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1 Self-declared attitudes and beliefs regarding protein sources are

a good prediction of the degree of transition to a low-meat diet

3 in France^{1,2}

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¹ CFI, comparative fit index; INCA2, Second French national study on food consumption; PBC, Perceived behavioral control; RMSEA, Root-mean-square-error of approximation; SEM, Structural equation modelling; TLI, Tucker-Lewis index; TPB, Theory of Planned Behavior

² Declarations of interest: none

12 Abstract

13 Meat consumption in Western countries is declining and, while the proportion of strict 14 vegetarians remains low, intermediate diets such as flexitarianism have been developing in 15 recent years. Our objectives were to identify the different levels of transition towards low-meat 16 diets, characterize how these diets differ in terms of food intake, and identify whether attitudes 17 and beliefs can explain these degrees of transition. In a representative survey of the French adult population conducted in 2018 (n=2,055), participants declared whether they followed a 18 particular diet and completed a food frequency questionnaire on 29 food sources of protein 19 20 and a questionnaire on their attitudes and beliefs regarding protein sources. We identified four 21 dietary types based on these declarative data: vegetarians, flexitarians, pro-flexitarians and omnivores. The theory of planned behavior was used to predict meat intake and intentions to 22 reduce meat intake. The sample contained 2.5% vegetarians, 6.3% flexitarians, 18.2% pro-23 flexitarians and 72.9% omnivores. The diet groups displayed specific dietary profiles and 24 attitudinal scores. Compared with omnivores, pro-flexitarians consumed less red meat, more 25 26 vegetables and legumes and were much more in agreement about the environmental impacts of meat. Compared with pro-flexitarians, flexitarians consumed less red meat and processed 27 meat, and agreed much more about the health impacts of meat. Finally, versus flexitarians, 28 vegetarians consumed almost no meat but far more legumes, nuts and seeds, and were much 29 more sensitive to animal welfare issues. Attitudes, social norms and perceived behavioral 30 31 control (PBC) predicted intentions to reduce meat consumption but attitude was the most 32 important predictor. Intentions and PBC were both predictive of meat consumption. The dietary 33 type related to the level of meat intake could be predicted by self-declared attitudes and beliefs regarding protein sources. 34

35

36 Keywords

37 Attitudes; dietary transition; protein sources; flexitarian; vegetarian;

38 Introduction

When compared to plant protein, an intake of animal protein, and particularly that of meat, has 39 40 been associated with sustainability issues (Godfray, et al., 2018) such as animal welfare, 41 higher risks of non-communicable diseases (colorectal cancer and cardiovascular diseases) 42 (Anses, 2016a; Norat, et al., 2005) and a more negative impact on the environment and climate 43 change (Cleveland & Gee, 2017; Gerber, et al., 2013). In parallel with increasing awareness to sustainability issues in Western countries, there had been a decline in total per capita meat 44 consumption since the early 2000s in France (-9% between 2000 and 2015) (FranceAgriMer, 45 2015) and more generally in Southern Europe (-9% between 2000 and 2013), Western Europe 46 47 (-4%) and North America (-6%). This trend has involved a rearrangement of meat intake, consisting in a lower consumption of pork and beef and a higher consumption of poultry meat 48 49 (FAO, 2018).

50 The motivations, levers and barriers attached to reducing meat intake, as well as attitudes and beliefs related to meat, have been widely studied in the recent literature. The principal 51 52 motivations behind a lower meat intake are related to attitudes and beliefs regarding its impact on health, animal welfare and, to a lesser extent, the environment (Clonan, Wilson, Swift, 53 54 Leibovici, & Holdsworth, 2015; De Backer & Hudders, 2015; Latvala, et al., 2012; Zur & A. 55 Klöckner, 2014). It appears that the motivations behind reducing meat are age-dependent, 56 inasmuch as young adults tend to lower their consumption for animal welfare and 57 environmental reasons, whereas health-related reasons prevail among older generations (Pribis, Pencak, & Grajales, 2010). Furthermore, motivations also differ depending on the level 58 of meat intake: it has been reported that individuals who reduce their meat intake for health 59 reasons do not exclude meat altogether, while those concerned by animal welfare tend to stop 60 eating meat abruptly and are more likely to become vegans (de Boer, Schösler, & Aiking, 2017; 61 Petti, Palmieri, Vadalà, & Laurino, 2017). The main barriers identified in the literature are food 62 habits and a lack of skills to prepare meatless dishes (Pohjolainen, Vinnari, & Jokinen, 2015; 63 64 Schösler, de Boer, & Boersema, 2012), an attachment to meat (Graca, Oliveira, & Calheiros, 65 2015), or social norms (Amiot, El Hajj Boutros, Sukhanova, & Karelis, 2018). Psychological theories such as the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) have been used to predict health-66 related behaviors and notably meat intake, and have been shown to partially predict a transition 67 to plant-based diets (Wyker & Davison, 2010) or lower levels of meat intake (Zur & A. Klöckner, 68 69 2014) in non-representative populations in the USA and Norway.

