

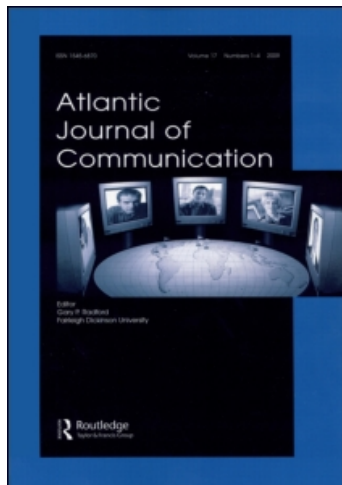
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Atlantic Journal of Communication

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t775648086>

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To cite this Article Powell, Kimberly A.(2002) 'Lifestyle as rhetorical transaction: A case study of the vegetarian movement in the United States', *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 10: 2, 169 — 190

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/15456870209367427

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15456870209367427>

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Lifestyle as Rhetorical Transaction: A Case Study of the Vegetarian Movement in the United States

Kimberly A. Powell ¹

In rhetorical studies of social movement the focus has consistently been on collective actions working from outside the establishment to achieve change. The individual's role in social movement has, as a result, been excluded. This essay argues that rhetorical critics should consider individual lifestyle as a dimension of social movements through study of the Vegetarian Movement in the United States. This study examines the power of lifestyle as a force in change through examining the values of the Vegetarian Movement, how those values are represented in individual lifestyle, and how that lifestyle influences others.

Rhetorical critics have not typically examined lifestyle, yet lifestyle can be a powerful rhetorical transaction. Gregg (1971) defines a rhetorical transaction as a message that has the purpose of "affecting the perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of a listener or group of listeners" (p. 72). The end goal of the rhetorical transaction is successful if one "can maneuver his listener to assent to the point of view, claims, or actions proposed by the speaker" (p. 72). If these are accepted as defining characteristics, lifestyle can function as a rhetorical transaction.

Lifestyle has not been examined in rhetorical social movement studies, perhaps because it is not typically considered as rhetoric, but also because lifestyle is not incorporated in the traditional notion of confrontation that is central to movement studies. Lifestyle and this study of the Vegetarian Movement extends the notion of "confrontation". The movement scholar has been concerned with a unified plurality; a movement "moves" because of an expanding plurality. Actions have been seen as significant only because they are part of a structured collective. With the exception of Walsh's (1986) study of movements from a small group perspective, those few studies that have examined internal (innovational, managerial) movements have likewise examined actions of a collective. The exclusion of the element of the individual working inside the status quo to achieve change has limited the understanding a social movement critic can achieve. The means of confrontation available to those seeking change are not

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only external, collective attacks on a value system (Cathcart, 1978), but also include internal, individual adjustments to the way in which values are enacted. This view of confrontation offers individuals working rhetorically in their daily lives through enactment and presence to change the way in which other individuals enact values.

The argument presented here, to be illustrated by the Vegetarian Movement, is that without understanding the commitments and actions of individuals evidenced in lifestyle, one cannot fully understand a social movement. This essay will argue that rhetorical critics should consider lifestyle as a rhetorical dimension of social movement study. Specifically, it will make the argument that lifestyle is a vital dimension in the study of the Vegetarian Movement. For, while this movement utilizes collective means for change, such as marches, protests and rallies, an equally powerful element is the enactment of values in lifestyle. Whatever the actual effect of these various modes, a critic cannot fully understand the Vegetarian Movement without examining the dimension of lifestyle. Thus this essay first explores the rhetorical concept of lifestyle and its roots in values. Second, values of the Vegetarian Movement are isolated and connected to lifestyle. Finally, this essay turns to how lifestyle functions as a rhetorical transaction for social change.

Lifestyle as a Rhetorical Transaction

Smelsner (1962) explains that when a movement is value-oriented, it challenges the entire action system. He believes that the highest form of collective action is in value-oriented movements that try to restore, modify or create values in the name of generalized belief. "Such a belief necessarily involves all components of action, that is, it envisions a reconstitution of values, a redefinition of norms, a reorganization of the motivation of individuals and a redefinition of situational facilities" (p. 313). Rokeach (1973) defines a value as a principle, standard or quality that is considered worthwhile or desirable by an individual. A value is that which one holds as good or desirable. As such, a value guides decisions and actions of an individual as one strives to live according to what one views as good. Values are the organizing principle for all else and "there is little that cannot be seen as an exemplar of a particular value" (Landis & Boucher, 1987, p. 29). "It is the nature of the conscious life of man to revolve around some concept of value" (Weaver, 1968). It is from this sense of value that all else (including meaning, attitudes, actions, and beliefs) stems or returns. Values are rooted in and related to behaviors or actions in that they involve a hierarchy of choice (Dudczak, 1983; Nadler, Nadler & Broome, 1985; Rokeach, 1973). Consumer behavior literature has long recognized the importance of values as a powerful force in shaping individual and group choice behavior (Gutman, 1982;

Tse, Belk & Zhou, 1989; Vinson, Scott, & Lamont, 1977). In fact, a value manifests itself in the actions and decisions of a person (Rescher, 1969). As Boulding (1961) has stated, "Even at the level of simple or supposedly simple sense perception we are increasingly discovering that the message which comes through the senses is itself mediated through a value system.... There are only messages filtered through a value system" (pp. 13-14).

