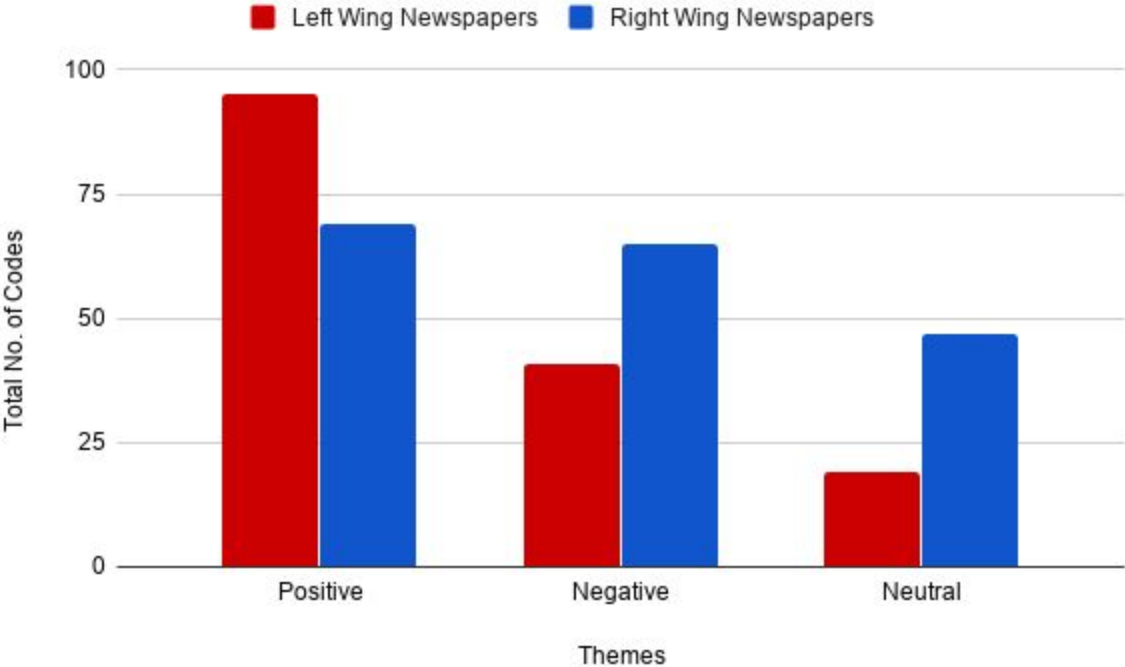
Overarching Theme	Theme	Code	No. of instances			
			Guardian	Mirror	Times	Sun
Positive	Aspirational	Cool	9	1	4	2
		Popular	4	4	10	6
		Delicious	11	5	4	7
		Good for human health	5	2	2	6
		Profitable	2	0	3	3

		Affordable	1	2	0	1	
	Normal	Unfairly ridiculed	2	0	1	1	
		Everyday	0	0	0	0	
		Easy	12	5	0	3	
	Beneficial to the planet	Good for environment	15	5	8	1	
		Good for animal welfare	7	2	1	1	
		Better than meat	1	0	4	1	
Negative	A fad	Trendy	1	1	6	4	
		Hypocritical	1	1	3	0	
		Elite	1	0	1	4	
		Hippy	1	0	1	2	
	Unworkable	Challenging	4	3	1	2	
		Extreme	2	5	1	3	
		Boring	0	1	0	3	
		Bizarre	0	1	1	1	
		Objects of derision	2	1	0	2	
		Disgusting	2	0	0	1	
		Isolating	1	1	2	2	
	Hostile	Angry	7	0	6	1	
		Oversensitive	0	0	5	0	
	Harmful to society	Bad for farmers	0	1	1	0	
		Violent	0	0	1	0	
		Unpatriotic / not tradition	0	1	0	1	
	Unhealthy	Nutritionally deficient	0	3	4	4	
		Unnatural	0	0	1	1	
	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	13	6	23	24

Themes

This section contains an outline of the overarching themes found, and then the themes and codes found within them.

Overarching Themes



Positive Representation

The codes which made up this theme occurred 164 times in total, with 95 instances in left-wing newspapers and 69 instances in right-wing papers. Of all the themes found in the dataset, 49% gave a positive representation of vegans or veganism. Of these positive themes, 58% were found in left-wing newspapers and 42% were found in right-wing newspapers.

Negative Representation

The codes which made up this theme occurred 106 times in total, with 41 instances in left-wing newspapers and 65 instances in right-wing papers. Of all the themes found in the dataset, 31% gave a negative representation of vegans or veganism. Of these negative themes, 39% were found in left-wing newspapers and 61% were found in right-wing newspapers.

Neutral Representation

The code which made up this theme occurred 66 times in total, with 19 instances in left-wing newspapers and 47 instances in right-wing papers. Of all the themes found in the dataset, 20% gave a negative presentation of vegans or veganism. Of the negative themes, 29% were found in left-wing newspapers and 71% were found in right-wing newspapers.

Themes

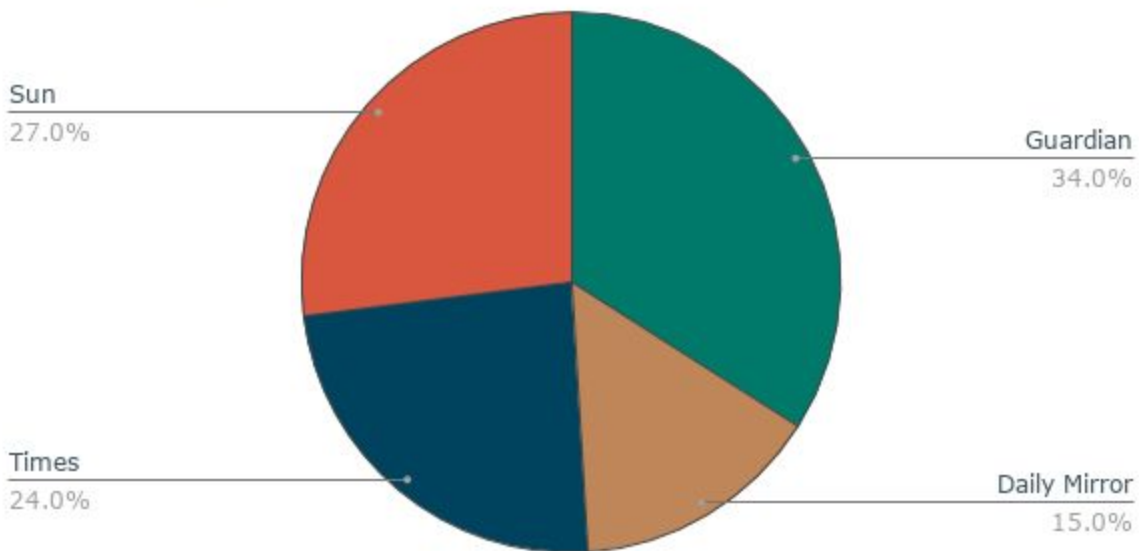
Aspirational

This theme included the codes ‘Popular’, ‘Delicious’, ‘Cool’, ‘Good for human health’, ‘Affordable’, and ‘Profitable’.

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 38% (33 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 34% (43 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 35% (76 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'Aspirational' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



'Aspirational' was the most prevalent theme found in this analysis. This theme captures portrayals of veganism in a positive light, but divorced from any mentions of its environmental or animal welfare benefits. Its frequency was fairly consistent across all four newspapers: The Guardian: 42% (24 out of 57 articles), Daily Mail: 30% (9 out of 30), The Times: 30% (19 out of 64) The Sun: 38% (24 out of 64).

Reflecting the surge in popularity for veganism in the UK, vegan products are “everywhere” (The Guardian, April 21, p. 26), “strong sellers” (The Times, March 8, p. 25), and “on the rise” (Daily Mirror, April 2, p. 10). The diet’s health benefits are expounded upon: "And in terms of all of his DEXA scans and health markers, he is in a much stronger position than when he wasn't vegan" (The Sun, April 21, p. 13). And vegan food is described in sumptuous detail, especially by The Guardian’s exclusively vegetarian food writer Meera Soda.

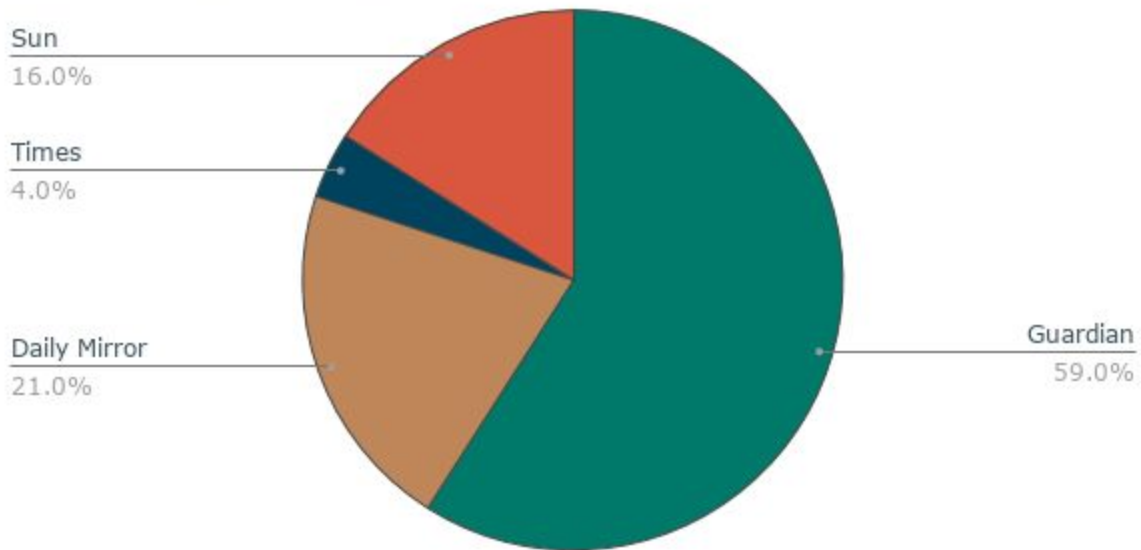
Normal

This theme includes the codes 'Easy', 'Everyday', and 'unfairly ridiculed'.

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 21% (18 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 6% (5 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 11% (23 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'Normal' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the whole



As opposed to 'aspirational', the aim of this theme was to find writing that highlighted the accessibility of veganism, either through stressing its straightforwardness, or by mentioning it as a passing detail of everyday existence. 'Normal' was more common in left-wing newspapers than right-wing newspapers by some degree.

