



Our Hen House Podcast: Transcript for Episode 649, Interview with Eva Haifa Giraud

Mariann Sullivan: Welcome to Our Hen House, Eva.

Eva Haifa Giraud: Hi, thank you for having me.

Mariann: I'm thrilled to have you because you've written such an interesting book, which I have right here. And because you're speaking to us from the UK and you're an expert in thinking about veganism in the UK, and we're all really excited here in the states about what's happening to veganism in the UK, because you're really going much further along than we are. But the other side of that though, is that you have some concerns and it's a good time to bring those concerns to the forefront, as things are starting to grow. And your concerns are about what the success of veganism can mean within the capitalist structure.

And can you talk a little bit about that and what those risks are?

Eva: Yeah. So my concerns really emerged after speaking to a lot of long-term vegans from the UK about what they felt about this kind of real surge in popularity of veganism over the past five years or so.

One thing that everybody had really observed was that even though veganism was becoming really, really accessible on a practical level, that made people quite excited. People said things like it was great to be able to go and take a train journey and not have to rely on crisps or peanuts for food. You know, that you can get a vegan sausage roll or her sandwich really easily now and you don't really have to think about. Some people were really excited from a practical perspective, thought it opened up all these potentials for accessibility and potentially for a sort of democratization of veganism because of that.

But the flip side of that is, um, a lot of questions were being raised about who is capitalizing on that newfound popularity of veganism and whether that was somehow depoliticizing, or undercutting, it's more kind of radical histories in the UK where it's been very much obviously tied in, not just with animal liberation, although that's the thing that people were particularly worried about,

but concern with sort of human inequities around food production, concerns with environmental politics. So I think many people saw veganism as having this very specific activist history that tried to chart connections with other social justice issues, or kind of a food justice, I suppose, politics. And with its new found popularity in some ways people were concerned that that more radical political potential was being undermined in some way. You know, if you can go and buy a vegan burger at McDonald's, which you can in the UK, does that mean that all of the other injustices associated with certain large food corporations can then be swept to one side?

So those were the types of issues that people I spoke to had and concerns that I began to have as well when thinking about the kind of promise, but also the pitfalls associated with something like veganism, that's had this very strong and vibrant activist history, suddenly exploding as a kind of marketized phenomenon as it has done here.

Mariann: Yeah. I totally hear you. And certainly we've not had the explosion of veganism here that you have, but you know, there has been a good deal of growth. And, you know, I was just thinking this morning...if you'll forgive me, I'll tell a little story. Because I just was thinking of it this morning because I wore my Farm Sanctuary shirt today.

And Farm Sanctuary is the largest farm sanctuary here and I used to go there 25 years ago. And it was just this small place and you could get a room to stay there. They have these little cabins and it was like this lovely thing, like all of these people who were just so committed and so passionate and now Farm Sanctuary is doing great and, no complaints about it, but they have these really fancy cabins and you have to reserve them six months ahead of time.

And this is all good, but it just kind of remind...it was kind of a little capsule of the story you're talking about. Within success there comes... I'm not sure it's pitfalls, even. Possible pitfalls that we should know about in order to avoid, but on the other side, because you're talking about, to some extent, the connections between animal rights, veganism, and other causes. Workers' rights and the whole gamut of human harms.

But it's not like the left has been particularly good on veganism or on animals. And the left's critiques of veganism, which are often... I've seen on Twitter and you repeated this phrase. "There is no ethical consumption under capitalism." That's not quite right, is it? I hope it's not right.

Eva: I think phrases like that are what I was trying to problematize a little bit in the book in a sense, because I think obviously it, that's a really important point in some ways.

But on the other hand, it can kind of lead or I worry it can lead to a situation of feeling like you can do nothing at all, a sense of sort of helplessness and even like apathy. If we can't do anything, well, we might as well go and eat something which has been incredibly harmful to animals, humans and the planet.

And I think while acknowledging that consumption has certainly got its limits as a form of ethical practice, I think at the same time it's really important to kind of recognize, as you say, certain potentials, certain things... I suppose it can offer a sort of reorientation and entry point into much more kind of complex politics.

Certainly when I first became vegan, to talk about one of my personal anecdotes, it was simply through, I don't know, going on Live Journal communities where people were talking about different products and in a fairly kind of commercial sense. But then you'd end up having these really complicated debates about, um, food politics, food justice, inequity... and it was a really interesting space to be sort of exploring different issues.