The value system of a movement differs from the larger culture and is reflected in lifestyle. Lifestyle is composed of observable, repetitive, individual behaviors. First, lifestyle is observable in that it entails behaviors. While lifestyle need not be observed, it must be a behavioral manifestation of a value that, by definition, makes it observable. Second, lifestyle is repetitive. Lifestyle includes choices and decisions made in daily life that stem from values. Values are a constant and are consistently manifested in behavior. Such lifestyle factors in daily life include choices in food, clothing, health care, language, and relationships. However, all observable, repetitive behaviors are not lifestyle. For example, movement strategies such as civil disobedience or picketing may be observable, repeated behaviors, but they are not lifestyle because they are not a repetitive element of everyday life. Third, lifestyle is individual. Each individual may manifest values differently in behavior: one may choose to manifest a value of "life" through not killing animals for food, while another may manifest the same value by helping the homeless to reach a better quality of life. While the value is the same, the behavioral manifestations may differ making lifestyle individual.

Lifestyle is a daily individual commitment that constantly confronts the system and reinforces the movement's ideology. Since lifestyle encompasses most aspects of daily life, it is argued here that almost anything about a movement's way of life could be a symbolic means of change. Most individuals in a movement are in constant contact with those who do not represent their value system in a way similar to their own. This daily interaction of individuals is likely to have some influence on those outside of the movement. This influence may come because a nonmember questions the movement member's choices, or perhaps, a nonmember may model a movement member's behavior because they see the positive effects of that individual's lifestyle or because they wish to respect the choices of that individual (i.e., not eating meat at a table with a vegetarian out of respect for their lifestyle). One way in which a movement can grow is through influencing the values or behavior of others through lifestyle. Lifestyle is the way in which values are manifest and thus the vital link in the power of individuals to influence the values of others. Lifestyle argues. As the phrase "actions speak louder than words" communicates, the nonverbal often conveys as powerful a message as the verbal. The importance of lifestyle to change is expressed by de Lauretis (1986) who explains that feminism defines itself as a political instance which is made up of a politics of everyday life which later turn and enter the

public sphere. As with vegetarians, the personal value change and commitment to movement principles is reflected through lifestyle choices that convey rhetorical messages. Similarly, Gordon (1986), in redefining power, argues that people are involved in political activity in their daily lives. If political activity is seen as inherently persuasive and part of daily life, lifestyle can be viewed as a component of social change.

Sociologists support the importance of lifestyle to persuasion arguing that the success of a social movement depends on the movement's ability to challenge beliefs, values, and attitudes (Cotgrove, 1976; Touraine, 1985). Lifestyle is one vehicle through which values are challenged. For lifestyle is the way in which values are manifest and thus observable in the daily interaction of individuals. To the extent that lifestyle is individual, it is the individual who holds the power to influence the values of others and thus to increase the success of the movement.

It is through enactment and presence of values in an individual's lifestyle that social movements may confront the status quo from within the system. Enactment, also referred to as "embodiment" or "the reflexive form," is the strategy of representing or being proof of what one speaks. Campbell and Jamieson (1978) define enactment as a speaker who "incarnates the argument, IS the proof of the truth of what is said" (p. 10). While the literature on enactment has not been extensive, it has attested to the potential rhetorical significance of enactment (Black, Austin, & Lowenstein, 1987; Karon, 1976; Kauffman, 1979; Lake, 1991; Procter, 1990,1991). McGee (1985) discusses the way in which "woman" is enacted as "a dialectical entailment of man--if you are to play the game of human being, someone has to be woman" (p. 23). One of the roles of woman has been protector of morals, and once "woman" as opposed to "man" has been enacted in this way, women are usurped of power. Women become, or enact, what they have been told they are supposed to be. Herein lies an explanation of the power of enactment to a movement's success. If a movement can dictate how one is "supposed" to enact one's roles, or can, through example, show others how to enact roles differently, the movement can achieve change.

Black, Austin, and Lowenstein (1987) support the conclusion that enactment may result in retention of a new idea. They found that when preschool children acted out sentences with toys prior to imitating them, enactment increased the retention of sentence variables. Enactment may be more powerful than discussion of desired roles, for enactment intensifies retention as a continual example of desired lifestyle or roles. The value or belief is not simply invoked on one occasion, but is present in daily life. Stutman and Newell (1984, p. 365) argue that since "persuasion is a process of change, frequently under adversarial conditions, the simple invocation of a particular value is seldom enough to predict or lead to action."

Enactment serves as a daily form of confrontation for a movement. This does not include confrontation in the sense of a verbal or violent harangue, but a confronting of the typical way in which values are, or are not, enacted. Windt (1972) discusses moral dramaturgy or the diatribe as an effective strategy in satirizing "fundamental values and expectations by dramatizing the chasm that exists between ideals and practices . . . " (p. 8). This notion is much like enactment in that enacting a value may highlight the difference between value and behavior in the lives of others. A key way in which enactment is successful at affecting others is in its ability to draw attention to the ideals of the movement. Through enactment, the individual draws attention to or creates "presence" of a movement's values. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) discuss this strategy of "presence" as: ". . . the very fact of selecting certain elements and presenting them to the audience, their importance and pertinency to the discussion are implied. Indeed, such a choice endows these elements with a *presence* . . ." (p. 116). Presence "acts directly upon our sensibility" (Perelman, 1982, p. 35) and as such, if one can achieve presence, one has enhanced the chance of persuasion. As Perelman states, "only by dwelling upon a subject does one create the desired emotions" (p. 37).

Individuals of a movement enact values in lifestyle thus bringing the importance of those values to the surface--creating presence. Presence is essential to a movement when considering the movement's lifestyle and values are in constant competition with the status quo. When given a choice between the movement, and something else, "...when two things are set side by side...the thing on which the eye dwells, that which is best or most often seen, is, by that very circumstance, overestimated" (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969, p. 116). The concept of presence has been only briefly advanced since Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca's work (Karon, 1989; Kauffman & Parson, 1990; Leroux, 1992; Murphy, 1994). Murphy (1994) explains that as a rhetorical strategy, "presence possesses a kind of magical quality, one difficult to describe in discursive academic language and one that is, perhaps, best represented by the implicit metaphor in its name. An auditor 'feels' the argument; it almost seems to be in the room" (p. 5). By associating with nonmembers, individuals in a movement, by the very fact of having a different lifestyle, draw attention to the movement. The values of a movement enacted in daily lifestyle give the movement presence.