The Guardian included 14 instances of the theme, whereas its fellow broadsheet The Times only included 1. This suggests the right-wing papers may be happy to portray veganism as aspirational, but not something for 'regular' people. This disparity is also confirmed by the later theme 'A Fad'.

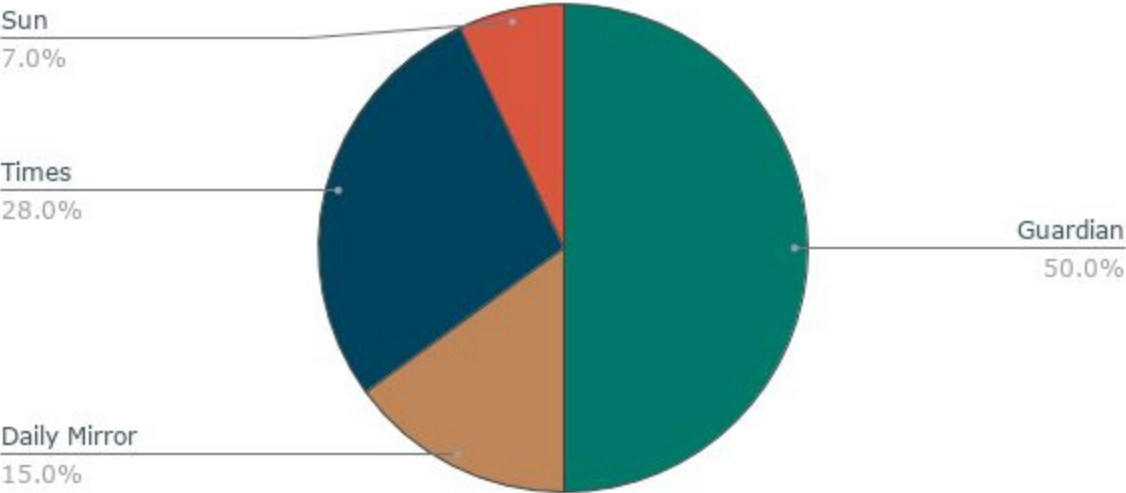
Beneficial to the planet

This theme includes the codes 'Good for environment', 'Good for animal welfare', and 'Better than meat'

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 29% (25 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 10% (13 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 18% (38 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'Beneficial to the Planet' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



The Guardian and The Times were the papers most likely to relate veganism to the environment. In an opinion piece on teenage climate activist Greta Thunberg, John Watts writes that “She seems incapable of the cognitive dissonance that allows other people to lament what is happening to the climate one minute, then tuck into a steak [...] the next” (The Guardian, March 11, p. 8). In coverage of global warming, UK tabloids have been shown to frame the issue through extreme weather and popular culture, while neglecting to cover climate science and justice (Boykoff 2008). In this study, 4 out of the 5 times the Daily Mirror connected veganism to the environment, it was in a story about a celebrity.

As for animal welfare, The Guardian was the only paper to repeatedly draw links between this and veganism (7 instances). There was a total of four other instances of this code appearing in the three other newspapers combined.

In a 2018 survey of over 1200 vegans worldwide, animal welfare was selected as the number one reason for going vegan by 68.1% of respondents (Vomad 2018). It’s clear from these results that vegans feel extremely passionate about this topic, but it doesn’t seem to animate the public to the same degree. A 2016 review of previous studies (mostly European-based) found that, while the general public are aware of welfare concerns around meat production, “welfare was not a prioritisation when shopping” (Clark et al. 2016, p. 475).

The disparity also lends more support to the notion of a meat paradox, “the moral conflict meat eaters may experience when they care about animals” (Monterio et al. 2007, p. 52). While Joy does touch upon climate change in her work on carnism, she theorised that ‘psychic numbing’ and its related mechanisms are built to ignore the ‘meat paradox’. The knowledge of climate change is relatively new, and so may not be susceptible to the same mental dichotomies. When writing about vegan’s moral arguments, journalists are then more likely to see climate change as the more valid issue over animal welfare.

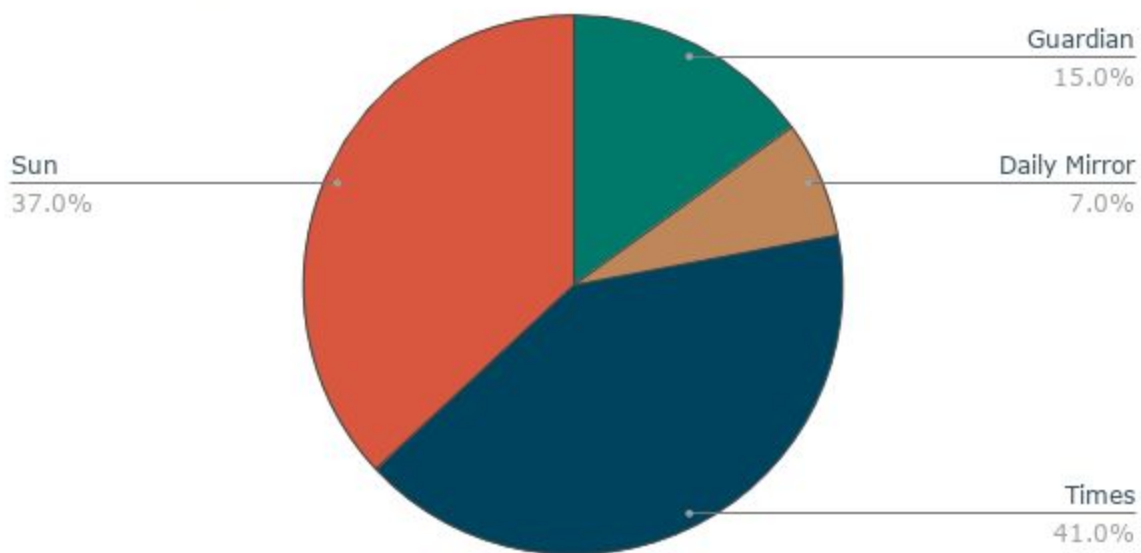
A Fad

This theme includes the codes ‘Elite’, ‘Trendy’, ‘Hippy’, and ‘Hypocritical’.

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 6% (5 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 13% (17 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 10% (22 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'A Fad' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



One stereotype which has clung to Veganism is that it is ‘elite’. There may be many factors for this, but one is certainly the perception of its cost. While many staple vegan foods (rice, beans, etc.) are relatively cheap, plant-based alternatives to meat and dairy products are often more expensive (PETA no date)—the same can also be true of fruit and vegetables when compared to processed foods (Harrington et al. 2018, par 3). This contributes to a perception of veganism as a middle-class practise.

It's The Sun which features most instance of the 'elite' code. A climate change protest is described as an "Invasion of the Middle Class Zombie Tossers. Armed with hipster beards, topknots, vegan shakes, lots of badges and stupid placards" (The Sun, April 18, p. 13). A piece on music mogul Simon Cowell's decision to turn vegan suggests it's only workable for celebrities such as him with "a team of personal chefs and assistants [...] to make his plate of kale and tofu taste slightly more appetising" (The Sun, April 27, p. 20).

Of the other codes in this theme, 'Trendy' was the right-wing papers' most used (10 instances vs. 2 instances for in left-wing papers). In the case of The Times, this code was used in often used in conjunction with calls to withstand the new 'fashion' for veganism—"if you're bucking the vegan trend" (The Times. 2019, March 16, p. 8).

By framing veganism as an unserious pursuit, only available to those with money or status, or members of fringe groups ('hippies'), these articles reinforce what Joy refers to as 'ecocarnism', whereby "veganism is seen as a contemporary movement of upper-middle class urbanites and suburbanites who have become "soft" and disconnected from nature" (Joy 2011, par 11). It's then unsurprising that this is a more popular frame in right-wing papers, and particular, the right-wing tabloid The Sun, than in their left-wing counterparts.

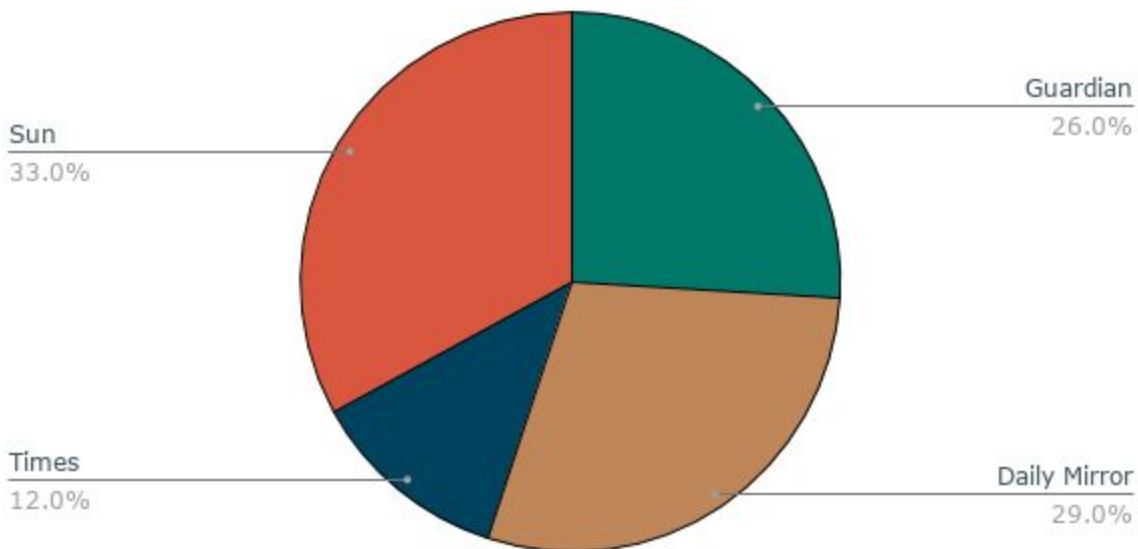
Unworkable

This theme includes the codes 'Challenging', 'Extreme', 'Bizarre', 'Objects of derision', 'Boring', 'Disgusting', and 'Isolating'.

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 22% (19 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 15% (19 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 18% (38 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'Unworkable' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



This negative theme was quite prominent across newspapers of all political bent. It was found in 22% (14 out of 64) of The Sun's articles, but also 19% (11 out of 57) of The Guardian's. By framing veganism as extreme and bizarre, vegans are 'othered'. Othering is a concept with roots in post-colonial theory, which explains how certain individuals or communities are marginalized in the discourse (Jensen 2011). Surveys show that vegans in the UK often feel discriminated against at work (Chiorando 2019), and even members of the British royal family are portrayed as strange for their vegan practices in this sample of newspapers.