So even though I became vegan really for quite superficial reasons, in some ways, 20 years ago, I became much more politicized through, I suppose, becoming part of communities. And it's those connection points though, that I think people are quite concerned or certainly some of the vegans I spoke to were slightly concerned, were being eroded in UK context.

So one of the things that several people I spoke to said was that when they first became vegan about sort of 15 years ago or so. You go to a kind of vegan cafe and there'd be lots of sort of stickers and pamphlets and leaflets.

That were connecting you to all sorts of other campaigns, whether that's in the UK of hunt sabbing for fox hunting, which is a kind of upper-class pastime essentially. It was the kind of really big point of connection that people would make. And then there were all these different sorts of potentials to make links.

Do you get the same form of opportunities to be part of a wider ethical community if you're, I don't know, going to a fast food restaurant, that's selling a kind of burger to capitalize on Veganuary? I don't know. I think it's an

empirical question really, that kind of, we'll probably only get the sense of the answer of in five years time down the road, really.

But I think these are kind of questions that need to be asked. Somebody I spoke to likens it, at the moment, almost to your favorite bands going global, you know, that you feel a bit ambivalent about it because you supported that band when you went to see them in a local pub with your friends. And you were kind of back there a minute and you're really excited by the fact that so many other people are getting into the same music as you but you sort of worry about how things are changing as well. And I thought that was a really interesting analogy for thinking about the popularity...popularization really of veganism in the UK. It is this really exciting moment for a lot of people and people are seeing so much potential. But are there those points of entry into more sort of politicized activists forms of veganism in the same way? And I think that's what people are slightly worried about, I'd say.

Mariann: Yeah, I think it's certainly something that needs to be replaced, or should be replaced. But on the other hand, we don't want the animals to have to wait until we actually can take down capitalism in order to get out of the utter hell that they're living in.

It's gotta be a good thing as well.

Eva: Yeah. And I think I would not necessarily have written the book in quite the same way, even sort of a couple of years down the line, because bearing in mind, it takes a little while for these things to come out. And I think I would have taken a slightly more, a slightly more nuanced take.

I tried to talk about the potentials as well, but I do think in my book, I really talked about the pitfalls and de-politicization that is emerging. This kind of rise in plant-based capitalism where you get these kind of really interesting things in the UK where food markets are sort of putting out leaflets promoting plant-based food as the new kind of food trend that everybody should try to kind of get in on and divorce that really from any kind of meaningful concern with animals themselves. The animals kind of go out of the picture, in a lot of ways. And I think from my perspective, I think it's really important for veganism to become democratized in a way that often happens through consumption and that often happens through marketization.

And I wouldn't want to sort of reject that potential, particularly because it's quite elitist, isn't it? Saying that, you know, the only proper vegan has who is going to expensive health food shops. That's a really problematic stance.

Mariann: And ultimately, from the point of view of the animals, for an individual, any reason they go vegan is a good reason because they're not eating you. But yeah, as a system, it is, we can't lose that. Not everyone is going to be politicized probably, but the opportunity to be politicized, I hear you. That does seem to be very different. It's just very easy to like just kind of adopt veganism as a nice idea.

Or another trend that's become so popularized and seems to be driving, certainly seems to be driving the adoption of vegan foods in the US, and what you talk about, is like flexitarianism being partially vegan. Whereas if you're at all political it just seems incoherent... or at least political about animals, not political about the other issues that veganism supports, but political about animals, it's incoherent! Like why? If it's bad to eat 50, it's bad to eat one. I mean, they are still living beings. At the same time, I feel like I get too purest in my attitudes here. And this is probably a good thing, but can you explain to me why?

Eva: So in terms of the flex, I'll talk about flexitarianism first and then I'll move on to the purism comment.

In terms of flexitarianism, I think it's fascinating how that narrative has been wholesale taken on by a lot of food marketers and you get these very contradictory and slightly problematic situations. So for example, a couple of years ago, a famous fast food manufacturer launched a vegan burger to kind of coincide with the Veganuary.

And they were then fined by the Advertising Standards Association, because even though it was called... I think it was called a plant-based burger or a rebel burger. And it mentioned plant-based butcher. It mentions, you know... all the rapper was in green and it was very much, you know, branded as a vegan burger, but it turned out it wasn't vegan.