Important gaps remain in our understanding of the individual determinants that underpin
changes to meat intake in Western populations, for three reasons. First, the literature has failed
to reveal the complexity of the relationship between attitudes and beliefs regarding particular

foods and the type of diet type adopted, whether this is actual or intended. Second, dietary 73 74 transitions during the past few years appear to have been characterized by the emergence of 75 moderate and low-meat diets which can constitute different degrees of a transition from highmeat to vegetarian diets (Latvala, et al., 2012), although data on this transition are scarce. 76 77 Lastly, most of the aforementioned studies were conducted in Northern Europe or the UK, which have much higher numbers of vegetarians and are characterized by dietary habits that 78 79 contrast with those in other Western countries such as France (Halkjaer, et al., 2009). The 80 proportion of vegetarians remains low among the French (around 2%) (Anses, 2017) who declare more negative attitudes towards vegetarianism compared to other countries, which 81 82 could be explained because gastronomy is deeply rooted in French identity and culture, and 83 vegetarians could be seen as a threat to this identity (Ruby, et al., 2016). However, a recent survey reported that intermediate profiles of transition towards a lower meat intake have grown 84 very rapidly in the recent years in France (the proportion of households with at least one person 85 who is "neither vegetarian nor vegan, but tends to reduce or limit their animal protein intake" 86 rose from 24% in 2015 to 34% in 2017) (Kantar WorldPanel, 2017). It therefore seems 87 important to study the transition towards low-meat diets in France as an example of a country 88 with a relatively weak acceptance of vegetarian diets but which has evolved very rapidly during 89 90 the past few years.

91 Our objectives were therefore to identify different dietary types which might constitute degrees

of transition to low-meat diets, to characterize how these diets differ in terms of protein source

93 intakes, and determine whether attitudes and beliefs might explain these dietary types.

94 **Population and methods**

95 Population and food intake

The data were collected between 9 April and 24 May 2018 using an online questionnaire sent to members of an online panel (n=450,000) operated by a generalist market research company (Creatests, Lille, France). The quota sampling method was used to obtain a representative sample of French adults aged 18 to 65 years, compared to the 2017 French population, as estimated by the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies. A total of 2,692 individuals (1,408 women and 1,284 men) completed the entire questionnaire.

102 The questionnaire contained questions on food habits related to the dietary sources of protein consumed by the individuals (including if they followed a vegetarian or vegan diet) (Food 103 104 intakes), their attitudes and beliefs relative to meat, their intentions to reduce meat 105 consumption (Attitudes and beliefs related to protein sources) and their socio-demographic background (Sociodemographic and lifestyle factors). Three questions rating from 1 ("Not at 106 all") to 7 ("Extremely") on hunger ("How hungry are you?"), fullness ("How full are you?") and 107 prospective consumption ("How much do you think you could eat right now?") of participants 108 109 were asked, as recommended by Blundell et al. (Blundell, et al., 2010), and aggregated into 110 an appetite score.

111 Food intakes

To limit the time required to answer the questionnaire, it only included 29 food groups. They 112 were selected to cover 84% of the total protein intake of the French population in 2006-2007, 113 114 as described in a previous study (de Gavelle, Huneau, Fouillet, & Mariotti, 2019). Participants were asked to declare their "overall meat" consumption (which included red meat, processed 115 meat or poultry), and then their consumption of specific meats and other food groups as 116 sources of protein. The food groups are described in Supplemental Table 1. Intake 117 frequencies were rated on a 9-item scale ranging from "never" to ">3 times/day". In the second 118 119 part of the questionnaire, the individuals were asked to state their usual portion size on a 7item scale using standard pictures from the SU-VI-MAX picture booklet (Le Moullec, et al., 120 1996). In a previous modelling study, de Gavelle et al. identified which modifications of portion 121 122 sizes of which protein food groups increased overall nutrient adequacy the most (de Gavelle, et al., 2019). The 29 food groups of the present study were sorted from the ones whose 123 124 modifications of portion sizes increased nutrient adequacy the most, to the ones whose 125 modifications increased nutrient adequacy the least. To limit the time required to answer, each participant was asked about his/her usual portion sizes of the first 20 food groups in the list 126 that he/she declared consuming. Thus each individual did not report portions for all food 127 groups, and the mean portion size (for men and women, separately) of the food group was 128

imputed to the food portions that were not reported. For each participant, daily mean intakes 129 (in grams) were then calculated per food group by multiplying the consumption frequency by 130 the portion size. Finally, an estimate of individual protein intake was made. The protein 131 132 contents of different food groups were estimated as means of protein content of the foods 133 included in each food group, weighted by the mean intake of each food, as reported in the second French national study on food consumption (INCA2) (Dubuisson, et al., 2010). These 134 135 protein contents were then multiplied by the daily mean intakes of each group to calculate an 136 estimate of protein intake for each participant. These estimates were partial as the intakes of 137 only 29 food groups were reported, and should not be interpreted as estimates of total 138 individual protein intakes.

We identified misreports using a 3-step method. Consistency was verified by asking four 139 questions on portion size twice in different parts of the questionnaire. A participant was 140 excluded if he/she declared different portion sizes of the same food more than once (n=195). 141 The plausibility of the declared frequencies was then tested. If the sum of the declared intake 142 frequencies was <once/day or >20 times/day (2.5th and 97.5th percentiles of intake frequency 143 of the protein foods in the INCA2 population (as estimated from the dataset), respectively), the 144 participant was excluded (n=61). Finally, the plausibility of intakes was tested using the mean 145 intakes reported in the French 2014-2015 INCA3 study (Anses, 2017). Given that intakes 146 147 followed a lognormal distribution, if the logarithm of the sum of intakes declared (/kg body weight) was not between mean + 2 SD and mean - 2 SD, or if the intake of one food group 148 was higher than the mean intake + 3 SD of this food group in, the participant was excluded. 149 150 However, an exception was applied for self-declared vegetarians or vegans, who had no upper 151 limit for their intake of legumes, nuts and seeds. Some vegetarians declared eating some meat, which has been reported in other studies (Rothgerber, 2017), as the representation of 152 vegetarianism is not the same for all individuals. Participants that declared being vegetarians 153 and consuming more than the mean meat intake in INCA2 (64g/d for men and 41 g/d for 154 women) were considered to have obviously misreported that they were vegetarians and were 155 excluded. After excluding all the misreports (n=381), we obtained a final sample of 2,055 156 157 individuals (905 men and 1,055 women). The flowchart is detailed in **Supplemental Figure 1**.