Reports from Woman's Day magazine suggest the couple want to raise their child on a vegan diet, which Meghan follows during the week but relaxes at the weekend.

Apparently, this will "not be tolerated" by the Queen. (The Sun, April 20, p. 16)

Othering also services to trivialise beliefs. Once vegans are tagged as objects of derision—"people love laughing at vegans (The Guardian, March 26, p. 3)—their belief and ethical concerns consequently are also minimised. It's also telling that these instances of

‘unworkable’ themes are not coupled with derision for ethical or animal welfare concerns—vegans are not strange because they want to fight climate change, they’re strange because they don’t want to eat meat.

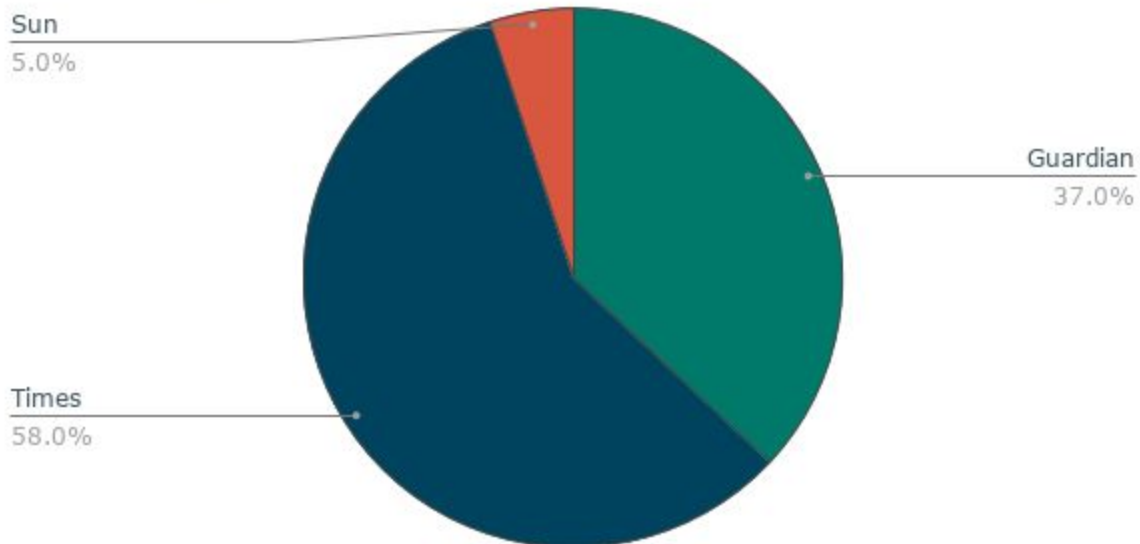
Hostile

This theme includes the codes ‘Angry’, ‘Oversensitive’

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 6% (5 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 9% (11 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 7% (16 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'Hostile' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



This theme was non-existent in the Daily Mirror, and only one instance of the code ‘angry’ was found in The Sun. More instances were found in both the broadsheet papers, which is somewhat

surprising given their reputations for using less vivid language than tabloids. Many instances of the ‘angry’ code in The Times were found in an interview with Tim Shieff, a former vegan Youtube celebrity. He details the online response to his decision to resume eating meat, with some commentators saying he should “kill himself” (The Times, April 4, p. 6).

With regards to the theme’s other code, assigning ‘oversensitivity’ to vegans “plays to stereotypes of the sentimental ‘animal lover’ unable to cope with the harsh realities red in-tooth and claw” (Cole and Morgan 2011, p. 145). Examples of this include this sentence from The Times, describing a Vietnamese market: “it’s certainly not for vegans (time your tour badly and you might get splattered with blood when you pass the Eel Beheader)” (March 9, p. 38). It’s an odd sentiment to express, because surely the majority of people, vegan or not, would not appreciate being covered in blood. But the author nevertheless singles out vegans in particular. In doing so, they are framing the butchery of the market as part of the natural order, with vegans unwilling to acknowledge “harsh realities of animal predation” (Cole and Morgan 2010, p. 145).

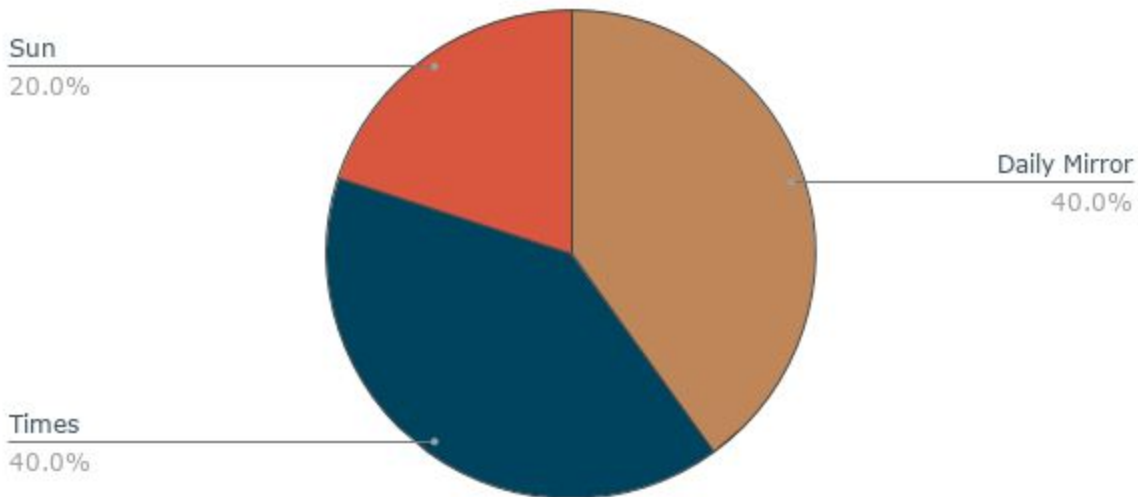
Harmful to Society

This theme includes the codes ‘Violent’, ‘Bad for farmers’, ‘Unpatriotic/not tradition’.

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 2% (2 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 2% (3 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 2% (5 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed. It’s the least frequent of all the themes analyzed, and captures framing of veganism as damaging to the wider community.

Instances of the 'Harmful to Society' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



The most vivid example of this theme came from the Daily Mirror, quoting Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison in his branding of vegan protesters “un-Australian” (April 9, p. 6). In the same interview, Morrison explains that the protest were opposed to “the national interest, and the national interest is [farmers] being able to farm their own land” (BBC News 2019). In this case, vegans are “un-Australian” for voicing disagreement with a system of animal exploitation, whereas Morrison positions it as vital for the country’s well-being. There is no examination of the protestor’s motives in the Daily Mirror article. With this protest, vegans are seeking to puncture one of carnism’s three Ns of justification—that meat consumption is necessary. Joy writes about the fallacy that “killing is an economic imperative” (2019, p. 112), and it’s a fallacy reinforced by the Mirror’s framing of vegans as ‘violent’ while ignoring their motives.

The Daily Mirror and The Times include the only instances of the ‘Bad for farmers’ code. In both cases, it’s a farmers themselves, or organizations which represent them, who are quoted in response to veganism’s growing popularity.

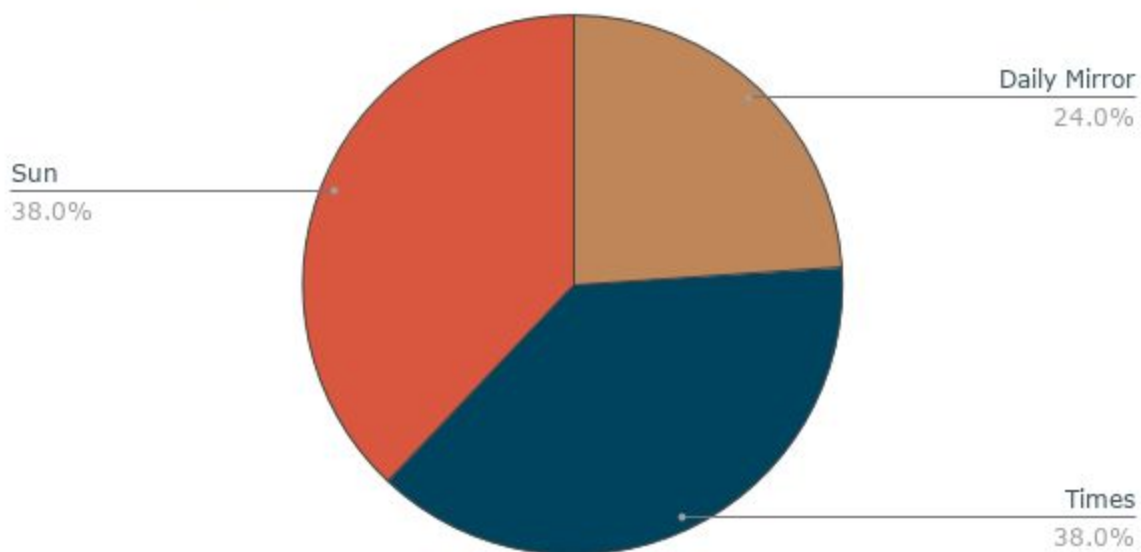
Unhealthy

This theme includes the codes 'Nutritionally deficient', and 'Unnatural'.

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 3% (3 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 9% (11 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 7% (14 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'Unhealthy' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



As lots of vegans know, questions about the diet's supposed risks to well-being are fairly common. Joy (2010) references the 'The Protein Myth' as one of the delimitizing discourses around plant-based diets. It's the idea that consuming meat is necessary because it's hard to find alternative protein sources. This is also inter-related to the stereotyping of vegans as feminine, while meat-eating body-builders are hyper-masculine (Joy 2010, p. 110).

The protein ‘myth’ is just that—pulses, beans, grains, and nuts are all rich sources of protein, as are many plant-based meat alternatives. The much heralded ‘bleeding’ vegan burger produced by the company Beyond Meat, which arrived in UK supermarkets in late 2018, has 20g of protein per serving, which is equivalent to an average beef burger. And the ‘Protein Myth’ is also rejected by many official bodies who give advice on dietary issues—the National Health Service in the UK confirm that a vegan diet is safe and healthy for both adults and children (NHS 2018).

Of course, any diet can be unhealthy. Yet the codes in this theme imply that *all* vegans could be health deficient, rather than *some* vegans. A The Sun article advises that being a vegan “shouldn’t come as a danger to your health” (The Sun, April 11, p. 27)—indicating that dangers are to be expected. “Maintaining a strict plant-based diet”, writes Amy Packer in the Daily Mirror, “may well cause a deficiency in vital vitamin B12” (The Daily Mirror, April 2, p. 27). This portrayal of dietary deficiency in vegan diets as the norm, rather than the exception, frames the practise as inherently dangerous.