And many people had eaten this burger and were pretty upset to find out that even though it had been marketed, it wasn't vegan. And their rationale was, it was never targeted at vegans, it was targeted at flexitarians. You know, they were going for the flexitarian market and they were sort of using, in their defense, plant-based, vegan, flexitarian almost interchangeably. And I think it's that sort of slippage between those terms where veganism is just framed as a sort of interchangeable personal option. You can dip in out of, or dip out of. Where I think it's sort of vulnerable to depoliticization, or it makes it difficult to be part of a kind of wider ethical community.

For me, veganism is just a helpful way of navigating the world in terms of making it clear what I eat, what I don't eat, what I believe, what I don't believe. And it's that kind of loss of veganism as a kind of, yeah, ethical tool to navigate life that I'm concerned about. With that rise of flexitarianism.

But as you say, can it lead to real kind of purism that is incredibly exclusionary? That's the kind of flip side of that isn't it?

Mariann: We all know it can because we've all met those vegans. And I'm sure we've both been thought of as those vegans by other people. So everybody draws their line.

Eva: Everybody draws their line and I think that kind of active, ethical line drawing is really interesting.

And I think that as individuals, people really worry about... so many people I spoke to use that exact term. Like "where do you draw your line?" For different people it's in slightly different ways. And for many people I spoke to, it was the kind of activist histories that really helped them draw the line in particular ways.

So where certain fast food companies have got a history of persecuting activists or a history of engaging in incredibly damaging practices to non-human animals. That was the kind of line for them. And even if those companies served a vegan burger, it was felt that there was a kind of...they couldn't, I suppose, breach that line in what they did.

Mariann: No, I think there are still a lot of people who feel...I mean, Burger King...we don't have a McDonald's vegan burger yet, but we have a Burger King Impossible burger. And I'm sure there are many, many people, probably many who are listening, who wouldn't ever go to Burger King.

And then there are many others who think "this is great. This is great. We have to support Burger King. Yeah, maybe it's not so important where exactly we draw the line, it is that we're thinking about the line. Because that means we are thinking politically.

Eva: Yeah. And I actually think discussions about where the line is are some of the richest sources of debate and discussion, and that's in some ways why I think it's really important to maintain some sense of clarity around veganism, because it opens up these forms of communication.

Then there's a lot of concern about being overly purist or about being overly flexible. And actually many of those discussions and debates open up the most interesting ethical questions for me. Those reflections on where exactly do we draw the line and why are a sort of an entry point to complexity rather than something that shuts it down.

Mariann: Well, I'm glad you said that because I do find those conversations often extremely annoying and that gives me a new perspective on thinking... there a way to think things through. Another problem that I have, and I don't know whether maybe it's not a problem, I don't know, but it's this word vegan. It is being asked to do so much work.

There's vegan food, like a vegan meal, a vegan diet, a vegan lifestyle, a vegan person, which is now switching to a whole different concept. A vegan person, as kind of the definition that I use, is one who refrains from the consumption and use of animals. Or a vegan person, which I think is more the definition that you use, is one who embraces a more general philosophy of liberation.

Is it a problem that this word is doing all these different things? Do we need more words? It occurred to me as I was writing this question down, because I wanted to ask you about it, that maybe it's good that all of these things kind of drift into each other and we're not exactly sure what we mean all the time since that can get a little too rigid for people.

Eva: I read a really interesting article about this as I was finishing the book and I kind of put in a reference to it really briefly, but would have loved to engage with it more. And it was by Jan Dutkiewicz and Jonathan Dickstein and they were arguing for maintaining a much more minimalist practice-based diet. I found that really persuasive in saying that actually we don't want to... sometimes it is inaccessible and confusing to have these proliferations of different types of veganisms all with a different suffix. But I do feel again that it can open up rather than shut down discussion.

What do we mean when we talk about veganism? It is asked to do a lot of work, but I think if that just then can potentially encourage people to be kind of more precise in terms of how they situate themselves, how they set up their arguments...

One of the reasons I thought it was really important to make clear from the start that I was writing from a UK perspective is that I think it's really easy to

universalize about what veganism is and means, and sort of uproot it from particular social and national context. Which I think is a really problematic thing to do because it's enacted but it's also contested in different ways and for different reasons and different contexts.

And I think one of the concerns I'd have with stripping away all these different meanings and understandings of veganism is I think it is useful to have a vocabulary that would be precise about the type of veganism we're talking about in order to situate and contextualize why we're understanding veganism in the way we are.