158 Attitudes and beliefs relative to protein sources

Participants completed a 15-item questionnaire concerning their assumptions about meat or
plant protein. The choice of items was based on publications on the same topic (Clonan, et al.,
2015; Graça, Calheiros, & Oliveira, 2015; Jallinoja, Niva, & Latvala, 2016; Pohjolainen, et al.,
2015; Zur & A. Klöckner, 2014) and covering the main themes identified (intention or perceived
behavioral control regarding reduced meat consumption, attitudes towards environmental,

health or animal welfare issues, social norms or attachment to meat) (Table 1). Participants
were asked to rate their agreement with each item on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from "do
not agree at all" to "fully agree". We chose to reverse the rating of four questions (from 7 to 1),
as these concerned positive attitudes towards meat, while all the others focused on negative
attitudes. The reverse-coded questions were marked with "(-)".

169 The Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) (Ajzen, 1991) has been widely applied as a model for analyzing a wide variety of behaviors, and has often be applied to food choices analysis. The 170 aim of the theory is to identify the causal mechanism underlying a behavioral intention. The 171 TPB is based on the assumption that behavior is the result of a particular conscious behavioral 172 173 intention. According to the TPB, intention is explained by attitude, subjective norms and perceived behavioral control (PBC), and behavior is explained by intention and PBC. This 174 theory seems particularly adapted to predict meat intake because intentions to eat meat have 175 been shown to predict actual consumption (Berndsen & van der Pligt, 2005) and the three TPB 176 variables successfully predicted intentions to eat meat. Indeed, Arvola et al. have shown that 177 178 attitudes and moral and subjective norms were good predictors of pro-environmental food 179 choices (Arvola, et al., 2008). Likewise, Povey et al. found that attitudes, subjective norm and PBC were predictors of intentions to follow specific diets (meat eaters, meat avoiders, 180 vegetarians or vegans) in the U.K. (Povey, Wellens, & Conner, 2001). The model was 181 implemented by assigning the assumptions to four categories: intention, attitude, subjective 182 183 norm and PBC. The score for each category was the mean score of the assumptions included in the category. The internal consistency of the constructs was assessed using Cronbach's 184 185 alpha (Table 1). We chose not to include items relative to the price of meat as this was not linked to any of the factors, and as it was not found significantly associated with meat intake 186 or intention to reduce meat intake when added to the TPB models. Likewise, the item "I would 187 be able to reduce my meat consumption if my doctor recommended it to me" (DOC) was 188 considered separately, as had been the case in a previous TPB model on the adoption of plant-189 190 based diets (Wyker & Davison, 2010).

Table 1. Questionnaire items on attitudes and beliefs, classified as intentions or factors
 explaining intentions (variables), and internal consistency¹.

Assumption	Abbreviation	Variables	Cronbach's alpha
I intend to reduce my meat consumption in the coming months	INT		
I am considering eating meat and fish only very rarely (no more than once a week)	FLEX	Intention	0.73
I feel able to reduce my meat consumption in the coming months	ABLE	Deresived	
It is harder to prepare good vegetarian foods than meat ones (-)	HAB	heboviaral control	0.70
A full meal is a meal with meat (-)	HAB2	Denavioral control	
I choose food which has been produced in a way that minimizes cruelty to animals	WELF		
I don't really think much about the animal when I buy meat (-)	WELF2		
To help reduce the impact of climate change, it is better to eat less animal foods (meat, dairy products and eggs)	ENV	Attitude	0.73
Substituting beans for meat slows down climate change	ENV2		
Meat is a nutritionally necessary component for humans (-)	HEAL		
Consuming high amounts of meat might cause serious health problems	HEAL2		

People around me often say that reducing your meat consumption is better for your health	NORM	Subjective norma	0.60
There are more and more people around me who are reducing their meat consumption	NORM2	Subjective norms	0.09
I would be able to reduce my meat consumption if my doctor recommended it to me	DOC	-	-
Eating meat at every meal is expensive	PRICE	-	-

193 ¹ Items were rated on a 7-item Likert scale, ranging from "do not agree at all" to "fully agree". (-) indicates reverse-coded items.

194 Identification and characterization of dietary types

195 We separated our sample into four groups according to the diet followed by the participants. Several criteria were applied to assign dietary types: first, they were identified using self-196 declaration. Participants were asked "Do you follow a specific diet?", and could answer 197 198 "vegan", "vegetarian" and/or "flexitarian (limiting meat consumption to a minimum)". 199 Participants who declared they were "vegetarians" and/or "vegans" were considered as "vegetarians" (because only nine participants were vegan). Those who stated they were 200 201 "flexitarians (limiting meat consumption to a minimum)" and had not already been classified as 202 vegetarians were considered to be "flexitarians". Those who rated the question "I am 203 considering eating meat and fish only very rarely (no more than once a week)" at \geq 5 and were not flexitarians or vegetarians were considered to be "pro-flexitarians". All other participants in 204 205 the sample were considered to be regular meat/fish eaters and were referred to as 206 "omnivores".

207 Socio-demographic and lifestyle factors

208 The participants were asked about their sex, age, level of education, socio-professional 209 category, household composition, height and weight, income, place of residence zip code and whether they were responsible for grocery shopping in the household. Body Mass Index (BMI) 210 211 (in kg/m²) was computed as the ratio of weight to squared height and classified according to 212 WHO guidelines (WHO, 2000). The categories used for monthly income were as follows: <€1,500, €1,500–2,500, €2,500–3,400 and >€3,400 per household. The zip codes reported 213 provided information on the size of the local community: <2,000 inhabitants, 2,000-20,000 214 inhabitants, 20,000-100,000 inhabitants and Paris conurbation. 215

216 Statistical analyses

An overall α level of 5% was used for statistical tests. Sample weightings were applied to 217 218 ensure the representativeness of the sample with respect to sex, age, socio-professional 219 category and geographic area of living, using the *lcarus* R package. All means were thus 220 weighted in this way. ANCOVA adjusted for age, sex and appetite score was used to test for 221 differences depending on the overall type of diet, and post-hoc tests with Tukey correction for 222 differences between the diets. Multivariate logistic regression models were implemented to 223 assess the association between sociodemographic factors and the type of diet, using 224 omnivores as the reference.