Presence is key in persuasion, for if one is in continual positive contact with a member of a particular movement, the chances of a value favorable to that movement becoming salient would increase. Salience is defined by Chaffee and Lindner (1989, p. 31) as "the psychological closeness of the objects; the more salient the object, the more favorably it is evaluated." Thus, the probability that change in behavior will occur is enhanced by a continual presence of a movement

through an individual movement member's lifestyle. Chaffee and Linder (1989) found, through a word puzzle experiment, that the more often a word was used in solving a puzzle, the better the person rated that word as a potential name for a student club. Presence of the word affected favorability towards that word. Perelman (1982) explains by using the example of a Chinese tale by Mencius: A king sees an ox on its way to sacrifice. He is moved to pity for it and orders that a sheep be used in its place. He confesses he did so because he could see the ox, but not the sheep. While Perelman warns against assuming that physical presence is the most persuasive, it can be safely concluded that psychological and physical closeness to a movement member increases presence of the movement's values, making one more likely to be influenced by lifestyle. It is the individual working in the status quo through daily life that is an effective form of gradual social change.

The goal of change in the larger culture is a priority for a social movement. The material realities of conducting a lifestyle that is different from the mainstream produce change. By differing from the "normal," the alternative lifestyle symbolically contradicts and challenges the majority (Hebdidge, 1979). Thus, change underlies lifestyle choices--dress, language and appearance differ from the majority, calling attention, relaying a message, and serving as a means for change. Through daily interaction, individuals of the movement can influence others through lifestyle. If someone is drawn to adopt that lifestyle or to join that movement, or if awareness is heightened, change has been achieved.

A Case Study of the Vegetarian Movement in the US

In 1908 the International Vegetarian Union formed to organize conferences for vegetarians around the world to meet and share information (Akers, 1983; Dombrowski, 1984; Giehl, 1979). Yet it wasn't until 1960 that the Vegetarian Movement officially reached the United States. The 1960s and 1970s were marked with an explosion of awareness of social problems. The concern for equality of women and African-Americans was accompanied by the belief, of some, that animals also deserved equality. The first vegetarian organization in the United States formed in 1960, The American Vegan Society, and was followed by an explosion of written works on the subject (Lappe, 1971; Robbins, 1987), including the first national periodical *Vegetarian Times*. Currently, in 2002, there are at least five national groups that formally promote vegetarianism. The North American Vegetarian Society, The American Vegan Society, The Farm Animal Reform Movement, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, and the Earthsave Foundation all produce and distribute literature, speak, and protest in an effort to convince others of the benefits of a vegetarian way of life. Because of the Vegetarian Movement and its place in the growing health movement, the

marketplace has begun to accommodate vegetarians through offering vegetarian meals at most restaurants, vegetarian spas, and numerous soy products including meat and ice cream analogs. Every major city in the U.S. has a local vegetarian group and a vegetarian restaurant. Even a major fast food chain, Burger King, is offering a veggi burger.

Estimates on the number of vegetarians in the U.S. range from five to fifteen million Americans, or 2.5% to 5% percent of the U.S. population ("How many vegetarians are there?", 2002). Due to the function of lifestyle as a rhetorical transaction, this essay argues that all vegetarians serve the goals of the movement: to convert omnivores to vegetarianism. Although the Vegetarian Movement in the United States has been in existence for decades, it has only recently begun to gain widespread awareness and recognition as an alternative lifestyle. In recent years, media attention, public activity, and the controversy about the movement increased dramatically. The publications on vegetarianism are vast; however, very few examine how vegetarians operate within society as a movement. Though much of the vegetarian literature was surveyed to gain insight into the movement (Akers, 1983; Amato & Partridge, 1989; Boyd, 1987; Dombrowski, 1984; Giehl, 1979; Lappe, 1971; Null, 1987; Robbins, 1987), the primary source of information was a survey interview of 594 vegetarians (Powell, 1992) (see Appendix A for interview questions). Participants in this survey were solicited through an advertisement in the periodical *Vegetarian Times*. Based on readership surveys, *Vegetarian Times* has a readership that is representative of many aspects of the movement. Readers have chosen vegetarianism for reasons of health, animal rights, environment, food distribution, and a natural lifestyle (Hoolhoorst, 1992; Ryan, 2000). Willing participants were asked to mail the author for additional information and to receive a questionnaire. The open-ended questionnaire was then mailed to the participants and returned by mail. The respondents were not paid for their participation. The Vegetarian Lifestyle Questionnaire asked questions ranging from values to lifestyle to actions taken to influence the values of others.

Respondents

The respondents to this questionnaire represent the diversity of the Vegetarian Movement. Respondents represented all 50 states. Education ranged from elementary school to post doctoral studies. Forty-two percent of respondents had completed bachelor's degrees, 20.5% had master's degrees, and 7.9% had an earned doctorate. Respondents have occupations ranging from students, lawyers, teachers, housekeepers, flight attendants, secretaries, editors, engineers, artists, managers, computer programmers, writers, librarians, and business owners, to retired persons.