Mariann: Another thing that strikes me about thinking of veganism in the very broad sense of supporting liberation is that... I'm the only person who thinks this, but I've been thinking it for a long time so I'm just going to lay it out there. Like animal rights advocates can be found and vegans can be found in every possible aspect of the political spectrum.

Yeah. It's more kind of on the left, but certainly there are billions of people on the left that would never consider being vegan. And also you find like really, like in this country, Republican, conservative, people who you don't agree with about anything else. And of course that's becoming more and more vicious, the amount we disagree with each other. But animal rights and even veganism does kind of cross the spectrum.

Do you think there's any promise in this? And that if we don't take a broad view of what veganism means, and it just... it's about animals, it's totally about animals...that it could be the one source left of common ground among people who hate each other for every other reason? All right. I'm putting that in dramatic terms but we're living in dramatic times.

Eva: We are living in dramatic times, but I would say that I'd be quite wary, partly because of the way that veganism and animal rights has been kind of utilized in a very cynical way by certain political groups in the UK, for instance. So, we had a very nationalist political party a while back, called the British National Party, who've thankfully kind of collapsed in on themselves.

And they had an animal rights page on their website and their animal rights page just simply consisted of being anti-Halal and anti-Kosher and that was their kind of stance. And the thing that I kind of would very much kick back against, I suppose, is the idea that there'd be any sort of common ground with that political perspective. That veganism could be co-opted for those ends.

Mariann: I mean, especially since they weren't supporting veganism and it was... I know that the whole Halal slaughter thing has been a much bigger issue, I think, in Europe generally. And it being co-opted as an animal rights issue, by some people, when it was nothing of the sort.

But I guess the person I always think of is Matthew Scully who wrote the book *Dominion*. I don't know whether you're familiar with it. It's quite a while ago, came from a somewhat, not a really religious perspective and like he's like a speech writer for Sarah Palin. Just as Republican as you can get, but I think his veganism is quite sincere, I really do. And I think it's animal rights. Um, you know, he's vegan and very disturbed by this. So maybe he's the only one, it's possible. But I still think that there might be some. I agree with you, it could be exploited for specific issues like that, particularly when they're related ethnically to some particularly disliked group, but I'll move on from that because I have so much to ask you.

Because I really wanted to ask you about white veganism and how that's become a term. And what's wrong with that term? Because you know, I'm white and I'm vegan so I could think, "well, what's wrong with that?" But it's come to mean something very specific. Can you go into that? And then I want to talk about Black veganism because I think these are both really interesting phenomena.

Eva: So one of the things that's kind of, I suppose, a real difference and a sort of problematic difference, really... I think in the UK sometimes these discussions around veganism don't tend to discuss race and certainly don't discuss whiteness. And there's been much more kind of awareness because of valuable scholarship from the US and from sort of North American contexts that have drawn attention, I think, to the particular really problematic forms of vegan campaigning, I suppose, that make incredibly insensitive analogies between the mistreatment of animals and humans. Or even work that sort of assumes that speciesism is a kind of THE fundamental oppression that all others stem from. You know, many, many people have suggested that that doesn't take into account the particular histories of colonialism either, certainly in a sufficiently sophisticated way. And the thing in the UK, a lot of vegan scholarship and activism is sort of trying to take account of those arguments and think about how they apply to a context such as the UK that doesn't have ...is the seat of empire, you know.

Mariann: You do have a colonial history, there's no doubt about that.

Eva: Absolutely! Yeah, the problem is the way it's manifested is slightly different that leads those discussions not to be centralized in the same way. As I

say, with this kind of Imperial power that's wreaked havoc, essentially. And, but in the UK itself, because it's just the slightly different... It just plays out in a very different way.

And I think people have had to kind of reckon with the idea of white veganism slightly differently. So even some of the controversies that have happened in the U S with the sort of infamous blog and recipe book series that I won't name. People didn't quite, kind of, understand that to begin with until it was explained in depth and kind of debated...so I'm not answering that question very well.

So what I was kind of concerned with tracing, I suppose, in the book, was this very kind of problematic form of veganism that neglected or didn't think about. The relationship between human and animal oppression in ways that kind of engage in these very sort of insensitive forms of campaigning that have been talked about really extensively by other theorists, such as particularly great work by Breeze Harper or Aph and Syl Ko. I think their work has just been incredibly important in sort of drawing attention to those problems.