- 229 (<0.10) and χ^2 /df between 1 and 3 (Kline, 2015). When not stated otherwise, all analyses were
- performed using SAS 9.1.3 (SAS Institute Inc., Cary, NC, USA).
- 231

232 Results

- 233 After the misreports had been excluded, the study sample (n=2,055) contained 52 self-
- declared vegetarians (2.5%, considering the survey weightings), 129 self-declared flexitarians
- (6.3%), 381 pro-flexitarians (18.2%) and 1,493 omnivores (72.9%). In the overall population,
- the mean meat intake (as declared for "overall meat") was 83.4 (±85.9) g/d, the mean partial
- food intake was 708.9 (±343.1)g/d and the mean partial protein intake was 74.2 (±38.5) g/d.
- 238 Intakes of different protein food groups
- The mean partial food intake was 732.1 (±335.1) g/d for omnivores, 689.8 (±371.5) for pro-239 240 flexitarians, 543.8 (±282.3) for flexitarians and 612.6 (±347.3) g/d for vegetarians (Figure 1). The declared mean overall meat intake was 98.6 (\pm 91.7) g/d for omnivores, 54.5 (\pm 51.4) for 241 242 pro-flexitarians, 26.5 (±32.3) for flexitarians and 6.2 (±6.6) for vegetarians. Meat intake differed (P < 0.01) between each dietary type except between flexitarians and vegetarians. The mean 243 partial protein intake was 77.7 (±37.5) g/d for omnivores, 70.7 (±41.3) g/d for pro-flexitarians, 244 51.1 (±29.0) g/d for flexitarians and 51.1 (±30.7) g/d for vegetarians. The mean partial protein 245 intake differed between each dietary type (P < 0.01), except between flexitarians and 246 247 vegetarians.
- 248 Omnivores and pro-flexitarians differed the most (>20%) regarding their intakes of beef (-28%,
- i.e. 28% lower among the latter than the former; *P*<0.0001), pork (-26%, *P*<0.001), bread (-
- 250 22%, P<0.01)), spinach and chard (+38%, P<0.05) and legumes (+30%, P<0.01). Pro-
- 251 flexitarians and flexitarians differed in terms of their intakes of pâté (-70%, P<0.05), beef (-
- 252 67%, *P*<0.001), veal and lamb (-66%, *P*<0.01), sausages (-59%, *P*<0.05) and ham (-58%,
- 253 *P*<0.0001). Finally, flexitarians and vegetarians had different intakes of poultry (-86%, *P*<0.05),
- 254 nuts and seeds (+226%, P<0.0001), legumes (+143%, P<0.0001) and pasta (+46%, *P*<0.05).



255

Figure 1. Mean intakes of different food groups in each dietary type determined in the questionnaire sample (2018, *n*=2,055). +/-: mean intake significantly higher or lower than omnivores, as tested using post-hoc pairwise comparisons with Tukey corrections. Labeled means without a common letter indicate a significant difference in total food group intake between the diet groups, as tested using post-hoc pairwise comparisons with Tukey corrections.

Differences in mean intakes between the diets were mostly explained by differences in the frequency of consumption. Indeed, the portion sizes declared were similar between the different dietary type, except for beef, which was consumed in larger portions by omnivores versus pro-flexitarians (P < 0.01) and flexitarians (P < 0.0001), and in larger portions by proflexitarians compared to flexitarians (P < 0.05), and poultry and pasta, which were consumed in larger portions by omnivores compared to flexitarians (P < 0.05).

268 Sociodemographic characteristics

According to the results of logistic regression, pro-flexitarians were more likely to be women, 269 270 older and to have a lower income than omnivores. Flexitarians were less likely to be overweight and more likely to belong to lower income groups than omnivores. Vegetarians were more 271 272 likely to be women, less likely to be overweight or obese and more likely than omnivores to be 273 single or in a couple without children (Table 2). Likewise, when the reference of the logistic 274 regression was pro-flexitarians, flexitarians were more likely to be 25-34 years-old and single, 275 and vegetarians were less likely to be obese and more likely to be single or in a couple without children. Finally, compared to flexitarians, vegetarians were more likely to be women and 276 middle-income earners (€1501-3400), and less likely to be in a couple with children. 277

Table 2. Sociodemographic characteristics of the different dietary types compared to omnivores in the questionnaire sample (2018, n=2,055). Associations were tested using multivariate logistic regression models.