Respondents were asked to identify themselves as ovo-lacto vegetarian (consume eggs and dairy products), lacto vegetarian (consume dairy products), vegan (consume no animal products) or other. Though 605 completed surveys were returned, 11 of the questionnaires were excluded from this study because individuals indicated that they ate fish or chicken on occasion. Since the discourse of the Vegetarian Movement explicitly states that a vegetarian is one who abstains from ALL meat ALL the time, these questionnaires were not included in this study. Of the remaining 594 surveys, 47.5% identified themselves as ovo-lacto vegetarians, 22.5% as lacto vegetarians, and 29.7% as vegans. These vegetarians ranged in age from 14 to 80, with the majority of respondents being between 23 and 35 years of age. The majority, 77%, of respondents were female, the remaining 23% were male. The majority of respondents being women is consistent with other surveys that have found the majority of vegetarians are women (Amato & Partridge, 1989; *Vegetarian Times*, March 1990). The length of time respondents had been vegetarian ranged from four months to 44 years, with the most frequent responses being from fairly new vegetarians, one to five years.

In order to discover the values, and thus understand the lifestyle choices of the Vegetarian Movement, evidenced in these two texts, Burke's (1957) cluster-agon method was utilized. This method enables a critic to illuminate predominate values in discourse through identifying those terms that appear most frequently or with the greatest intensity. For this study, terms of high frequency are those expressed by at least half of the questionnaire respondents. Those of high intensity are emotionally charged (Rueckert, 1963). For example, a frequent statement made by vegetarians expressing the value of "life" is "killing is wrong" or "I could never take the life of an innocent animal." The value of life is expressed in emotionally-clad language. After isolating key terms, clusters are discovered through determining "what goes with what" (Burke, 1957, p. 18). This method offers the critic a way to delve beyond the surface to find relationships between concerns and motives within the discourse. The first step in this analysis was to determine common themes within the surveys. While the intention was not to look for values or lifestyle elements, it was clear from the initial reading of the transcripts that these were the common elements. The researcher coded the survey data on three separate occasions to verify the initial value and lifestyle elements that emerged. All terms in the discourse that verbalize or express a particular value form a cluster. In the clustering, the exact words of vegetarians are used. This study examines values and lifestyle in the Vegetarian Movement with the end goal being to discover how lifestyle is used to effect change.

Values of the Vegetarian Movement

The literature and surveys reveal six significant value clusters: HEALTH, CO-EXISTENCE, COMPASSION, LIFE, RIGHTS, and PEACE. Terms in each of these value clusters are found in completed questionnaires from each philosophical group and classification of vegetarian: ovo-lacto, lacto and vegan. There is no significant correlation between sets of values and classification or philosophy of vegetarian, indicating that, indeed, values are the binding aspect of this movement.

HEALTH was the most frequently occurring value cluster within the surveys. Respondents use such terms as "health," "dietary," and "nutrition" in describing this value. Beyond these terms, there are three primary clusters within the surveys: natural, fitness, and disease prevention. Many vegetarians, like the following woman who has been a lacto-vegetarian for 14 years, find that the choice to become a vegetarian leads to a more holistic lifestyle:

After eliminating meat, I began learning about the values of other foods. I learned about quality in food and it led to eating organic foods, also to discontinuing any sort of chemical medication and learning about herbs. I became more conscious of my body and what effects everything had on it.

The opposing terms, expressing the desire to avoid certain ingredients, are the most intense HEALTH terms: "Avoid antibiotics in meat," "avoid hormone and steroid consumption," "avoid preservatives/toxins/chemicals in meat," "avoid chemical pesticides," and "avoid additives." The desire to maintain a natural lifestyle, free of chemicals and processed foods, was a concern for many vegetarians.

The second HEALTH cluster focuses on a desire to lead a "fit" lifestyle. Vegetarianism is seen as a key ingredient to this desired lifestyle. "Feel better," "fitness," "energy," "lose/maintain/control weight," "less fatigue," "well-being," "exercise," "strong," "longevity," and "vitality" are frequent terms. Many vegetarians wrote at length about how they felt much better after becoming a vegetarian. A California lacto-vegetarian said, "I feel better about myself; my body felt incredibly relieved of the burden of digesting material that (in my belief) the human body is not capable of properly dealing with."

The final HEALTH cluster focuses on the desire to prevent disease. The terms in this cluster are "avoid contaminated chicken," "avoid trichinosis," "less fat," "low cholesterol," "prevent heart disease," "prevent stroke," "prevent diabetes," and "prevent death." Frequently, vegetarians expressed that observing the tremendous amount of medical problems around them influenced their decision. An ovo-lacto vegetarian secretary wrote: "my family, has all sorts of

health problems in our history--with heart attacks, diabetes, cancer, etc. After a recent family member had a quad-bypass heart surgery, I made my decision to become vegetarian and avoid this fate. Basically, you are what you eat" HEALTH is a strong value and motivator for the Vegetarian Movement.

A common thread that exists throughout the literature and the questionnaire responses is a concern for global welfare and the perception of life as a web, versus a hierarchy. Many vegetarians expressed a view of all things being connected; the action of one being having an impact on all others. The value of CO-EXISTENCE appears in two clusters: global welfare and web of life. The "global welfare" cluster deals with a sense of concern for the effect individual actions have on the rest of the planet. Phrases such as "global welfare," "save the world/planet," "inefficiency of feeding," "reduce consumption," "solve world hunger," and "equal distribution of food" express this concern. "I value the world we live in and to ignore how food choices affect the world, is irresponsible," said a vegan social worker. Other phrases in this cluster reveal concern for the environment: "environmental," "responsibility to the earth," "respect the earth," "eco-friendly," "protect the earth," "nature," "resource conservation," "rainforests," "ecological" and "stop abuse of the earth." Vegetarians see many environmental consequences of eating meat (e.g. rainforest depletion, ozone depletion, water contamination, and water shortages). Some vegetarians state their desire to avoid contributing to environmental destruction as their reason for choosing a vegetarian diet: "After learning of how the factory farming industry works, how it gobbles up the earth's resources and gives little back, I could no longer contribute to that industry's disregard for the earth." This CO-EXISTENCE cluster reveals feeding as good and starvation as bad, equal sharing of food as positive and inequality as negative, and caring for the earth as desirable but abuse as undesirable.