On the flip side, one of the things that I was trying to talk about in the book was sometimes the centralization of white veganism could itself be problematic and kind of inadvertently sort of centralize a kind of anglo-centric or even North American centric idea of what veganism is. Which obviously carries its own erasures. And some of the people that I interviewed felt quite kind of personally upset that their own experiences had been kind of neglected, or as I say, erased by conflating white veganism with all veganism.

And I think that binary has been talked about by a lot of people, as I say, such as the theorists I've mentioned. And so that's the kind of double...sort of bind that I wanted to just set out. As a white passing person, I didn't think it was my place to make an argument on my own terms, but I wanted to kind of try to map out what other scholars who've been working in this area a long time had been saying about kind of whiteness and veganism,

Mariann: But the other side of that coin, so to speak...

I don't understand weather, and you can give me information on this, whether Black veganism is as important a movement in the UK, as it is in the US. I mean, Black people in the U S are going vegan at a much higher rate than white people. It's a movement in and of itself, and people are writing about it, scholars are starting to examine it. It's really interesting.

And though we don't have the same history of being the colonial power, we have the history of slavery, which is just a really important...rather than just talking about colonialism and animal consumption in this country, the relationship is not just between colonialism, but slavery and animal consumption, and that's really being examined.

And of course, I mean, from an everyday person's point of view, the enormous health implications. And I'm not sure what my question is here...I guess my question is; is this as important a force in the UK? Is it specifically an American phenomenon? And, and do you find hope in it?

Eva: I think it's obviously incredibly hopeful and anything for me, that kind of de-centers one singular narrative about veganism, that sort of stems from one particular national context, I think is an important thing in kind of clearly realizing what veganism means. And who is seen as a typical vegan, et cetera. In the UK, what I'd say is that there are certainly movements. There are online communities for vegans of color in the UK that are very active.

But I think that there is a lack of, uh... I do feel that we're in a quite problematic moment in the UK politically, not just with sort of Brexit, with narratives about universities shutting down, freedom of speech and veganism gets involved into these narratives in kind of weird ways. So we have a popular TV program where the hosts sort of spat out a vegan sausage roll, live on television, and kind of attributed it to sort of the rise of snowflake culture.

And, you know, so it gets enrolled in this kind of really complicated culture wars narrative in quite a specific way in the UK. Where it's kind of conflated with a sort of millennial awareness of injustice, et cetera. So it's got a kind of slightly different resonance, I suppose. Also I'd say that in the UK, I suppose the particular way diasporic communities in the UK, where they allowed certain forms of vegetarian and vegan food to really flourish like cities with large, um, South Asian populations, for example. And so I think veganism's become... got quite kind of complicated relationship in those contexts, because you've got these kind of long standing vegetarian communities with their own restaurants and food cultures.

And then suddenly with the popularization of veganism, obviously you then get the kind of hits the vegan restaurants, kind of commercializing street food, kind of coming in and selling products, which feels a little bit of a, a kind of appropriation. And that seems to be the site of a lot of debate and discussion at the moment in the kind of politics of food appropriation.

Mariann: Kind of brings us back to the problem. We're talking about the capitalism and success in a capitalist world brings its issues and they have to be dealt with, but I'm not sure the success is a bad thing. The issues can be a bad thing.

Since I have you here and since you're a sociologist, I'm not sure I've really heard about people's attitudes or the problem with people's attitudes towards eating animals from a sociological perspective. I mean, obviously Melanie Joy and others have discussed these weird attitudes about eating animals from psychological perspective, the whole question of cognitive dissonance on an individual basis. Like, but I mean, I find the fact that people eat animals, even though I did it for many years, just bizarre, like so bizarre. Like people who care about animals, there are, you know, there are other people, there are some people who really don't, but most people really do.

Just they're horrified by seeing any of this and they just don't want to stop eating them. So from your perspective, why? Why do people eat animals?

Eva: One thing I'd say is that in terms of sort of vegan sociology, I wouldn't set myself up totally as a...I work in a sociology department now, but there are some people who I think do some really valuable sociological work on this such as Corey Lee Wrenn who runs a network called the Vegan Feminist Network.

I'd say Matthew Cole and Kate Stewart, they again do really valuable sociological work. Erika Cudworth again. And I take them to approach things more from a sort of media and cultural studies perspective. And sort of interested in how narratives...

Mariann: I think those subjects are very relevant to the question of why people do things. So anyway, just as a human being, I won't ask you as a sociologist, but just as a human being...why?