Variables	Omnivores (n=1,493)	Pro- flexitarians (n=381)	Flexitarians (n=129)	Vegetarians (n=52)	Pro- flexitarians vs Omnivores	Flexitarians vs Omnivores	Vegetarians vs Omnivores	P1
	%	%	%	%	OR [95% CI]	OR [95% CI]	OR [95% CI]	
Sex								<.0001
Female	50.0	63.5	58.9	76.9	1.7 [1.34;2.17]	1.28 [0.87;1.88]	3.16 [1.61;6.22]	
Male	50.0	36.5	41.1	23.1	1	1	1	
Age (years)								0.021
18-24	12.6	12.6	14.7	26.9	0.61 [0.40;0.92]	0.73 [0.38;1.40]	1.41 [0.60;3.32]	
25-34	20.0	14.7	22.5	19.2	0.53 [0.36;0.76]	1.03 [0.59;1.81]	0.93 [0.38;2.27]	
35-44	22.0	17.3	20.9	11.5	0.61 [0.43;0.88]	1.04 [0.58;1.87]	0.79 [0.28;2.27]	
45-54	23.3	27.0	20.9	21.2	0.95 [0.68;1.32]	1.03 [0.58;1.84]	1.61 [0.66;3.97]	
55-65	22.1	28.4	20.9	21.2	1	1	1	
BMI (kg/m2)								0.036
< 18.5	4.2	5.3	7.75	3.9	1.11 [0.65;1.89]	1.31 [0.64;2.69]	0.48 [0.11;2.04]	
18.5-25	51.3	53.0	62.8	76.9	1	1	1	
25-30	30.7	28.6	20.9	17.3	0.92 [0.70;1.20]	0.60 [0.38;0.96]	0.45 [0.21;0.94]	
≥ 30	13.8	13.1	8.5	1.9	0.86 [0.60;1.22]	0.53 [0.27;1.02]	0.09 [0.01;0.70]	
Income (€/ month / household)								0.003
≤ 1500	18.3	25.7	33.3	26.9	1	1	1	
1501-2500	29.2	30.7	22.5	40.4	0.74 [0.54;1.03]	0.47 [0.28;0.79]	1.30 [0.62;2.73]	
2501-3400	26.5	21.8	17.8	11.5	0.56 [0.39;0.81]	0.46 [0.25;0.83]	0.44 [0.16;1.26]	
>3400	26.0	21.8	26.4	21.2	0.58 [0.39;0.85]	0.70 [0.40;1.24]	0.97 [0.39;2.44]	
Household composition								0.023
2 adults living as a								
couple with at least 1 child	44.3	42.5	31.8	17.3	1	1	1	
2 adults living as a couple without children	27.3	26.5	27.9	42.3	0.96 [0.71;1.30]	1.48 [0.9;2.44]	3.95 [1.68;9.28]	
Alone	28.5	31.0	40.3	40.4	0.89 [0.65;1.23]	1.64 [0.97;2.76]	2.54 [1.03;6.24]	
4 - 1 1								

281 ¹ Odds ratios (95% CI) from the multivariate model included sex, age, BMI, household income and household composition. OR: Odds ratio; CI: Confidence interval

283 Attitudes and beliefs relative to sources of protein

Attitudes and beliefs relative to protein sources were associated with different dietary types. 284 285 Omnivores had lower mean scores than the three other dietary types for each assumption. Pro-flexitarians had lower scores than flexitarians and vegetarians for each assumption except 286 for those concerning subjective norms (NORM and NORM2), an ability to reduce meat 287 consumption if advised by a doctor (DOC) and price (PRICE), which did not differ between 288 pro-flexitarians and flexitarians or vegetarians. The most marked differences (>30%) between 289 pro-flexitarians and omnivores were the estimates of intent (INT +62%) and ability (ABLE 290 291 +42%) to reduce meat intake, and concerns regarding the environment (ENV +39% and ENV2 292 +38%) and animal welfare (WELF +36%). The most marked differences (>15%) between 293 flexitarians and pro-flexitarians were habits of consuming meatless dishes (HAB +26%), beliefs about the link between meat and health (HEALTH2 + 25%) and concern for animal welfare 294 (WELF2 +22%). The most marked differences between flexitarians and vegetarians concerned 295 similar assumptions (HEALTH2 +35%, HAB2 +27% and WELF2 +17%) (Figure 2). 296



298 Figure 2. Mean scores (from 1 to 7) for items in the attitudes and beliefs questionnaire, for 299 each dietary type in the sample (2018, *n*=2,055). When ANCOVA was adjusted for age, sex 300 and appetite score and identified a significant effect of the type of diet, labeled means without 301 a common letter indicate a significant difference between the dietary types, as tested by pairwise post hoc comparisons with Tukey corrections (P < 0.05). Scores were reverse-coded 302 303 for the items marked (-). ABLE, I feel able to reduce my meat consumption in the coming 304 months; DOC, I would be able to reduce my meat consumption if my doctor recommended it 305 to me; ENV, To help reduce the impact of climate change, it is better to eat less animal foods (meat, dairy products and eggs); ENV2, Substituting beans for meat slows down climate 306 307 change; HAB, It is harder to prepare good vegetarian foods than meat ones; HAB2, A full meal is a meal with meat; HEALTH, Consuming high amounts of meat might cause serious health 308 309 problems; HEALTH2, Meat is a nutritionally necessary component for humans; INT, I intend to 310 reduce my meat consumption in the coming months; NORM, People around me often say that reducing your meat consumption is better for your health; NORM2, There are more and more 311 312 people around me who are reducing their meat consumption; PRICE, Eating meat at every 313 meal is expensive; WELF, I choose food which has been produced in a way that minimizes 314 cruelty to animals; WELF2, I don't really think much about the animal when I buy meat.

297

As for structural equation modelling, fit indices (CFI=0.999, TLI=0.997, RMSEA=0.021 and χ^2 /df=1.89) indicated that the TPB model procured a good fit to the data. Attitudes, subjective norms and PBC explained 51% of the variance of intention (R²=0.51). Each variable was significantly associated with intention (*P* <0.0001). The most important predictors of intention

were attitude (β =0.61, which meant that +1 point of attitude led to +0.61 points of intention), PBC (β =0.32) and subjective norms (β =0.15). Attitude and subjective norms were not associated with meat intake, and only intention and PBC explained individual meat intake (*P* <0.0001 for both). These variables explained 15% of the variance of meat intake (R²=0.15). PBC was a better predictor (β =-14.1, which meant that +1 point of PBC led to -14.1 g/d of meat intake) than intention (β =-9.0) (**Figure 3**).