The second CO-EXISTENCE cluster is a web of life cluster. This cluster expresses the belief that the action of every being affects the life of every other being, all holding equal importance. One ovo-lacto vegetarian wrote that she feels, "We are all here sharing this earth, and to preserve our planet, we should all be fair and treat each other with equality. This goes for animals as well. We cannot simply take without giving." Terms such as "part of the ecosystem," "not the master," "web of life," "respect animals," "nonspeciesist," "spirituality," "respect for God's creatures," "co-existence," "oneness of all life," and "people are not more important than animals" compose this cluster. The value of CO-EXISTENCE versus an existence that operates with humans at the top of a hierarchy is central to vegetarianism. The Vegetarian Movement, while valuing the equal worth of all creatures, opposes an ideology of human as master or a hierarchical structure.

The COMPASSION value cluster includes the words "gentle," "caring," "compassion," "kindness," "humane," "love" and "sensitive." These terms are used abstractly and in relation to animals, humans, and the environment. The largest COMPASSION cluster involves animals: "compassion for animals," "love animals," "empathy for animals," "cruelty-free" and "concern for animals." Vegetarians also express a desire to avoid what they view as ways in which the status quo treats animals: "avoid cruelty to animals," "lessen suffering of animals," "avoid inhumanity to animals," "stop abuses to animals," "anti-vivisection," "avoid mistreatment of animals," "avoid exploitation of animals," and "eliminate suffering." The value of COMPASSION is a deciding factor for some to become a vegetarian. One of the more intense responses came from an ovo-lacto flight attendant:

I find that I have a strong love and respect for animals. I cannot stand cruelty in any form. I think animal slaughter houses are awful. I think our country has drifted so far from reality. People think meat comes in packages! Little do they know a life was taken. I know that if it was left up to each individual to kill his own chicken to eat, that there would be a greater number of vegetarians.

A second clustering of terms involved COMPASSION to humans. These phrases included "homeless," "concern for people," "minimize human suffering," "feed the hungry" and "humanitarian." The politics of food distribution is of concern to many vegetarians. "It takes seven pounds of grain to produce one pound of beef. We could be feeding the world if everyone was [sic] vegetarian!" explains an ovo-lacto vegetarian student. It is through valuing the feeding and feelings of others that vegetarians exhibit and express COMPASSION for humans.

The final clustering involved COMPASSION for the environment. "Concern for nature," "concern for the environment," "least harm to the world as possible," "care for the world," "ecofeminism," and the opposite "avoid a savage world," make-up this cluster. Vegetarians, such as an ovo-lacto salesperson, believe vegetarianism is much more than a way of eating: "It has everything to do with a love for things natural, respect for a beautiful earth and compassion for all living things." The Vegetarian Movement values COMPASSION and extends that value not only to animals, but to humans and to the environment.

The choice to be a vegetarian is by definition a choice to not eat dead animals, thus the value of LIFE is evident. However, this value extends not only to animals, but to humans, and a general respect for life: for example, "no right to destroy life," "respect for life," "life," "sanctity of life," "reverence for life," "save lives," "sacredness of life," "concern for all living things," "awareness of life," and "quality of life." A woman who has been a vegetarian for 14 years, and a vegan for the last four years, said that being a vegetarian "expresses my respect

for all life. I believe all life is sacred." One specific LIFE cluster revolves around animals, such as "animals deserve life" and "animal life." The majority of the phrases in this cluster are expressed as negatives: "No desire to eat a dead animal," "avoid eating what was a living thing," "remove death from life," "wrong to kill animal life," and "revolting to eat what was alive."

A second LIFE cluster focuses on the self. "Improve self," "respect for my life," "personal integrity," and "respect for self," indicated a concern for one's own life. A vegan human resources department recruiter says, "I have come to the view that not only do I honor my body by being a vegan, but I also honor nature and life itself." Vegetarians value life and consider vegetarianism to be a way of life. The opposites, which are seen as undesirable, are a lack of respect for life and death. As one vegan put it:

I consider true vegetarianism to be a way of life which promotes respect, love, and reverence for all life, because you no longer feel greater or more important than other animals since you are not having the animals tortured and murdered for your enjoyment.

Vegetarianism is frequently associated with animal rights; however, not all vegetarians are animal rights activists, and vice versa. There are two RIGHTS clusters: animal and equality. The most frequently mentioned RIGHTS term is "animal rights." Other terms in this cluster are: "right not to feel pain," "no right to kill animals," "animals have a right to life," "no right to treat animals barbarically," "no right to exploit animals," "no right to cause animals suffering." Some vegetarians believe anthropocentrism has led to animals not being valued. An ovo-lacto vegetarian medical secretary said that she believes "all living beings have an intrinsic right to live their lives just by virtue of their existence. We arrogant humans have no right to take the lives of any non-human creature for any reason." The basic "right to life" is the most common animal rights argument for vegetarianism.

The second clustering includes terms relating to equality of humans with each other. "Equal rights for all," "human rights," "feminism," "anti-racist," "gay rights," "anti-sexism," "justice," "women's rights," "freedom," "right to be free," and "right to choose" compose the equality cluster. A vegan college student said that once he "saw animals as having rights, I could no longer deny legal rights to people based on gender, race or sexual orientation . . . Who am I to decide? Every being has rights." Vegetarians see RIGHTS as an inclusive value. Animals and all humans are viewed as having basic rights to be free from pain and suffering and further to pursue happiness and equal legal rights. The opposing terms that are included in the above clusters are "abuse of animals' rights" and "inequality." An analysis of vegetarian discourse indicates that RIGHTS are extended to all types of life.