You found out what was happening and you stopped. I found out what was happening and I stopped and I don't know about...I'm not that much better than most of the people I know in other ways, like, it's not like I'm this miraculous human being. But most people, wonderful people, people who are wonderful in their lives in many other ways find out what's happening and they do not stop.

So why is that?

Eva: I'm going to answer that as a sociologist. And even though I've just said I'm not a sociologist, I would say that it's an empirical question. And there are

probably a huge diversity of reasons why people don't stop. And that more sociological research is really needed to kind of examine those questions.

I don't think we can answer these questions necessarily on an individual level by kind of talking about how individuals think and feel. Because these are to do with social structures they're often to do with inequalities that shape who can and can't have access.

Mariann: I want to leave that one out, though, because yes, there are some people who can't, I'm talking about people who can.

Eva: People who can. Okay. But even then I think there are forces of socialization. There are people who can, but maybe have got kind of deep rooted commitments to...that feel genuinely that...I'm from a really rural area. And I think genuinely people are anxious about livelihoods. They're genuinely anxious about kind of things changing dramatically.

And I can kind of dislike that or find it deeply problematic, but I think I can't dismiss it, in terms of how people are feeling. And I think these are kind of really important, social and cultural kind of issues that need more research that needs to be asked on a collective level really, rather than zooming in on the individual, which is why it's important to situate things, in say, a capitalist context or a national context or a particular...

Mariann: Yeah. Yeah. That does seem, that does seem really right. That it's not for most people. There are those people who will take this decision and go with it, even though it goes against the grain of, of the general social milieu. But most people...and so sociology is perhaps more the field that is relevant here than psychology because for most people, what you eat is not an individual question, apparently.

Did you ever think it could all change on a dime? That the world will just suddenly wake from this insane fever dream where we do this horrendous stuff to animals and realize that that we can, and we should, stop doing this to animals? Like it does seem like because it is social, it just seems like everybody could change, all of the sudden.

Eva: I do think that social social structures are kind of durable aren't they, if you think about why they...I mean, it's embedded in institutions. I think that's why I say sociology is quite useful. You've got, you've got people who are talking about, "well, how do these things get embedded in institutions?"

Everything from food ordering systems and...you know, it's not just the way people talk or think or believe different things about animals.

It's the kind of mundane infrastructures that shape what we can and can't do on a day-to-day level. Can I order a particular type of food, or can I access, um...is the catering infrastructure set up at this particular, I don't know, organization set up in such a way that it limits what choices are and aren't available to people.

I think it's not just social in terms of collective belief or actions. I think it's the way the institutions that organize social life make things more or less possible. That needs a lot of attention as well.

Mariann: Well, I think that's a really hopeful place to end because in spite of all of your issues, and I think it's really good to question what's happening...your point, really is what is going on in the UK is that, is that some of those changes are beginning to be made. It's it is beginning to be a pretty easy choice for people. And they know other people who are making this choice to be vegan. And, and so within that, it seems like there's a lot of hope that I'm going to stick to my guns and say, all right, one day everyone is just going to...it's just going to be over.

And people will think, "why did we do that to these poor creatures?!" I'm sticking with it.

Eva: I think there is hope. And I think hope is the note that I tried to end the book on. That despite all of these concerns about the limits of commercialization and the way that may or may not undercut more expansive political opportunities. There is something really hopeful.

I remember sitting in front of... kind of going out for a meal with a group of people who played American football, uh, which, which has become quite big in the UK. And...

Mariann: I'm so sorry. It's a dreadful game...

Eva: But it was kind of really interesting because the year before we'd all gone out for a meal and everyone was eating meat. And most of the people were eating meat. And then a year later, most people were eating vegetarian, at least. And we're talking about oat milk and I was thinking, "wow, this is what a shift!" I would never have imagined 10 years ago that we would have such a shift in such a small space of time.

It's obviously a very anecdotal story, but I just think that that is a difference in a material sense.

Mariann: I totally agree. I think the more that veganism becomes available, the more...It's not just going to happen automatically, but it gives the opening for people to think about animals. And hopefully, I mean, I think the work continues because they could easily, as you point out so cogently in your book, just change behaviors without thinking about animals. And of course, billions and billions of animals continue to suffer. But if people really do that, connecting it to animals. And that's the work that's in front of us. I do think that there's an enormous amount of hope. So it's a really fascinating conversation.

Thank you so much for joining me today.

Eva: I thank you for having me. Thank you.