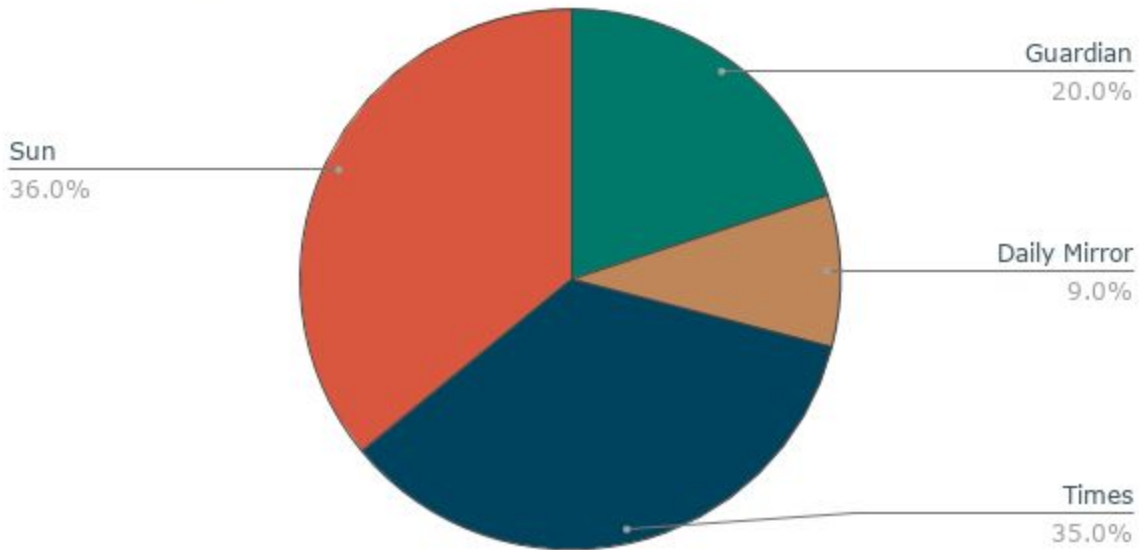
Neutral

This theme includes the code ‘Neutral’

Of the left-wing articles in the corpus, this theme appeared in 22% (19 out of 87). Of the right-wing articles, this theme appeared in 37% (47 out of 128). In total, this theme was found in 31% (66 out of 215) of all the articles analyzed.

Instances of the 'Neutral' theme by newspaper

As a percentage of the total



This theme was included only because they were part of the dataset, and to ensure the reliability of the findings. However, it has drawn some interesting results. The number of articles from each newspaper featuring the 'neutral' theme are as follows: The Guardian: 23% (13 out of 57 articles), The Daily Mirror: 20% (6 out of 30), The Times: 36% (23 out of 64), and The Sun: 38% (24 out of 64).

With right-wing newspapers mentioning veganism in plainly factual terms more than their left-wing counterparts, it points to a tendency on the right to report the growing trend without engaging with them.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to answer two research questions on the subject of vegan representation in UK newspapers.

1. How do UK newspapers represent vegans and veganism in 2019?

In 2011, Cole and Morgan found an “overwhelmingly negative” (p. 147) discourse in UK newspapers on veganism. Of the close to 400 hundred articles in their sample, only 5.5% were positive (p. 138). This ratio has dramatically altered in the proceeding years.

Analyzing the months of March and April, this thesis found 49% of all vegan themes identified in four national UK newspapers represented the practice in a positive light. The most common of these representational themes was ‘Aspirational’, reflecting the growing prominence of veganism in highlighting its popularity among the public, its profitability for companies, and its benefits for human health.

Newspapers were also likely to explore the environmental justification behind veganism. The same is not too of animal welfare, despite this being the number reason for vegans taking up the practice. As a social cause, climate change has much more visibility in 2019, especially among younger generations, and so is bound to be more prominent in the media discourse.

Negative representations were present, with damaging stereotypes of ‘hostile’ and ‘nutritionally deficient’ vegans still occasionally employed, but these themes were in the minority.

2. Are there differences in this representation between right and left-wing publications?

Media frames "can be quite different in conservative or liberal media outlets" (Volkner 2009), especially when exploring issues that are divided along party lines. While the UK is not as polarized as, for instance, the US, it could have been expected that right-wing newspapers would represent veganism more negatively overall than left-wing publications.

This proved to be true in most respects. The three positive themes ('Aspirational', 'Normal', and 'Beneficial to the Planet') were found most frequently in The Guardian, while four out of the five negative themes ('A Fad', 'Hostile', 'Unworkable', 'Unhealthy' and 'Harmful to Society') were found most frequently in either The Sun or The Times.

In the concluding chapter of *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs, and Wear Cows*, Melanie Joy writes:

Despite the extensive reach of carnism, there is reason to believe the system will destabilize, and the timing is ripe to push for transformation. There are several reasons that challenging carnism is timely: increased awareness of the environmental crisis, a growing concern with animal welfare, the increasing credibility and popularity of vegetarianism, and the unequaled availability of information on both carnism and vegetarianism. (Joy 2010, p. 146)

Nine years later and veganism, the ideological opposite of carnism, now holds a prominent place in public and media discourse. As its popularity continues to grow, the framing of the issue will also continue to evolve, hopefully for the better.

Further Research

This thesis examined vegan representation in UK newspapers. It found that, in many aspects of representation, there was not that much difference between left and right-wing publications. It would then be interesting to conduct similar research in a country with a more polarized political climate to see if these findings are repeated.

The US presents a landscape of more overtly tribal politics than the UK, as well as media organizations who are clearly aligned to either republicans or democrats. The issue of climate change, linked so intrinsically to veganism's growing popularity and acceptance, is also more of a contentious issue in North America. This may have some effect on how conservative or liberal

media frame the practice. The majority of Americans still get their news from TV (Shearer 2018), with Fox News the most popular cable network (Scheider 2018), so this present opportunities to analyse a different form of media.

References

Aguilera, P. (2014). 'Veg-gendered: a cultural study of gendered onscreen representations of food and their implications for veganism'. Masters Thesis, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, FL. <http://fau.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fau%3A13647>

Allen, M. W., & Ng, S. H. (2003). 'Human values, utilitarian benefits and identification: The case of meat', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33,

Allen, M. W., Wilson, M., Ng, S. H., & Dunne, M. (2000). 'Values and beliefs of 979 vegetarians and omnivores', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 140

AP. (2011). Vegan Diets Become More Popular, More Mainstream. CNN [ONLINE]. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/vegan-diets-become-more-popular-more-mainstream/> [Accessed 23/7/2019]

Banis, D. (2018). Everything Is Ready To Make 2019 The "Year Of The Vegan". Are you? Forbes [ONLINE] <https://www.forbes.com/sites/davidebanis/2018/12/31/everything-is-ready-to-make-2019-the-year-of-the-vegan-are-you/> [Accessed 20/7/2019]

Barker, Martin (2008) 'Analysing Discourse'. In: Pickering, M (ed.). *Research Methods for Cultural Studies*. Edinburgh: University Press

Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind: Collected Essays in Anthropology, Psychiatry, Evolution, and Epistemology*. Ballantine Books: New York

BBC News. (2019). Vegan protests: 'Un-Australian' activists arrested, PM Morrison says. BBC News [ONLINE] <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-australia-47848674> [Accessed 4/9/2019]

Beyond Carnism (no date). Frequently Asked Questions [ONLINE]. <https://www.carnism.org/faq> [Accessed 28/7/2019]

Bird, S. E. (2009). 'Tabloidization: What is it, and Does it Really Matter?' In Zelizer, B. (ed.) *The Changing Faces of Journalism: Tabloidization, Technology and Truthiness*. New York: Routledge

- Boyatzis, R. E. (1998) *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Boykoff, M. (2008). The cultural politics of climate change discourse in UK tabloids. *Political Geography*, 29
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3 (2). pp. 77-101
- Burr, V. (2003) [1995]. *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London: Routledge
- Carney, D. R., Jost, J. T., Gosling, S. D., & Potter, J. (2008). 'The Secret Lives of Liberals and Conservatives: Personality Profiles, Interaction Styles, and the Things They Leave Behind', *Political Psychology*, 29(6)
- Caviola, L., Everett, J. A. C., & Faber, N. S. (2019). 'The moral standing of animals: Towards a psychology of speciesism', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 116(6)
- Chan, J. (no date). Vegan Social Media: How Food Trends and Social Movements Grow Online. Linkfluence [ONLINE]
<https://www.linkfluence.com/blog/vegan-social-media-how-food-trends-grow-online> [Accessed 1/9/2019]
- Chiorando, M. (2019). 45% Of Vegans Feel Discriminated Against At Work, Says Study. Plant Based NEWS [ONLINE]
<https://www.plantbasednews.org/culture/45-vegans-discriminated-against-at-work> [Accessed 4/9/2019]
- Clark, B., Stewart, G.B., Panzone, L.A. et al. (2016). 'A Systematic Review of Public Attitudes, Perceptions and Behaviours Towards Production Diseases Associated with Farm Animal Welfare', *J Agric Environ Ethics*, 29: 455
- Cole, M. & Morgan, K. (2011). 'Vegaphobia: derogatory discourses of veganism and the reproduction of speciesism in UK national newspapers', *British Journal of Sociology*, 62(1), pp. 134–153
- Connell, I. (1998) 'Mistaken Identities: Tabloid and Broadsheet News Discourse', *Javnost - The Public*, 5(3), pp. 11-31

Cumming, E. (2016). How Greggs conquered Britain: 'Nobody can quite believe how well it has done', *The Guardian* [ONLINE].

<https://www.theguardian.com/global/2016/mar/05/greggs-conquered-britain-bakery-profit-sausage-rolls> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

DeLamater, J. D., & Hyde, J. S. (1997). 'Essentialism vs. social constructionism in the study of human sexuality', *The Journal of Sex Research*, 35(1), pp. 10-18

Dhont, K., Hodson, G., & Leite, A. C. (2016). 'Common ideological roots of speciesism and generalized ethnic prejudice: The social dominance human-animal relations model (SD-HARM)', *European Journal of Personality*, 30

Dietz, T., Frisch, A. S., Kalof, L., Stern, P. C., & Guagnano, G. A. (1995). 'Values and vegetarianism. An exploratory analysis', *Rural Sociology*, 60

Entman R.M. (1993). 'Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, 43(4)

Fairhurst, G. T. (2005). 'Reframing The Art of Framing: Problems and Prospects for Leadership', *Leadership*, 1

Farhall, R. (1994). 'The First Fifty Years', in *The Vegan*, 10(3)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. (no date). Livestock and the environment [ONLINE]. <http://www.fao.org/livestock-environment/en/> [Accessed 24/7/2019]

Forgrieve, J. (2018). The Growing Acceptance Of Veganism. *Forbes* [ONLINE] <https://www.forbes.com/sites/janetforgrieve/2018/11/02/picturing-a-kindler-gentler-world-vegan-month/#7b491de02f2b> [Accessed 2/9/2019]

Friedlander, J., Riedy, C., & Bonfigliani, C. (2004). 'A meaty discourse: what makes meat news?', *Food Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 3

Gale, C. R., Deary, I. J., Schoon, I., & Batty, G. D. (2007). 'IQ in childhood and vegetarianism in adulthood. 1970 British cohort study', *British Medical Journal*, 334

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

Georgiadis, P. (2019). Vegan sausage roll demand boosts Greggs' sales. The Financial Times [ONLINE]. <https://www.ft.com/content/7f056dd2-7611-11e9-bbad-7c18c0ea0201> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

Gerber, P.J., Steinfeld, H., Henderson, B., Mottet, A., Opio, C., Dijkman, J., Falcucci, A. & Tempio, G. (2013). *Tackling climate change through livestock – A global assessment of emissions and mitigation opportunities*. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), Rome.

Gibert M. & Desaulniers É. (2014) Carnism. In: Thompson P.B., Kaplan D.M. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Food and Agricultural Ethics*. Springer, Dordrecht

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame Analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

Greggs. (2019). Tweet, January 2, 8:14pm [ONLINE]. <https://twitter.com/GreggsOfficial/status/1080527865467322369> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

Greggs. (no date). Twitter bio. Twitter [ONLINE]. <https://twitter.com/GreggsOfficial> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

Hallahan K (1999). 'Seven models of framing: implications for public relations', *Journal Of Public Relations Research*, 11(3)

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying practices*. London: Sage

Hammett, E. (2019). Veganism on the rise: How retailers are responding to the growing appetite for plant-based food. Marketing Week [ONLINE]. <https://www.marketingweek.com/retailers-vegan-plant-based-food/> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

Harrington, S., Colis, C., & Dedehayir, O. (2018). It's not (just) about the f-ckin' animals. In: Phillipov, M. & Kirkwood, K. (eds.) *Alternative Food Politics: From the Margins to the Mainstream*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge

Hickman, A. (2019). 'Hello Piers, we've been expecting you' - industry pros salivate over Greggs vegan sausage roll PR masterclass. PR Week [ONLINE]. <https://www.prweek.com/article/1522045/hello-piers-weve-expecting-you-industry-pros-salivate-greggs-vegan-sausage-roll-pr-masterclass> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

- Hodkinson, P. (2017). *Media, Culture and Society, 2nd Edition*. London: Sage
- Hodson, G. & Earle, M. (2018). 'Conservatism predicts lapses from vegetarian/vegan diets to meat consumption (through lower social justice concerns and social support)', *Appetite*, 120, pp. 75–81
- Horta, O. (2018). 'Discrimination Against Vegans', *Res Publica*, 24(359), pp 359–373
- Jacobsen, M. H. & Kristiansen, S. (2015). *Social Thinkers: The social thought of Erving Goffman*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc
- Jensen, S.Q. (2011). Othering, identity formation and agency. *Qualitative Studies*, 2(2): pp. 63-78
- Joy, M. (2001). 'From Carnivore to Carnist: Liberating the Language of Meat', *Satya*, 8(2), pp. 26–27
- Joy, M. (2010). *Why We Love Dogs, Eat Pigs, and Wear Cows*. San Francisco, USA: Conari Press
- Joy, M. (2011). Understanding Neocarnism: How Vegan Advocates can appreciate and respond to "HappyMeat," Locavorism, and "Paleo Dieting. One Green Planet [ONLINE] <https://www.onegreenplanet.org/lifestyle/understanding-neocarnism/> [Accessed 3/9/2019]
- Kerley C. P. (2018). 'A Review of Plant-based Diets to Prevent and Treat Heart Failure', *Cardiac failure review*, 4(1), pp. 54–61
- Klofstad, C. A., McDermott, R., & Hatemi, P. K. (2013). 'The Dating Preferences of Liberals and Conservatives', *Political Behavior*, 35(3), pp 519–538
- Kienast, K. (2019). Newspapers ranked by circulation in the United Kingdom (UK) in 2019. Statista [ONLINE]. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/529060/uk-newspaper-market-by-circulation/> [Accessed 8/8/2019]
- Loughnan, S., Bastian, B., & Haslam, N. (2014). 'The Psychology of Eating Animals', *CURRENT DIRECTIONS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE*, 23(2), pp. 104–108

- Lupton, D. (2017). 'Vitalities and Visceralities: Alternative Body/Food Politics in New Digital Media'. In: Phillipov, M. Kirkwood, K. (eds.). *Alternative Food Politics: From the Margins to the Mainstream*. London: Routledge
- Lupton, D. (2018). 'Cooking, eating, uploading: digital food cultures'. In LeBesco, K. & Naccarato, P. *The Handbook of Food and Popular Culture*,. London: Bloomsbury
- Maguire, M. & Delahunt, B. (2017). 'Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars', *AISHE-J*, 3
- Masterman-Smith, H., Ragusa, A., & Crampton, A. (2014). 'Reproducing Speciesism: A content analysis of Australian media representations of veganism'. In West, B. (ed.). *2014 Proceedings of The Australian Sociological Association (TASA) Conference: Challenging Identities, Institutions and Communities*, Adelaide: The Sociological Association of Australia (TASA), pp. 1–13
- Marino, L., & Colvin, C. M. (2015). 'Thinking Pigs: A Comparative Review of Cognition, Emotion, and Personality in *Sus domesticus*', *International Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 28.
- Marino, L. & Merskin, D. (2019). 'Intelligence, complexity, and individuality in sheep', *Animal Sentience*, 206
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory, 6th edition*. New York: Sage
- Monteiro, C.A., Pfeiler, T.M., Patterson, M.D. & Milburn, M.A., (2017). 'The Carnism Inventory: Measuring the ideology of eating animals', *Appetite*, vol. 113, pp. 51–62
- Morgan, P. (2019). Tweet, January 2, 7:07pm [ONLINE]. <https://twitter.com/piersmorgan/status/1080526060507283456> [Accessed 22/7/2019]
- Neuendorf, K. A. (ed.) (2016). *The Content Analysis Guidebook, 2nd Edition*. New York: Sage
- Neuman, W. R. & Guggenheim, L. (2011). 'The Evolution of Media Effects Theory: A Six-Stage Model of Cumulative Research. *Communication Theory*, 21(2)
- NHS. (2018). The Vegan Diet. [ONLINE]. <https://www.nhs.uk/live-well/eat-well/the-vegan-diet/> [Accessed 15/8/2019]

Olausson, U. (2009). 'Global warming—global responsibility? Media frames of collective action and scientific certainty', *Public Underst Sci*, 18

Pece, E. (2018) 'The Representation of Terror and Moral Panics: The Media Frames of the European press', *Journal of Mediterranean Knowledge*, 1, p. 87

Pedersen, H. (2012). 'Critical Carnist Studies', *Society & Animals*, 20(1), pp. 111-112

PETA. (no date). Vegan options are more expensive than their nonvegetarian counterparts. Can I afford to go vegan? [ONLINE]
<https://www.peta.org/about-peta/faq/vegan-options-are-more-expensive-than-their-nonvegetarian-counterparts-can-i-afford-to-go-vegan/> [Accessed 3/9/2019]

Piazza, J., Ruby, M.B., Loughnan, S., Luong, M., Kulik, J., Watkins, H.M., & Seigerman, M. (2015). 'Rationalizing meat consumption. The 4Ns', *Appetite*, 91, pp. 114–128

Pidd, H., Carrington, D., Taylor, M., Harvey, F., Laville, S., Saner, E., Watts, J., & Barkham, P. (2019). "We can't afford to stand by and do nothing": 10 everyday heroes fighting to save the planet. *The Guardian*, March 14, Section: Environment, p. 4

Ranganathan, R. (2019). I'm on a lads' night out and my friend's just been homophobic. What do I do? *The Guardian*, April 27, Section: Life and style, p. 74

Rose, G. (2016). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials, 4th Edition*. London: Sage

Ruby, M. B., & Heine, S. J. (2011). 'Meat, morals, and masculinity', *Appetite*, 56

Ryder, R. (2017 [2011]). *Speciesism, Painism and Happiness : A Morality for the Twenty-first Century*. Exceter, UK: Andrews UK Ltd

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). 'Framing as a Theory of Media Effects', *Journal of Communication*, 49(1)

Sneider, M. (2018). Most-Watched Television Networks: Ranking 2018's Winners and Losers. *Indiewire* [ONLINE]
<https://www.indiewire.com/2018/12/network-ratings-top-channels-espn-cnn-fox-news-cbs-nbc-a-bc-1202030597/> [Accessed 2/9/2019]

Şenocak, E. (2017). 'A framing theory-based content analysis of a Turkish newspaper's coverage of nanotechnology', *Journal Of Nanoparticle Research*, 19(7)

Shearer, E. (2018). Social media outpaces print newspapers in the U.S. as a news source. Pew Research Center [ONLINE].
<https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/10/social-media-outpaces-print-newspapers-in-the-u-s-as-a-news-source/> [Accessed 2/9/2019]

Slowther, A., Boynton, P., & Shaw, S. (2006). 'Research governance: ethical issues', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99(2), pp. 65–72

Smith, M. (2017). How left or right-wing are the UK's newspapers? YouGov [ONLINE].
<https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2017/03/07/how-left-or-right-wing-are-uks-newspapers> [Accessed 8/8/2019]

Smithers, R. (2019). Veganuary ends on record high with 250,000 participants. The Guardian [ONLINE].
<https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/jan/31/veganuary-record-high-participants-plant-based> [Accessed 4/6/2019]

Springmann, M. et al. (2018). 'Options for keeping the food system within environmental limits', *Nature*, 562

Springmann, M., Godfray, H. C. J., Rayner, M., & Scarborough, P. (2016). 'Analysis and valuation of the health and climate change cobenefits of dietary change', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 113 (15)

Talhelm, T., Haidt, J., Oishi, S., Zhang, X., Miao, F. F., & Chen, S. (2015). 'Liberals Think More Analytically (More "WEIRD") Than Conservatives'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 41(2), 250–267

The Vegan Society (no date -a). Definition of veganism. [ONLINE].
<https://www.vegansociety.com/go-vegan/definition-veganism> [Accessed 12/8/2019]

The Vegan Society (no date -b). Statistics. [ONLINE].
<https://www.vegansociety.com/news/media/statistics> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

Tripathy, J. P. (2013). 'Secondary Data Analysis: Ethical Issues and Challenges', *Iran J Public Health*, 42(12)

Tobitt, C. (2018). The Sun overtakes Mail Online to become UK's biggest online newsbrand, latest Comscore data shows. The Press Gazette [ONLINE].

<https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/the-sun-overtakes-mail-online-to-become-uks-biggest-online-news-paper-brand-latest-comscore-data-shows/> [Accessed 8/8/2019]

Viladrich, A. (2019). "'We Cannot Let Them Die': Undocumented Immigrants and Media Framing of Health Deservingness in the United States', *Qualitative Health Research*, 29(10)

Volkmer, I. (2009). Framing Theory. In: Littlejohn, S. W. & Foss, K.A. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. London: Sage

Vomad (2018). Why People Go Vegan: 2019 Global Survey Results [ONLINE]

<https://vomadlife.com/blogs/news/why-people-go-vegan-2019-global-survey-results> [Accessed 1/9/2019]

Werder, O. H. (2009). Media Effects Theories. In: Littlejohn, S. W. & Foss, K.A. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*. London: Sage

Woiceshyn, J. & Daellenbach, U. (2018) 'Evaluating inductive vs deductive research in management studies : Implications for authors, editors, and reviewers', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, 13(2)

Wood, Z. (2019). Plant-based milk the choice for almost 25% of Britons now. The Guardian [ONLINE].

<https://www.theguardian.com/food/2019/jul/19/plant-based-milk-the-choice-for-almost-25-of-britons-now> [Accessed 22/7/2019]

Yvon-Durocher, G., Allen, A.P., Bastviken, D., Conrad, R., Gudas, C., St-Pierre, A., Del Giorgio, P.A., Thanh-Duc, N. (2014). 'Methane fluxes show consistent temperature dependence across microbial to ecosystem scales', *Nature*, 507, pp. 488–491

Appendix

Appendix 1 - List of articles analyzed

Articles are sorted by publication (The Daily Mirror, The Guardian, The Times, The Sun) and ordered chronologically.

The Daily Mirror

Hiscott, G., Heather Mills says a new [...], March 5, p. 30

Woolf, E, The dirty truth about clean eating, March 5, p. 26

Wallis, S., THE BEST OF TODAY'S TV, March 5, p. 39

Bryant, T., TV FEWER - Gogglebox star sheds the pounds after doc's health alert EXCLUSIVE, March 6, p. 25

TODAY: THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 2019, March 7, p. 26

Farhould, N., Vegan sausage rolls 'endanger the orangutan' - They use oil that causes deforestation, March 9, p. 20

McDaid, P., SCOT TO GO BACK THERE SOON - Shauna Corr and her mum enjoy a weekend of fine dining in Peebles on the Scottish Borders, March 16, p. 36,37

Farhould, N., "Ever felt fury about the [...], March 18, p. 25

So, whatever happened to.. - Your fave shows updated, March 19, p. 8

Wallis, S., On TV, March 19, p. 31

Best, C., Spring tabbouleh - FOOD Brought to you by BBC Good Food's Senior Food Editor,

Cassie Best, March 23, p. 32

Best, C., SPRING ROAST CHICKEN - FOOD, March 23, p. 43

O'Connor, S., I feel sorry for celeb mums who need to stay in shape to stay current - WOMEN

MUST NOT FEEL PRESSURE TO BOUNCE BACK AFTER BABY SIOBHAN O'CONNOR
ON

SATURDAY, March 23, p. 22,23

EGGSELLENT NEWS FOR VEGANS - Out and about this EASTER, March 28, p. 3

Methven, N., Hey, what's cooking? - First all-female MasterChef finalists on their journeys,
March 29, p. 23

Lubin, R., 10 ways to help our beautiful blue planet - TV star Chris on how we can all play our
part EXCLUSIVE, March 30, p. 20, 21

Packer, A., WORLD OF GOOD, April 2, p. 27

de Burcha, D, Kiss goodbye to wedding worries - Top bridal trends for 2019, April 2, p. 10

Lubin, L., 10 ways to help our beautiful blue planet - TV V star Chris on how we can all play our
part EXCLUSIVE, April 2, p. 26, 27

Fitzmaurice, M, Oh yes, get in on indie scene - DRINK, April 6, p. 32

Best, C., MUSHROOM BRUNCH - FOOD, April 6, p. 32

Oz PM slams vegan demo - AROUND THE WORLD, April 9, p. 6

Boulton, J., You'd be Amaz-ed what Alexa hears..., April 16, p. 19

Holly in split from hubby, April 16, p. 3

Live healthy with Heather, April 18, p. 35

Syaid, R. & Phillips, T., Take 5 hot cross buns - CASH QUEENS, April 19, p. 42, 43

Allen, K., It's a kinda plastic... - May is hooked on vegan shoes after ditching 'Live Aid' trainers, April 20, p. 17

APP MEALPREPPRO Free, iOS, April 21, p. 34

Boulton, J., Miliband's now a Green - THE DIARY, April 23, p.22

Phillips, T., Sauce of happiness - JOBS with our brilliant careers website How Elys got into tasty new career, April 25, p. 50

Phillips, F., Urgh! Simon Cowell has announced [...], April 27, p. 8

Watts, H., CELEBS: THE WEEK IN NUMBERS - Halina Watts' Saturday down the showbiz rabbit hole WATTS the GOSS, April 27, p. 25

The Guardian

Jones, A., Anna Jones' Moroccan recipes: spiced aubergines and filo pie - A spicy aubergine dip with halloumi and a vegetarian take on the country's signature pie, March 1, p.8

Cartner-Morley, J., How to wear: big knits and bare legs - Warmth from the waist up; spring fever from the waist down, March 1, p. 45

Sodha, M., Meera Sodha's vegan recipe for basbousa, or Algerian love cake - A luxuriously sticky semolina cake that's soaked in citrus syrup and studded with almonds, March 2, p. 11

Ranganathan, R., I can handle my critics – apart from the nasty voice in my head - I have always had an 'inner bastard', but doing standup has made it worse, March 2, p. 66

Foster, D., Some sackcloth and ashes can do us all good – that's why I love Lent - In our fast-paced world of hyper-consumption, this period is a welcome chance to practise restraint and self-reflection, whatever your beliefs, March 5, p.5

Vanstone, B., I make vegan cheese in Amsterdam. And no one here calls it faux - I know that in polarised, tribal Britain, my plant-based product would be dismissed. The Netherlands is more open-minded, March 7, p. 11

Dent, G., Gloria, London EC2: 'Kicks Brexit gloom up the arse' – restaurant review - This kitsch, orchestrated chaos is a ton of fun – and the food is unexpectedly very good, too, March 8, p.22

Jones, A., Instant ice-cream and cherry clafoutis: Anna Jones' frozen fruit recipes - Reach for frozen fruit for a quick pudding fix: instant berry ice-cream and cherry clafoutis, March 8, p.8

Gilbey, R., Taraji P Henson: 'Hollywood didn't grasp my talent' - Harvey Weinstein obstructed her rise – now, with her new film What Men Want, she is calling the shots. But what does she make of her Empire co-star Jussie Smollett's hate-crime controversy?, March 8, p.4

Sodha, M., Meera Sodha's recipe for vegan Creole rice - A sweet and smoky one-pot rice dish that's great on its own or as a side, March 9, p. 11

Hughes, S., The best eye shadows - Cream beats powder colour when you're on the go, March 9, p. 49

Ottolenghi, Y., Yotam Ottolenghi's bean recipes - You need to start with dried beans if you want that special texture, March 9, p.3

Guardian Writers, 10 of Europe's best beach restaurants - There's nothing like eating freshly-caught fish with the scent of the sea as an accompaniment. Travel writers pick their top beachside restaurants, March 11, p. 12

Watts, J., Greta Thunberg, schoolgirl climate change warrior: 'Some people can let things go. I can't' - One day last summer, aged 15, she skipped school, sat down outside the Swedish parliament – and inadvertently kicked off a global movement, March 11, p.8

Pidd, H., Carrington, D, Taylor, M., Harvey, F., Laville, S., Saner, E., Watts, J., Barkham, P., We can't afford to stand by and do nothing': 10 everyday heroes fighting to save the planet - Schoolchildren around the world are joining a global strike against climate change this week. But they're not the only everyday people inspired to take action. We talk to 10 UK activists on the frontline of our most serious environmental issues, March 14, p.4

Burnton, S., Watford's Adrian Mariappa: 'I can't see myself going back to eating meat' - Veganism, athletics and basketball have helped the defender defy the odds and reach an FA Cup quarter-final against Crystal Palace, March 14, p. 48

Smith, M., I felt my life was over!: Lenny Royal on the horror of being deliberately infected with HIV - One of five men infected by hairdresser Daryll Rowe, Royal explains why he waived his anonymity to talk about the case, March 14, p.4

Granleese, B., Why does garlic feature in every savoury dish? - You don't have to use garlic in everything – there are other ways to add flavour, March 15, p.20

Hughes, S., The 30 best makeup, nail and hair products under £15 - In a crowded market, the Guardian's beauty editor picks her most reliable bargain buys, March 16, p. 48

Kale, S., Sex schedulers: meet the couples who diarise their love lives - How do you keep intimacy alive in a long-term relationship? More and more people are marking it on their calendars, and trying to stick to the commitment, March 19, p.4

Williams, Z., Cauliflower steaks and buffalo wings: can I make a hearty, dirty meal from this assertive brassica? - No-carbers have brought about an unexpected renaissance for the cauliflower as a replacement for flour or rice – while some claim it can be a substitute for meat, March 20, p.7

Monbiot, G., How the media let malicious idiots take over - Be it Jacob Rees- Mogg or Nigel Farage, blusterers and braggarts are rewarded with platforms that distort our political debate, March 22, p.5

Mahdawi, A., The furore over the fish-eating vegan influencer is a warning to us all - It's easy to see why the story about the YouTuber Yovana Mendoza went viral. But 'Fishgate' highlights the dangers of looking to online personalities for dietary advice, March 26, p.3

Cartner-Morley, J., Mother-daughter duos: the new power couples of fashion - From Bernadette to House of Aama, the coolest girls in the industry are working with their mums, March 26, p.6

Williams, Z., Jackfruit is a vegan sensation – could I make it taste delicious at home?, March 27, p.7

Sample, I., Scientists find genetic mutation that makes woman feel no pain - Discovery in 71-year-old Jo Cameron may aid development of new pain relief treatments, March 28, p.3

Lawrence, F., Can the world quench China's bottomless thirst for milk? - China's leaders have championed milk as the emblem of a modern, affluent society – but their radical plan to triple the nation's consumption will have a huge environmental cost, March 29,

Jones, A., Fritters with capers and yoghurt-coated roast: Anna Jones' cauliflower recipes - Cauliflower done two ways: creamed, then fried with crisp capers, or roasted whole with a spiced yoghurt, March 29, p.8

Ranganathan, R., If a chef has nailed vegan bagels and decadent desserts, I have to eat them... don't I?, March 30, p. 66.

Sodha, M., Meera Sodha's vegan recipe for broccoli, fennel and chickpea stew, March 30, p. 11

Ottolenghi, Y., From prawn and rice to apple and fennel: Yotam Ottolenghi's fritter recipes - How to make the perfect fritters, with a crisp, crunchy coating concealing a soft, billowy interior, March 30, p.3

Letters, Much can be dung to resolve the cow poo problem - Readers respond to the news that animal excrement is mucking up the environment, March 31, p.6

Barkham, P., I'm skint – I know why people buy cheap meat': the truth about being a farmer - From financial struggles to arguing with vegans, Sally Urwin's new book lifts the lid on farming, April 1, p.6

Fleming, A., 'Environmentalists are horny right now': how to make your sex life more eco-friendly - From biodegradable vibrators to organic lube and vegan condoms, the sex industry is catching up to consumers' demands for sustainable living, April 2, p.4

Elmhirst, S., 'It's genuine, you know?': why the online influencer industry is going 'authentic' - Calamities such as Fyre Festival have tarnished the booming business of YouTube and Instagram stars. Now the industry's top tastemakers have a new plan: keeping it real, April 5, p.9

Sodha, M., Meera Sodha's recipe for vegan caramelised onion ramen - Sticky onions combined with miso, stock and sake make a heavenly French-Japanese marriage, April 6, p. 11

Letters, When a veggie burger isn't a burger - Tod Bradbury says the EU's plan to rename vegetarian products is absurd, but Roger Newman Turner begs to disagree, April 8, p.7

Kim-Joy, Kim-Joy's spiced apple turtle pies - Who doesn't love apple pie? And this puff pastry design will bring any guest out of their shell, April 11, p.6

Dent, G., Mollie's, Oxfordshire: 'Happy Eater meets the Crossroads motel' – restaurant review - The latest venture from the Soho House group is an American-style diner with rooms, on the A420 near Swindon – yes, it's all a bit weird, April 12, p.22

Sodha, M., Meera Sodha's vegan recipe for Ethiopian Easter bread - Defo dabo is the traditional fennel and orange bread, neither too sweet nor too savoury, to share with friends and family at this time of year, April 13, p. 11

Hughes, S., The best luxury skincare for teenagers - Start kids on a lifetime of diligent skincare with these giftable, quality products, April 13, p. 61

Parveen, N., It has a real buzz': how the new high street is bucking the trend - Chorlton, Great Manchester, is thriving with a mix of businesses backed by an independent ethos and community spirit, April 13, p.28

Miers, T., Thomasina Miers' recipe for slow-cooked yoghurt and turmeric lamb - Fragrant, exotic slow-cooked spiced lamb with crispy onion rice: it's perfect for a crowd, April 15, p.7

Letters, G., Guardian Weekly Letters, 19 April 2019 - We are all to blame; the danger of robot cars; love of languages, April 16, p. 50

Niven-Phillips, L., How green is your lipstick: beauty brands and the fight against plastic waste - Makeup and personal care companies produce a huge amount of packaging – much of which cannot be recycled. But companies such as Lush and Garnier are trying to do better, April 17, p.6

Rushe, D., 'People are finally talking about class': Astra Taylor on US democracy, socialism and revolution - The writer and film-maker explores the meaning of democracy in a new documentary and book, and discusses the current state of politics, from Donald Trump to Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, April 17, p.4

Dyckhoff, T., Let's move to Ely, Cambridgeshire: isolated yet exposed, with an intense past - 'I can imagine a rather fabulous Nordic-noir inspired TV detective series being set there', April 19, p. 53

Sodha, M., Meera Sodha's vegan recipe for tofu with sweet soy and greens -, April 20, p. 11

Hughes, S., The best soothing treatments for rosacea - Formula is everything. Go back to basics by offering your skin some calming respite, April 20, p. 45

Moss, S., The zero-waste revolution: how a new wave of shops could end excess packaging - Shops that minimise the environmental impact of our consumer habits are springing up across Britain. Could they help us avert catastrophe?, April 21, p.6

Haynes, G., Espresso yourself: which celebrities deserve a signature coffee? - As Ariana Grande gets a Starbucks macchiato made in honour of her, here are some other potential future caffeine collaborations
Modern Toss on celebrity endorsements, April 23, p. 16

Bradley, M., Catterall, A., Verdier, H., Virtue, G., Howlett, P., TV tonight: pig-farmer and dedicated meat-eater Jimmy Doherty goes vegan, April 23, p. 14

Kim-Koy, Kim-Joy's recipe for pig-themed vegetarian mini-pies - These porcine pastries are, in fact, filled with meat-free sausage and caramelised onion – and very easy to make, April 24, p.6

Mahoney, E., I get a buzz every day' – how to turn your foodie passion into a business - Food entrepreneurs on the ecstasy of following their culinary dreams - and the 16-hour days necessary to be successful, April 25, p.6

Sodha, M., Meera Sodha's vegan recipe for rojak salad with avocado, tofu and tamarind - Rojak salad is a sour, spicy and sweet south-east Asian staple, April 27, p. 11

Ranganathan, R., I'm on a lads' night out and my friend's just been homophobic. What do I do? - It wasn't an ironic joke. It wasn't for shock effect. I think he meant it., April 27, p.74

Watts, J., Greta Thunberg backs climate general strike to force leaders to act - Swedish activist says world faces 'existential crisis' and must achieve goals of Paris deal, April 23, p.3

The Times

Potton, E., The rock star who swapped the tour bus for a Greek monastery - The thinking person's singer-guitarist Yannis Philippakis from the band Foals tells Ed Potton about his visit to Mount Athos, writing songs about Brexit and why smartphones make him think of Tolkien, March 2, p.8

The week ahead, March 4, p.35

Walker, H., McCartney recycles an old idea with vintage collection, March 5, p.19

Farquharson, K., Social media allows our loved ones to live on, March 5, p.22

McGrath, T., A spoof guide to finding your wokeness - Her fake Twitter account poking fun at 'snowflake culture' has 188,000 followers. Now Titania McGrath has a book out. Here's how to be on message, March 5, p.2

Syed, M., Fans reserve fiercest hate for their own, March 6, p.61

Walsh, D., Behrmann, A., Vegan sausage roll takes Greggs past £1bn barrier, March 8, p. 25

Vegan curry pie sees off meaty rivals, March 9, p.14

Langmead, J., Sculpt your body, the lazy man's way - Procedures that freeze excess flab and define your muscles while you snooze on a couch? JEREMY LANGMEAD is a convert, March 9, p.109

Rose, H., Mules are ridiculous I love them - Shop! Shoe special, March 9, p.62

Llewellyn Smith, J., My husband is totally undemanding' - Mary Berry talks to Julia Llewellyn Smith about the secrets of a long marriage and her new TV show, March 9, p.5

City breaks under £100 a night - Our guide to the best chic-but- cheap hotels in Paris, Rome, Barcelona, Athens, Amsterdam and Lisbon — plus where to eat for less Amsterdam, March 9, p.25

Thomas, S., Hip Vietnam: the hot new places to stay - Luxury travel Sean Thomas checks in to a castle in the mountains and a secret beach sanctuary, March 9, p.38

Farndale, N., Advice for a soft lad from his big lad friend, March 12, p.14

Walker, H., Why we're all clicking on the new label Kitri - It's fashion's holy grail: the dress for under £150 that you won't see on everyone else. Harriet Walker meets the London woman who set out to end that quest, March 13, p.6

Deng, B., US students demand free therapy to combat hate, March 14, p.31

Walsh, D., CITY PEOPLE - The feuds, the faces and the farcical Business big shot, March 15, p.40

Macintyre, B., The Romantic roots of veggie revolution - Two centuries before the Greggs vegan sausage roll, Byron and Shelley sang the praises of a meat-free diet, March 16, p.41

James, M., WHAT DO WOMEN WANT IN BED? THIS MAN SAYS HE KNOWS - He charges £1,000 for a night and £13,500 for a two-week holiday - so why are wealthy, successful women hiring Madison James to transform their sex lives? Bridget Harrison meets him to try to find out, March 16, p.24

Freeman, L., A Munch portrait to make you scream - Laura Freeman marvels at the self-indulgent gibberish of Karl Ove Knausgaard, March 16, p.15

Rose, H., Trainers are ugly Can I ever love them?, March 16, p.57

Odell, M., My father's death taught me that life is fragile - The award-winning actor Chiwetel Ejiofor talks to Michael Odell about family, film and survival, March 16, p.11

The best spots for brunch - There are more and more good-quality cafés and tearooms where you can linger over a late breakfast, March 16, p.8

Rose, H., MODELS COOKS LOVES HIS CELEBRITY GIRLFRIEND EATS CARBS
CAT-SITS -

He's the catwalk model who eats pasta. He's worked in Michelin-starred kitchens. His new cookbook is just out and he's in negotiations with Gordon Ramsay. Oh, and his girlfriend is Dua Lipa. What is Isaac Carew's secret?, March 16, p.32

Fat Chance - The government wants to regulate television ads for junk food to curb obesity, March 18, p.31

Hurley, J., Anxious small companies seek port in Brexit storm - GOING FOR GROWTH
Whether leaving the EU ends with no-deal or not, businesses are already reporting problems with trade across the Channel, reports James Hurley, March 18, p.46

O'Neill, K., Watchdog rejects bias complaints on Eighth Amendment coverage, March 22, p.4

MORAN, C., If I want a ham sandwich, I have to borrow, permanently, a part of the pig's bum', March 23, p.5

Badshah, N., Protester eats raw pig's head outside vegan food festival, March 25, p.21

Aaronovitch, D., It is so great that I thought: are they really letting me in? - Tottenham supporter

David Aaronovitch thinks the new stadium may be better than the Emirates, March 25, p.8