"PEACE" and its opposites are high intensity terms in the literature. As one vegan social worker stated: "I believe that vegetarianism is a statement for peace and against violence." Within this cluster, "peace" and "non-violence" were the highest frequency terms. This indicates that the Vegetarian Movement values peace as opposed to violence, and sees vegetarianism as an important step towards peace. This idea was best expressed by an ovo-lacto marketing consultant: "The philosophy of ahimsa led me to become vegetarian. This is a philosophy of doing no unnecessary violence to anyone. Such violence includes violent thoughts, violent words, and violent acts. To live a peaceful and joyful life, we must minimize the harm we do." In addition to "peace" and "non-violence", the "PEACE" value-term is divided into three clusters: animals, world, and self. First, allowing animals to have peace was an intense issue for some vegetarians. Phrases such as "animals should live peacefully" and "peace for all beings" indicated such a concern. The opposites of "against killing animals," "avoid killing animals," and "wrong to kill animals" completes this cluster.

A second cluster deals with concern for peace for the larger world. "At peace with the earth," "world peace," "harmony," "non-violence" and "pacifism" indicated such a concern. The opposites of "against nuclear weapons" and "anti-aggression" reveal a trend of PEACE being a value that extends into many areas of a vegetarian's life. A 35-year-old ovo-lacto vegetarian tells of her revelation of the impact of valuing non-violence in her life:

I have valued non-violence for as long as I can remember. I still recall an impassioned speech I made as a sixth-grader about the futility of war. Having grown up in a family and culture where meat-eating was perceived as "normal," it took well into my adult years for me to recognize the violence in the act of consuming animal flesh.

The final cluster of terms revolves around self. "Innerpeace" and "at peace with myself" are expressed as results of becoming vegetarian. A vegan waitress said she, "began to value myself much more. I feel I have control and innerpeace. The value of PEACE for the Vegetarian Movement impacts individual vegetarians commonly in the choice to not eat animals; however, it also is evidenced in concerns for self and the larger world and environment. The agon analysis reveals that devil terms were "killing," "aggressive," "violence," and "nuclear weapons." "Killing" and other agon terms are perceived as common occurrences or part of an omnivorous world. The Vegetarian Movement views vegetarianism as a necessary step to peace. PEACE is an intensely held value for the movement, and impacts feelings for themselves, animals and the environment.

The primary values of the Vegetarian Movement are HEALTH, CO-EXISTENCE, COMPASSION, LIFE, RIGHTS and PEACE. The decision to become a vegetarian and the motivation to remain a vegetarian appear to be a desire to live these values, while opposing their opposites: "violence," "cruelty,"

"hierarchy," "death," and "disease." This cluster analysis is significant in that it reveals the values at the root of the Vegetarian Movement, thus facilitating understanding of the movement. Significantly, regardless of how one identifies oneself, as an ovo-lacto, lacto, or vegan, there is no significant difference in the values held. So, while individuals may have different eating behaviors, and state that they choose vegetarianism for ecological, nutritional, or animal rights reasons, individuals have a common bond in these shared values.

Values Evidenced in Lifestyle

Values involve a hierarchy of choice and are evidenced in behaviors and actions (Dudczak, 1983; Nadler, et. al., 1985; Rokeach, 1973). When a member of a social movement behaves according to the values of that movement, that person can be said to be "enacting" the values of the movement. By enacting values, members of social movements can represent or be proof of the ideals of the movement. Because values produce behavioral changes (Spillman, 1979), or are enacted, the values of the Vegetarian Movement should be observable in the lifestyle choices of the individual members of the movement. After examining the discourse used in this study to represent the Vegetarian Movement, a connection between the values of the movement and six primary lifestyle aspects emerged: food, household products, clothing, health care, relationships and language.

Table 1
Lifestyle Elements Representative of Vegetarian Values

Lifestyle Element	% of respondents	Actual # of respondents
Food	100%	594
Clothing	70%	416
Health	54.5 %	324
Cruelty Free	28%	166
Language	19.8%	118

All six value clusters of the Vegetarian Movement manifested themselves similarly in the lifestyle choice not to eat meat. The one behavior all vegetarians exhibit is abstinence from eating the flesh of animals, which includes meat, chicken, fish, and sea animals. Further, the majority of all vegetarians indicated that they make an effort to avoid animal by-products that cause death to the animal. For example, lard, whey, gelatin, sodium caseinate, and rennet are common by-products found in everything from bread to cheese to snack foods. Many vegetarians also choose not to consume eggs or dairy products, indicating that they feel the industry that produces eggs and dairy products treats the animals cruelly. One enacts compassion, co-existence, rights, life, peace, and health

through excluding products in the diet which contribute to the killing or suffering of animals.

With the exception of food choices, clothing was the lifestyle area most strongly linked to vegetarian values. The most intensely expressed choices involved clothing that required that the animal be killed in order to produce the product. The two most commonly avoided products are leather and fur. By definition, vegans are the only classification which abstain from ALL animal products, from food to clothing and household products; however, 48% of all respondents indicated that they avoid leather products. Fur was also seen as undesirable by 30% of vegetarians in this study. In addition to leather and fur, some vegetarians do not purchase products made from suede, silk, wool, bone, down, skins (alligator, sheep, snake, etc.), ivory, tortoise shells and feathers. Each of these clothing choices reflect the values of life, compassion, co-existence, and rights. The preference is to avoid the killing, suffering or use of another being for clothing which is, in the opinion of some members of the Vegetarian Movement, unnecessary. The option, reported by over half of the respondents, was to opt for non-animal natural fibers, such as cotton.