325

Figure 3. Measurement model for the Theory of Planned Behavior applied to the intention to reduce meat and meat intake in the questionnaire sample (2018, *n*=2,055). *r*, Pearson correlation coefficient; β , path coefficients; ***, *P* <0.0001

329

330 Discussion

331 During this study on a large sample representative of the French adult population we were able 332 to classify participants in four types whose diets related to different degrees of transition from 333 a traditional Western diet towards a lower meat intake: omnivores, pro-flexitarians, flexitarians 334 and vegetarians. Among these dietary types, a gradual reduction of meat intake (particularly 335 beef and pork) was associated with a compensatory gradual increase in that of vegetables, legumes, nuts and seeds. Differences in food intake were associated with differences in 336 attitudes, subjective norms, PBC and intention to reduce meat consumption. One major finding 337 338 of this study is that, beyond these dietary types, an intention to reduce meat could be predicted 339 from beliefs and attitude more than from other factors in the TPB model, and that meat intake could be predicted from intention and PBC. The second important finding is that specific 340 attitudes regarding the impact of meat on the environment, human health and animal welfare 341 342 were strong determinants of these dietary types.

343 Contrasts between dietary types

344 There seemed to be a gradation of dietary types from omnivores to vegetarians, but this should 345 not be understood as a necessary transition that would ultimately lead to an all-vegetarian 346 population in the future. Rather, this gradation should be seen as a picture of the different 347 dietary types related to animal protein intake in France in 2018. Latvala et al. identified clusters 348 of consumers depending on whether they were undergoing a transition, had already lived a transition or did not plan to change their behavior (Latvala, et al., 2012). The cluster of "past 349 change" still consumed meat, but at lower levels than initially, and there were four different 350 351 clusters of participants "ongoing a change", depending on which food they intended to eat 352 more in the future (chicken, beef or vegetables), showing that there was not a single trajectory of change that every individual followed. In our study, even though omnivores had lower scores 353 than pro-flexitarians and pro-flexitarians had lower scores than flexitarians for almost every 354 355 attitude, the magnitude of the contrasts between each stage was not the same. The main 356 dietary differences between omnivores and pro-flexitarians were lower beef and pork intakes, but not processed meat and poultry, and higher vegetable and legume intakes. This could be 357 358 related to differences in symbolism between the different types of meats. Indeed, the word 359 "meat" is associated to red meat like beef and pork, but rarely with processed meat or poultry. 360 Red meat is associated with weight gain, health issues and disgust, more often than processed 361 meat or poultry (Kubberød, Ueland, Tronstad, & Risvik, 2002; Santos & Booth, 1996). Latvala 362 et al. also identified that most of the individuals who experiencing a transition towards less 363 meat intake were primarily reducing their beef and pork intakes, but not that of poultry (Latvala, et al., 2012). The motivations of this transition were mainly related to healthiness and weight 364

management, and there were more women in the cluster undergoing a transition than in the 365 cluster not planning to change. This was also true in the present study as there were more 366 367 women in the pro-flexitarian group than in the omnivore group. This may be in line with the fact 368 that people valuing masculinity, people that do not see enjoying meat as a moral issue and 369 find dominance acceptable are more likely to consume animals (Loughnan, Bastian, & Haslam, 370 2014). The principal attitudinal differences between omnivores and pro-flexitarians were higher 371 scores on environment-related attitudes, and a higher evaluation of their ability to reduce meat 372 consumption, thus reflecting their intention (according to the TPB model). In view of the 373 literature and our results, we could therefore hypothesize that the first steps in the transition, 374 in addition to unconscious psychological parameters associated with sociodemographic 375 characteristics, are partly operated by a raising awareness to the environmental impacts of meat consumption (because beef is the major contributor to food-related GHG emissions 376 (Gerber, et al., 2013)) among individuals with a higher self-declared ability to reduce meat 377 378 intake.

379 The principal differences between pro-flexitarians and flexitarians were a lower intake of beef 380 and processed meat, a more pronounced habit of consuming meatless dishes and higher scores for health and animal welfare attitudes. The contrast between these two dietary types 381 therefore appeared to be partly explained, again in addition to unconscious psychological 382 parameters, by better habits to eat meatless dishes, animal welfare motivations and health-383 384 related motivations, as high intakes of red and processed meats are recognized as increasing 385 the risk of colorectal cancer and cardiovascular diseases (Anses, 2016a; Boutron-Ruault, 386 Mesrine, & Pierre, 2017). Finally, the contrast between flexitarians and vegetarians was 387 marked by a lower poultry intake, and a higher intake of vegetables, legumes, nuts and seeds, with higher health and animal welfare-related attitudes and better habits. The question on meat 388 being a necessary food for humans was the most discriminating, which may not appear 389 surprising given that most vegetarians evict meat. The differences between flexitarians and 390 vegetarians could be linked to the ethical vegetarians who focus on moral considerations 391 related to animal welfare, and tend to associate meat with disgust and emotional distress (Petti, 392 393 et al., 2017). The differences in reasons depending on the stage of transition were consistent 394 with findings from a few previous studies where omnivores tended to have lower scores for attitudes related to animal welfare than flexitarians, who in turn had lower scores for attitudes 395 related to animal welfare than vegetarians (Clonan, et al., 2015; De Backer & Hudders, 2015). 396 397 Among young native Dutch adults, and as in our study, animal welfare was the main reason to reduce meat consumption among vegetarians, while for low-meat eaters (who were similar to 398 399 the flexitarians in our study) it was health, and for medium meat-eaters (who were similar to 400 the pro-flexitarians in our study) it was the environment (de Boer, et al., 2017).