Coren, G., By hook or by crook, submissive girls are out, March 26, p.30

WILLIAMS, A., Acquiring a taste for a vegan Isa, March 27, p.5

ASHWORTH, A., The new and profitable force for good, March 27, p.3

Bank payout for vegan, March 28, p.4

Malvern, J., Chef's recipe for winning over vegan activists is a dead duck TRIANGLE, March 29, p.3

Moran, C., Celebrity Watch, March 29, p.2

Carlyle, R., Is being veg-aquarian* the key to a long life? - Rachel Carlyle meets an American heart surgeon who claims to have the dietary answers to longevity, March 30, p.6

Call my agent for bookings, March 30, p.6

Relatives egg you on to eat more meat, April 1, p.18

McMahon, B., The pimple popper of Hollywood - Dr Harold Lancer's emergency spot clinic restores film star faces. He gives Barbara McMahon an A- list treatment, April 1, p.4

Brennan, C., Dunboyne store marks the start of Super Valu growth, April 2, p.33

Whitworth, D., The vegan pin-up with a guilty secret. He was eating eggs and salmon - He was called the 'vegan prince' by his YouTube fans. Now they tell him to kill himself, Tim Shieff tells

Damian Whitworth, April 4, p.6

Yeomans, E., Free milk on NHS turns vegans sour, April 4, p.22

McCárthaigh, S., Farmers demand withdrawal of 'anti-meat propaganda' in schools - Anti-meat 'propaganda', April 5, p.1

DO YOU KNOW WHO I AM? WHAT HAPPENED WHEN OUR RESTAURANT CRITIC HIT NEW YORK - Four friends, a birthday celebration and a list of the hot, new restaurants in town. Simple. Unless you're in the right place at the wrong time, April 6, p.73

Hurley, J., Accent on quality ensures steak hasn't had its chips - Amid rising vegetarianism, one restaurant group is going against the grain, reports James Hurley GOING FOR GROWTH, April 8, p.50

Vegans set restaurants and butcheries, April 9, p.26

Winter, H., Footballers now fill a leadership void, April 9, p.62
Keeping up with the duchesses By Hilary Rose, April 10, p.5

Midgley, C., Waitrose, are you quackers?, April 10, p.2

Midgley, C., Too much punchline and not enough punch, April 11, p.10

Sanz, C., Green activists have a beef with Young Fine Gael chief, April 11, p.2

Deng, B., Gibbons, K., Baywatch star says arrest just a Brexit distraction, April 12, p. 6

Currie, G., Chef feels the heat over special diets, April 15, p.5

Rice, E., Pub ping pong proves progress isn't all good, April 15, p.18

Ralph, A., Food giants setting off on health kick, April 19, p.43

Hosking, P., CITY PEOPLE - The feuds, the faces and the farcical Business big shot, April 19, p.42

Veganism eats at farmers, April 20, p.22

Lewis, R. A not so cute case of arrested development - A pseudy book shows how our society has become infantilised, says Roger Lewis, April 20, p.12

Crew, J., Vegetarian burgers to be swallowed up by EU plan, April 24, p.14

McCoy, E., I'm converting to Judaism Why, aged 25, - She was an atheist, then Frankie McCoy fell in love with a Jewish man and swapped nights out for Hebrew lessons, April 24, p.2

Craine, D., From Beyoncé to Medusa: the rebel at the Royal Ballet - Debra Craine meets Sidi Larbi Cherkaoui on the eve of his premiere at Covent Garden, April 24, p.8

Vegan café taxed men to close gender pay gap, April 26, p.30

The Sun

YOU'D buy a Tesla if, March 1, p.5

Beal, J., PRINCESS & THE PC - PALACE IN LATHER OVER MAG CLAIM Meg 'wants no gender stereotypes with baby', March 2, p.4

de Boinville, N., My old pal David Bass — him of the Jeremy Corbyn love affair — has decided to go vegan, March 2, p.3

Boyle, L., Woken from a deep Sleep - EXCLUSIVE, March 3, p. 44

Bronstein, S., Girl - They've been our go-to fabrics in our wardrobes for years - now it's time to channel these top textures when it comes to make- up, too, March 3, p. 38

I'M LEAFING YOU, March 4, p. 13

Chilcott, J., See you, bye Oh hi! - Fabulous DAILY, March 4, p. 32

Memorial for sheep, March 4, p. 19

THE PIES HAVE IT - Mrs Crunch WE FILL YOU IN ON DELICIOUS PASTRY DEALS, March 7, p.2

Some caint of wonderful - CELEBRATE YOUR IRISH, March 7, p.8

Boles, T., Greggs sausage rolling in cash - VEGAN BOOS TBAKER'S SALES HIT £1BN, March 8, p.7

Healthy-eating vegan sweet treat company [], March 9, p. 63

BEATEN TWO VEG A vegan [...], March 9, p. 19

Musson, C., Pinball's wizard! - GAME MACHINE IS WINNER IN TOP BRIGHTON HOTEL,
March 9, p. 47

Boles, T., £100m TV SHOW BIZ - Sun CITY, March 9, p. 46

WHERE HAVE YOU BEAN? We here at the Irish Sun are about [], March 9, p. 61

Jiggins, P., WEEK AT THE KNEES, March 9, p.3

ON THE spot - Our Fabulous Reader Panel and Beauty team test the latest blemish busters to
find out what really works, March 10, p. 38

Pietras, E., Master of the rolls - GREGGS RISES FROM TOON SHOP TO £1bn BIZ, March 9,
p. 32

Boyle, S., Emeli's smiles better - Twitter: @simonboyle87 TEAM: Howell Davies, Ellie Henman
and Joe Kasper, March 11, p. 20

Rasul, S., MOVE IS A HIT FOR WOMEN, March 11, p.39
9.30pm Meat-eater Declan is set [...], March 14, p.28

Hill, G., MATT DIETY! - in association with I turned vegan to cope with Prem ...now it's meat
& drink to me, March 16, p.6

Soldier F was just doing job - letters@the-sun.co.uk The page where you tell Britain what you
think, March 18, p.37

Wainwright, G., Tip-toppings - THE Sun SAV£RS PIZZA SLICE, CHEAP PRICE, March 22,
p.22

Halls, A., bi bit IT seems GORDON [...] - Email: andy.halls@the-sun.co.uk Twitter:
@AndyBizarre My team: Rod McPhee, Benjy Potter and Lucy Jones, March 22, p.31

Zilli, A., food - Kitchen inspiration for TV Mag readers A TRIO OF PERFECT PASTA
RECIPES
FROM ITALIAN CHEF ALDO ZILLI, March 23, p. 60

Chilcott, J., The health secrets written on your face - Fabulous DAILY DERMATOLOGIST WARNS WHAT TO WATCH OUT FOR, March 23, p.38

Vallis, B., THE SECRET INGREDIENT TO A-LIST SKIN - 2019 is all about CBD - get ready to meet your new beauty hero BY BECCI VALLIS, March 24, p. 40

POWDER POWER - Fabulous DAILY, March 29, p. 40

Ledger, E., Deal 48 HOURS IN - This vibrant seaside town ticks every box, says Acting Lifestyle

Editor EMMA LEDGER, March 31, p. 43

Atkinson, J., you HEALTH, March 31, p.36

TINNED VEG, April 1, p. 22

Davies, J., Feud for thought - ROB A DIET HERO BUT SOME GUNNERS DON'T CARE, BLASTS CHIEF, April 4, p.6

VEG A MANGER, April 4, p.7

Ward, S., Vegans in free cow milk row, April 5, p. 19

food - WARM YOUR COCKLES WITH THESE SOUP-ER RECIPES FROM RENOWNED BRITISH CHEFS Kitchen inspiration for TV Mag readers, April 6, p. 60

Hamilton, J., Home truths on DIY don'ts - Our experts tell you how to save money and how to spend it SCOTTISH Sun consumer crew, April 6, p. 42

PICKS OF THE DAY - Wednesday 10 APRIL, April 6, p. 43

Ole still ticks all the boxes - Phil Thomas GRITTY OPINION & NO- NONSENSE ATTITUDE NORWEGIAN RIGHT FOR UNITED, April 7, p.9

Halls, A., THE ONLY WAY IS... VEGAN [...] - Email: andy.halls@the-sun.co.uk Twitter: @AndyBizarre My team: Rod McPhee, Benjy Potter and Lucy Jones, April 8, p.31

Anti-meat duo jailed ANTI-meat activists [...], April 9, p.24

Is it right to raise tots as veggie mites? - MEG 'VEGAN BABY' DEBATE, April 10, p. 10

IT'S JUST THE VEGANNING - Captain CRUNCH, April 11, p.27

The Lowdown WITH @SEANMUNSANJE, April 11, p. 18

Francis, J., We're easy on the I.D. - Fabulous DAILY LOOKING YOUNG COMES NATURALLY FOR LUCKY FOUR, April 11, p. 36

Theasby, I., food - TASTY VEGAN RECIPES FROM SOCIAL MEDIA STARS IAN THEASBY &

HENRY FIRTH Kitchen inspiration for TV Mag readers, April 13, p. 62

HOP TO IT! - You've got one week until the Easter bunny is expected to show up, so here's our pick of the shops' best EGGSE, April 13, p. 61

Chilcott, J., See you, bye Oh hi! - Fabulous DAILY, April 15, p. 32

Harding, N., GET COOKING THE BOOKS, April 17, p.38

Sun RENTAL website Airbnb has [...], April 18, p.5

Liddle, R., Climate clowns' transport stunt is utterly fuelish, April 18, p. 13

Pattinson, R., Riddle as cathedral duo quit together, April 18, p.21

Happy Feaster - THESE BARGAIN TREATS CAN'T BE BEAT Mrs Crunch, April 18, p.4 PICKS OF THE DAY - 23 APRIL Tuesday, April 20, p. 38

JUST FOR COO, April 20, p. 16

Food that is manna from Devon, April 20, p. 47

Downes, W., Dreamland? There's Nan better - SUN MAN'S GRAN LOVES REVAMPED MARGATE ATTRACTION, April 20, p. 50

Wootton, D., Wootton's WEEK - I'll be back on on Friday, Wootton's WEEK, April 27, p. 20

Fake egg a cracker, April 21, p. 16

FOOD WITH A PHEW, April 21, p. 48

Grove, T., BRIDGE OF LUVVIES, April 22, p.2

8pm Matt Tebbutt, Kate Quilton [...], April 23, p.29

Moore, J., Anne's diet sounds a bit fishy, April 24, p. 13

Moore, J., Anne's diet sounds a bit fishy, April 24, p. 13