Concerns for health and health care are highly represented in the lifestyle behaviors of choosing natural, organic and/or whole foods, choosing herbal medicine, opting for natural healing or for alternative health care. Over 54% of vegetarians discussing health reported eating more natural or whole foods, organic foods, and even purified water. Vegetarians report the two areas of health care that are most affected in a vegetarian lifestyle are daily preventative health care and medical treatment. Most feel that vegetarianism is a type of preventative health. An ovo-lacto vegetarian Graphic Designer explains: "I'm seldom ever sick and therefore have practically no need for doctors, so health care isn't a problem. I guess you could say that by choosing my foods carefully, I'm using preventative medicine." Because of their improved health, many respondents reported that they rarely need health care. However, if and when they do, the preferred method of treatment by many respondents is alternative health care, such as chiropractors, massage therapists, herbal therapy, vitamins, and homeopathic remedies. Health care extends beyond prevention and naturalness to the desire to avoid chemicals, in the form of aspirin, caffeine, chemicals, or drugs of any type.

Values are also represented in the choice by many vegetarians to avoid products which are tested on animals. This choice of "cruelty-free" products was reported by 28% of the survey respondents. Such products included cosmetics, bath products, cleaning products, cars, jewelry and household decorations. Another specific area affected by being cruelty-free is the refusal to use any medicine tested on animals or composed of animal products. Several vegetarians indicated that they would not consume any gelatin capsule medicine (gelatin is made, in part, from cow hooves).

The most interesting finding of this clustering of values with lifestyle is that vegetarianism seems to affect most aspects of an individual's life, even language choices. The motivation to change language terms is to avoid displaying dominance over another being, stemming back to the values of co-existence, compassion, and peace. Besides general concerns about using sexist and racist language, the greatest reported concern was to use nonspeciesist language. An ovo-lacto vegetarian bank clerk said, "I've become more aware of speciesism. I try not to use 'animal words' in a 'negative' way such as 'being a guinea pig,' 'being badgered by someone,' 'what a pig,' 'kill two birds with one stone,' etc." The most commonly expressed language change, however, was the choice to not say "meat," "beef," "pork," etc. opting to call food "dead animals" or "flesh." A vegan student finds it offensive when people "call various parts of slaughtered animals meat, steak, etc. I think it is a way to fool themselves about what they eat."

The lifestyle of choosing not to eat meat, to exclude egg and/or dairy products from the diet, choosing cruelty-free products, natural health care, and alternative language usage are all representative of the six primary values of the movement. This shows that though one may hold different values, the manifestation of those values may be similar. It is the similarity in values and lifestyle which serves to identify the Vegetarian Movement.

Lifestyle as a Rhetorical Means of Social Change

Individuals in the Vegetarian Movement are affecting social change by enacting values in lifestyle thus confronting the way in which values are typically enacted. Individuals within the movement influence other movement members, influence those outside of the movement, and influence the market place.

First, the lifestyle of vegetarians affects other vegetarians in the movement. Once one makes the initial lifestyle change of excluding meat from the diet, other changes in lifestyle usually follow. In fact, change is more likely because the individual is in the mindset for change, and more importantly, the exposure of this individual to vegetarians increases. This increase results in the individual receiving more information and observing more enactment of values. Thus, the new vegetarian may continue to make connections between values and lifestyle and decide whether or not to change each lifestyle element. The vegetarians surveyed in this study indicated that the process of change is gradual for most. Although a few vegetarians reported that they were eating meat one day, and the next were vegan, for most, it was a gradual process of changing their lifestyle to represent their values. One may start by abstaining from meat, and then stop wearing leather, stop eating eggs, and eventually abstain from all animal products in any form. There is no specific pattern to what one omits or adds to their

lifestyle first or last. For each individual, the rate and order of behavior change differs, for it depends on that individual's value hierarchy and connections made between value and lifestyle. Many times behavioral change stems from learning how other vegetarians represent their values in lifestyle.

The influence of individual vegetarians on members of the movement is significant. However, the second effect, on individuals outside of the movement, is key to creating social change by expanding the movement. While many individuals may have different or conflicting views, they may still have one or more common values that can be appealed to (Stutman & Newell, 1984). This is the way in which the vegetarian lifestyle affects those outside of the movement. Values of the Vegetarian Movement are not uncommon; they simply are not always reflected in a vegetarian lifestyle. It is the goal of the movement to persuade others, partially through enactment, to represent these values in lifestyle. Upon contact with a vegetarian, the process of change may be immediate or latent. When socializing with a vegetarian, many survey respondents noted that they sometimes modeled vegetarian behavior by abstaining from meat in the presence of the vegetarian. Much like Black, Austin and Lowenstein's (1987) study on children, this modeling behavior seemed to have long term effects in that 40% of vegetarians in this study reported people around them adopting vegetarianism, and an additional 24% said those around them were reducing their meat consumption. Thus, enactment of values can result in modeling which can increase retention of the imitated behavior, in this case abstaining from meat. However, most often it seems that being around a vegetarian for a period of time initiates change. A discrepancy is perceived between an omnivore's values and behavior. Thus, the change is not immediate, but is a process of diminishing the dissonance through observing the example of a vegetarian, being made aware of a different lifestyle, becoming educated on that lifestyle, and finally making the change through the support of another vegetarian. Spillman (1979) explains that individuals who feel they are being evaluated negatively on moral or intellectual ground seek to reinstate a more positive image to the persuader and/or to themselves by realigning their value priorities in a more positive ordering. This sense of negative evaluation comes from within when one outside the movement observes a movement member acting consistently with values, and then recognizes an inconsistency between their own values and behavior. Rokeach (1973) found that once one enters into a state of dissonance, change is more likely.