401 Theory of Planned Behavior

402 When TPB was applied to predict meat intake during two studies in the USA and Norway, 403 Wyker et al. found that attitudes, PBC and subjective norms could predict intentions to follow 404 a plant-based diet (R²=0.61), and, as in our study, attitudes were the most important predictor 405 (Wyker & Davison, 2010). Zur et al. used a modified model based on TPB, norm activation 406 theory and the protection motivation theory, and showed that attitude was the most important predictor of intention, but found no significant association between PBC and intention or meat 407 consumption. They showed that meat consumption was well predicted by intention (Zur & A. 408 409 Klöckner, 2014). Finally, Weibel et al. used the TPB in Switzerland to assess the associations 410 between attitudes, social norms and PBC and the stage model of behavioral change towards a plant-based diet. They identified that attitudes (which they separated into "attitude" and 411 "awareness"), PBC, and social norms, among other factors, were associated with the stage of 412 behavioral change ($R^2=0.58$), and in particular with the shift from individuals who did not wish 413 to change to individuals who had the intention to change (Weibel, Ohnmacht, Schaffner, & 414 415 Kossmann, 2019). The TPB hypothesizes that attitudes and PBC predict intention which, in 416 turn, predicts behavior. However, other theories hypothesize a reverse causation: individuals who are used to eating large amounts of meat cannot form attitudes and beliefs under which 417 meat is deleterious to health, the environment or animal welfare as this would constitute a 418 major dissonance with their behavior, so that they adapt their attitudes, PBC and intentions in 419 420 order to limit the gap with their behavior (Rothgerber, 2017). A majority of omnivores see their behavior as the norm and do not look for or reject dissonant information regarding the impacts 421 422 of meat consumption (Piazza, et al., 2015).

423 Cultural specificities of the French population

Some self-declared vegetarians did report meat consumption, and we chose not to exclude 424 them for as long as this was not high (83% of vegetarians declared no meat intake, and only 425 426 one vegetarian declared $\geq 10g/d$). This had also been the case in other studies (Allès, et al., 427 2017; Rothgerber, 2017), and our study was designed to question subjective representations by individuals of their diets, rather than their objective diets, and we saw that these 428 representations were strongly associated with food intakes, attitudes and beliefs. Among the 429 430 17% of vegetarians who also declared eating meat, 67% declared eating poultry only. 431 Therefore vegetarianism seems to represent meat avoidance for most of the French self-432 declared vegetarians, and red and processed meat avoidance for a smaller part of French self-433 declared vegetarians. This is consistent with a study conducted in the USA showing that 434 among the participants who declared being vegetarians, a significant part declared consuming poultry (Dietz, Frisch, Kalof, Stern, & Guagnano, 1995). The proportion of vegetarians in our 435

study was consistent with the most recent French data (2% in 2014-2015) (Anses, 2017). The 436 same food intake trends were reported in France by the Nutrinet-Santé study and in the UK by 437 the Biobank cohort: vegetarians ate more vegetables, legumes and nuts, fewer dairy products 438 439 and virtually no meat, compared to meat eaters. However, in those studies, the vegetarians 440 ate more eggs and less fish than meat eaters, which was not the case in our study (Allès, et al., 2017; Bradbury, Tong, & Key, 2017). Similarly when comparing our study to the UK 441 442 Biobank cohort, the main differences between regular meat eaters and low meat eaters were primarily a lower intake of beef, processed meat (but not poultry) and bread, and a higher fish 443 intake. However, there were no/few differences with respect to legumes, nuts and seeds and 444 445 dairy products in the UK, whereas the difference was marked in our study. Likewise, the low 446 amounts of meat consumed by vegetarians were mainly poultry in the present study, and mainly red meat in the UK. These differences were perhaps indicative of differences in 447 vegetarian diets in countries such as France that do not have a large number of vegetarians 448 449 and have negative attitudes towards vegetarianism, in line with the rooted cultural specificity of gastronomy in France, unlike northern Europe and the UK. The sociodemographic 450 characteristics of vegetarians and meat eaters were similar to those seen in the Nutrinet-Santé 451 study, as in both cases vegetarians were more likely than meat-eaters to be women, have a 452 453 BMI within the 18.5-25 range and be single. Scores related to the belief that eating meat was expensive were similar across pro-flexitarians, flexitarians and vegetarians, even though 454 incomes differed between these groups. Likewise, meat intake was not associated with income 455 456 among non-omnivores. Taken together, this may suggest that price was not a determinant of a low-meat diet among groups other than the omnivores. Flexitarians reported a lower food 457 458 intake compared to omnivores and pro-flexitarians, but as the study focused on food sources 459 of protein, only partial intake was estimated, and no conclusions in terms of total volume or 460 energy intake could be drawn. However, we were able to estimate that protein intake that was partial but expected to cover about 84% of total protein intake, was similar between vegetarians 461 and flexitarians, which was in line with the findings of other studies (Clarys, et al., 2014). 462

463 *Limitations and uncertainties*

Some limitations and uncertainties affecting this study need to be underlined. First, the 464 hypotheses on the dynamic transition from classic Western diets to a lower meat intake could 465 466 not be tested because the individuals did not report whether they had experienced a dietary 467 transition or not, or the reasons why they would have experienced such a transition. Our results were nevertheless consistent, in terms of contrasts in food intake, with other studies that 468 469 explored past or undergoing transitions to low-meat diets. Moreover, the BMI and food intake 470 values were estimated from declared data only, which may have involved a desirability bias and underestimation of the BMI and "unhealthy" food intakes (Gorber, Tremblay, Moher, & 471

Gorber, 2007). Food intakes were estimated using a partial food frequency questionnaire, 472 which had not been validated by another assessment such as 24h recalls. Therefore, these 473 data could not be used to assess nutrient intakes or adequacies, or to study differences in 474 475 energy intake between the diets. However, we were able to indirectly determine differences in 476 diet quality between the dietary types, as red and processed meat intakes were lower among 477 pro-flexitarians and flexitarians than in omnivores, while the intakes of vegetables, legumes, 478 nuts and seeds and fish were higher, which was in line with the latest dietary guidelines in 479 France (Anses, 2016b). The diets of flexitarians and pro-flexitarians were therefore likely to be 480 of better quality than those of omnivores, which may also partly explain the lower BMI seen 481 among flexitarians and vegetarians than in omnivores. Contrary to those on energy and 482 nutrient adequacy, the survey method was developed to adequately characterize profiles of dietary protein intake. The mean intakes of the food groups reported were at least 20% higher 483 than those found in the 2014-2015 INCA3 study except for bread, milk and fast foods, whose 484 485 intakes were lower. This is common as food frequency questionnaires tend to overestimate intakes when compared to 24h recalls (Deschamps, et al., 2007). However, the present study 486 focused on differences in intake between different dietary types and associations between 487 intakes and attitudes, and not on absolute intakes. Finally, only 52 vegetarians were identified 488 489 in our sample, which limited the statistical power of the analyses, and may explain why some contrasts between vegetarians and other groups were not found to be significant. However, as 490 discussed before, our results were consistent with those of other studies involving a large 491 number of vegetarians. 492

493 Conclusion and prospects

During this study, we were able to identify diets corresponding to different levels of meat intake. 494 495 Pro-flexitarians appeared to be driven by environmental reasons, and these individuals had a lower beef and pork consumption and ate more vegetables and legumes than omnivores. 496 Flexitarians appeared to be driven by health and animal welfare issues, were more used to 497 498 meatless dishes and had lower intakes of red and processed meats. Finally, vegetarians 499 considered that meat was not a necessary food for humans, and were concerned by animal 500 welfare. We were able to predict overall meat intake from the score of intention to consume less meat and the PBC, and to predict intention from attitudes, social norms and PBC. Attitudes 501 502 were the most important predictor of intention. We can therefore conclude that raising 503 awareness to the impacts of high meat consumption on the environment, health and animal welfare could be a critical lever to enable a transition to low meat consumption. Indeed, it has 504 505 been shown in some interventional studies that providing information on the impacts of meat 506 consumption on health, the environment or animal welfare was associated with a reduced 507 intention to consume and choose meat (Bianchi, Garnett, Dorsel, Aveyard, & Jebb, 2018).

508 Other strategies based on group dynamics have been shown to be more effective than 509 providing information to change dietary behavior, and, as a result, attitudes towards this 510 behavior (Lewin, 1943).

511

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Supplemental table 1. Food groups whose frequency of intake were assessed in the questionnaire. Questions about portion sizes were asked for the 10 food groups whose intake increased the most and the 10 food groups that decreased the most in a previous modelling study (de Gavelle, Huneau, Fouillet, & Mariotti, 2019), if consumed by individuals. If a food group whose intake increased frequently in the modelling study was not consumed, the portion size of another food group was asked.

Type of change in food					
Food group	intake that increased	Question about portion size			
	nutrient adequacy ¹				
Overall meat	-	Estimated equal to the portion of beef			
Beef	Increase or decrease	If consumed			
Veal or lamb	-	Estimated equal to the portion of beef			
Pork (except ham and deli meat)	Decrease	If consumed			
Sausages (Wieners, sausages, andouilles and puddings)	Decrease	If consumed			
Pâté, rillettes	Decrease	If consumed			
Ham (cured or not, bacon)	Decrease	If consumed			
Offal	Decrease	Estimated equal to the portion of beef			
Poultry (chicken, turkey)	Increase or decrease	If consumed			
Fatty fish (salmon, sardines, mackerel)	Increase	If consumed			
Lean fish (tuna, cod, hake, sole)	Increase	If consumed			
Eggs and omelets	Decrease	If consumed			
Cheese	Decrease	If consumed			
Milk	-	Not asked (200g)			
Yogurts and cottage cheese	Increase	Not asked (125g)			
Meat-based dishes (cassoulet, beef	Deeroooo	If consumed and 3 of the others			
bourguignon, couscous)	Decrease	were not			
Dishes without filling (tripe, veal roulades, dumplings)	Decrease	If consumed and 5 of the others were not			
Prepared dishes based on vegetables (stuffed tomatoes, endive gratin, moussaka)	Decrease	If consumed and 4 of the others were not			
Dishes prepared with pasta or potatoes (ravioli, gratin dauphinois, Bolognese pasta)	Decrease	If consumed and 1 of the other was not			
Sandwiches	Decrease	If consumed and 6 of the others were not			
Fast food (pizzas, kebabs, burgers)	Decrease	If consumed and 7 of the others were not			
Quiches and salty pies	Decrease	If consumed and 2 of the others were not			
Pastas (excluding wholemeal pastas)	Increase or decrease	lf consumed			
Bread (excluding wholemeal bread)	Increase or decrease	If consumed			
Whole grain rice, pastas or bread	Increase	Mean of rice, pastas and bread			
Rice and wheat (semolina or cooked		If encoursed			
wheat)	increase	ir consumea			
Spinach and chard	Increase	If consumed			
Legumes (lentils, flageolets)	Increase	If consumed			
Nuts and seeds (almonds, hazelnuts, peanuts)	Increase	If consumed			

¹ The modelling study aimed at identifying which type of change in protein food intake was the most effective to increase overall nutrient adequacy in a French representative population. For some food groups, increasing or decreasing the intake could be effective to increase overall nutrient adequacy depending on the participant.



Supplemental Figure 1. Flow chart of the selection of reliable dietary data in the population sample (2018, n=2,055)

Supplemental references

de Gavelle, E., Huneau, J.-F., Fouillet, H., & Mariotti, F. (2019). The Initial Dietary Pattern Should Be Considered when Changing Protein Food Portion Sizes to Increase Nutrient Adequacy in French Adults. *The Journal of Nutrition, 149*, 488-496.