Lifestyle is an impetus for realizing an inconsistency and as such is a persuasive element of the Vegetarian Movement. However, association with a vegetarian does not guarantee that a person will recognize an inconsistency and adopt the desired behavior. Influencing individuals to represent the values of the Vegetarian Movement in their lifestyle is a difficult task because not all values are reflected in lifestyle. The surveys strongly supported the premise that subtle

means, such as lifestyle example, were the most powerful means of change, and that individuals resisted overt attempts at persuasion. It would seem from the results of this study that public movement strategies would not have a great influence on one who is not already aware of a dissonant relation between their values and behaviors. One would be more likely to ignore such information since that information did not strike a responsive chord. This would mean that the greatest role or affect of the public movement's persuasive strategies would be to continue value-behavior connections in vegetarians, through literature and seminars, and to perform the role of recommitting members, through collective actions of protest. However, the role of influencing others to make a value-lifestyle connection would be the responsibility of the individual members of the movement. It is the individual who enacts the movement's values who has a substantial impact on influencing others to enact, in this case, vegetarian values.

The third, and final, effect lifestyle has is on affecting change in the larger world. Through lifestyle, vegetarians are creating change. Every time one more person stops eating meat, or buying products tested on animals, or buying leather products, the market is affected. As the number of vegetarians grows, there will be less demand for meat, and more demand for alternative products. As the law of supply and demand teaches, supply of meat and meat by-products will decrease, which could eventually result in a change in the perceived normal national diet. While this is not probable in the near future, each individual choice to cast off the omnivorous lifestyle, and adopt the vegetarian lifestyle is a step to change the system. Further, as the demand for vegetarian products increases, the supply will increase as is evident in the increased availability of meatless items in restaurants, grocery stores and fast food chains, making it more convenient for individuals to change their lifestyle.

It is through enactment of values in lifestyle that the Vegetarian Movement succeeds in affecting change within other members of the movement, those external to the movement, and the larger world market. While collective efforts and news reports on the health danger of meat are also effective, it is individual lifestyle that appears to be a substantial means through which this social movement is achieving change.

Conclusions

This study of the rhetorical dimension of lifestyle in the Vegetarian Movement questions previous assumptions and divisions made in movement literature, as well as filling gaps in movement research. This study attempts to create a greater understanding of this particular movement, while also widening the conceptual definition of confrontation through demonstrating the importance of including the individual lifestyle as a rhetorical dimension of social movement

studies. Social movements are not only revolutionary attacks on the system. As shown in this study, movements can confront the way in which current values are enacted in behavior through daily, individual influence within the system. Confrontation need not only be connotated as revolutionary, but can be seen as a gradual effort in which normative assumptions are confronted by counter example to lead others to change themselves.

Walsh (1986) urges movement scholars to study the interpersonal element of movements. This reconceptualization of confrontation shifts the importance in from the collective to the individual. Individuals have influence over those in their circle of friends through *enactment* of values in lifestyle. Bringing the burden of change to the individual, versus the collective, has important implications for the levels of change that can be achieved. Since *presence* needs to be psychological, not only physical, there would seem to be a limit on how many individuals are psychologically close enough to each movement member to be affected. While there may eventually be a limit on effect, individual confrontation can be successful on a mass level because each individual who is persuaded may in turn effect six people, and each of those may have a circle of six friends, and so on. Thus, the amount of influence cannot be determined, but also cannot be underestimated. While the collective Vegetarian Movement uses traditional means of confrontation such as protests, marches and civil disobedience, it is the individual in this movement working within the system which has a substantial role in the success of the movement. Individuals, through *enactment*, confront the way in which values are, or are not, *enacted* in lifestyle.

The element of the power of an individual in a movement needs further exploration. How powerful were/are individuals within the Women's Movement, the Civil Rights Movement or any social movement? Do women, through enacting "woman" as an independent, empowered being succeed in persuading those around them to feel or behave differently towards women? The same type of question could be asked of many movements. Since movements for social change are linked to values, individuals in the movement hold those values and may enact them in daily life. One should see impacts of the lifestyle of movement member's in those around them.

Rhetorical critics continue to strive for a complete understanding of the meaning or phenomenon of social movements. This extension of confrontation focusing on lifestyle as a rhetorical transaction is one more aspect to aid the rhetorical critic in understanding and explaining a movement for social change.

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Appendix A

Vegetarian Lifestyle Questionnaire

1. How long have you been a vegetarian?
2. How do you classify yourself as a vegetarian?
 - Ovo-lacto vegetarian (eggs and dairy products)
 - Lacto-vegetarian (consume dairy products)
 - Vegan (consume no animal products)
 - Other. Please specify:
3. Why did you make the decision to become a vegetarian?
4. Did you know any vegetarians before you became a vegetarian?
- 4a. If YES, what, if any, influence did they have on your decision?
5. Do you view vegetarianism as more than a way of eating? Explain.
6. What values do you hold which contribute to your choice of vegetarianism?
7. What, if any, value changes did you undergo when becoming a vegetarian?
8. Are you ever ridiculed for your choice to be a vegetarian? If so, what type of statements do you encounter and how do you handle them?
9. What are the most common arguments you hear against vegetarianism?
- 9a. How do you deal with these arguments in word and/or behavior?
10. Have you ever considered returning to an omnivorous diet? Please explain why or why not.
11. Does vegetarianism influence your choices in language, clothing, relationships, health care, or any other aspects of your life besides for food choices? If yes, how?
12. What are the most difficult aspects of being a vegetarian?
- 12a. How do you deal with these aspects?
13. What actions, if any, do you take to bring others to vegetarianism?
14. Do you find that your choice to be vegetarian influences others around you? If so, how?
15. Are most of your friends:
 - omnivores
 - lacto-ovo vegetarians
 - lacto vegetarians
 - vegans
 - Other: