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## Exploring The Fifth Quarter: An Enquiry Into Offal Eating In Contemporary Irish Food Culture, Its History, and Its Future

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# **Exploring The Fifth Quarter: An Enquiry Into Offal Eating In Contemporary Irish Food Culture, Its History, and Its Future**

A dissertation submitted to Technological University Dublin, School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Gastronomy and Food Studies

By

Niall Toner

May 2023

Supervisor: Dr Brian Murphy

26,005 words

## **Declaration of Authorship**

I certify that this thesis, which I now submit for examination for the award of the Master of Arts in Gastronomy and Food Studies is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text.

This thesis was prepared according to the regulations of Technological University Dublin and has not been submitted in whole or in part for an award in any other Institute or University. The School has permission to keep, to lend or to copy this thesis in whole or in part, on condition that any such use of the material of the thesis be duly acknowledged.

Niall Toner:

8<sup>th</sup> May 2023

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## Abstract

Animal offal and organ meats seem to have all but disappeared from domestic cuisine in Ireland, despite the recent renaissance in the country's food culture. This thesis has examined the extent and nature of the consumption of these comestibles in contemporary Irish food culture, and the perceived decline in offal's popularity in Ireland in the past fifty years. It also sought to discover whether offal and organ meats might have a place in the future of our cuisine, and whether the consumption of more offal and organ meats in Ireland might contribute towards a more sustainable food production system, and fulfilment of Goals 12 and 13 of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs). It furthermore sought to unearth potential barriers to any revival in the consumption of these meats. Through a blended research approach using both quantitative and qualitative methods and the triangulation of results, the study employed an online survey complimented by semi-structured interviews with selected expert voices, followed by Reflexive Thematic Analysis of the data. The study has positivist leanings on the one hand but also relied on a relativist approach on the other, as it was necessary to interrogate the topic from a cultural standpoint as well as a practical one in order to form a better understanding of the problem. From that practical viewpoint, the study found that the consumption of offal meats has declined steeply over the past half-century, possibly as a result of economic prosperity and changes in taste, but also due to systemic changes in the production and distribution of meat in a more centralised and modernised food system. From a socio-cultural standpoint, it found that many of those who eat offal these days are likely to be affluent and food literate, and have high levels of cultural capital. It concluded that factors which influenced positive feelings in relation to offal were rooted in culinary knowledge and diversity in dietary background. On the other hand, it noted that negative feelings towards offal could be rooted in childhood experiences with food, 'psycho-visceral' auto-responses, and cultural associations with poverty. It discovered that the perceived disconnect between the general population and the origins of its food, and a resulting deficit in culinary skills and knowledge, might be potential barriers to a revival of these foodstuffs in the future. It is generally felt however, that increased consumption of offal and organ meats produced locally, may be understood as a way to help make the food production system in Ireland become more sustainable, by contributing to a substantial reduction in carbon emissions and fulfilment of the UNSDGs, even if awareness among the population of the goals leaves something to be desired.

A study that is only opportunistic or convenient, without larger significance or personal meaning, is likely to be followed superficially, with less attention paid to design and data gathering (Miles and Huberman 1994).

## Table of Contents

<b><i>Chapter 1 Introduction</i></b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.1 The Fifth Quarter</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.2 Justification for the Study</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.3 Research Questions and Aim and Objectives</b>	<b>12</b>
1.3.1 Relevant Research Questions	12
1.3.2 Aim of the Research	13
1.3.3 Objectives of the Research	13
<b>1.4 Structure of the Study</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>1.5 Conclusion</b>	<b>15</b>
<b><i>Chapter 2 Review of the Literature</i></b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.1 Introduction:</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.2 Definitions</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>2.3 A Cultural History</b>	<b>17</b>
2.3.1 The Stone Age	17
2.3.2 Hellenic and Roman Times	17
2.3.3 The Middle Ages and Beyond	18
2.3.4 The 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	19
<b>2.4 Ireland</b>	<b>20</b>
2.4.1 Pre-Famine Ireland	20
2.4.2 Commercialisation	21
2.4.3 Post-Famine	22
2.4.4 The Culinary Literature	22
<b>2.5 Offal Today</b>	<b>23</b>
2.5.1 Hegemony of Muscle Meat	23
2.5.2 Offal Eating	24
2.5.3 Darina Allen	24
<b>2.6 Class, Social Capital and Habitus</b>	<b>25</b>
2.6.1 Offal, Wealth and Poverty	25
2.6.3 Cultural Capital and Food	25
2.6.4 Cultural Capital, Habitus and the Irish	26
<b>2.7 Disconnect, ‘Viscerality’, Disgust, Neophobia and Neophilia</b>	<b>27</b>

2.7.1 Disconnect	27
2.7.2 Body ‘Andromorphism’ and Disgust	27
2.7.3 Disguise and Display	28
2.7.4 Researching Rejection and Acceptance	28
<b>2.8 Nutrition and Sustainability</b>	<b>29</b>
2.8.1 New Nutritional Research	29
2.8.2 Sustainability	29
2.8.3 The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)	30
<b>2.9 Conclusion</b>	<b>31</b>
<b><i>Chapter 3 Methodology</i></b>	<b>32</b>
<b>3.1 Introduction</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>3.2 Approach to the Research</b>	<b>32</b>
3.2.1 Mixed Methods.	32
3.2.2 Triangulation	33
3.2.3 Justification for the Research	33
<b>3.3 Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>34</b>
3.3.1 Introduction	34
3.3.2 Food and Culture	34
3.3.3 Influence on Method Design	35
3.3.4 Food, Social Capital and Habitus	35
3.3.5 Disgust and Body ‘Andromorphism’	36
<b>3.4 Collection of Quantitative Data</b>	<b>37</b>
3.4.1 Quantitative Survey Design	37
3.4.2 Questionnaire Aims	37
3.4.3 The Sampling Process and its Limitations	38
3.4.4 Analysis of the Quantitative Data	38
3.4.5 Reporting and Discussion of Survey Findings	39
<b>3.5 The Qualitative Research</b>	<b>39</b>
3.5.1 Interviews	39
3.5.2 Interview Design	39
3.5.3 Study Sample	40
3.5.4 Data Collection	40
3.5.5 Reflexive Thematic Analysis	41
3.5.6 The Six Phases	41



<b>3.6 Limitations of the Approach</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>3.7 Ethical Considerations</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>3.8 Conclusion</b>	<b>45</b>
<b><i>Chapter 4 Presentation and Discussion of the Findings</i></b>	<b><i>47</i></b>
<b>4.1 Introduction</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>4.2 The Online Survey</b>	<b>47</b>
4.2.1 Objectives	47
4.2.2 Sample Size and Piloting	47
4.2.3 Snowballing and Non-Probability Sampling	48
4.2.4 Summary of the Key Findings	48
4.2.5 Demographics	49
4.2.6 Respondents' Dietary and Cooking Proclivities	49
4.2.7 Dining Out and Entertaining	50
4.2.8 United Nations Sustainable Goals	51
4.2.9 The Offal Truth	52
4.2.10 Modern Offal Eating	53
4.2.11 Offal Literacy	57
<b>4.3 Conclusion</b>	<b>58</b>
<b>4.4 Presentation of the Analysis of the Qualitative Research and Discussion of the Results</b>	<b>59</b>
4.4.1 Introduction	59
4.4.2 The Interviews	59
<b>4.5 Findings of the Qualitative Research</b>	<b>60</b>
4.5.1 List of the Five Main Themes	60
4.5.2 How the Research Arrived at the Five Main Themes	61
4.5.3 Ambivalent Aversion	63
4.5.4 Culinary Deficit	65
4.5.5 Rich Food, Poor Food	66
4.5.6 The Great Disconnect	68
4.5.7 Conscious Re-engagement	70
<b>4.6 Conclusion</b>	<b>73</b>
<b><i>Chapter 5 Conclusions and Recommendations</i></b>	<b><i>75</i></b>
<b>5.1 Introduction</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>5.2 Aim and Objectives</b>	<b>75</b>

<b>5.3 Drawing Conclusions from the Objectives</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>5.3.1 Objective 1: To Discover What Has Been Written About the History and Culture of Offal and Organ Meats both Globally and in Ireland up to the Present Day</b>	76
<b>5.3.2 Objective 2: To Find Out Who Eats Offal in Ireland Today</b>	77
<b>5.3.3 Objective 3: To Explore the Nature and Extent of the Decline in Offal Eating in the Past 50 Years</b>	77
<b>5.3.4 Objective 4: To Employ a Research Method and Theoretical Framework that Best Suit the Study</b>	78
<b>5.3.5 Objective 5: To Explore Ambivalences Surrounding the Consumption and Non-consumption of Offal and Organ Meats</b>	78
<b>5.3.6 Objective 6: To Discover Whether There is an Appetite for Higher Levels of Consumption of Offal and Organ Meats in Ireland in the Future, and to Ask How That Might be Achieved, with a View Towards a More Ecologically-friendly Food Production System, Aimed at Meeting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGS)</b>	79
<b>5.4 Limitations of the Research</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>5.5 Recommendations for Further Research</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>5.5.1 Recommendation 1</b>	80
<b>5.5.2 Recommendation 2</b>	80
<b>5.5.3 Recommendation 3</b>	80
<b>5.5.4 Recommendation 4</b>	81
<b>5.6 Conclusion</b>	<b>81</b>
<b><i>References:</i></b>	<b>83</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Appendix A: Online Questionnaire (Microsoft Word Version)</b>	95
<b>Appendix B: Relevant Findings of the Online Survey</b>	106
<b>Appendix C: Sample Informed Consent Form for Interviewees</b>	120
<b>Appendix D: Interview Questions for Semi-structured Interviews</b>	124
<b>Appendix E: Interview Transcripts With Initial Coding</b>	127
Interview Subject 1	127
Interview Subject 2 and 2(b)	137
Interview Subject 3	161
Interview Subject 4	172
Interview Subject 5	184
Interview Subject 6	195
<b>Appendix F: Colour-tagging of Codes Under Five Headings and Sub-headings</b>	206

<b>Appendix G: Sample of how groups of codes were initially laid out on a surface for sorting, grouping and funnelling</b>	220
<b>Appendix H: Sample Candidate ‘Growing’ Sub-Theme Cluster: Sensual Aversion –</b>	221
<b>Appendix I: Sample Cluster Candidate Theme ‘Factors Influencing Positive Disposition Towards Offal’ became ‘Conscious Re-engagement’</b>	222
<b>Appendix J: Example of ‘list’ classification of ‘aversion-related codes’ for ease of viewing</b>	223
<b>Appendix K: Example of Spider Graph Working of Early Version of Theme Which Became ‘Conscious Re-engagement’</b>	224
<b>Appendix L: Graphic Illustrating Final Themes and Sub-Themes</b>	225

## **TABLE OF FIGURES**

FIGURE 1. 4.1. THE UNITED NATIONS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS UNSDGS	51
FIGURE 2. 4.2: WORD CLOUD GENERATED FROM RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION ‘WHAT, IF ANY, BODY PARTS OF AN ANIMAL WOULD YOU REFUSE TO EAT?’	52
FIGURE 3 4.3: WORD CLOUD ILLUSTRATING MOST COMMON ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION, ‘WHICH OFFAL DISH HAVE YOU NOT TRIED YET BUT WOULD LIKE TO?’	54
FIGURE 4. 4.4: WHERE DO YOU BUY YOUR OFFAL?	55
FIGURE 5 4.5 YOUR PARENTS AND OFFAL	56
FIGURE 6. 4.6 YOUR GRANDPARENTS AND OFFAL	56

## Chapter 1 Introduction

### 1.1 The Fifth Quarter

One day, when the author was a small boy, his grandmother produced a large soup bowl of honeycomb tripe in a clear, salty, white-peppery liquor. It intrigued and excited him. She had told him about the dish, many times, so to actually get to try it was a real treat. She grew up in Dolphin's Barn in Dublin following World War One and independence, living in economically straightened circumstances, thriving on the cheaper foods commonly eaten in Dublin at that time, of which she spoke a lot and occasionally cooked. Tripe was one of these dishes and crubeens was another, but she also cooked liver, kidneys, hearts and tongues. The author considers himself lucky to have bitten into this bygone culture at a tender age and has always felt fascination with the displays in butcher shop cabinets of the myriad parts of animals, arrays which have become increasingly less visible in our cities and towns.

### 1.2 Justification for the Study

Ireland is Europe's fifth largest producer of beef and a globally significant producer of pork and sheep meat (Enterprise Ireland, 2022). Edible offal yield from a carcass is typically 14 per cent from pigs and 12 percent from cattle (Marti, Johnson and Matthews, Kenneth, 2012). Ireland is also a country currently undergoing a profound gastronomic renaissance in which the revival and reinvention of its traditional foodstuffs has played and continues to play a vital role (Mac Con Iomaire, 2018). But where is The Fifth Quarter in all of this, the livers, kidneys, tongues and tripes our grandmothers loved so much? It is rarely seen in supermarket meat cabinets these days, apart from where it hides in plain sight, in 'occult' forms, such as sausages and puddings, and on the shelves as processed, tinned meats and patés. In our modern food distribution system, offal meat in its raw state must be 'sought out', in a way that a steak or chicken breast need not be.

Offal is a difficult food, its consumption often requiring both intimacy with and detachment from its origins. Steak is steak and a burger is just a burger. Even when manufactured in laboratories, grown from stem cells, these will continue to be steaks and burgers. It is, on the other hand, unlikely kidneys, lungs, brains and hearts will ever be grown in labs, and if they are, it will most likely not be for culinary purposes. With offal, there is no way of getting past the fact you are eating body parts, and to think about the function of a kidney while cooking one is not always a good idea (Fearnley-Whittingstall, 2004).

Most of us are probably less than comfortable with the idea of cooking a piece of tripe or some chicken gizzards, let alone gifted with the skill and knowledge to do it. The innards and extremities that used to be workaday foods have been replaced by insipid chicken breasts and identikit steaks. The organ meats your grandmother subsisted on and savoured have been relegated by us to the lowly status of waste products, once chewed with gusto, now largely eschewed with disgust. Or have they? At first glance perhaps, but scratch the surface and you see the price of beef offal in particular doubling between 2020 and 2021 (Woods, 2021). Meanwhile, small plates of Irish beef tongue are fetching €20 on menus in Tokyo (McNamara, 2019). So why don't we eat it anymore, or do we? And if we do, who is this 'we' exactly? And shouldn't we eat more of it, instead of sending it abroad to be enjoyed by other people?

## **1.3 Research Questions and Aim and Objectives**

### **1.3.1 Relevant Research Questions**

According to Ken Albala (2016), food has a story about how attitudes have changed over time toward it, frequently as a result of exogenous forces such as science, religion, economic and societal development, or just random chance. He was speaking with regard to lungs in particular, but he could well have been referring to offal generally and even specifically in an Irish context, which would appear to have been subject to just these kinds of processes. This prompts the question whether offal and organ meats have a place in contemporary Irish food culture and what part might they play in its future?

Arising out of this are a number of other relevant questions. Firstly, what is the methodology best-suited to conducting this research? This will be answered in Chapter 3, where the methodology of this study, including the methods of data collection and analysis, and the theoretical framework of the study will be set out and discussed. It must also be asked what the literature says about the cultural history of offal and organ meats, globally as well as here in Ireland, and the subsequent decline in their popularity in recent decades. There is also the question of who eats offal in Ireland today and whether its consumption is subject to considerations of class and social capital? There must also be an inquiry as to whether higher levels of consumption of offal meats can be achieved in the future and whether this can contribute to a more sustainable food production system towards the attainment of United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (UNSDG) 12, which calls on us to 'ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns' and UNSDG 13, which calls on us to 'take urgent action

to combat climate change'. Finally, it feels relevant to ask what the socio-cultural factors that influence the consumption of offal meats are, "and whether these might be a barrier to increased consumption in the future? Answering these questions will help achieve the aim and objectives of this study, which are set out in the following two sections.

### **1.3.2 Aim of the Research**

To establish the nature, extent and significance of the consumption of offal and organ meats in Irish food culture and to measure the appetite for more of it in the future. With this in mind, the following objectives have been set.

### **1.3.3 Objectives of the Research**

- To discover what has been written about the cultural and historical significance of offal and organ meats both globally and in Ireland up to the present day
- To find out who eats offal in Ireland today
- To explore the extent of and reasons for the decline in offal eating in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century
- To employ research methods and a theoretical framework (methodology) best suited to answer the research questions
- To explore the ambivalences surrounding the consumption and non-consumption of offal and organ meats
- To discover if there is an appetite for higher levels of consumption of offal and organ meats in Ireland in the future and ask how that might be achieved, with a view towards a more ecologically-friendly food production system towards achievement of United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) 12 and 13.

## **1.4 Structure of the Study**

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Chapter One introduces this dissertation by providing an overview of the background and justification for the study and specifies the aim, objectives and structure of the work.

## **Chapter 2: The Literature Review**

Chapter Two is presented in a number of separate sections. First of all it discusses what has been written about the global cultural history of offal eating by humans. The second section examines offal in Irish cuisine and the third section deals with contemporary Ireland. This is followed by a section dealing with theoretical and cultural ideas around offal eating in society, such as class, social capital and habitus. The next section deals with what has been written about disgust, neophilia and neophobia and other psychosocial issues in relation to the consumption of offal meats, while a final section elucidates new research on its nutritional attributes and offal in relations to climate change and the environment issues.

## **Chapter 3: Research Methodology**

This chapter describes the research methodology used to conduct the study, explaining the reasons for choosing the methods of collection of data and the selection and execution of Braun and Clarke's (2022) Reflexive Thematic Analysis to identify themes within the qualitative data collected during the interviews with selected expert voices.

## **Chapter 4: Presentation and Discussion of Findings**

Chapter Four presents the results of both the quantitative research and qualitative research and discusses the findings of the former in the context of the themes identified in the latter. The analyses of the data are then reflected upon and discussed by the researcher in relation to the aim and objectives.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations**

Chapter Five highlights the conclusions which the researcher has drawn through the completion of the research aim and objectives. Recommendations as to where further research might be undertaken are proposed.

### **1.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has introduced the research topic for the study and the justification for the research. It has laid out the aim and objectives of the study, and it has given an overview of the structure of the dissertation. The next chapter will set out and discuss the selected review of literature of the chosen topic. It will examine the cultural history of offal and organ meats as human food and discuss what has been written about offal eating as a cultural practice, its evolving and ambivalent social status, and its nutritional and environmental attributes.



## Chapter 2 Review of the Literature

### 2.1 Introduction:

The previous chapter set out the background to and justification for the research, as well as the research questions to be answered and the aim and objectives of the study. This chapter reviews the academic literature and other resources studied in relation to offal in human food culture globally and in Ireland in particular. It will look at offal consumption throughout history and set out how that culture has evolved and changed, in particular since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when it began to decline. It will discuss what has been written about offal's current place in our food culture, as well as the literature concerning the psychosocial and cultural reasons for choosing to eat or not to eat certain foods, including offal. It will discuss offal meats in relation to class and social capital, the pursuit of distinction and authenticity, emotional and physical responses to offal, and how offal as a foodstuff can have meaning beyond the act of just buying, cooking and eating it. This chapter will also review the relevant literature on the potential for more offal meat consumption in the future as we respond to climate change and population growth, moving towards fulfilment of the aforementioned United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs).

### 2.2 Definitions

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines offal as 'waste or rejected parts esp. of a carcass; an edible part cut off in dressing a carcass, esp. entrails, heart, liver, kidney, tongue, etc. It also includes other definitions such as 'anything worthless or unfit for use, discard or refuse, including the waste that falls off from any process, or the fragments that fall off when you break or use something', or, contemptuously, as 'those parts of an animal that are inedible'. Offal can also refer to waste products left behind after the processing of non-meat agricultural material such as grain ('Offal', 2023). The word comes from the middle-Dutch *afval* and the German *abfall* (waste). The *Oxford Companion to Food* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition) however, defines offal as those parts of a meat animal which are used as food but which are not skeletal muscle. The term, it says, can literally be interpreted as 'off fall', the pieces of the animal which fall from the carcass when it is butchered, the word originally applying principally to the entrails, but later referring to insides including the heart, liver, lungs, all abdominal organs and the extremities, tails, feet and heads, including the brain and tongue (Davidson and Jaime, 2014). However, the idea that what is and isn't offal can actually be a matter of debate, implying that

offal is cultural, that it can change with time and needs, and that we have a choice of what is fit for us to eat and what is not (Mc Williams, 2016). For example, Hertzman (2016) suggests that the term ‘offal’ ought only to apply to raw or minimally-processed foods that will be used as an ingredient in a completed dish. For the purposes of this dissertation however, the list of food items to which we will generally refer when we use the term offal will include tails, cheeks, heads, brains, tripe, intestines, sweetbreads (glands), livers, kidneys, hearts, spleens, lungs, testicles, penises, feet, uteri, skirts (membrane between the lungs and liver), blood, gizzards, cauls, marrow and udders. Sausages and puddings, which while processed, are what we might describe as ‘occult’ offal, as these may generally not be explicitly regarded as being offal by many of those who consume it. We will also touch upon derivatives such as gelatine and rennet, which while processed, could still be considered offal.

## **2.3 A Cultural History**

### **2.3.1 The Stone Age**

It is not difficult to picture hunter-gatherer humans feasting on offal pulled from the innards of a fresh kill while still warm. There is evidence of early Stone Age farmers in England eating raw offal; parasites that could only have come from this foodstuff have been found in fossilised human faeces thought to have belonged to the builders of Stonehenge (Mitchell, Anastasiou, Whelton, Bull, Parker-Pearson and Shillito, 2022). In Egypt, hieroglyphic tomb paintings indicate ancient offal recipes, and archaeologists have uncovered hearts and kidneys left for the dead to give them strength in the afterlife. Offal is mentioned as being cooked in texts from the time of Ur III in The Sumerian Empire in the 21<sup>st</sup> century BCE (Tallet, 2015).

### **2.3.2 Hellenic and Roman Times**

The ancient Greeks also ritualized the consumption of offal, often reserving these pieces as sacrifices to the gods. Tongue was commonly offered to Hermes, messenger of the gods and patron of herdsmen, traders, travellers, and thieves. It was customary for people leaving a banquet to provide an offering to Hermes by pouring wine over a tongue that had been reserved as a sacrifice (Dalby, 1996). Both Aristotle and Galen wrote about the dietary qualities of brains, and indeed the brains of sheep continued to be a favoured delicacy among many Greeks until the outbreak of Mad Cow Disease in the mid-1990s (Edwards, 2013). Emperors in ancient Rome indulged in the tongues of flamingos, nightingales, larks, and thrushes as a show of luxury and grandeur, and the internal organs of slaughtered animals were occasionally

employed to predict the future. Offal is positioned at the core of Roman cuisine in accounts by Galen, as well as the ‘food writer’ and chronicler Athenaeus (Dalby 2013, Edwards, 2013). The pig was the most often consumed animal, and the breasts of young sows were especially coveted (Edwards, 2013). The culinary text *Apicius* mentions brain sausage, cucumber stewed with boiled brains, vegetable and brain pudding, *minutal* (ragout or minced meat dish) of hare’s liver, smoked pig’s liver sausages wrapped in caul and bay leaves, fish liver pudding, liver hash, sow’s wombs, lungs and kidneys (Apicius, 2009). Mackerel innards were fermented into *garum*, the favourite condiment of the Romans (Dalby, 2013). The emperor Elagabalus was particularly fond of offal, and gluttony in general, and is said to have indulged in camel heels, cockscombs, the tongues of peacocks and nightingales, the brains of flamingos and thrushes, the heads of parrots and pheasants and the beards of mullets (Edwards, 2013). He fed his dogs goose liver and his servants the luxury dish of pregnant sow’s udder, a dish usually reserved for royalty (Dalby, 2013). Boiled tripe and *botulus* meanwhile, a type of blood sausage, were popular on the streets of ancient Rome (Edwards, 2013). The Byzantines were partial to offal of all kinds, including the udder of a suckling sow, a delicacy inherited from the Romans (Dalby, 1996). Organ meats and offal are still reserved for individuals of higher status today in some societies, for example as observed by anthropologist Harry West in Mueda in Northeastern Mozambique. Here, the organs were given to people of higher social status with the throat reserved for the most respected elder, while cuts considered less prestigious were divided among the women and children of the tribe (West, 2019).

### **2.3.3 The Middle Ages and Beyond**

Raw liver eating turns up in Marco Polo’s writings in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. He witnessed poor people in Mongolia eating it more or less straight from the carcass, cutting it small and dipping it in a sauce of garlic and spices, suggesting that the association between offal and poverty is an old one (Edwards, 2013). Stephen Mennell (1991) writes of the custom of giving the internal organs of slaughtered animals to the ‘lower orders’ in the Middle Ages, with one possible reason being that offal meats had to be consumed relatively quickly. Fish tripe appears in the writings of Chiquart, the cook of the Duke Of Savoy in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, a time when little or nothing of an animal, bird or fish was wasted, and certain cuts, such as a stag’s testicles for example, were reserved for the aristocrat that felled the animal during the hunt. Lungs, gizzards, sweetbreads, intestines, and bone marrows all ended up in some kind of dish or other (Scully, 1995). ‘umbles’, the innards of deer, were actually a prized food, but during the Tudor

period, regarded as fit only for the lesser tables at banquets. Eating ‘umble pie’ literally meant you were in the second tier of esteem. The modern meaning of the term ‘to eat humble pie’ is a mis-association (Mennell, 1991).

Later, Mennell adds, the courtly cookbooks of 17<sup>th</sup> century England show very few recipes for offal dishes, supporting the view that offal meats were more often eaten by the poor. With improvements in literacy and the rise of the middle classes in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, offal recipes in British and American cookbooks become more common, such as the one for calf’s head in Mrs Rundell’s *New System of Domestic Cookery*. This upward curve continued into the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with Mrs Beeton including a large number of recipes for offal, in addition to lengthy descriptions of how to choose it and how it should be eaten (Mennell, 1991). A range of tripe and other offal recipes appear in the American cookbook *Breakfast Dinner and Supper* by Maude C. Cooke (Cooke, 1897), while recipes for tripe and other offal also appeared regularly in *Good Housekeeping* in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

#### **2.3.4 The 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, a trend emerged in restaurants in England for saving items that would have previously been discarded or given to dogs, such as sweet breads, in order to save money (Mennell, 1996, p.191), and during the Second World War in Britain, the same historian writes, offal was not subject to rations and provided much needed protein. Thereafter, it remained popular among the British working class (Mennell, 1991), and was widely promoted in the media during The Second World War. In America, offal are known as ‘variety meats’ and in 1943, a feature piece in *Life* magazine bore the headline ‘Variety Meats: They Are Good, Abundant, Highly Nutritious’, complete with nutrition charts, illustrations and propaganda placing offal as much better value than regular meat (Life, 1943). In Britain, tripe was one of the most consumed foods in the northwest of England for more than a century. Independent tripe businesses merged in 1920 to form United Cattle Products (UCP). There, tripe was actively promoted through newspaper advertisements in the local area. To disprove claims that it was filthy, advertisements stressed its purity, quality, and freshness as well as its nutritional worth, ease of digestion, affordability, and flavour. UCP stayed in business until the 1990s, when it closed due to competition from inexpensive industrial meats (Bell and Moran, 2021).

Offal went into decline as a human food in the late 1960s in Britain, resulting from changes in the patterns of trade, namely the rise of the supermarket, and ‘consumers’ rising squeamishness about offal’. In the 1970s, retailers began to buy pre-cut meat and less offal, as they modernised to keep up with the supermarkets, who were able to negotiate in order to carry only the premium cuts. Increasingly, offal went into the manufacture of pet foods, was incinerated, used for processed meats such as burgers, as fertilizer, or in the pharmaceutical industry (Blyton, Russell and Tricks, 2016).

## 2.4 Ireland

### 2.4.1 Pre-Famine Ireland

Tripe, puddings, lard and sausages appear as dreamt-about, aspirational foodstuffs in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century Irish text *Aislinge Meic Conglinne* (Meyer, 2000). Sausages or puddings were a favourite dish of the Ancient Irish and were, according to historian Patrick Weston-Joyce (1905), made much the same as they are in the present day - by filling the intestines of a pig, cow, or sheep with minced meat and blood. These sausages were known by the terms *indrechtan* and *maróc*. Puddings and sausages were boiled and put aside until they were required and much as they are today, they were fried and served hot. In the *Aislinge Meic Conglinne* text, the *dressan* of an old *wether* (a ram) is mentioned as good food. The word is a diminutive of *dress* or *driss*, according to Weston-Joyce (1905), and is familiarly applied to things of a ‘branchy nature’, such as a bramble or the smaller intestines. This is the pudding known as *drisín*, made of the narrow intestines of a sheep, filled with blood that has been cleared of the red colouring matter, and mixed with meal and some other ingredients (Weston-Joyce, 1905). The pig has been regarded as one of the most traditional of Irish foods and an important component of the Irish diet since prehistoric times. All of the parts of the animal were consumed, not only for economic reasons, but also due to the prominence that this kind of meat [offal] enjoyed in Ireland (Mac Con Iomaire 2002). Though large herds of pigs were kept by noblemen, the rearing of pigs was also extremely important to ordinary Irish people up to and beyond the Famine times, with pigs sometimes referred to as ‘the gentleman who pays the rent’. Mast-feeding of pigs, the rearing of animals on tree fruits of oaks and other trees on commonage in Ireland was practiced up to medieval times and beyond (Lucas, 1960, Mac Con Iomaire, 2002). Before 1600, beef and mutton were eaten by the wealthy, but the poor could afford the occasional small animals and offal (Clarkson and Crawford, 2001).

## 2.4.2 Commercialisation

In 1667, a prohibition of the export of live animals from Ireland led to resources being diverted into the production of dead meats, salted, barrelled and exported to the West Indies and the American colonies from southern ports such as Cork and Waterford. This in turn led to cheap cuts and offal being left behind, products the local poor could sometimes afford (Clarkson and Crawford, 2001). Offal became popular among the people of Cork in particular following the success of the corned beef industry and also when the making of puddings from the large quantities of blood coming from the abattoirs developed into a viable trade (Mac Con Iomaire, 2019). This popularity remains somewhat intact today, where it is still possible to easily procure a wider range of offal meats in Cork than elsewhere, despite the reported recent retirement of the country's last *drisín* maker (Ryan, 2022). But all over Ireland, various offal dishes, including pig's feet, also known as crubeens or pig's trotters, brawn, *drisín*, or skirts and kidneys were popular foods among the poorer sectors of Irish society (Cowan and Sexton, 1997). Prior to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, ox tails were not eaten, but instead were left on hides sent for tanning. When the French Huguenots arrived in Dublin, they began recovering meat from hides to make *ragouts* as well as slow-cooking the tails in bastibles to make ox tail soups, a low-cost dish which went on to become a staple of tenement life in Dublin in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beyond (Farrell, 2022). According to Clarkson and Crawford (2001), food and drink were at the centre of celebration and commemoration in Ireland. Christenings, weddings and wakes were – and still are - occasions of 'hang the cost'. The rituals attending eating extended beyond these rites of passage. In 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, Sunday among the poor was when the midday meal was constructed around 'kitchen' an omnibus term that embraced, beef, bacon, a cow's head or calf's head, and pluck (lungs and intestine), cow's feet, sheep's trotters, pig's entrails or, if times were tough, just sheep's blood. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, according to Clarkson and Crawford (2001), purchases of offal tell us something about tastes and attitudes. Housekeeping books reveal that the tounge was popular as it could be preserved in salt or spices. Calves and sheep's heads and calves feet were popular too among the clerical classes, but generally disdained among the richer lay classes and if purchased, these were given to servants or pet animals. Another possible clue to the popularity of offal meats during the Georgian era is gleaned from Hugh Douglas Hamilton's depictions of Dublin street life of that period. This includes one drawing of a tripe vendor peddling her wares and another of a street vendor proffering black and white puddings (Hamilton, 2003).

### 2.4.3 Post-Famine

By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, crubeens and pigs' cheeks had become a popular dish among the poor, and by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, livers, hearts and pigs' feet had become among the most popular 'dainties' purchased by the poorer classes, according to Clarkson and Crawford (2001). Sheeps' heads, cows' heads and pigs' feet show up as the food of the urban poor in Dublin's Monto district in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, appearing several times in Terry Fagan's oral history of the area, *Monto: Madam's, Murder and Black Coddle* (Fagan, n.d.). According to Keating and Mac Con Iomaire (2018), culinary columns in magazines valued traditional cooking methods and continued to include a number of very old recipes, including Stuffed Pig's Feet, Brawn, Pig's Kidneys and Pig's Cheek.

### 2.4.4 The Culinary Literature

In cookbooks too, in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, offal enjoyed a significant presence. Maura Laverty for example, includes recipes for 'Liver Loaf', 'Brain Fritters', 'Fried Livers' and 'Kidney Stew' in her book *Kind Cooking* (Laverty, 1946). During 'The Emergency', a special meal designed by a dietician for expectant mothers included fried liver. Liver was a popular ingredient at this point and over the war years, its price inflated by 120 per cent (Bryan, 2014). By the 1970s, offal was beginning to decline in popularity, even in the diets of previously offal-mad Cork households, according to Regina Sexton (1994). Cookbooks seemed to hold out against the tide somewhat. In Noreen Kinney's (1977) cookbook *Cooking Irish Style Today*, there are two recipes for tripe dishes, one for 'Baked Tripe' and another for 'Tripe and Onions', as well as one for 'Oxtail Stew', alongside dishes that at the time would have announced a definite swerve towards modernity, including 'Curried Salad', 'Zabioni Chicken, Walnut Salad' and 'Kofta Curry with Pilau Rice'. 'Tripe and Onions', 'Roast Calf's Liver', 'Brawn', 'Crubín' and 'Veal Kidney' all make an appearance in the 1980 edition of the book *Traditional Irish Recipes*, (Murphy, 1980), while, 'Kidney Stew' and 'Baked Liver and Bacon' are listed in *The Irish Heritage Cookbook* from 1983, (Mc Loughlin and Mc Spirit, 1983). Theodora Fitzgibbon's 1986 cookbook *Irish Traditional Food* has 'Beefsteak and Kidney Pie', 'Ox Kidney Casserole', 'Oxtail Stew', 'Lamb's Liver', 'Lamb's Kidneys in Their Overcoats', 'Stuffed Lamb's Hearts', 'Brawn', 'Pigs' Feet', 'Tripe and Onions', 'Sausages', 'Blood Puddings', 'Veal Kidneys', and 'Veal Sweetbreads in Cream' (Fitzgibbon, 1986)



By the mid-1990s however, as the Irish economy soared to previously unseen heights, offal all but disappeared from Irish cookbooks, reflecting the trends in cooking and gastronomy of the time. In Georgina Campbell's *Meals for All Seasons: The Best of Contemporary Irish Cooking* (Campbell, 1992) there were just two recipes, 'Lamb's Liver With Dubonnet' and 'Kidneys in Mustard Sauce'. Sandy Byrne and Jacinta Delahaye's aspirational *Wining and Dining at Home In Ireland* (1994), has just one offal recipe, for a 'Warm Kidney and Mushroom Salad'. Michelin Star-winning Conrad Gallagher's *New Irish Cooking* has nothing more 'offal-ish' than one for the relatively inoffensive and modish beef cheeks (Gallagher, 1997). Jeanne and Paul Rankin's *New Irish Cookery* (2003) also features just one recipe we could call offal, for the almost equally inoffensive 'Oxtail Braised In Red Wine'. Independent butcher's shops and abattoirs began to disappear in the 1980s, similar to the earlier trend in the UK. Between 1990 and 2019 the number of independent meat traders fell from 2,300 to just 800 (O'Brien, 2022). Meanwhile the meat processing industry consolidated to the point that just three processors now control two thirds of the animals slaughtered and processed in Ireland (Irish Congress of Trade Unions, 2021).

## 2.5 Offal Today

### 2.5.1 Hegemony of Muscle Meat

When Hertzmann (2016) looked at the usage of the word offal in Google's *Ngram* viewer, an application on the search engine that can chart the frequencies of sets of strings in printed sources from 1500 to 2019, he found that in all meanings, usage of the word peaked in 1865 with a frequency of about one in 1.2m words and reached a low point in 1985, when it showed up with a frequency of just one in 4m words. The world may have gone quieter about offal, but red meat overall is the most popular meat food in Irish households. It is included in 29 per cent of all adult meals, ahead of chicken, which is included in a further 21 per cent of adult meals (Bord Bia, 2020). The same research showed however that the numbers of people regularly cooking 'from scratch' declined by 12 per cent between 2011 and 2019, and that many families no longer all eat the same meals. A search within the *Bord Bia* website on February 4, 2023 using the word offal showed 21 documents, 20 of which pertain to exports or export opportunities for the meat processing sector. Only one, a report called *Tomorrow's Meat*, focussed in any way on eating offal, as part of a 'healthier' meat diet including connective tissue 'including offal'. It said that a younger cohort were 'pushing back against the default of a sedentary tech-curated existence and want to enjoy a life that is more in sync with



the natural world'. It envisaged future demand for 'more visceral and adventurous meat-eating experiences' (Bord Bia/ Thinking House, 2020).

### **2.5.2 Offal Eating**

Source material relating to retail activity in offal meats is hard to come by. According to farming agency *Teagasc* though, six per cent of retail sheep meat sales in Ireland in 2009 comprised lamb offal, presumably livers, kidneys, and hearts in the main (Teagasc, 2009). That information is scarce is no surprise. Offal is an arcane business. Farmers do not get paid directly for their animals' offal, but rather are paid by weight for the carcass after the offal has been removed, when current offal prices are 'taken into account' in the final price paid (O'Neill, 2018). Historically, the offal was taken by the slaughterhouses as part payment for the killing and butchery of animals in Ireland, and this tradition appears to have survived in a modern form (Bell and Watson, 2016). Exports of offal from beef, pigs, poultry, sheep and fish however, are thought to be worth in the region of €800m annually (Cadogan, 2019). Irish meat-processing factories do not publish the value of the offal they process (O'Neill, 2019), but the average value of the offal from an Irish beef animal is estimated to be €135, and most of it is exported, the principal destinations being the United Kingdom, Hong Kong, Sweden, France, Germany and the Philippines (Kiernan, 2019). Most Irish pork offal meanwhile, is destined for the Chinese market (Clery, 2013), while some goes to Vietnam and the Philippines (Bord Bia, 2022).

### **2.5.3 Darina Allen**

Darina Allen has been at the forefront of efforts to get people to cook and eat more offal. Her 2012 edition of *Irish Traditional Cooking* devoted a whole section to offal, including recipes for 'Pig's Head and Cabbage', 'Brawn', 'Collared Head (pigs head and ox tongue)', 'Pigs Tails and Turnips', 'Crubeens with Cabbage', 'Black (blood) and White Puddings (liver lungs and heart)', 'Duck Blood', 'Goose Neck Pudding', 'Drisheen', 'Tripe and Onions', 'Tripe in Batter', 'Steak and Kidney Pie', 'Stuffed Beef Heart', 'Lamb's Tails', 'Baked Liver and Bacon', 'Roast Lamb Kidneys', 'Skirts and Kidneys' and 'Pickled Ox Tongue' (Allen, 2012).

## **2.6 Class, Social Capital and Habitus**

### **2.6.1 Offal, Wealth and Poverty**

As discussed earlier, in some societies, organ meats and offal are used to differentiate social status during feasting, with higher-ranked members of society given preferred pieces of animal offal (West, 2019). At other times, the same food becomes suitable only for feeding to animals. In Ireland, Britain and The United States, offal is rarely seen in supermarkets, but can be found in high class butchers in affluent suburbs and surviving traditional butchers in city centres as well as some butchers in working class areas and where large numbers of immigrants shop. It is subject to exuberant promotion by celebrity and fine-dining chefs, adorning the menus of high-end restaurants (Strong, 2009). Post-millennial culinary ‘movements’ such as ‘nose to tail’ eating as promoted by chefs such as Fergus Henderson (2004) and Richard Skinner have been aimed at reviving the consumption of the cuts of meat and offal that are invisible in the supermarket economy, and have largely disappeared from mainstream butchers. To some extent, these have been successful. At the same time, initiatives such as ‘Organuary’ have attempted to encourage the cooking and consumption of offal among a wider public, promoting the health and environmental benefits to be had from eating organ meats (Public Health Collaboration, 2021). In the case of offal, there is the appearance of ambivalence, with inseparable but juxtaposed associations between offal and both poverty and modern bourgeois aspirations (Strong, 2009). Sweetbreads have long been a luxury item, and marrow bones and ox cheeks have become that too in recent times, listed on the menus of modern fine dining restaurants alongside more ‘traditional’ luxury cuts of meat such as steak, but Strong (2009) maintains that the muscle-eating masses might be inclined to dismiss exhortations to eat offal, as faddish or even fetishist.

### **2.6.3 Cultural Capital and Food**

Pierre Bourdieu and in particular his (1984) study of French eating customs in the 1960s and 1970s has had a massive impact on more than 40 years of research on the relationship between food and social standing, and his concept of habitus is used to describe a set of tastes and dispositions operating according to a class homology. The contrast between the working class’s inclination for large or substantial meals, for example, and the wealthy classes’ ‘taste of freedom’, which prioritizes style and appearance, has been used, readapted, and updated for investigating the structuring of social class distinctions in eating patterns (Oncini, 2019). Like

any other part of culture, Bourdieu asserts that culinary preferences are spread throughout a ‘space of difference’ comparable to the social space of class positions. (Atkinson and Deeming, 2015). The French sociologist identified two key oppositions in the studied sample of French society: a preference for light foods versus a preference for heavy foods and a preference for rich foods versus a preference for healthy and exotic foods. He found the generative principles of these oppositions to be differences in the volume of capital and the composition of capital, respectively. In other words, what you eat is directly related to your cultural, social and economic capital.

Bourdieu developed a graphic representation of this on an axis, and in the past decade, researchers Atkinson and Deeming (2015) tried to determine whether comparable differences exist in modern Britain, using the same graphic representation. They employed a correspondence analysis of comparable data from the 2010 Living Costs and Food Survey, supplemented by data from the 2008 British Social Attitudes Survey and the 2003 Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion Survey. They were attempting to shed light on how a more current structure of Bourdieu’s food space might correlate with class. They suggest that Bourdieu’s general theory can be applied to both France in the 1960s and the UK at the beginning of the 21st century, supporting the idea that while Bourdieu’s theories regarding cultural capital and food choice need updating from time to time as cultural shifts take place, the theory remains intrinsically workable (Atkinson and Deeming, 2015).

#### **2.6.4 Cultural Capital, Habitus and the Irish**

Ireland, having witnessed seismic cultural, social and economic shifts over the past few decades, will have undergone significant and profound exchanges, shifts and upheavals in its sociological makeup due to economic and social transformation, brought about by the success of its economy and the liberalisation of access to education alongside the digital revolution. New habitus will have emerged as many of us will have moved into new ‘classes’ thanks to the acquisition of various forms of capital, habitus that will necessarily include dietary proclivity. Similarly, existing classes will have acquired new forms of capital which will have had a transformative effect on their own habitus. As an example of this elsewhere, the emergence of a so-called ‘eco-habitus’ has been suggested by researchers Carfagna, Dubois, Fitzmaurice, Laidley, Ouimette, Schor, and Wills (2014), one where there is a ‘re-configuration of high cultural capital practices among ethical consumers’, in other words, a diverse community of individuals who share high levels of cultural capital and are given to a

set of practices they view as being more ecologically-sound and ethical. These practices could include such phenomena as ‘nose to tail’ eating, the purchase of artisanal, locally produced food, and the revival of offal eating we have witnessed in recent years among a coterie of food-aware individuals possessed of high levels of cultural capital.

## **2.7 Disconnect, ‘Viscerality’, Disgust, Neophobia and Neophilia**

### **2.7.1 Disconnect**

It is a common enough conversation piece to suggest that we have ‘lost touch with the origins of our food’ (Vileisis, 2008) and if this is true, it may have fertilised the growth of the cultural dissonances which appear to have evolved in relation to us and offal, dissonances that in an age of neatly packaged, sanitised rows of readily available anaemic steaks, chicken breasts and identikit fish fillets, might be difficult to overcome. Vialles (1994) wrote that, the ‘sarcophagan’ logic that meat is preferable when abstracted from its living origins, is becoming an increasing characteristic of its contemporary consumption. We have become distanced from the processes of butchery and the slaughterhouse in western society with the result that today, meat is packaged into neat portions that no longer remind us of its origins. It is difficult to subject offal to this kind of disguise. A frilly piece of tripe or a pair of pigs’ ears, are hard to separate from their previous roles (Edwards, 2013, p.30).

### **2.7.2 Body ‘Andromorphism’ and Disgust**

Sometimes either drama or sleight of hand is required. Margaret Visser (1995) argues in her essay ‘Sins of The Flesh’ that whereas meat as a general term is reasonably imprecise and unconnected in our minds with specific body parts, the same cannot be said for eyes, testicles, ears or tongues, and their very appearance is capable of causing a shudder, even in omnivores, even in eaters of offal. Barthes (2012) wrote about the idea that food is linked to the body and how our relationship to food reflects our relationship to our own bodies. He argued that food is not just a physical substance that nourishes, but also a way of expressing and understanding the body. Jake Young (2018) writes that for humans, eating offal is a reminder to us that we are animals too, so closely do some of the body parts look to our own. A boiled beef tongue he says, has much the same texture as a human tongue and a lamb’s kidney is not that much different from that of a human. Or, perhaps it is the relationship between offal and animal functions in relation to blood, urine and faecal matter that is something we find difficult and disturbing (Edwards, 2013, p. 24). Certainly, Paul Rozin’s

(1987) identification of a set of universal elicitors of disgust, including anything relating to bodily fluids such as urine, faeces, or blood, come into play here. Rozin and Fallon (1987) wrote that humans see themselves as quite distinct from (and superior to) other animals and wish to avoid any ambiguity about their status by clearly pointing out the human-animal boundary. They proposed a category of ‘neutral rejections’ of foods based on the grounds of abstract ideas about them and suggested that meat was much more likely to inspire disgust than other foodstuffs.

### **2.7.3 Disguise and Display**

The colourful posters displayed in western butchers’ shops showing the available cuts, never have any mention of offal, suggesting a perceived need for diplomacy and even secrecy on the part of those who eat offal meats (Edwards, 2013). In the past, chefs have gone to great lengths to disguise offal to their customers. Antoine Careme for one took this approach - though perhaps, as it has been suggested by Stephen Mennell (1991) this was out of a desire to distance his food from the memory of some of the more butcherly atrocities of The French Revolution. It is an approach that could not be further from the 21<sup>st</sup> century’s ‘Nads and Glands’ or ‘Mexicojones’ served up to offal enthusiasts in cultish supper clubs (Edwards, 2013). In modern offal cookbooks however, there is an exuberant tendency towards virtue signalling of one’s willingness to eat everything and anything, such as when Helou (2011) writes about having tried everything ‘from chickens’ feet to ducks’ tongues to fallopian tubes. She crescendos with the exhortation ‘and I really do believe that you ought to as well’. Chefs such as Fergus Henderson meanwhile, love to emphasise how natural it is to eat these parts (Henderson, 2006).

### **2.7.4 Researching Rejection and Acceptance**

Henchion, McCarthy and O’Callaghan (2016), examined how consumers might find offal-derived ingredients in food and pharmaceutical products acceptable or otherwise. They suggested that some presentations could be rejected due to the ideational effects of knowledge of the food substance’s nature or origin. They found that certain organ meats were more acceptable to participants in a study group than others. Some participants in their study had no problem for example with eating liver, but would not countenance eating a heart. Others suggested that they would have to disguise offal ingredients as something else in order to get children to eat it. The idea of ‘de-animalising’ meats was raised as a way for offal meats to

gain acceptability. Their study also found that older participants were more likely to accept offal than younger ones.

There is a hepatic irony inherent in the suggestion that neophilia – the willingness to try new things - might be a requirement for eating offal these days, but Jaeger, Ramunssen and Prescott (2017), found among adults surveyed in New Zealand that the opposite, food neophobia – reluctance to try anything new or unfamiliar - was pervasive and is not limited to unfamiliar foods, but concluded that it remained to be determined whether individuals who were neophobic regarding food would exclude whole categories of foods. Rousset, Deiss, Juillard, Schlich and Droit-Volet, (2005) found in a survey of women and differences in emotional responses to foods, that there were high levels of disgust and uneasiness towards offal such as kidney, tongue and black pudding.

## **2.8 Nutrition and Sustainability**

### **2.8.1 New Nutritional Research**

According to Biel, Kowalewska-Łuczak and Czerniawska-Piątkowska (2019), all by-products of animals are a rich source of trace elements but the levels of these elements are typically significantly higher in offal than they are in muscular tissues. Furthermore, they found, due to its commercial sale for both human and animal nutrition and its economic benefits, the demand for offal is projected to rise with the fast expanding population. Florek, Litwińczuk, Skąłeczki, Kędzierska-Matysek and Grodzicki (2012) meanwhile, found that calves' offal and in particular the hearts of calves had very high concentrations of fatty acids and minerals. They are also rich in the powerful anti-oxidant CoQ10 as well as selenium, iron and zinc. Kidney was found to be high in selenium. Stomach, ox tail and pig's tails are rich in the protein collagen. Offal meats like liver are also crucial sources of vitamin A and folic acid (de Castro, Cardoso, Peroera, and dos Reis Baltazar Vicente, 2013).

### **2.8.2 Sustainability**

Offal may account for up to about 44–56 per cent of bovine, 45–51 per cent of ovine, 22–32 per cent of poultry, and up to 30–48 per cent of a pig's live weight depending on the species, sex and fat content of the animal according to Soladoye, Juárez, Estévez, Fu and Álvarez (2022). They have argued that the fifth quarter must therefore support food security, social inclusion, environmental sustainability, and a sustainable economy, in order to

significantly contribute to current efforts toward a circular bio-based economy. They posit that the high volume of materials makes them a very relevant candidate to investigate in the framework of a circular bio-based economy to meet some of the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations (UN-SDGs). Although the 5<sup>th</sup> quarter has historically been employed for a variety of applications in various cultures and businesses, the full potential of these animal by-products has not yet been met. Offal is currently regarded more like an environmental burden than a useful resource because it has not yet been fully utilized; and can only be through innovation and carefully focused interdisciplinary collaborations (Soladoye, *et al.*, 2022). Meanwhile, Llauger, Claret, Bou, López-Mas and Guerrero (2021), have written that the minimization, recovery, and utilization of edible animal by-products may not only serve to lessen the environmental impact, but also dramatically lower processing costs throughout the supply chain for the meat business in a world with limited resources. Due to their high protein and low fat content, as well as their high vitamin and mineral content, edible animal by-products are often a valuable resource with great nutritional value. Researchers Xue, Prass, Gollnow, Davis, Scherhauser, Ostergren, Cheng and Liu, (2019) found that reducing meat waste in retail and consumption as well as by-product production in slaughter and processing, can significantly lower emissions. While diet structure adjustment (either reducing meat consumption or replacing meat with edible offal) demonstrated the greatest potential for emissions reduction, the study estimated that increasing consumption of offal could reduce meat originating emissions by 14 per cent.

### **2.8.3 The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)**

The 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, emerged from The Global Sustainable Development Report, an outcome of the Rio + 20 Conference, a meeting of UN member states in Brazil in 2012. The goals set out our targets in relation to global sustainable development post-2015. In light of the studies cited above it was felt by the author that goal number 12, which ‘ensures sustainable consumption and production patterns’ and goal number 13, which urges us to ‘take urgent action to tackle climate change and its impacts’ directly related to this study and ought to be included in its scope, due to the potential impact of greater consumption of the hundreds of thousands of tonnes of animal offal produced in Ireland, mostly for export (United Nations, 2023).

## 2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the global cultural history of offal eating, from the Stone Age through to its peak as a commodity in the mid-20th century and the subsequent decline of domestic offal eating in the English speaking world, due to the consolidation of the meat processing industry after World War II. It has discussed how offal meats have been an important foodstuff in Ireland since the medieval period and how it became an important source of protein for poorer sectors of the population up to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. There is little or nothing in the literature addressing the current status of offal and organ meats in Irish cuisine or food culture generally. There is a paucity of research around the potential for increased consumption of offal in the future and how it might promote a more sustainable food system. There is little or no investigation into the cultural and psychosocial factors that have affected consumption of offal and organ meats, factors which could have an influence on future levels of consumption. The following chapter will set out how research intended to fill these gaps was designed and executed.



## Chapter 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the global cultural history of human consumption of animal offal and offal eating in Irish food culture since before the Middle Ages, including what has been written regarding offal eating and human culture, gastronomy, society and the ecology. It has set out recent research around the potential for organ meats in the future, and the sociocultural issues associated with that potential. However, there was little or no evidence of the current status of this foodstuff in the contemporary domestic milieu, and it remains a mystery as to who still cooks and eats offal meat in Ireland and why, and also whether there is an appetite for more of it in the future. This chapter will outline and discuss the research design for the primary research intended to address these gaps in knowledge. It will set out the methods used for collecting and analysing the data, as well as the theoretical framework underpinning the study, and the justifications for these research methods in particular.

### 3.2 Approach to the Research

#### 3.2.1 Mixed Methods.

Mixed methods combine quantitative and qualitative research to offer a more comprehensive and overall understanding of the issue (Almeida, 2018). Researchers collect data for two basic reasons: to better understand phenomena in a specific group being studied and to make inferences about a broader group beyond those being studied. Quantitative research is a way of thinking about the world, a logical process where measurements, analysis, and conclusions are made. In a combined or mixed-methods approach, the researcher can decide to use both quantitative and qualitative methods in his or her research design (Andrew and Halcomb 2009, cited in Watson, 2015). Mixed methods approaches have sometimes been seen as controversial in that they are viewed as being ontologically and epistemologically incompatible, rather than having the potential to be complimentary and supportive of each other (Bergman, 2008). However, Bergman also argues that many such criticisms of the approach are often linked to ideological standpoints.

### 3.2.2 Triangulation

Using multiple methods to focus on a topic is known as triangulation. By employing two or more independent measurements to support a claim, the goal is to boost confidence in the findings. The results of two or more rigorous methods together offer a more complete picture of the outcomes than either strategy could do on its own (Heale and Forbes, 2013). An alternate perspective is used to validate or challenge or even extend existing findings (Turner and Turner, 2009). Triangulation is implemented, in other words, the deliberate use of several techniques with competing biases, in order to increase the reliability of the findings of the study, following the idea that using just one method to assess a given phenomenon will yield more limited results (Greene, Caracelli and Graham, 1989).

### 3.2.3 Justification for the Research

As set out in the literature review, offal appears to have been an important human foodstuff globally since the Stone Age (Mitchell, *et al.*, 2022). Here in Ireland, offal meats have been described in gastronomical writing as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Meyer, 2000). Offal was often the only meat regularly affordable to ordinary Irish people right up to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Cowan and Sexton, 1997, Mac Con Iomaire, 2019). Of significant culinary importance in prudent home economics, offal meats such as hearts, tongues, livers, kidneys, tripes, feet and heads, were a foodstuff that embodied the lean, low waste economy of the Irish state in its ‘adolescent’ years. By contrast, the impression is that offal and organ meats do not seem to be widely eaten in today’s affluent, digital-age Ireland. The literature offers some clues as to why not. The suggestion is that consumption fell due to systemic reasons, in other words, the system of production and distribution of food had modernised in a direction that no longer had the capacity (nor the desire) to offer offal meats to consumers. This was attributed to the perceived ‘perishable’ and ‘difficult-to-handle nature’ of these meats in the modern context, but in reality, it appears more likely to have been linked to commercial imperatives of a modernising and increasingly industrialised western (Ireland, UK/ USA) food production system (Blyton, *et al.* 2016, O’Brien, 2022).

Perhaps as Ireland became increasingly economically successful, culminating in the Celtic Tiger boom of the 1990s into the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, consumers demanded more ‘luxury’ cuts of meat, in place of the cheaper dishes they were used to in the past. This argument becomes problematic however when you add in specific types of offal meat

ingredients such as foie gras and sweetbreads, which have probably persisted in the space of higher cultural capital. Meanwhile, offal with a ‘poorer’ status in the past such as kidneys and bone marrow, are now also more likely to be enjoyed by those with higher levels of cultural capital. It could be suggested that acquisition and exchange of cultural capital fosters cultural change over time and it has already been posited that new habitus might emerge, such as the ‘eco-habitus’ described earlier by Carfagna *et al.*, (2014). It has been written that offal-eating now appears to be very much associated with knowledge of food and cooking as well as gastronomic neophilia – a tendency to seek out and want to try new foods (Strong, 2009). Attempts to re-popularise offal such as the ‘Nose to Tail’ movement and ‘Organuary’ seem to have been successful largely in appealing to these elites, but have fallen short of taking it back into the mainstream.

### **3.3 Theoretical Framework**

#### **3.3.1 Introduction**

This section will set out the theoretical underpinning for this study and discuss how it affected the design, execution and analysis of the research.

#### **3.3.2 Food and Culture**

As food is not simply biological fuel for our bodies, nor merely an economic commodity, but rather a cultural artefact, this research is being conducted through a socio-cultural lens and with a relativist ontological bias, despite the apparent positivist direction shown by the use of quantitative research methods as represented by the online survey. Reality results from human action and interaction rather than a singular reality existing independently of human practices (Braun and Clarke, 2022).

Once the basic products of his diet have been acquired and it is prepared using fire and carefully wrought technology, food is culture (Montanari, 2003). Anyone who is less than starving will exercise choice in what they eat, and food is used in every society on Earth to communicate messages (Anderson, 2014). Food therefore becomes a fundamental identity marker, defining personality, socioeconomic status, lifestyles, gender roles, and relationships, from family to community to ethnic groups or nationality, evolving over time and space. This is accomplished by bringing cultural values to the fore (Dussler, 2009). The structuralist thinkers Roland Barthes and Claude Lévi-Strauss have positioned food as a system of

communication with a set of rules and grammar, like any other language (Barthes, 1961, Levi Strauss, 1966, cited in Dussler, 2009).

The use of mixed methods suggests an element of pragmatism, and there are necessarily pragmatic ‘machine-parts’ in the overall design, but given offal itself is liable to elastic interpretation, as has been set out in the definitions section, notions of scientific measurement grow problematic, and it becomes necessary to stalk the topic with subtler approaches. According to Spillman (2014), preliminary descriptions of sociological patterns can be described by quantitative evidence, which can then be explained by qualitative evidence. Because cultural sociology seeks to understand how cultural values, beliefs, and practices shape social structures, and how these structures in turn affect cultural phenomena, it was felt that such an approach would be suited to the study. The researcher can then draw on concepts such as cultural capital, habitus, and taste, in order to explore factors that might shape attitudes towards offal consumption, as well as the culturally constructed senses of what is considered good or bad to eat and why. Overall, this approach will allow the study to put offal consumption within broader cultural and psychosocial structures, and posit insights into why it may have declined, and where it may stand in contemporary Irish food culture and in the future.

### **3.3.3 Influence on Method Design**

This approach has influenced the design of both the questionnaire, which is largely quantitative, but contains some qualitative elements, and the interview design for the semi-structured interviews and how they will be carried out. It has influenced the sample selection for the interviews, which though ‘expert’, is diverse and was not selected to interrogate the specifics of that expertise as such, but instead to attempt draw out richer narratives around the topic. This was explained to each participant in a pre-interview brief.

### **3.3.4 Food, Social Capital and Habitus**

Food, or the choices we make with regard to what we eat is also, according to the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, linked to an individual’s cultural capital, which over time, can be transformed by the acquisition of economic capital. Bourdieu also warned that the acquisition of economic capital can sometimes lead to cultural homogenisation, where cultural practices become standardized (Bourdieu,1984). Could it be extrapolated from this for example that meat-eating in Ireland became standardized and homogenised as a result of the population

becoming significantly wealthier in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup>? And perhaps over time, the tide may turn again, leading to a re-diversification of that diet.

### **3.3.5 Disgust and Body ‘Andromorphism’**

Experiences with foodstuffs can leave a lasting impression. In the literature review, it is set out how Rozin *et al.* (2000) identified a set of universal elicitors of disgust, including anything relating to bodily fluids such as urine, faeces or blood, and in the same section Jake Young (2018) is cited as suggesting that offal is a reminder to us that we are animals too. The research will also attempt to interrogate these phenomena in an Irish context.

## **3.4 Collection of Quantitative Data**

### **3.4.1 Quantitative Survey Design**

The quantitative element to the research was by means of an online survey which was answered by 500 respondents. The online survey was created using Google Forms, following the appraisal of a number of other survey platforms including Typeforms and Microsoft Forms. Google Forms seemed the most intuitive and user-friendly platform and suited the needs of this survey. This application's 'back end' allowed flexible analysis of the collected data by means of Google Sheets. A mixture of multiple-choice and some open-ended questions were employed and the survey questions are listed in Appendix A.

### **3.4.2 Questionnaire Aims**

The survey interrogated offal buying habits, experiences, offal cooking and eating habits and something of respondents' personal histories with offal. The overall function of the quantitative element of the research was to create a snapshot of contemporary offal eating in Ireland and pinpoint factors that might affect choices around its consumption. It was also intended to gather attitudes towards offal to be discussed alongside the findings of the thematic analysis of the qualitative data. There were questions asking how often respondents eat out in restaurants and cafes (Q.15), and how often they entertained guests at home or are entertained for meals in the homes of others (Q.16). These were included in part with a view to determining levels of cultural and social capital among the sample. Other questions interrogated the levels of cooking skills of respondents (Q. 12), their use of cooking equipment (Q.10) and their engagement with food literature and media (Q. 13).

Questions in the survey were also designed to test the 'semantic elasticity' of offal as mentioned above, and to this end a number of questions aimed at determining whether people could identify foods that were and were not offal were included (Qs 40-49). Is rennet for example, which is extracted from the stomachs of animals, considered offal and is it widely known that this is an ingredient in some popular cheeses? What about gelatine, which is used in many confectionery products and originates from the processing of animal bones? Mostly the questions were designed by the author, but a number of them were borrowed from a framework for a questionnaire engineered by Kamphuis, Jansen, Mackenbach, and van Lenthe (2015), used to research Bourdieu's Cultural Capital in relation to food choices.

### **3.4.3 The Sampling Process and its Limitations**

Simple random probability sampling (Sue and Ritter, 2012, p. 36), in other words allowing the sample to be determined by whomever the survey lands with, and snowball sampling – where one person in the sample goes on to collect others – were employed in order to attain the highest number of respondents possible in a limited time frame and to achieve as high as possible a level of confidence in the accuracy of the collected data, with as small a margin of error as possible. This is not to say there was not an awareness of the limitations of such a strategy, which ran the risk of attracting too small a sample, one which might yield distorted information, or which may also only attract respondents with a greater interest in food than normal. As is the case with all Internet Mediated Research (IMR) it can be unclear what sort of sample will emerge, from whatever procedure you use (Hewson, Vogel, and Laurent, 2018). The aim however was to attract as wide a sample as possible, through promotion via social media, and by direct contact through email and word of mouth.

Another potential limitation of the method of sampling employed was that the survey might end up with a cohort slightly weighted in favour of middle age (the researcher's own age being in that bracket) despite best efforts to recruit younger respondents. Given there is an 'auto ethnographical' element to this research, insofar as it has partially been inspired by the researcher's personal history, such a bias might be seen as less of a limitation. Social media proved important as the author was in a position to lean on a number of personal contacts with substantial followings on Twitter. These yielded swift and numerous responses as did Facebook and WhatsApp.

### **3.4.4 Analysis of the Quantitative Data**

No transcription or data entry was required as Google Forms delivers the quantitative data on to a spreadsheet, where it can be manipulated, interrogated and analysed. It also delivers easy to understand graphs and pie charts. Simple data analysis was applied to the findings (see appendix B).

### **3.4.5 Reporting and Discussion of Survey Findings**

The findings of the online survey have been reported and discussed in the first section of Chapter 4, and further discussed in the subsequent section along with the findings of the qualitative research in an effort to find deeper analysis and achieve synthesis.

## **3.5 The Qualitative Research**

### **3.5.1 Interviews**

In order to compliment, challenge, supplement and support the findings of the online survey, a series of interviews were carried out with selected expert voices. Interviews are not only useful to allow interviewees to ‘speak in their own voice and express their own thoughts and feelings’ but they can also create a comprehensive snapshot, analyse words, and report detailed opinions of informants (Berg, 2007, pp. 996 cited in Alshenqeeti, 2014). Semi-structured interviews allow depth to be achieved by providing the interviewer with the opportunity to probe and expand the interviewee’s responses. (Rubin and Rubin, 2005, pp. 88, cited in Alshenqeeti, 2014).

### **3.5.2 Interview Design**

The semi-structured interviews with selected expert voices required questions more likely to attract more elaborate and detailed answers, such as ones aimed at interrogating early family life, to examine where and if offal featured in the daily foodways of participants, and also to draw out participants ‘feelings’ regarding offal, its taste, its gastronomy, its bodily associations and its meanings. The interviews were also intended to collect participants’ views on the potential for the future of wider consumption of offal and organ meats in the Irish food space. Other questions interrogated personal outlooks on the present condition and future of the food system in general, against the background of issues such as climate change and biodiversity loss associated with the production of meat, and, how dietary change, including diversity of intake might be beneficial going into the future. Questions were asked around food-disgust and specifically what types of things or instances participants found disgusting (See Appendix D).



### **3.5.3 Study Sample**

The sample was harvested by means of convenience-sampling (Braun and Clarke, 2013, p.57). The same questions were asked of each participant, but not necessarily in the same order or with identical wordings and there were secondary prompts built-in to the list of questions. Participants were not interrupted whenever possible.

Interview Subject 1 (IS1) is a restaurant critic, food writer, mother and author. IS2 is a chef and co-proprietor of a tiny urban café where offal dishes are served alongside vegetarian and vegan dishes. In the event, he was not alone during the interview. Also present was his wife and business partner IS2(b) as they prepped for a lunchtime service. During the interview, she began to contribute responses to the questions, but rather than making any intervention, the researcher continued with the interview and later made the decision to include her data in the analysis, having secured permission to do so. What began as a potential headache for the research, turned instead into an asset, a happy accident if you like. IS3 is an artisan butcher and farmer based in Co Kildare. IS4 is a dietician who runs a substantial practice in Dublin. IS5 is an artist from Cork whose work responds to aspects of consumerism and industrial farming, including through ‘representations of mythological tales of bodily transformation’. IS6 is a farmer from Co Antrim who rears, kills and butchers rose veal, pigs and goats, selling into restaurants and through farmers’ markets.

### **3.5.4 Data Collection**

Three of the interviews took place face to face and were recorded on an I Phone 14 using the Shure Motive Audio app with a Shure MV 88 stereo microphone. Two of the interviews had to be conducted over the phone (audio only), due to logistical, geographic and time-management issues. These were recorded using the speaker function on the Apple I Phone 14 and the Voice Note application on an Apple Mac Pro Laptop. The final interview was conducted over Zoom and recorded using the I Phone 14. Every effort was made to keep the interviews to about 30 minutes in order to keep the dataset manageable and transcription was carried out using the Otter.ai app for Mac and then manually correcting, which afforded the researcher an opportunity to familiarise further with the data.

### 3.5.5 Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) was applied to the data following methods set out by Braun and Clarke (2022). Braun and Clarke's RTA was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, having little or no experience of analysing qualitative data in a systematic way, the author thought it was best to choose a method that was accessible to someone of his level of experience, given the time available. Furthermore, it was felt that Braun and Clarke's RTA might help the researcher identify trends and patterns that might not otherwise 'jump out' from the raw data. It was felt that the reflexive element of the analysis method would suit the research method well, given the study arose out of personal experience in the first instance. RTA affords flexibility as it allows for both inductive and deductive coding (Braun and Clarke, 2022) which can be useful in a study of this nature. Inductive coding is where codes are allowed to emerge from the data and deductive is where the researcher looks for codes he or she already has in mind. Overall, the Braun and Clarke approach to thematic analysis seemed best as it provided a flexible and systematic process to allow the researcher to identify and interpret patterns in the data, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of the research topic. The quantitative correlational analysis could then be compared, contrasted and synthesised with the qualitative thematic findings in order to develop an overall interpretation (Plano Clark, Garrett and Lesley-Peleckey, 2010).

### 3.5.6 The Six Phases

Braun and Clarke's method of Thematic Analysis as taught in the researchers' 2022 handbook *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide* is carried out in six 'phases', which are described below in relation to how they were used in this study.

Firstly, the audio files from the interviews were transcribed in part using Otter.ai transcription technology, but required substantial correction, giving the researcher ample opportunity to familiarise with the collected data. For reasons of privacy, the participants have been anonymised and have been called IP1 (Interview Participant 1) through IP6. While *Otter.ai* is a powerful and useful transcription tool for researchers, it is far from perfect. It quickly became apparent for example, that while it seemed to cope well with some of the interviewees, it failed to make any sense of others and those transcripts required a good deal more manual work.

Following phase one of Braun and Clarke's (2022) process, the transcripts were re-read for the purposes of familiarisation, during which manual scribble notes were taken, and these proved useful later on during the coding and eventual theme identification processes, as well as for reflexive work.

For the second phase, the transcripts were again reviewed a number of times in order to generate codes, using a two-column manual process on Microsoft Word documents (see Appendix E). Initial codes were recorded on a column to the right hand side of the transcript text. Braun and Clarke view coding as a subjective process, a process of interpretation rather than discovery (Braun and Clarke, 2022, p. 55), emphasising the importance of subjectivity and what it brings to the process as a strength rather than a weakness. A high number of initial codes, both semantic, in other words codes that captured overt meanings, and latent, or codes with more implicit of conceptual meanings (Braun and Clarke 2022 pp. 58), were recorded across the data. The codes were copied on to a table in Microsoft Word and colour coded under five headings with sub-headings in an effort to group possible idea-sharing codes together and collate and eliminate repeated codes, of which there were quite a few. The full list of initial raw codes is available alongside their transcripts in Appendix E. At this point the researcher was beginning to feel a little overwhelmed, that there may be way too many codes, coming up on 1,000, so the number was substantially reduced by the elimination and grouping together by colour of codes with similar meanings (see Appendix F).

The five initial headings chosen for the separated codes were intended to reflect broad categories while sub-tags were also created in order to broaden these categories of meaning further and because the researcher wanted to initially put the codes in a small number of groups. These initial categories or topics were 'Culinary', 'Dietary', 'Awareness', 'Aversion' and 'Socio-cultural'. Culinary contains the sub-tags, *lost skills*, *convenience*, *heritage* and *knowledge*. These 89 codes were highlighted in yellow. Next was 'Dietary', which included the sub-tags, *dietary background*, *disconnect*, *industrialisation*, and *availability* and these 187 codes were highlighted in pink. 'Awareness' carried the sub-tags *ecology*, *re-engagement*, *ethics*, *education*, and *inward migration* and the 127 codes were highlighted in green. 'Aversion' was the next category and this included the sub-tags *disgust*, *bad-experiences*, *'andromorphism'*, and *'sensual aversion'*. These were tagged in red and there were 159 of them. Finally the heading, Socio-Cultural (tagged in blue) had the sub-tags, *poverty*, *wealth*, *class*, and *economics*. This contained 211 codes.

In order to try and reduce the numbers of codes further and to attempt to build themes from the codes, some of which had been eliminated at this point due to the removal of duplicates at the beginning of phase three, the codes were hand-copied out on to post-it notes and organised on a surface for a quickly accessible and flexible overview (see example Appendix G), and to further reduce the numbers of codes. This time, they were organised initially under 15 headings which included ‘culinary’, ‘dietary’, ‘biological associations’, ‘experiential aversion’, ‘systemic’, ‘conscious consumption’, ‘value’, ‘disconnect’, ‘neophilia/neophobia’, ‘education’ ‘availability’ ‘industrialisation’ ‘ecology’, ‘taste’ and ‘communication’. This way, codes could be moved into and around the groups quickly, allowing the numbers to be reduced further, helping make the creation of candidate themes potentially more efficient.

One of the advantages of Braun and Clarke’s RTA, it became clear at this point, is that its flexibility allows the researcher to calm their anxieties about getting it ‘right’, as the process begins to open up so many possibilities. Based on a purely mathematical calculation of the most often recurring codes, it might have been possible to draw out suitable themes, but that would have felt ‘unfair’ to the data. It would have probably been easy to extrapolate multiple instances of the word ‘texture’ for example, which is repeated many times in the transcripts, but to focus on this would do an injustice to other meanings in there, even though ‘texture’ does become important in the context of one of the themes later. Instead, it was felt that the codes ought to be allowed cluster and ‘ferment’ themes and sub-themes under the subjectively watchful eye of the researcher.

In phase four, ‘Developing and Reviewing Themes’ reflexive notes were made, as well as many spider graphs and mind maps on a whiteboard (see sample Appendix J) in order to better review the themes and sub-themes, using the transcripts for validation. At this point, interesting patterns were beginning to ebb and flow across the dataset, shared meaning across participants data from participants who may not, on the surface, appear to have shared outlooks, world views or backgrounds. The researcher was looking for conceptual patterns of shared meanings around central organising concepts (Braun, Clarke and Rance, 2014 cited in Braun and Clarke, 2022).

Phase five involved defining and naming the themes. This was in many ways the most difficult, leaving the safety and comfort of inquiry to head out into an unnerving forest of declaration.

Phase six, the final step, was writing up the results of the Thematic Analysis and the discussion of this in the context of the survey results, as will be seen in Chapter 4.

### **3.6 Limitations of the Approach**

The online survey is subject to convenience sampling as a form of ‘Nonprobability Sampling’, as true randomisation was not possible given the resources available and the time limitations (Etikan, Sulaiman, and Alkassim, 2016; Vehovar, Toepoel, and Steinmetz, 2016). The semi-structured interview participants were also chosen by the author on the basis of convenience and inevitably the sample, to a certain extent, will have been influenced by the researcher’s own biases and subjectivities.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

Ethics approval was sought from the Ethics Committee of the School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology (SCAFT) at Technological University Dublin (TU Dublin) and was granted. The committee found that the author had compiled the correct documentation completely and coherently and had showed the requisite awareness of ethical issues. In addition it found that consent and assent forms and procedures were correct. The committee was satisfied with the proposed handling of the data and identified no areas of ethical concern, granting approval unconditionally on February 20, 2023.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the research methods used in the study to answer the questions set out in Chapter 1. It was decided to implement a mixed quantitative/ qualitative method of data collection, utilising an online survey of the population on the one hand, and semi-structured interviews, analysed using Reflexive Thematic Analysis, on the other. This choice of methods was determined by the needs of the key objectives of the study which required on the one hand, the collection of real-world empirical data and on the other and interrogation of cultural concepts around the topic of the consumption of offal and organ meats in contemporary Ireland. It has laid out the theoretical materials that informed the research and will guide discussion of the collected data. The next chapter will describe in detail the findings of the online survey and discuss these. It will also present the findings of the qualitative research and discuss these separately, in relation to the online survey findings, the literature review and the research question.



## **Chapter 4 Presentation and Discussion of the Findings**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The previous chapter outlined and discussed the methods utilised by the researcher, including the theoretical framework chosen for the study. As discussed in that chapter, a mixed quantitative/ qualitative approach was undertaken in order to develop a broader picture of offal consumption in contemporary Irish food culture. Quantitative research in the form of an online survey was used to take a snapshot of a sample of the offal-eating population in the contemporary food space. Subsequently, qualitative research in the form of semi-structured interviews with expert individuals was used in order to delve deeper into perceptions, feelings, experiences and ambivalences in relation the consumption of offal meats. This chapter lays out and discusses the findings of the quantitative and qualitative research. It discusses each in relation to the other, as well as in relation to the literature review, and the aim and objectives of the study.

### **4.2 The Online Survey**

#### **4.2.1 Objectives**

The survey was designed to find out who eats offal meats in Ireland today and how often they eat it? It asked what is the extend of the decline in consumption down through the past couple of generations? It enquires as to what we understand as the definition when we use the word offal? It asks who are the modern offal eaters in terms of their social status and levels of cultural capital? As the survey was carried out before the semi-structured interviews, it was also felt that its results would prove helpful in the design of the interview questionnaire.

#### **4.2.2 Sample Size and Piloting**

A decision was made to build as large a sample as possible over a three week period or until it reached the figure of 500. This number of respondents took part in the survey between February 21<sup>st</sup> and March 13, 2023, after which point it was switched off. Previous to this, the survey had been tested among a small sample of respondents with a view to finding errors and discovering avenues of inquiry that may have been initially overlooked by the researcher. After this initial ‘piloting, it was decided to include a question aimed at discovering the sample’s



awareness or otherwise of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs), as an important objective of this research is to discover whether increased levels of offal consumption in Ireland might serve towards the achievement of UNSDGs 12 and 13.

### **4.2.3 Snowballing and Non-Probability Sampling**

Due to the limitations of time and resources, non-probability sampling methods were used, specifically ‘snowballing’, where respondents were asked to share the survey with acquaintances, contacts and networks online. Personal contacts on social networks on Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp were utilised in order to share the survey. It was also posted by a number of groups on WhatsApp connected to school parent groups and sports clubs. There were a number of ‘viral shares’ on Twitter, by posters to whom the researcher was not directly connected, which helped get such a large response so quickly. All 500 respondents were resident in Ireland and over 18 years of age at the time of taking the survey.

### **4.2.4 Summary of the Key Findings**

The survey found that people who eat offal in Ireland today are likely to be well-educated and in an economically comfortable socio-economic demographic. They are likely to have a keen interest in food and gastronomy and probably engage with food content in the media on a regular basis. They will probably regard themselves as being relatively skilled in the culinary arts and will most likely possess a range of good quality kitchen equipment. They dine out regularly and entertain at home regularly. Though well over half the sample who responded to the question said they continued to eat offal, only a small cohort of these do so on a weekly basis. The survey also found that offal consumption had declined steadily over the generations; our grandparents ate significantly more of it than our parents, who ate significantly more than we do.

#### **4.2.5 Demographics**

The sample may be demographically-biased, (see Q. 7) for example in favour of university or higher-vocationally educated respondents, who make up almost 90 per cent of the responding sample. Eighty-one percent of respondents were born in Ireland (Q. 2), with the remainder originating from (Q. 3) The UK, The United States, Germany, France, Italy, Poland, Australia, Brazil, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Uganda, Cyprus, Thailand, Israel, Jordan and Malaysia. Due to the expected biases, the sample was weighted in favour of the researcher's own age cohort (Q. 6), namely in the 45-60 age bracket, which comprises almost 60 per cent of the sample of respondents. Just over 22 per cent were in the 30-45 age bracket, 17.2 per cent were over 60 and just 3.8 percent were in the 18-30 age bracket. Three hundred and two respondents specified their gender (Q. 5) as female and 187 specified male. One specified non-binary and a further ten did not specify.

#### **4.2.6 Respondents' Dietary and Cooking Proclivities**

Respondents were asked some general questions surrounding food habits and proclivities. The point of these was to determine how representative our sample might be of a wider population. They were asked (Q. 8) whether they would describe themselves as meat-eaters, vegetarians, vegans or 'other'. 82.6 per cent responded as meat-eaters, while 6.6 per cent responded as vegetarians and 2 per cent responded as vegans. The remaining 8.8 per cent of respondents opted to describe themselves as 'other', illustrating perhaps the current diversity of dietary self-classification now extant among the population, an issue that came up later in the qualitative research. The 'other' cohort was invited to elaborate (Q. 9) and its responses included 'flexitarian', 'pescatarian', 'mostly plant-based', 'omnivore', 'occasional meat-eater' 'selective omnivore' and 'chicken only'. The number of non-meat eaters roughly corresponds to numbers from other pieces of research into diet in Ireland (Bord Bia, 2021).

In order to determine levels of cooking competency and engagement with food culture generally among the sample, respondents were asked questions about how they rated themselves as cooks (Q. 12) and about kitchen equipment they may or may not use on a regular basis (Q. 10). Also included were questions about engagement with food content in the media (Q.13), eating out and entertaining at home with food (Qs. 15, 16, 17). These questions could further help establish levels of cultural capital and food literacy among respondents, and the

results suggested that both of these register as quite high. A total of 77.6 per cent of respondents regarded themselves as good cooks and the remaining 24 per cent did not. Almost 95 per cent responded that they used an oven on a regular basis, while 78.2 per cent answered that they used a set of cooking knives. Furthermore, 61.2 per cent answered that they used kitchen scales regularly while 63.4 per cent of respondents claimed to use cookbooks on a regular basis, and just 2.8 per cent said they regularly use a *sous vide* water bath for cooking.

The survey also asked whether respondents read about food in magazines, newspapers and online, watched food-related programmes on television or online, or listened to podcasts about food. A considerable cohort of 61.2 percent of our respondents said they sometimes did, while 23.8 per cent said they did so ‘obsessively’, 11 per cent said they rarely did and 4 per cent said they never engaged with food-related content in the media. The results here would again suggest relatively high levels of food literacy, culinary knowledge and skill, in other words, high levels of cultural capital in relation to food choices. Cookbook use, alongside high usage of relatively sophisticated kitchen equipment can also be an important signifier of high levels of cultural capital in the arena of food choices (Kamphuis, *et al.*, 2015). One possible criticism you could level at these findings is that the social media contacts of a food studies researcher might be expected to throw up these kinds of findings.

Almost half of all respondents reported that they cook ‘from scratch’ every day (Q. 14), a figure significantly higher than the average national level of a third, reported in 2019 by Bord Bia (2020), and 35.6 per cent said they cooked meals from scratch ‘a few days a week’ whereas 9.2 per cent said they cook only once or twice a week, 3.8 per cent cooked on special occasions only and 1.3 per cent responded that they never cooked at all.

#### **4.2.7 Dining Out and Entertaining**

The survey also posed questions related to the regularity with which respondents ate out, entertained at home and were entertained in the homes of others, a high frequency of which could also be regarded as an indicator of higher levels of cultural capital in relation to food choices and food culture. Responding to these questions, 20.4 per cent of the sample reported meeting someone for a meal in a restaurant or café three times in the preceding month, while 32.2 per cent of respondents said they dined out even more often than three times in that period. 23.6 per cent said they had dined out twice in that period while 16.2 per cent had only eaten out once in the previous month. Just 7.6 per cent responded that they had not eaten out at all in

the preceding month. Almost a quarter of respondents said they had entertained others in their homes three or more times in the past month, while over 70 percent of respondents had entertained in their homes at least once. Overall, there appear to be relatively high levels of engagement with food and gastronomy among the cohort, again potentially indicating high levels of cultural capital.

#### 4.2.8 United Nations Sustainable Goals

As mentioned in previous chapters, one of the objectives of this thesis is to try and determine whether increased levels of offal meat consumption might help our diets and the meat-production industry become more sustainable in line with UNSDGs 12 and 13. As part of this research it was felt necessary to determine what the levels of awareness of these goals might be. The question (Q. 11), ‘which of the following best-describes your knowledge of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)?’, was asked and a choice of ‘I’m very aware’, ‘I’m somewhat aware’, ‘I’ve heard of them’, and ‘I’ve never heard of them’, were offered. Forty per cent of respondents answered that they had never heard of the UNSDGs, while 23 per cent answered that they had ‘heard of them’. 21.8 per cent claimed to be ‘somewhat aware’ of the UNSDGs, while just 15.2 per cent said they were ‘very aware’ of them (*see fig 4.1*). These answers may question the effectiveness of the UN’s public awareness campaign since 2015 around SDGs, and the levels of interest the public might have in them. Interestingly, in the qualitative research, levels of awareness among expert voice interviews were no higher.

Which of the following best-describes your knowledge of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)?

500 responses

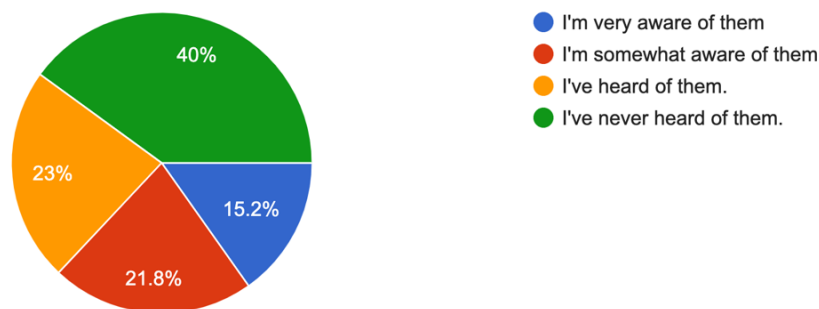


Figure 4.1: The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)

#### 4.2.9 The Offal Truth

Almost all of our respondents, (97.4 per cent) answered the question (Q.19.) about whether they had ever eaten offal, defined as the ‘the livers, kidneys, hearts, lungs, or other organs of animals, or the feet, ears, tails and heads of animals such as cows, pigs, goats, chicken or fish’. Eighty-seven per cent said that they had, which seemed a surprisingly high figure. Just under half of these claim they remember the first time they ate offal (Q.20), with ninety per cent aware at the time that it came from an animal (Q.22). For most, liver and kidneys were the first type of offal meat they ate (Q.21), a response that might have been expected, given these still appear to be the most widely available types. Surprisingly, fifty-eight percent of the respondents said they still ate offal (Q.23), a figure which seems high until you consider that 88.4 per cent of these said it was only occasionally. Just over ten per cent claimed to eat it weekly (Q.25). More than half responded that they might order it in a restaurant if it was on the menu (Q.26).

In addition to asking respondents what their favourite types of offal meats were, the survey also asked respondents to name animal parts they would never eat. Many respondents listed more than one offal or body part they would refuse to eat. These were counted individually and are represented below as a word cloud. It is interesting to note here that the least desired parts appear to those be associated with the head (brains, eyes, tongues, heads etc.), suggesting a possible ‘andromorphic’ association as the source of aversion to eating these body parts, whether that be considerations of the previous functions of those body parts or literally the appearance, in the case of say eyes, noses, ears, tongues and entire heads.



Figure 4.2: Word Cloud generated from responses to the question ‘What, if any, body parts of an animal would you refuse to eat?’

The question (Q.29) ‘Have you eaten offal in the past but stopped for one reason or another?’, generated 436 responses, representing 87.2 per cent of the total sample. One third responded that they used to eat offal in the past but had stopped. A follow-up short response question asked them why they had stopped and this generated an interesting range of answers including that respondents had ‘cut back on eating meat’, had ‘moved away from eating land animals’, ‘couldn’t bring themselves to eat the insides when they knew what they were’. Some mentioned that it was ‘too strong tasting’, or that they were ‘made to eat it as a child’, while many others referred to difficult texture, not being able to deal with thoughts of the previous function of certain organs, health problems with uric acid production in the body, difficulty sourcing offal, squeamishness, worries about toxins, the smells, the tastes, the unwillingness of families to eat it, disgust, being ‘creeped out’, or having ‘lost the appetite’ for it. These were interesting responses, presenting material that could be probed a little deeper in the semi-structured interviews and compared with the data gathered.

Other reasons given for stopping eating offal meats, included ‘bad childhood experiences’, ‘barbaric food production standards’ and ‘concern about the safety of eating ‘cleansing organs’ when we don’t know what the animal is consuming’. Yet others reported that the reason they had ceased to eat offal was that they could now afford ‘better cuts’, suggesting changes in economic capital as a reason for eschewing offal. Others expressed the opinion that they stopped eating it because it took ‘a lot of preparation to make it palatable’. Others meanwhile said they stopped because they ‘don’t believe animals should suffer and be slaughtered for the sole purpose of our pleasure.’

#### **4.2.10 Modern Offal Eating**

The question ‘Which offal dish have you not tried yet but would like to?’ (Q.31) was intended to measure the level of neophilia among the sample, in other words, the respondents willingness to try foods they had not before, specifically offal-based dishes. There were 274 responses to the question. Interestingly, brains, which conversely were one of the offal foods which people said they would be most likely to refuse, was also the one respondents would most like to try out. (*see figure 4.4 below*)



Figure 4.3: Word cloud illustrating most common answers to the question, 'Which offal dish have you not tried yet but would like to?'

There were 308 respondents to the multiple-choice question [Q. 32], 'Where do you purchase your offal meats?'. The question was intended to collect data relating to where offal meats might be more readily available, given the literature review suggested these products are less likely to be found in mainstream supermarkets where they are not part of processed food items, and also shed some light on the general food shopping choices of respondents. Participants were allowed to choose more than one outlet, and three quarters of respondents reported purchasing their offal meats in butchers' shops, with 32 per cent saying they tended to purchase at farmers' markets and just 25.6 per cent saying they bought it in supermarkets. Just under two per cent bought offal online, while 32.5 per cent only bought offal ready-prepared in cafés or restaurants. The high proportion of individuals frequenting butcher's shops and farmers' markets, and eating offal in restaurants and cafés, may be further evidence of higher levels of cultural capital in relation to food choices among contemporary offal-eaters or may simply be representative of the likely food proclivities of those happy to answer a survey on this subject matter. Also, the relatively high number buying offal meats in supermarkets was not what the researcher would have expected.

### Where do you purchase your offal meats?

308 responses

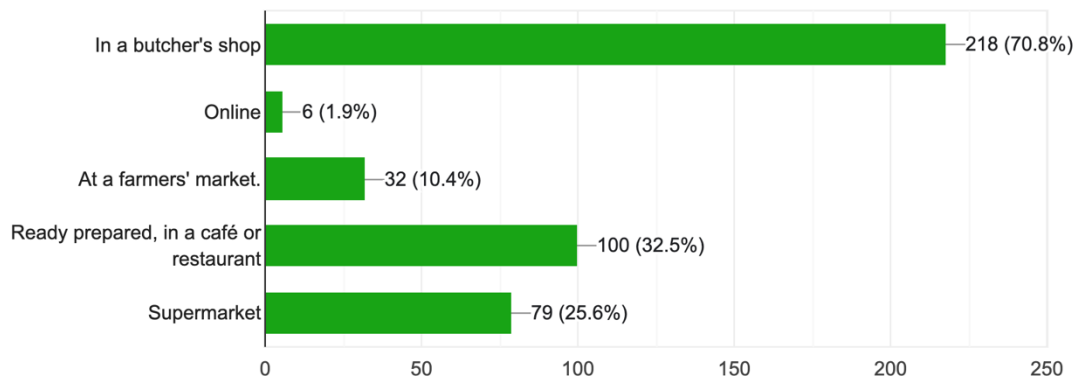


Figure 4.4: Where do you buy your offal?

Thirty-two per cent of our sample responded that they would be more inclined to eat offal if it were more readily available in supermarkets (Q.33), suggesting perhaps that at least some respondents would be more inclined to include more offal meats in their diet that don't already. Seventy-six per cent of the sample regard eating offal as more ecologically sound than not eating offal (Q. 34), indicating that respondents may consider eating more of an animal than just the prime cuts to be potentially helpful in lowering carbon emissions from agriculture. A slightly smaller cohort of 66.2 per cent thought it was more ethically sound to eat offal than it was not to eat it (Q. 35). In response to (Q.36 and 37), which were designed to get a picture of the extent of the decline in the consumption of offal meats over time, 43 per cent of respondents said that their parents, aunts or uncles ate offal regularly, while 68.6 per cent said that their grandparents, grand-aunts or grand-uncles ate offal regularly. This helps illustrate the rate of decline in 'popularity' of this foodstuff over perhaps the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.



Did your parents, aunts or uncles eat offal?  
500 responses

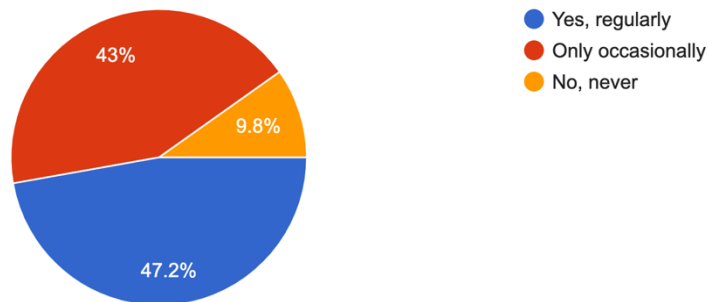


Figure 4.5: Your parents and offal

Did your grandparents, grand-aunts or grand-uncles eat offal?  
500 responses

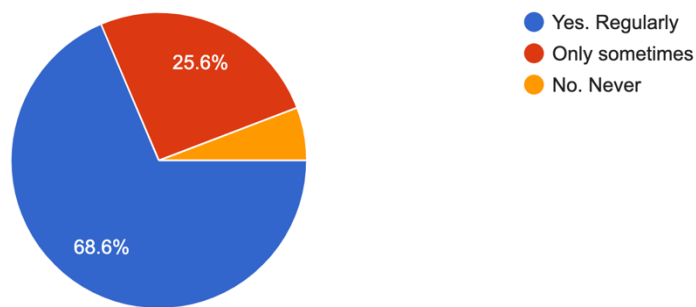


Figure 4.6 Your grandparents and offal

Respondents were asked whether they associated offal as a food stuff with the terms poverty, luxury, the past, 'foodies' or none of these terms, and they were allowed to choose more than one (Q.38). Sixty-seven per cent responded that they associated it with 'the past', 32 per cent associated offal with 'foodies', 25.2. per cent with 'poverty' and 7.6 per cent associated it with luxury. It does not come as a surprise for a sample such as this to consign offal to the past in such numbers, but interestingly, if you combine the high number of choices of both 'foodies' and luxury, it could support the hypothesis that offal meats have now become the preserve of a high cultural-capital foodie elite.

#### 4.2.11 Offal Literacy

Questions 41 to 49 offered the names and pictures of food items and the choice to answer whether or not the items were offal or contained offal. The answers help illustrate the cultural nature of offal and some of its semantic ambivalences. Fifty-two per cent of respondents for example do not consider pork sausages to either be, or to contain offal. (Sausages, particularly the higher quality ones, are made with natural casings which are part of the intestines of an animal and often contain fillings of uncertain origin, such as head meat and foot meat.) 21.2 per cent of respondents did not consider black pudding to either be or to contain offal. (Blood is the main ingredient in black pudding and sometimes natural beef casings are used, again particularly in artisan or higher quality craft-butcher offerings.) White pudding, regarded by a third of respondents as not being offal or not containing offal, often includes ingredients such as pork liver and lamb's tongues and is often made using natural casings, the intestines of lamb or pork. Surprisingly, 12.1 per cent didn't consider tongue to be offal, 10.7 per cent of respondents didn't think sweetbreads were offal and 10 per cent didn't consider brawn (pork head meat) to be or to contain offal. Is oxtail soup offal or does it contain offal? Not according to 37.8 per cent of our respondents. According to 60.8 per cent of our respondents, marshmallows are not or do not contain offal, which is generally correct, unless you take gelatine into account, a substance derived from rendering the bones of animals. Finally, 80.7 per cent of respondents agreed that parmesan cheese was not offal, or does not contain offal, whereas in fact it is made with rennet, a substance extracted from the digestive tracts of young ruminants.

### 4.3 Conclusion

Offal consumption has declined generationally. For many of the respondents, it was a part of their childhood, but often eaten under duress or merely for health considerations, and is no longer a part of the diet. That said, the proportion of the sample still eating offal meats on at least an occasional basis is larger than would have been expected. The regularity with which our sample eats out in cafés or restaurants and the degree to which they entertain at home or are entertained in the homes of others, suggest high levels of cultural capital. The use of relatively sophisticated kitchen equipment and a propensity to engage with food content in the media and literature, plus the tendency of the sample to regard itself as being skilled in cookery could further support that view. With regard to respondents who now eschew offal and organ meats having previously eaten them, the research has shown that disgust, texture, taste, smell, negative experiences, lack of access, health issues and animal welfare concerns are all factors which have discouraged the consumption of offal and organ meats in the contemporary Irish food space. The research has also found that the sample considers offal meat consumption to be more ecologically and ethically sound than not eating it. The sample has also demonstrated high levels of neophilia, in other words the willingness to try new items of food, perhaps a reflection of a more educated sample with a broader outlook and higher levels of cultural capital, or perhaps the influence of inward migration, given the proportion of the sample born outside Ireland. If our sample is representative of the population, awareness of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs) is far from what it ought to be, given the highly educated profile of the respondents.

## **4.4 Presentation of the Analysis of the Qualitative Research and Discussion of the Results**

### **4.4.1 Introduction**

The previous section reported and discussed the findings of a survey carried out in March 2023 entitled *The Fifth Quarter: An Exploration of Offal*. The online study asked 500 participants 49 questions relating to consumption of offal in contemporary Ireland. Follow-up, qualitative research was carried out in order to deepen understanding of this phenomenon. Six subjects were chosen to take part in semi-structured interviews, the collected data from which was analysed using Braun and Clarke's Reflexive Thematic Analysis (2022), following their recommended six phases. As stated in Chapter 3, the interviews were carried out in April 2023, using an I Phone 14, three in person, one over Zoom and two by audio only over the phone, due to limitations of time and logistics, transcribed and subjected to RTA.

### **4.4.2 The Interviews**

As set out in the methodology chapter, seven interviewees, all of whom are expert voices took part in the study. Using the six phases described by Braun and Clarke (2022), the interviews were transcribed, re-read several times and coded a number of times. The codes were organised, distilled, clustered and funnelled and candidate themes and, eventually, themes and sub-themes were constructed from the material using more than one manual method. The hand-drawn spider chart/ mind map proved a useful ally and became a favourite towards the end of the theme-creation phase. That and a whiteboard. Six themes were eventually defined and named, and these are listed below, along with their sub-themes.

## 4.5 Findings of the Qualitative Research

### 4.5.1 List of the Five Main Themes

- **Theme 1 Ambivalent Aversion:** One of the most significant problems in relation to the consumption of offal, is that it, more than other foods is subject to often seemingly illogical aversions, conflicting feelings and mental or visceral reactions.
- **Sub-themes:** Body ‘Andromorphism’, Sensual Issues, Bad Childhood Experiences, Squeamishness, Monotonous Diets, Association of Offal With Previous Bodily Functions
- **Theme 2 Culinary Deficit:** People who would confidently purchase and cook a meal from liver, kidney, tripe or even ox tail are few and far between, in contrast seemingly to previous generations where these cuts were staples in many households where people possessed the cooking skills to prepare them. Now we seem content to leave it largely to the gift of the restaurant chef.
- **Sub-themes:** Lost culinary skills, Convenience
- **Theme 3: Rich Food-Poor Food:** Offal has a split personality when it comes to placing it on the socio-economic axis.
- **Sub-themes:** Historical Associations, Modern Trends, Foodies
- **Theme 4: The Great Disconnect:** A disconnect from the origins of our food may be responsible for the cultural decline of offal meats as we moved towards, homogenised, seasonless, cheap ‘convenient’ foods - a process streamlined by a monolithic, export-driven meat industry

- **Sub-themes:** Reverse Induced Demand, The Death of Seasonality, Homogenisation of Food, The Aesthetic Sanitisation of Meat, Cheap ‘prime cuts’, Anodyne Tastes, Disconnect from Nature Itself, Lost Value of Animals
- **Theme 5: Conscious Re-engagement:** If we are to eat more offal, a conscious effort may be required re-engage with a diet more in tune with the ecology, as well as to provide culinary education and to make the public aware of the true diversity of foods available.
- **Sub-themes:** Education, Information, Awareness, Inward migration, Ecology

#### 4.5.2 How the Research Arrived at the Five Main Themes

The five main themes were built through critical distillation and funnelling of the codes and groups of codes derived from the transcribed texts of the semi-structured interviews, as set out in Chapter 3. There were initially a large number of codes, split into five groups with subgroups as explained in 3.5.6 (see Appendix F). The reduced codes, following the deletion of duplicates, were laid out on a surface, where they could easily be moved around, the groups broken down and re-assembled. This way it was possible to build clusters of codes easily and organically, where clusters would begin to exhibit patterns forming conceptual coherence (see Appendix G for an example of one of these). The themes were decided upon after some backwards and forwards movement between the phases of the RTA process, an experience probably best described by Braun and Clarke themselves as analogous to a navigating garden hose left semi-coiled on the ground (2022). RTA is methodical but by no means straightforward (to say nothing of occasionally frustrating) and there were a couple of things the researcher had to struggle to keep in mind. Firstly, that the data do not speak for themselves, but rather the author is required to speak for the data, to avoid the pitfall of a merely illustrative use of the material (Braun and Clarke, 2022, pp. 138).

The theme of ‘**Ambivalent Aversion**’ for example, has a few different names and iterations beginning life as simply the topic ‘Aversion’ and then ‘Why we don’t eat it’. In the process of sorting through codes, it was discovered that some of them related to narratives around offal told by interviewees who were fond of eating it but still suffered aversion in some way. Yet others were not averse, but didn’t eat it, which of course, implies aversion of some nature. Driving the narrative here were dramatic descriptors, action-based phrases around

experiences with offal eating, including attempts to eat offal under sufferance, almost as if these were traumas being worked through. These included phrases such as ‘forced to eat’ (IS4) ‘battled through it’ (IS1) and ‘difficult to deal with’, the latter phrase coming from a participant who actually wanted to eat the thing that was inspiring the aversion. Another, ‘Sensual Aversion’, contained a cluster of descriptive codes relating to textural and other facets of offal meats, descriptions such as ‘stew-like and ‘bumpy skin’. Under the sub-theme ‘General aversion’, we had codes relating to how people might become generally averse to offal meats, for example through negative messages around offal, such as ‘lungs only fit for dogs’ and ‘messages in the media’ around Mad Cow Disease for example.

The theme of ‘**Rich Food Poor Food**’, to cite another example, seemed almost deductive, in so far as the data from an early stage was showing how profoundly interviewees felt the ambivalence of offal’s social status. Most were willing to express the connection between poverty and offal meats on the one hand, but on the other, seemed to either engage in luxury gastronomic pursuits related to offal meats, or appeared to acknowledge that offal culture itself was somehow rich and poor at the same time. So this theme in many ways is one of the most satisfying, despite being one of the most obvious – offal as the thrupenny opera of high gastronomy. IS3 for example, spoke in his interview about how eastern Europeans who bought beef hearts in his shop might be financially poor but have other forms of wealth. ‘She knows the value’, was one of the phrases that was coded from this data and initially grouped by colour under the rather banal ‘Other factors that might lead to tendency to eat / not to eat offal’ (See Appendix F). By the time the phrase had been copied on to a post-it, it was grouped in with other codes whose meanings were in the area of ‘value’, for example ‘we have lost the value of livestock’, ‘exclusivity’ and other similar meanings. But it didn’t seem to fit and eventually it seemed to work better in a cluster with codes that had meanings around the association offal has on the one hand with poverty and on the other with wealth. The themes themselves are discussed in the next section.

### 4.5.3 Ambivalent Aversion

#### *Andromorphism*

IS4 described how her husband remembered getting beef tongue as a child and absolutely loving it, before the day that someone absentmindedly removed the wooden skewer one dinnertime, allowing the tongue to roll out comically on the dinner table, revealing its true identity to the horrified young diner. He described to her being ‘freaked out’ and ‘roaring crying’.

#### *Disguise*

Much of the time, our ‘andromorphic’ aversions to these meats appear to be kept in check by old fashioned and morally ambiguous sleight-of-hand by other people, or a sort of Jesuitical mental reservation on our own part. Sausages and puddings might even be seen as sleight-of-hand and mental reservation made flesh. As mentioned above, 52 per cent of respondents do not consider pork sausages to either be, or to contain offal, whereas in reality, if they are made with natural casings, you are actually eating the intestines of a pig or sheep and often, they also contain fillings of uncertain origin, such as head meat and foot meat. White pudding, regarded by a third of respondents as not being offal or not containing offal, often includes ingredients such as pork liver and lamb’s tongues and is often made using natural casings. But we just don’t appear to *think* about that when we are eating them.

IS4 described how she loves *pâté* and knows it is made from an animal’s liver, but she went on to say how she practices a sort of reserved thinking or denial when eating it, fully aware of the seeming illogic of her position. This presumably requires a considerable amount of disciplined conscious work on the unconscious. She even temporarily gave up *pâté* when she was younger, one of her favourite foods, after her mother, in an effort to get her to eat a different liver dish, revealed to her that *pâté* was actually made from the organ. Even now, she finds some *pâtés* tricky. *Foie gras* for example has to be ‘definitively a *pâté*’ before she can eat it. If the *pâté* resists the knife in the ‘wrong’ way, she feels unable to eat it. Her difficulties are limited to liver.

IS4: I think the liver thing is stuck with me and partly had a knock on effect. But if somebody gave me heart or gave me you know, like some other type of thing like kidneys [...] I just don't think I think I'd, my head, or, just go no, no thanks [...]



I don't know why this because [...] when I eat like a steak or chicken or anything like I don't think about the fact that I'm eating [...] something that was beating or working or like it was like a functional part, which doesn't really make sense, because obviously the other parts of the animal are functional too. But it just feels a little bit more like sinister maybe.

This was not the kind of data the author would have expected from a dietician, a scientist who might perhaps display an empirical understanding of offal meats as high protein, low fat 'superfood' packed with health-supporting micronutrients, food she might even advise her patients to eat. But as suggested in the literary review, for some people, some body parts are just way too close to their human equivalents. In the results of the online survey remember, eyes, hearts, brains and kidneys are among the organs we are most averse to eating, and the ones we most want to eat (*see* 4.2.9).

### *Sensory Aversion*

Even the most offal-eager neophile however, one capable of popping a pig's eye into his mouth like it was olive, or savouring a boiled abomasum tripe sandwich in a back street in Sicily, is also capable of feelings of aversion. Chef and offal-enthusiast IS2 reported purchasing a testicle sac from a butcher, having asked what it was and then being too embarrassed to not buy it, then feeling he had to follow through by cooking and eating it:

IS2: We tried. We tried em, cows bollocks, for want of a better word, didn't we? It was a bit hairy. We had kind of like you know the sack. They had taken off the hair and you could see where the hair was. You know. That was a bit off putting. To say the least. But I think I... Did we cook it? I think we cooked it.

It is texture that is the trigger for IS5, who is currently vegetarian, but is not particularly disgusted by meat and indeed, says she eats it occasionally with friends to be polite. Here she recalls an anecdote that might prove irresistible to the structuralist looking for meaning in a culinary action:

IS5: I was in a boarding school in France. On Thursdays used to have cows' tongue with chips. The chips were nice. But the cow's tongue, depending on how pissed-off the cooks were [...] they wouldn't take the skin off so it was like the worst thing when you're a kid [...] that bit of bumpy, clearly *tongue* skin, would get me. Not enough chips will make it better.

IS1 reported a similar boarding school experience, where a liver and bacon dish would come out on a large metal tray, the bacon fat 'un-crisped and slimy', the liver 'solid' and 'rigid'.

Other participants have described cooked offal using similar terms, such as ‘grey’ and ‘bouncy’. Descriptor offal-eating verbs dished out by interview participants meanwhile are animated and dramatic; *struggled through*; *can’t deal with*; *forced to eat*.

### *Childhood Dietary Experience*

A diversity of diet in childhood coupled with positive experiences related to gastronomy could be signposts towards positive thinking towards, and a taste for, offal and organ meats. Homes where mealtimes tended towards the commensal and the cooking was diverse and flavoursome, may have been fertile nurseries for ‘neophilic’ proclivities in later life when it comes to food choices. IS2 reported that family mealtimes as a child were important, even though they ‘didn’t go on for a long time’, that he and his bother portrayed voraciousness ‘sucking the bones’ while everybody else watched, and that the food was good. He witnessed communal and commensal dinners at an artists’ retreat where time and care were taken with the food and said he ‘somehow knew that this was an important thing’.

It could be the case that less positive engagements with gastronomy in the home during formative years has an opposing effect. IS1 describes the cooking at home during childhood in less than complimentary terms. Her mother was a feminist and refused to engage with the kitchen on ideological grounds, nor would she cook anything that had a ‘smell’. Though IS1 eats offal now, it tends to be selective, largely at the luxury end, in restaurants, usually sweetbreads or calves’ liver. Though an accomplished home cook with expertise in beef (she co-authored a book on the subject), she says she wouldn’t know where to begin with most offal. IS4 has a similarly flavourless formative narrative. Her mother was a strict purveyor of what she describes as ‘plain’ food, ‘basic dinners’ as the interviewee described them, and anything else was considered notions, including the likes of pasta or rice. IS4 went on to say she comes from a substantial family network of ‘plain eaters’, revealing she has an uncle who refuses gravy, preferring ‘a dry dinner’ instead. IS4 professes to be a plain cook herself, who is ‘trying harder’, now her children have grown up a bit and are getting more adventurous.

#### **4.5.4 Culinary Deficit**

##### *Lost Cooking Skill and Knowledge*

The literature review seems to suggest that while our grandparents would have probably been careful with the pennies, they would have also been intimate with the culinary ‘secrets’

of a tongue or a trotter, if the relative proliferation of offal recipes in cookbooks can be considered evidence (see 2.4.4). As set out in the literature review, food can be a fundamental identity marker, defining personality, socioeconomic status, lifestyles, gender roles, and relationships, from family to community to ethnic groups or nationality, evolving over time and space. This is accomplished by bringing cultural values to the fore (Dussler, 2009). Cooking could perhaps be thought of as a form of intangible cultural heritage (Lee, 2023). A perceived decline in cooking skills can be linked with a population becoming increasingly reliant on commercially prepared foods and on an ever more powerful food industry, as well as the subjugation and paradoxically, emancipation of women as food providers, as well as a possible decline in the life-enhancing aspects of food and cooking (Dixey, 1996, Mintz, 1996; Stitz 1996, cited in Short, 2003). As traced in the literature review, from the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the numbers of recipes for everyday offal dishes in cookbooks appears to have steadily declined, reaching a nadir in and around the mid-Celtic Tiger years, as Ireland's economy soared. The result is that domestic cooking skills, particularly ones relating to offal-based dishes in this case, may have been lost.

IS2: If I buy [...] a steak off the butcher, and I go oh, how long will I cook that for, I find they are knowledgeable. [...] Some of the older butchers will know about the offal, but some of the younger lads might just be... (shrugs).

IS6 It also takes it takes care and cooking skills to be able to produce it and we have become a nation where convenience, tends to be, sort of the number one sort of decision, convenience and price over everything else.

Even IS1, who is a restaurant critic, accomplished cook and a beef expert who has co-authored a cookbook on the subject, admits she wouldn't know where to begin with tongue, tripe or sweetbreads, preferring to leave it to the gift of the professional chef.

#### **4.5.5 Rich Food, Poor Food**

The association between offal and poverty appears stitched into the very 'psyche' of this foodstuff. Mennell's extrapolation of the misconstrued Humble Pie, Marco Polo's wretches scrabbling in the shambles of Asian cities and Terry Fagan's mummies in Dublin's Monto, boiling mutton heads for affordable sustenance in tenement flats (see 2.3.3, 2.4.3), all show us how this theme in relation to fifth quarter meats is threaded through the ages.

The Interviewee 'IS1' thought that in an Irish context, this might have origins around famine times. Her mother for example, came from Kerry, on the coast near Kenmare, and she

refused to eat oysters or mussels, because in that part of the world they were deemed ‘poor food’ or ‘free food’. There is a suggestion here of a shame attached to anything that was free or very cheap. IS5 mentioned that her father came from Northern Ireland, and ‘had a different attitude towards food’ one of ‘scarcity’ and ‘not wasting’. He sucked marrow from bones and claimed ‘The Pope’s Nose’ (the chicken’s backside) whenever the family shared a roast fowl on a Sunday. IS3 observed on the other hand that while offal meat cuts were still seen today as cuts for the less well off, the culinary knowledge required to cook say a beef heart, meant that the purchaser who comes in to buy it in his artisan butcher shop may actually be better off in that regard.

‘My dad ran away from it to some extent, and I get it’ was how IS2 described his father’s eventual shunning of tripe and onions with milk. There is a sense that once people began to divest themselves of the wool-darn lifestyle of post-war austerity, there may have been a tendency to shun the cuisine too. Later, during the Celtic Tiger years, we all ‘ran away’, from the seemingly austere, monochrome habitus of the preceding decades, and cooking at home and the ingredients that went with that may have been a casualty.

### *Foodies*

There is no shunning ‘poor food’ these days. Cultural-capital rich foodies will happily forage Penny Buns in Wicklow’s woodlands (McMahon, 2018), while most of the rest of us seem to attach no shame to ‘living a little’ when we buy what would have been formerly considered luxury foods now available for a few euros in supermarkets, their prices having been driven to the floor by the modern global food system (Pollan, 2010; Carolan, 2011; Ambikapathi, R., Schneider, K.R., Davis, B., Herrero M, Winters, P. and Fanzo, J.C., 2022).

Johnston and Baumann (2010) wrote about the rise of a new omnivorous foodie elite, for whom, foods previously looked down upon by the ‘white tablecloth fooderati’, were now fair game for gourmandising. For this new cohort, offal, like oysters before it, may be becoming a rich man’s food and not just in the way it proliferates in fancy restaurants whilst stubbornly maintaining its absence from the supermarket fridge cabinets, but also in also that it lends foodie credibility, capable as it is of wearing the clothes of conspicuous proletarian ‘authenticism’. In the online survey (see 4.2.10), just under 40 percent of respondents associated offal with either luxury or foodies, while only a quarter now link it with poverty.

IS1: I think it is making a comeback, because and I think the reason for that is [...] restaurants are, you know, trying to keep under pressure from costs going up, and so on. So I think they’re

perhaps more receptive to things [...] they might not otherwise have looked at. So yeah, I think it is making a comeback. Particularly sweetbreads.

It is compelling to note that the possible phenomenon mentioned above - restaurants taking an interest in these ingredients for the purposes of cost-cutting - is also noted in the review of the literature (2.3.4) as having happened before, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in Britain (Mennell, 1996).

#### **4.5.6 The Great Disconnect**

There is a common trope these days that says we have become so distanced from the origins of our own food there is what is referred to as a ‘disconnect’, perhaps one that is difficult to reconcile with the idea of eating items as visceral and elemental as offal meats.

##### *Meat Your Meat*

IS3 is one of the few remaining artisan craft butchers in the country who also operates a small, independent abattoir. He understands the disconnect between consumers and their food, particularly when it comes to meat, and reported how he sees it first hand through educational and local outreach events he sometimes runs at the business:

IS3: They [...] spend the morning over here, we might get them making sausages or burgers. Again, we’d break a side of beef and show them where all the different cuts come from. Because a lot of them really have absolutely no idea where the food is coming from. They see the plastic tray in the supermarket with the chops on it or the steak on it or whatever. They don’t think any further.

IS6, a farmer and butcher of rose veal, goats and pigs in Northern Ireland thinks the disconnect goes a lot deeper than just knowing that your meat comes from a cow or a sheep. For him it could be akin to an almost systematic ‘de-animalisation’ of livestock. Meat no longer has to remind us of a biological origin so close to our own, and as a key to our survival.

IS6: The relationship that we have with livestock is far more than just meat, [...] its whole body is valued in different ways. You know, bonemeal is sort of fertiliser, [...] bones into glue, hides into clothing. You know, we’ve sort of grown up in symbiosis as we’ve evolved with livestock. And it’s only recently in modern history that we’ve sort of devalued that to the point where it’s just a protein.

I have neighbours who are all farmers and they remember, in their childhood, eating pigs from the farm, you know, processing it all on the farm, but [...] now, [...] they sell it to make money, and [...] go into a supermarket to go and buy it. And you go well, why are you doing that?

Like IS4's mental reservation with liver discussed above, IS2 perceives a similarly wilful non-engagement in his restaurant sometimes, when it comes to the offal dishes. It's a sort of squeamish 'I'll eat it but I don't want to see it', psychological blind tasting if you will, even among the relatively food-literate, people who would visit a brewery, vineyard or chocolate factory without hesitation but probably wouldn't sign up for a tour of an abattoir with the same level of enthusiasm.

IS2: They don't really know. That's the thing. [...] Don't want to see the eye. You get a cut of meat it's just a cut of meat. Could be anything. Could be any animal in a way. Yeah there is a disconnect. I mean when we are chatting to people here, we do try and tell them where it comes from.

### *Supermarkets, Seasonality and Convenience*

It is one thing for the hegemony of a monolithic, export-based industry to take meat out of our hands, or at least further out of our hands than it used to be. It is another when you extrapolate the notion of our animals being 'devalued' to the point of merely meaning protein. Participants pointed out a reductionist trend, the simplification of the steps required for both food preparation and nutrition in general, with the illusion of convenience and choice.

IS2 (b): I think it is a diversity [issue], because in spite of us thinking that we eat a really diverse diet we actually don't. Like if you go to a supermarket everything is homogenous, red peppers, tomatoes, salads, all year round and you know it is the same with meat...

IS2: Like there's nothing worse than going to butcher shop and, kind of its all recognizable you know? You know all that stuff. You know what I mean? [...] cuts of meat that is in a sauce or already marinated.

### *'Reverse Induced Demand'*

As pointed out in the review of the literature, there has been a sharp fall in numbers of independent butchers' shops in recent decades (2.4.4) alongside a similar collapse in the numbers of independent abattoirs. In parallel, a consolidation of the meat industry in Ireland, has meant it is now controlled by a very small number of large operators, whose focus is largely on the export market. The concept of induced demand from economics springs to mind, where demand is deliberately created for a product or service, except in this case it appears to be a

version of it in reverse, where an absence of demand, consciously or unconsciously, is created by the possible deliberate removal of the supply chain. As a result, those of us who do want to eat offal, or serve it up in our restaurants, are not always in a position to get our hands on it so easily.

IS2: [...] they say they can get stuff but sometimes they can't. It's weird. Trying to get lamb tongues there a while ago. [...] We eat a lot of lamb and like there's going to be tongue in the head of the lamb but I think [because of] the process, it's really hard to get and when I got them off [the butcher] he just charged me what the abattoir charged. Yeah. It was expensive but he didn't add on his own. He was just like. 'It was a pain in the arse'. [...] They were like three euros a pop for the tongue [...] they had to hire someone in specially to remove them.

#### **4.5.7 Conscious Re-engagement**

All the participants in the study seemed to agree that the consumption of more animal offal meats might be a good thing, even if there was divergence on the matter of why that might be, how it might happen or even if it might be possible at all. IS4 expressed the view that whilst as a dietician she felt offal was a food stuff she ought to be recommending to her clients, given its nutritionally beneficial attributes, she felt on the other hand, that she didn't see the general viability of the idea of encouraging it, given the cultural shift towards 'plant-based' eating. Craft butcher IS3, also thought it would be beneficial generally to see more offal in supermarkets and butchers, but again, wasn't so sure.

IS3: No, there's no interest in selling it. That's my opinion. And if it was more available? I think it needs to be two pronged. One more availability. For two. Again, it's up to the butcher, to advise a little bit more about the nutritional benefits of let's say, lambs' liver, and how best to cook it as well. Because there's no doubt from serving behind the counter, the biggest thing people look for here, particularly on a Friday and Saturday, at the weekend, is probably cooking advice. [The] concern is the volume that we're producing in the factories [...] any little bit helps, but there'd want to be a huge amount eaten, I think to have an impact. Because the quantities that are being produced are high.

Farmer, IS6, had a simpler, and perhaps less pragmatic, more idealistic view.

IS6 If every butcher had it and therefore it was more accessible. I'm sure it [consumption] would go up because there are people out there who come to our market stall and they say 'Oh. I haven't been able to get liver for years so I'll be back. [...] say you are replacing a [...] frying steak with a slice of liver. Direct, it's a direct swap. But at the same time, when you produce that minute steak, you're getting liver out of the carcass. So yeah, that's going to have a direct impact on the number of animals produced for sure.

IS3 said she thinks the cost of living crisis might be catalytic, with people facing inflation when they are trying to feed families and give them good, nutritious food, but she wonders if we will ever go back to being offal-eaters, given the aforementioned culinary skills deficit.

IS3: And like, there is a financial, you know, cost of living crisis kind of emerging for people as well. So, I think if people are trying to feed families and give them good, nutritious food, it's a potential. But I also think there's a whole, I mean, basically, if you're younger than 50, I don't know if you probably know how to cook any of those foods.

### *Education*

Chef IS2 says it is up to all of us to educate ourselves and become more open-minded about food and start trying different things outside the 'box' of the fillet steak and the lamb chop. He says that for him, taste came first and notions of helping fight food waste came later. He argues that by eating offal, and particularly the type of offal he serves – a by-product of dairy from male goats and calves that might be otherwise euthanised at birth - in his tiny restaurant he is helping make food production that bit more humane and ecologically efficient.

IS2: I mean one particular guy I know, he likes our stuff on Instagram [...] He's a vegan [chef] and he gets it, because of the waste issue. I mean he wouldn't eat it, you know what I mean. Whereas vegetarianism [...] would be a bit more floppy about 'ah that's grand or I'll eat this or I'll eat goats cheese but I won't eat goats' meat. I find that kind of bizarre. But once we educate ourselves then the next step is to get it a bit more mainstream. I dunno. Like will supermarkets ever have that again?

IS6 believes that we will eventually begin to take a critical look at our food and our relationship with it in terms of the micronutrients that may be present in grass fed and finished meats, as opposed to grain-fed 'industrial meats', and begin to demand better food.

IS6 This [...] in turn also leads to education in terms of cooking in order for people to then be able to make more nutritionally beneficial dishes as well as to select produce that is more nutritionally beneficial, and then I think with that, we are naturally going to then reconnect with nature because like the fundamental driver of being human is survival you know they want to be healthy. And I think that's, that's key, you know if we can show people how to be healthy and well, I think the rest will fall into place.



## *Awareness*

IS1 suggested that a marketing campaign by Bord Bia, perhaps in supermarkets, where free morsels of cooked meats were given away, might help re-acquaint people with the flavours of offal meats. It has been suggested that one of the reasons we no longer eat so much of it is that we have abandoned that particular umami flavour in favour of those sugars, starches and fats (2.6.5). She mentioned a restaurant chef friend of hers who offers try-before-you buy dishes for unusual stuff, including offal.

## *Inward migration*

All of the interviewees agreed that inward migration might have a positive and upward effect on the demand for offal and organ meats in Ireland and furthermore reckoned that migrants probably possessed the skills and knowledge that we didn't have anymore, and that perhaps this was an area where we could learn. In the same way the Huguenots brought us oxtail soup, as discussed in the review of the literature, perhaps our new Polish or Ukrainian compatriots will add some new and lasting elements to Irish food culture.

IS4: ...like anyone I have had kind of links or with, they're always [...] like cooking you something from their culture and bringing it in really proud of it. Because saying, oh, like, this is what we eat in our country, and they bring it to you to try. Like, that's not something anyone Irish I can imagine ever doing...

## *Ecology*

As stated in the literature review, diet structure adjustment (either reducing meat consumption or replacing meat with edible offal) demonstrated the greatest potential for emissions reduction. The study cited estimated that increasing consumption of offal could reduce meat originating emissions by 14 per cent (Xue, *et al.*, 2022). Soladoye, *et al.*, (2019), have argued that the fifth quarter must successfully support food security, social inclusion, environmental sustainability, and a sustainable economy, in order to significantly contribute to current efforts toward a circular bio-based economy. They posit that the high volume of materials makes them a very relevant candidate to investigate in the framework of a circular

bio-based economy to meet some of the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations (UN-SDGs).

IS5: How do you save the planet? I would say just meet your meat, meet your meat, maybe just go back to markets. Markets, like I just want to be healthier for everyone and communities. That thing where you go and you buy or you know, even you see the pig and you come and collect it in the afternoon?

IS6: I think, post-fossil fuels, that sort of blood sweat and tears has been reduced so much that we've lost sight of what sort of environmental efficiency really is. Because we're sort of, you know, we're always living as human beings. We're always living separate from the natural world and but we're, we've almost, I suppose, put ourselves in the role of a deity whose job it is to oversee the natural world, but actually, we are very much part of that.

Given Ireland is, as stated in the opening chapter, Europe's fifth largest producer of beef, meaning it produces a lot of beef offal annually, plus the offal from its herd of 1.5m pigs and a significant sheep herd (Enterprise Ireland, 2022) the concept of saving a significant quantity of greenhouse gases by eating our own offal does not seem outrageous.

Interestingly, despite all being highly well educated and generally well-informed individuals, all but one of the of the interview participants was largely unaware of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, and that was a person who know about them through a 17 year-old daughter. Along with the research from earlier in this chapter which revealed a poor general awareness of the goals among the online sample, this probably should be cause for concern. That said, it may be worth remembering, as presented earlier in this chapter, that three quarters of our sample regarded eating offal as more ecologically sound than not eating offal and 66.2 per cent thought it was more ethically sound to eat offal than it was not to eat it, while the interview participants generally had ecology-forward ideas around the topic of meat and offal. There may be grounds for optimism.

## 4.6 Conclusion

Do offal meats have a place in Irish food culture and the future of its cuisine? While the simple answer to the question has to be yes, otherwise we could not have gotten this far, the not-so-simple one has to be qualified.

The perceived decline of offal meats as a food stuff in Ireland can be seen as tragically paradoxical to the wonder of the country's recent gastronomical renaissance. The backbone of the cuisine of any nation has to be the traditional workaday foods as cooked in ordinary working homes. Animal offal meats were one of the mainstays here for generations, particularly for the less well-off. Much of the know-how and skill to make nutritious family meals from these ingredients however, has been lost and indeed, much of the skill of artisan butchery in retrieving these parts from carcasses on a small scale has also been lost. On the upside though, who is to say that tongues, tails, trotters, hearts, kidneys, cheeks and even brains, will not be the secret weapons in the oft-predicted golden era of Irish gastronomy, where it is elevated to the sort of giddy elevations of global recognition achieved by the Danes and the Spanish in recent times.

Ireland may pride itself on its production of grass-fed beef as a flagship export commodity of unrivalled gastronomic reputation, but the reality of our ecological travails with regard to global warming and bio-diversity loss is that it may not be sustainable in the medium and long term and that we may have to produce meat on a much smaller scale and consume most of it ourselves. In the not-too-distant future therefore, those diverse displays in butcher shops may return.

But are we ready for this? The study has shown that perhaps on the face of it, we are not quite. It seems to be the case that while the population at large seems generally well disposed towards the idea of seeing more offal about the plate, a revival on any great scale seems unrealistic in the face of embedded cultural mores, the paucity of generalised culinary nous and the lack of infrastructure available to get Irish offal meats from the abattoir to our plates. That there is a new coterie of Irish offal-eater however, one significantly better-shod than most of our grandparents, is now in very little doubt. Whether their number will grow significantly in the future is another matter.

This chapter has set out and discussed the findings of the primary research associated with the study. The final chapter will revisit the aim and objectives set out in Chapter 1 and elucidate and discuss the conclusions of the study, and its recommendations for further research.

## Chapter 5 Conclusions and Recommendations

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter will revisit the aim and objectives of this study as set out on Chapter 1. It will highlight the conclusions which can be drawn from the findings, discuss any limitations of the research and make recommendations for future research. It will demonstrate how the gap in the research identified at the end of Chapter 2 was filled.

### 5.2 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study was to establish the nature, extent and significance of the consumption of offal and organ meats in Irish food culture and to measure the appetite for more of it in the future. A set of objectives were identified in order to achieve this aim. These were as follows:

- To discover what has been written about the cultural and historical significance of offal and organ meats both globally and in Ireland up to the present day
- To find out who eats offal in Ireland today
- To probe the nature of our understanding of the meaning of offal
- To explore the extent of and reasons for the decline in offal eating in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century
- To employ research methods and a theoretical framework (methodology) best suited to answer the main research question
- To explore the ambivalences surrounding the consumption and non-consumption of offal and organ meats
- To discover if there is an appetite for higher levels of consumption of offal and organ meats in Ireland in the future and ask how that might be achieved, with a view towards a more ecologically-friendly food production system towards meeting the expectations of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals

The first objective was achieved through secondary research of the scholarly literature and selected grey literature on the topic. The second objective was achieved through quantitative

research by means of an online survey answered by a sample of 500 adults currently living in Ireland. The third objective was achieved by a combination of the review of the literature, the online survey and qualitative research by means of seven interviews with select expert voices, collecting data that was then subjected to Reflexive Thematic Analysis. The third objective was again partially achieved by the review of the literature, partially by questions in the online survey and partially by the qualitative research. The fourth and fifth objectives were achieved largely by questions posed in the online survey, while the sixth objective was achieved was achieved by means of both the qualitative and quantitative research.

### **5.3 Drawing Conclusions from the Objectives**

#### **5.3.1 Objective 1: To Discover What Has Been Written About the History and Culture of Offal and Organ Meats both Globally and in Ireland up to the Present Day**

This objective was achieved through secondary research of the scholarly literature and selected grey literature on the topic. Offal has been an important source of nourishment since humans started to hunt animals for food and the warm organs of the kill would have been among the first parts to be eaten. The literature review outlined the evolution of offal consumption globally from the beginning of human history, starting in the Stone Age and continuing through Egyptian, Sumerian, Greek and Roman civilisations, through the Middle Ages to the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. It showed that offal meats have provided much needed nutrition to populations in times of war and economic shortage and have been prepared as luxury food in fine restaurants. Consumption of offal meats has declined in the English-speaking world, since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, largely due to industrialisation of both the production of animals and the processing of meat, the role of supermarkets and, due to changing tastes and proclivities. The review of the literature made it clear that offal was in many ways the ‘forgotten quarter’ of Irish meat, even though massive quantities of it are produced here and most of it exported. Rarely seen in the mainstream media, offal only ever occasionally makes the farming press and even when it does, it remains shrouded in arcane descriptions of how producers of cattle get paid for it, or its value on the Japanese market. There were very few clues as to how widely offal meats were eaten these days and why so little of it was available. Studies referenced in the literature review show that there may be resistance among the public when it comes to getting them to consume more offal meats and products derived from it, as it can subject to psychological and visceral aversion and disgust.

### **5.3.2 Objective 2: To Find Out Who Eats Offal in Ireland Today**

This objective was met by a combination of the literature review, the online survey and the qualitative survey. People who eat offal in Ireland today are likely to be well-educated and in an economically comfortable socio-economic demographic. They are likely to have a keen interest in food and gastronomy and probably engage with food content in the media on a regular basis. They will probably regard themselves as being relatively skilled in the culinary arts and will most likely possess a range of good quality kitchen equipment, although, they are probably more likely to eat it in a restaurant setting than they are to cook and eat at home. They dine out regularly and entertain at home regularly. Though well over half the sample said they continued to eat offal, only small cohort of these do so on a weekly basis. This cohort is likely to be ‘neophilic’, in other words open to trying new foods and tastes. On a deeper level, those who are more likely to be well-disposed towards eating offal and organ meats may have had a more diverse diet growing up, a diverse background and be well travelled.

### **5.3.3 Objective 3: To Explore the Nature and Extent of the Decline in Offal Eating in the Past 50 Years**

This objective was achieved partially through the literature review and partially through the primary research, both qualitative and quantitative. If you were born in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, it is more than likely your parents ate more offal and organ meats than you do, and significantly more of your grandparents ate it than they did. Since their time, systems of agriculture and meat production have changed radically, adopting a more industrialised and export-centred approach than in the past. On the retail end, the rise of supermarkets changed that way the supply chains worked and brought the price of prime cuts down, making them more attractive to consumers who previously couldn’t afford them. Small abattoirs and butchers closed and in the larger processing plants, offal became more of a waste issue until lucrative export markets opened for it in Europe and Asia in the past few years. If demand for offal and organ meats has ‘collapsed’ and ‘tastes have changed’ in the meantime, it could be argued that this is partially as a result of the ‘reversed induced demand’ discussed in the previous chapter, and that a strangulation of supply has resulted in people simply getting used to not eating it, and therefore losing the taste for it. This of course also ties into the notion of the disconnect between us and the food we eat, as discussed in Chapter 2, and as further discussed in Chapter 4 in the analysis of the qualitative research.

#### **5.3.4 Objective 4: To Employ a Research Method and Theoretical Framework that Best Suit the Study**

This objective was met by chapter 3, the methodology chapter. A mixed methods approach was decided upon and executed as it was decided it would best suit a study of this nature, where the researcher is dealing with a thing that was both concrete and semantically fluid, as is discussed in earlier chapters. Although partially quantitative, this study is not subject to a positivist ontology but rather a more relativist approach. According to Spillman (2014), preliminary descriptions of sociological patterns can be described by quantitative evidence, which can then be explained by qualitative evidence. Because cultural sociology seeks to understand how cultural values, beliefs, and practices shape social structures, and how these structures in turn affect cultural phenomena, it was felt that as a framework this would be well-suited to the study. The author was enabled to draw upon concepts such as cultural capital, habitus and taste, as well as bodily enactment, in order to explore the factors that shape attitudes towards offal consumption, and was furthermore allowed to reflect on layered meanings alongside concrete data. Overall, this was an approach that enabled the researcher to extract greater value and meaning from data collected in the real world, in the hope of adding to understanding of the topic.

#### **5.3.5 Objective 5: To Explore Ambivalences Surrounding the Consumption and Non-consumption of Offal and Organ Meats**

Most people who eat meat do so without giving the slightest thought to what it is, where it comes from or what its previous biological function might have been. This does not seem possible when it comes to offal and organ meats however, which tend to have either a visual, olfactory or textural connection to their origins and previous functions as body parts of non-human animals. It is these attributes and the visceral, often illogical reaction they provoke in humans that make them difficult for so many of us to consume. It would appear that many aversion-type reactions to offal meats might be rooted in negative childhood experiences with them. It would also appear that even for seasoned offal-eaters, psychological strategies often have to be employed in order to counteract body-andromorphic reactions – hearts, kidneys etc - as well as disgust reactions to the visual appearance of some offal meats, their sometimes agricultural aromas, and indeed their connection to the bodily fluids and excreta of animals.

But the study also found that offal eating may involve for some people the application of a conscious repression of unconscious feelings towards these meats, a sort of mental reservation, as mentioned earlier.

### **5.3.6 Objective 6: To Discover Whether There is an Appetite for Higher Levels of Consumption of Offal and Organ Meats in Ireland in the Future, and to Ask How That Might be Achieved, with a View Towards a More Ecologically-friendly Food Production System, Aimed at Meeting the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGS)**

There appears to be an appetite for more offal and organ meats. A large majority of participants in the online survey were of the opinion that consumption of offal meats is more ecologically acceptable than not eating it and a very slightly smaller majority of participants believe that eating offal meats is more ethical than not eating it. Whether there is scope for a revival in the fortunes of domestic offal eating in Ireland however, is a much more speculative proposition, particularly in a cultural climate where moves towards ‘plant-based’ diets, the promotion of veganism and the general demonisation of meats seem to have the momentum. A revival of the fortunes of offal would require systemic changes in the way meat is processed and distributed. It would probably also require a significant cultural shift, not only in the way we perceive these foodstuffs, but in terms of broadening our culinary outlook. The direct effects of our current diet.

## **5.4 Limitations of the Research**

For reasons of resources and time constraints, the sampling techniques in this study relied on both convenience and snowballing, in other words, the online survey for example, relied on viral and social media sharing, rather than true randomisation, which involves significantly more time and financial resources. As a result the sample may contain unavoidable biases. Furthermore, the interview sample for the qualitative research was chosen by the researcher, and largely already known to the researcher. Despite first impressions, the topic proved much larger than it would have appeared in the first instance and the scope may have been overbroad if anything.



## 5.5 Recommendations for Further Research

Based on the findings of this study, it is recommended that further research be undertaken in a number of areas.

### 5.5.1 Recommendation 1

#### *Historical Study of Offal Cookery in Ireland*

This research has highlighted the potential for a historical study on Irish offal cookery, given the part offal and organ meats appear to have played in a millennium of the gastronomic history of Ireland, back as far as the time of writing of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Irish text *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*. Of particular interest though, would be an investigation of offal recipes from the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is a good deal in the culinary literature, some of which has been discussed in the literature review, and there may be scope for discovery of recipes in documents from country houses and institutions as well as in other archives.

### 5.5.2 Recommendation 2

#### *Neophilia, Neophobia*

There is wider study to be done on the influence of domestic food in childhood on the dietary, culinary and gastronomic tendencies in adulthood among people born in 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, particularly neophilia, the obsessive interest in trying new foods and tastes, and adult neophobia, the rejection of unfamiliar or new foods in adults. The idea would be to look for links in the particular dietary patterns to later proclivities and tastes.

### 5.5.3 Recommendation 3

#### *Butchery and the Culinary Arts*

‘A personal butcher is not a mere *commerçant*, he is one’s confidant, advisor, culinary guru and friend’, (Fieldstone, 2015, cited in McHenry, 2020). A number of interviewees mentioned the lack of culinary knowledge among younger butchers specifically with regard to the cooking of offal and organ meats. There may be potential for a study of the culinary pedagogy in the butchery trade to examine if there may be more scope for instruction of apprentices in offal cookery. For example, the current curriculum listed by the Associated Craft

Butchers of Ireland, for its National Craft Butchery Apprenticeship, for a QQI Level 5 Certificate in Craft Butchery, lists ‘core industry skills’ such as Practical Meat Cutting, Manufacturing Meat Products, Entrepreneurial Skills, Food Safety and Hygiene and Customer Service and Marketing, but not culinary skills.

#### **5.5.4 Recommendation 4**

##### *The United Nations Sustainable Goals*

This study has exposed an apparent and worrying gap in awareness of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, which emerged from The Global Sustainable Development Report, an outcome of the Rio + 20 Conference, a meeting of member states in Brazil in 2012. The goals set out our targets in relation to global sustainable development post-2015, and it was felt that goal number 12, which ‘ensures sustainable consumption and production patterns’ and goal number 13, which urges us to ‘take urgent action to tackle climate change and its impacts’ directly related to this study, due to the potential impact of greater consumption of the animal offal produced in Ireland. In light of the results of the online survey carried out, which showed that less than 30 percent of the sample were either very aware or somewhat aware of the goals, it is recommended that government or a suitable NGO undertake a full randomised quantitative survey to determine more precise information regarding the level of public awareness around the UNSDGs. On May 3, 2023, the Minister for the Environment in Ireland appointed 26 organisations from across society as leaders in driving forward the country’s progress towards the UNSDGs, but even this announcement appears to have largely slipped under the radar.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

The aim of this study was to establish the nature, extent and significance of the consumption of offal and organ meats in Irish food culture and to measure the appetite for more of it in the future. The research has identified a small minority of food-aware, well-educated individuals possessed of a high level of cooking skills as consumers of offal meats in contemporary Ireland. These individuals are across a range of ages and may or may not have been born in Ireland and in general are food-aware, and given to trying new taste experiences. They are likely to cook it at home or eat it in a restaurant and by and large purchase it in

traditional butchers' shops. The study has also found that the parents' and grandparents of the participants in the online survey, consumed offal and organ meats in far greater quantities, but that the foodstuff has been largely abandoned due to a range of factors, including the degradation of an independent system of process and supply, and changing tastes in foods, meat in particular. This has resulted from a combination of economic prosperity and a decline in demand, though it is suggested that this drop in demand is not the result of ordinary market dynamics, but rather a form of negative induced demand due to gradual dismantling of the supply side and a centralisation and consolidation of the meat processing industry. The study found that there are ambivalences and contradictions surrounding offal and its meaning. It found that childhood diet and experiences with foods, both positive and negative, can have a lasting effect on the ability to accept offal as palatable food and that there are a number of strategies employed by people who are averse but still eat it. It found that there is a deficit of culinary skills and knowledge among the general public and possibly young butchers in relation to offal cookery, presenting a potential barrier to its wider consumption. It discovered that the general absence of offal had helped contribute to the disconnect between the general public and the food they eat, and that disconnect in turn served as a further impediment to wider offal consumption. On the other hand, there appears to be a feeling of general positivity towards the idea of offal meats being made more widely available in the future, and that this would be beneficial to our health and the wider community in terms of the environmental benefits that would accrue from greater domestic use of a resource that is produced in this country in vast quantities.

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## Appendix

### Appendix A: Online Questionnaire (Microsoft Word Version)

#### The Fifth Quarter: An Exploration of Offal

My name is Niall Toner and I'm researching a dissertation as part of an MA in Gastronomy and Food Studies at the Technological University in Dublin. My working title is: **Exploring the Fifth Quarter: Offal in Irish Food Culture** If you are over 18 and living in Ireland, I would love you to fill in my survey, even if you are vegetarian. There are 30-ish questions, but they are fun and it only takes about 5 minutes to complete. Responses and personal information are confidential and anonymous. If you have any questions regarding this research project, contact me by email at [nialltonerjr@gmail.com](mailto:nialltonerjr@gmail.com)

Thank you for your participation, it is greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Niall

*An asterisk indicates a required question*

1. Are you over 18 years old and do you consent to filling in this survey?\*

Yes No

2. Were you born in Ireland? \* .

Yes No

3. If you answered no, where were you born?

4. How long have you lived in Ireland? \*

5. What is your gender? \*



6. What is your age bracket? \*

7. What are your highest educational credentials? \*

None or primary/ Secondary or lower vocational/ Higher professional education or university

8. Would you describe yourself as a... \*

Meat-eater/ Vegetarian/ Vegan/ Other:

9. If you answered 'other', please specify

10. Which of the following do you regularly use? \*

Oven/ Cookbook/ Set of cooking knives Kitchen scales/ Water bath (*sous vide*)

11. Which of the following best-describes your knowledge of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)?

I'm very aware of them/ I'm somewhat aware of them I've heard of them./ I've never heard of them.

12. Do you consider yourself to be a good cook?

Yes/ No

13. Do you read about food in magazines, newspapers and online, watch food-related programmes on television or online, or listen to podcasts about food?

Yes, obsessively/ Yes, sometimes/ Rarely/ No. Never.

14. How often do you cook from scratch? \*

Every day/ A few days a week/ Once or twice a week/ Special occasions only/ Never

15. In the past month, how many times have you met with other people in a restaurant or café to eat?

None/ Once/ Twice/ Three times/ More than three times

16. In the past month, how many times have people visited you \* in your home to share a meal?

None/ Once/ Twice/ Three times/ More than three times

17. In the past month, how many times have you visited others in their homes to share a meal?

None/ Once/ Twice /Three times/ More than three times

### **The Meaty bit**

Please try to answer these, even if you don't eat meat.

18. Do you eat meat... \*

Every day/ Every second day/ Once or twice a week/ Only occasionally/ Never.

19. Have you ever eaten offal, in other words, the livers, kidneys, hearts, lungs, or other organs of animals, or the feet, ears, tails and heads of animals such as cows, pigs, goats, chicken or fish?

Yes/ No

20. Can you remember the first time you ate offal ?

Yes/ No

21. What was the first type of offal you remember eating?

22. Did you understand at the time that it came from an animal?

Yes/ No

23. Do you still eat offal? .

Yes/ No

24. If you answered yes, how often?

Daily/ Every few days/ Weekly/ Only occasionally

25. Do you buy and cook the offal yourself?

Yes/ No/ Sometimes

26. Would you order offal in a restaurant? \*

Yes/ No/ Maybe

27. What is your favourite type of offal?

28. What, if any, body parts or organs of an animal would you refuse to eat?

29. Have you eaten offal in the past but stopped for one reason or another?

Yes I no longer eat offal/ No, I still eat offal

30. If the answer to the above was 'yes' could you state why?

31. Which offal dish have you NOT tried yet but would like to?

32. Where do you purchase your offal meats?

In a butcher's shop/ Online/ At a farmers' market/ Ready prepared, in a café or restaurant  
Supermarket

33. Would you be more inclined to eat offal if it were more readily available in supermarkets?

Yes/ No

34. Which do you think is the more-ecologically sound thing to <sup>\*</sup> do?

Eat offal/ Don't eat offal.

35. Which do you think is the more ethically-sound thing to do? <sup>\*</sup> *Mark only one oval.*

Eat offal/ Don't eat offal.

36. Did your parents, aunts or uncles eat offal? <sup>\*</sup> *Mark only one oval.*

Yes, regularly/ Only occasionally/ No, never

37. Did your grandparents, grand-aunts or grand-uncles eat \* offal?

Yes regularly/ Only sometimes/ No never

38. Offal is a foodstuff you associate with ... \* .

Poverty/ Luxury/ The past/ 'Foodies'/ None of the above

39. Which of the following would you like to eat? \*

Steak and kidney pie/ A pork chop with the kidney attached/ *Trippa Romana* (An Italian dish of tripe [beef stomach] in tomato sauce)/ *Andouillette* (a type of French tripe sausage from the Champagne region)/ Haggis (Scottish sausage made with heart, liver and lungs of sheep)/ *Ris de veau* (veal sweetbreads [thymus gland of a calf])/ None of these

Which of the following do you associate as either being offal or containing offal?

40.

Pork sausages



...are offal or contains offal/ ...are not offal or do not contain offal

41.

Black Pudding

... is offal or contains offal/ ... is not or does not contain offal



42.

White Pudding...

... is offal or contains offal/... is not or does not contain offal.



43.

Liver ...

... is offal or contains offal/ ... is not or does not contain offal.



44.

Tongue...

...is offal or contains offal/... is not or does not contain offal.



45.

Sweetbreads...

... are offal or contains offal/ ... are not or do not contain offal.



46.

Brawn...

... is offal or contains offal/... is not or does not contain offal.



47.

Oxtail soup

... is offal or contains offal/ ... is not or does not contain offal





48.

Marshmallow



... is or contains offal/...is not or does not contain offal.

49.

Parmesan cheese

... is offal or contains offal/... is not or does not contain offal.

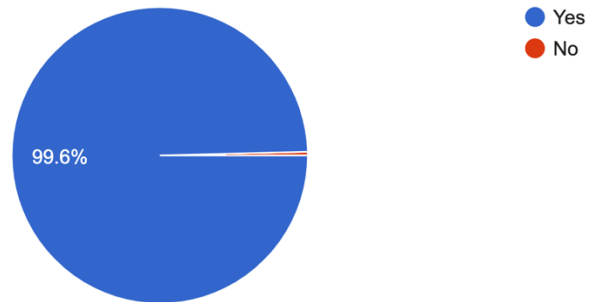


## Appendix B: Relevant Findings of the Online Survey

Q1.

Are you over 18 years old and do you consent to filling in this survey?

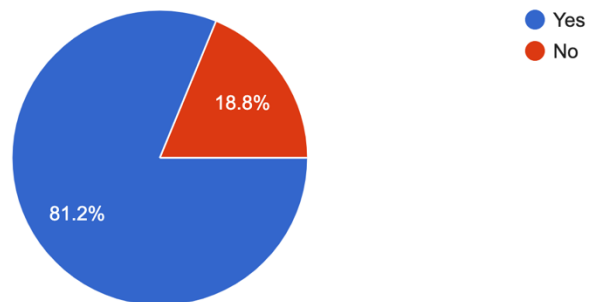
500 responses



Q 2.

Were you born in Ireland?

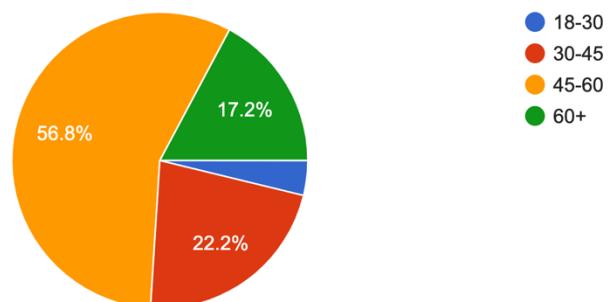
500 responses



Q 6.

What is your age bracket?

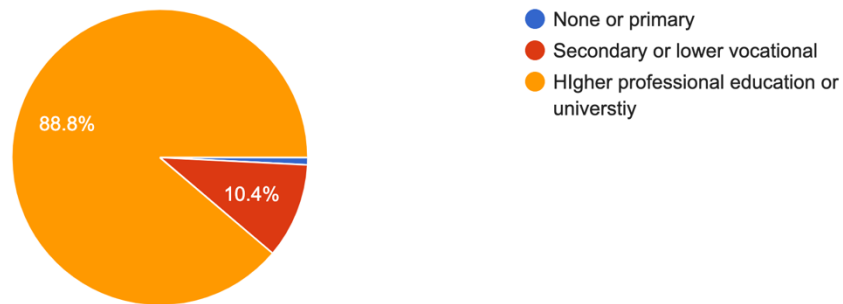
500 responses



Q 7.

### What are your highest educational credentials?

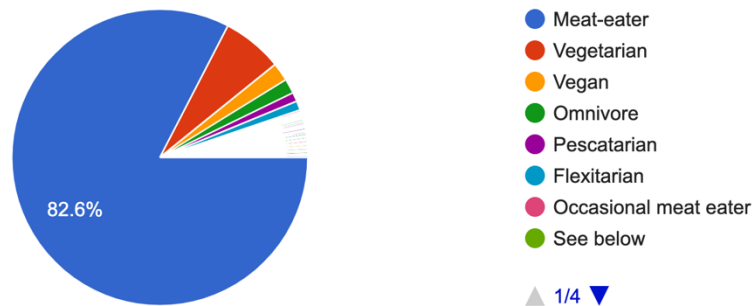
500 responses



### Q 8.

#### Would you describe yourself as a...

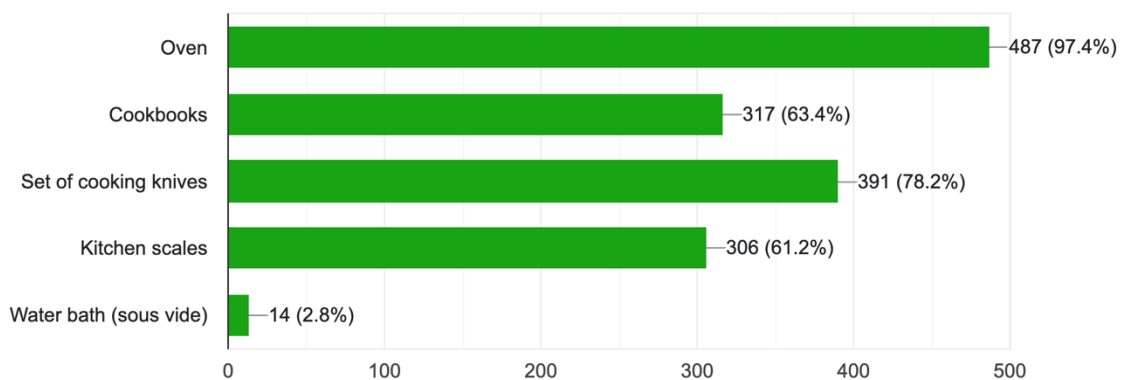
500 responses



### Q 10.

#### Which of the following do you regularly use?

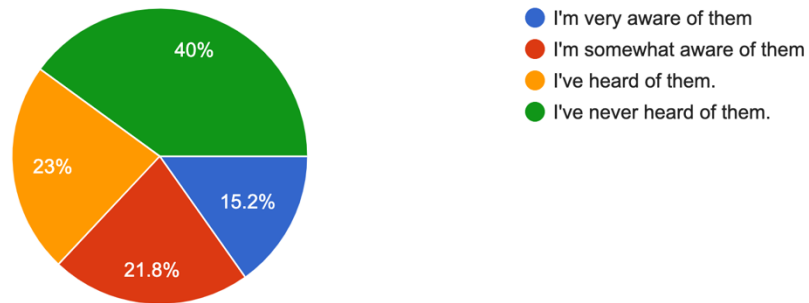
500 responses



### Q 11.

Which of the following best-describes your knowledge of the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)?

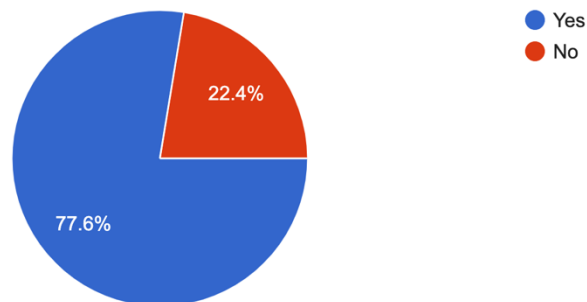
500 responses



Q 12.

Do you consider yourself to be a good cook?

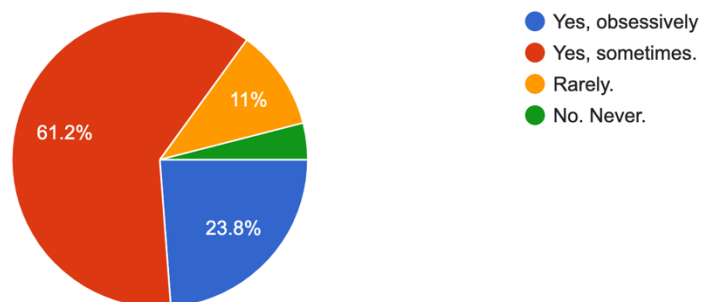
500 responses



Q13

Do you read about food in magazines, newspapers and online, watch food-related programmes on television or online, or listen to podcasts about food?

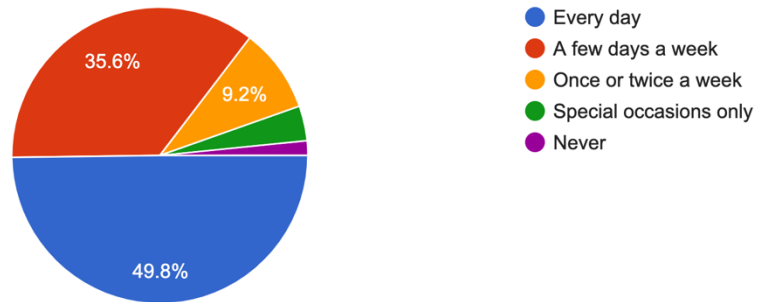
500 responses



Q 14.

How often do you cook from scratch?

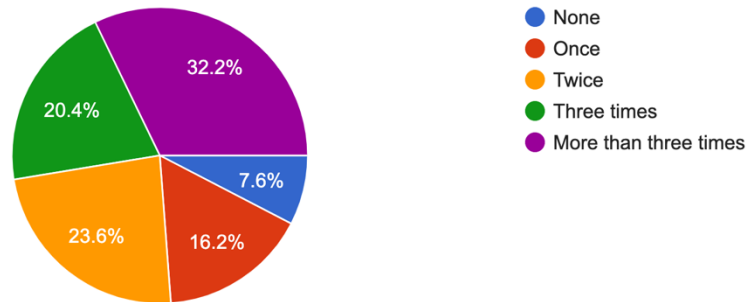
500 responses



Q 15.

In the past month, how many times have you met with other people in a restaurant or café to eat?

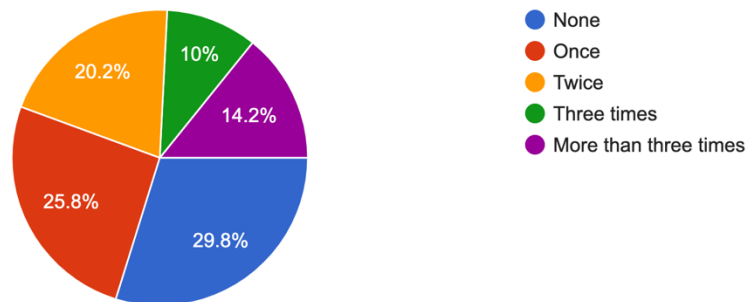
500 responses



Q. 16.

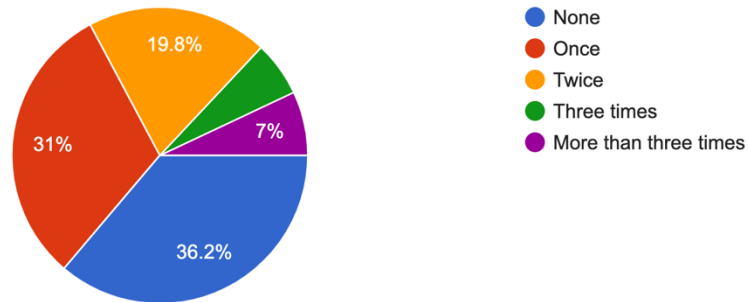
In the past month, how many times have people visited you in your home to share a meal?

500 responses



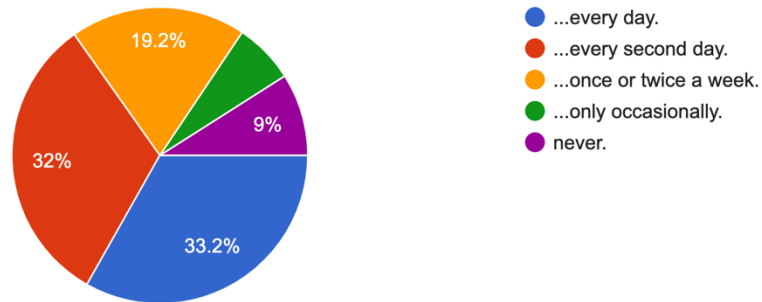
Q 17.

In the past month, how many times have you visited others in their homes to share a meal?  
500 responses



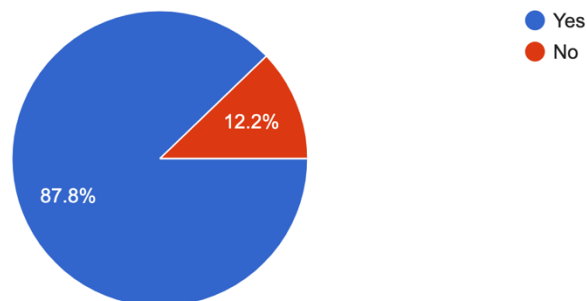
Q18

Do you eat meat...  
500 responses



Q 19.

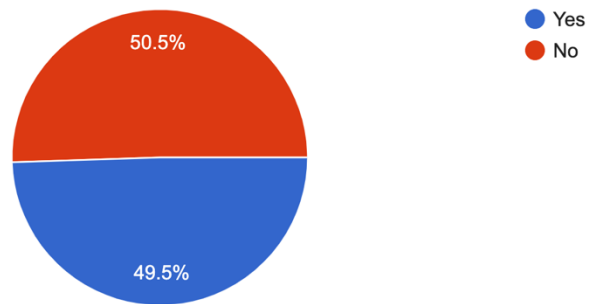
Have you ever eaten offal, in other words, the livers, kidneys, hearts, lungs, or other organs of animals, or the feet, ears, tails and heads of animals such as cows, pigs, goats, chicken or fish?  
500 responses



Q 20.

Can you remember the first time you ate offal?

487 responses



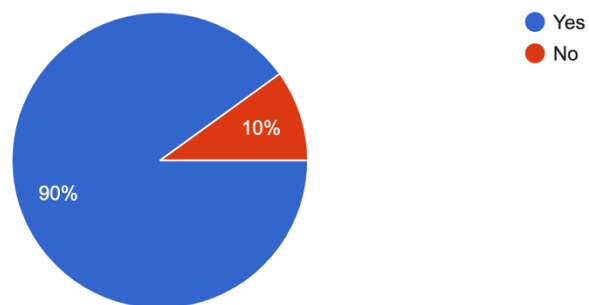
Q 21

What was the first type of offal you remember eating?

Q 22

Did you understand at the time that it came from an animal?

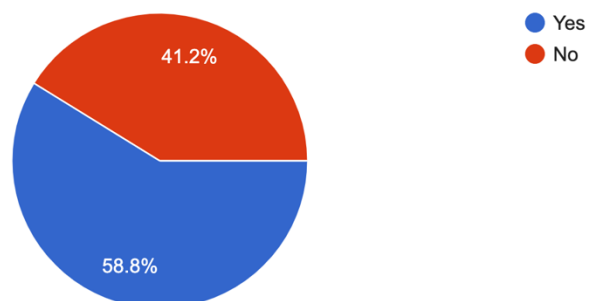
472 responses



Q 23.

Do you still eat offal?

483 responses

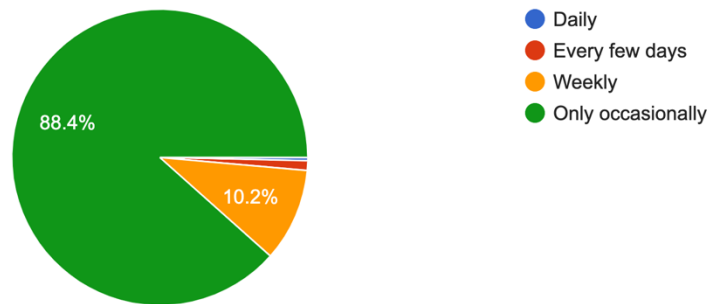


Q 24.



If you answered yes, how often?

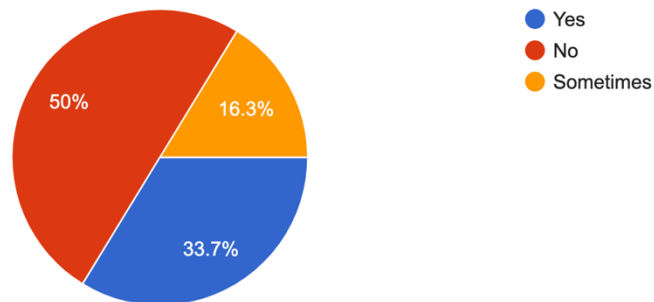
285 responses



Q 25.

Do you buy and cook the offal yourself?

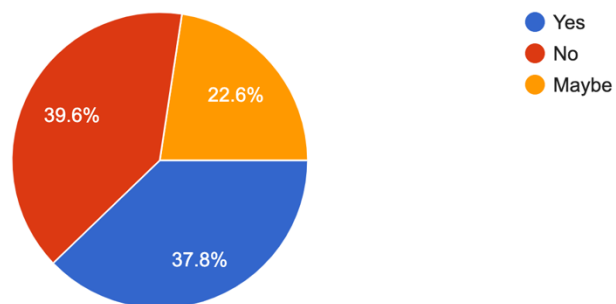
418 responses



Q 26.

Would you order offal in a restaurant?

500 responses



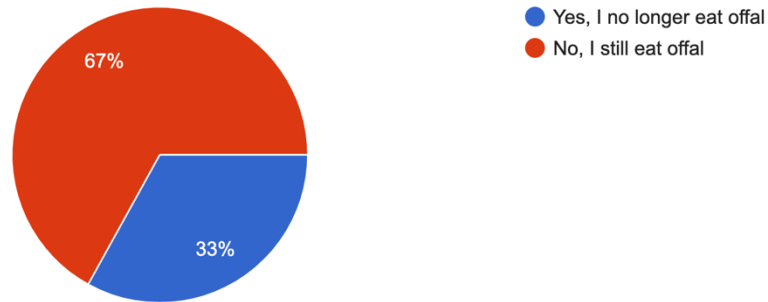
Q 27. What is your favourite type of offal?

Q 28. What if any, kind of offal would you refuse to eat?

Q 29.

Have you eaten offal in the past but stopped for one reason or another?

436 responses



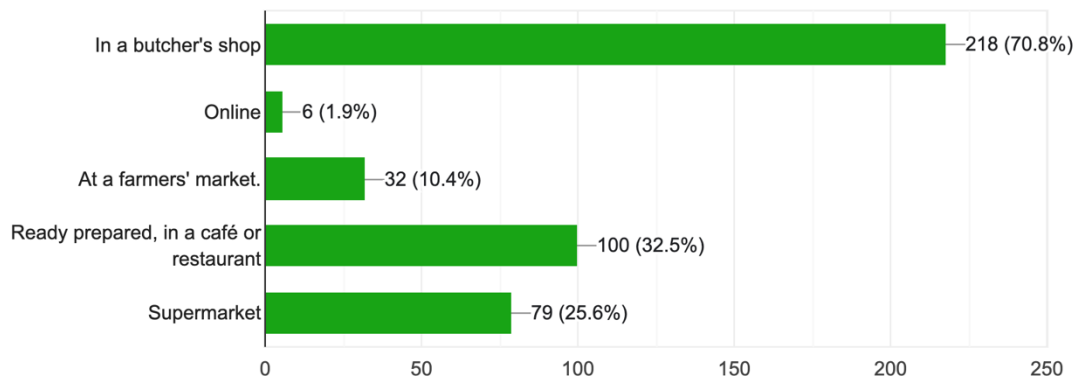
Q 30. If the answer to the above was 'yes' could you state why?

Q 31. Which offal have you not tried yet but would like to?

Q 32.

Where do you purchase your offal meats?

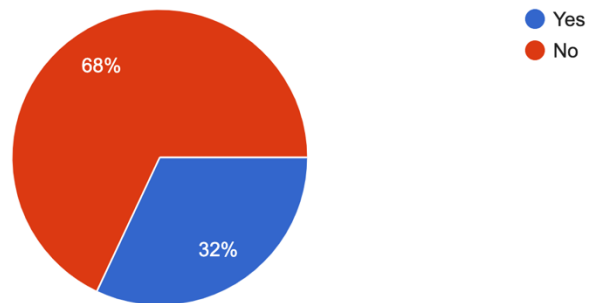
308 responses



Q 33.

Would you be more inclined to eat offal if it were more readily available in supermarkets?

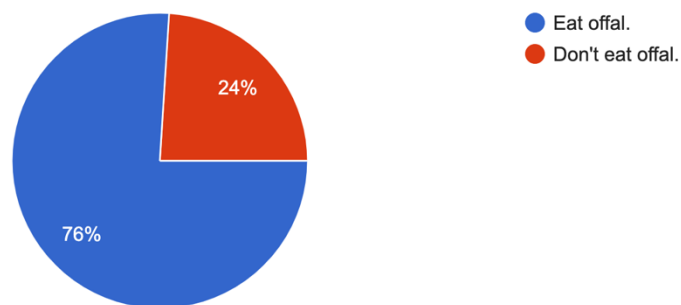
500 responses



Q34.

Which do you think is the more-ecologically sound thing to do?

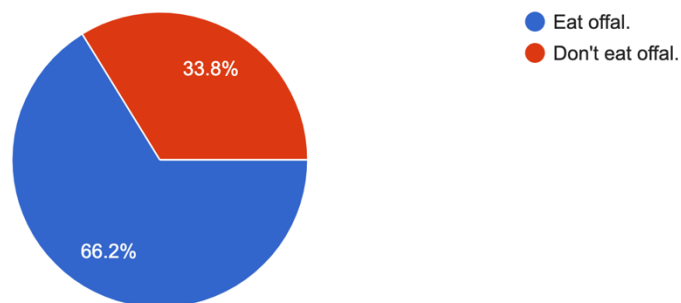
500 responses



Q 35.

Which do you think is the more ethically-sound thing to do?

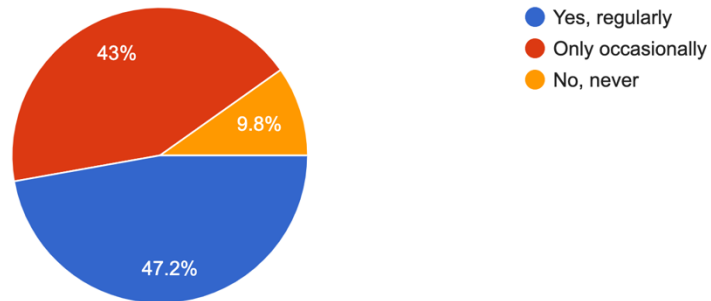
500 responses



Q 36.

Did your parents, aunts or uncles eat offal?

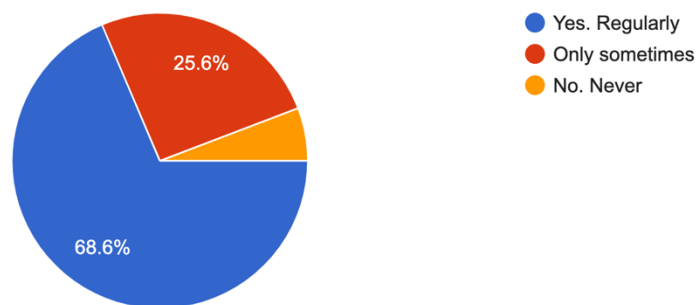
500 responses



Q 37.

Did your grandparents, grand-aunts or grand-uncles eat offal?

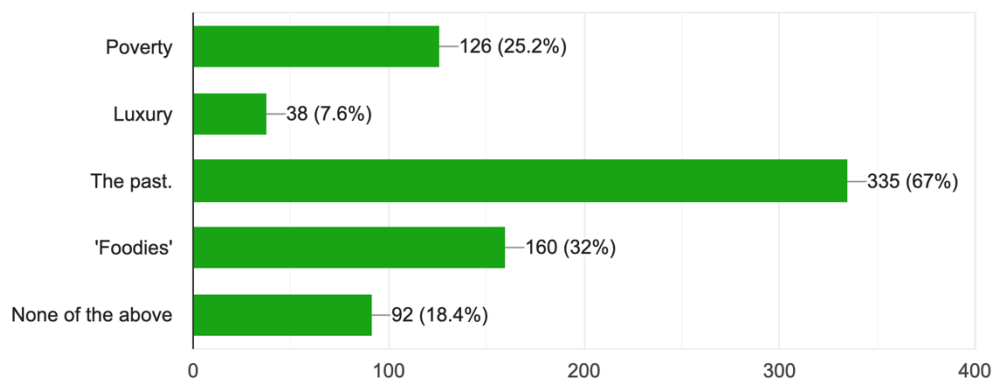
500 responses



Q 38.

Offal is a foodstuff you associate with ...

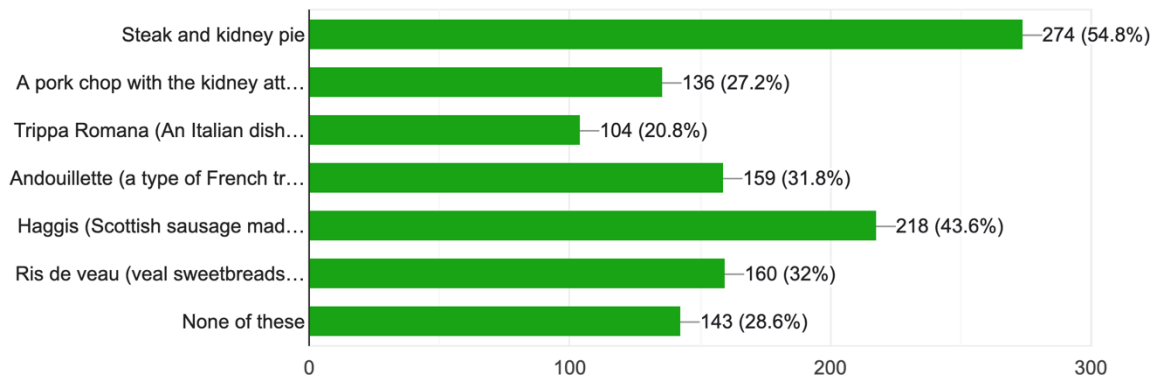
500 responses



Q 39.

Which of the following would you like to eat?

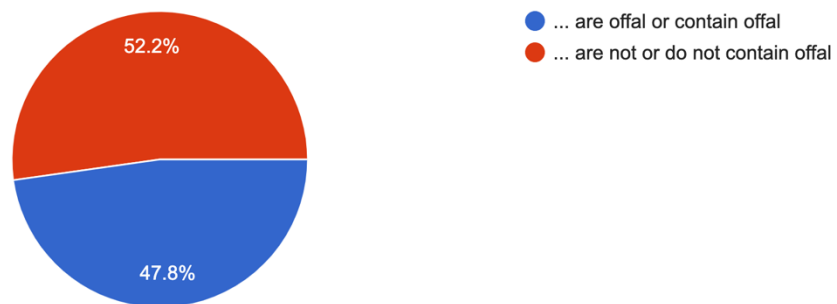
500 responses



Q 40.

Pork sausages

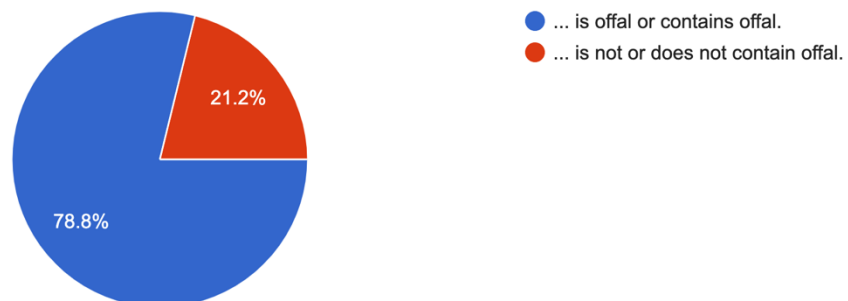
494 responses



Q 41.

Black Pudding

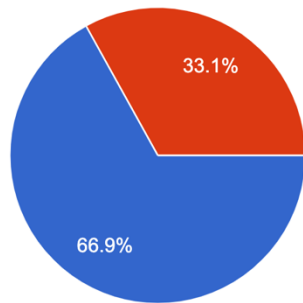
496 responses



Q 42.

White Pudding

496 responses

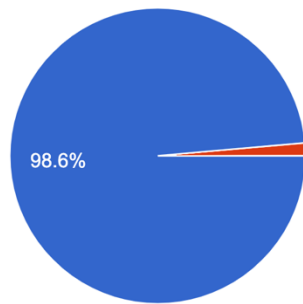


- ... is offal or contains offal.
- ... is not or does not contain offal.

Q 43.

Liver

499 responses

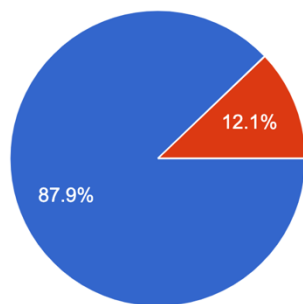


- ... is offal or contains offal.
- ... is not or does not contain offal.

Q 44.

Tongue

495 responses

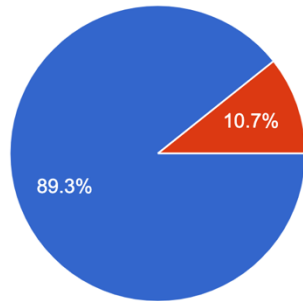


- ... is offal or contains offal.
- ... is not or does not contain offal.

Q.45

Sweetbreads

495 responses

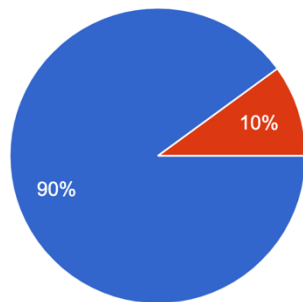


- ... is offal or contains offal.
- ... is not or does not contain offal.

Q. 46

Brawn

488 responses

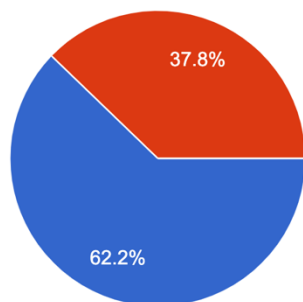


- ... is offal or contains offal.
- ... is not or does not contain offal

Q 47

Oxtail soup

492 responses

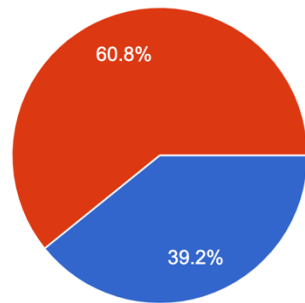


- ... is offal or contains offal.
- ... is not or does not contain offal.

Q 48.

**Marshmallow**

495 responses

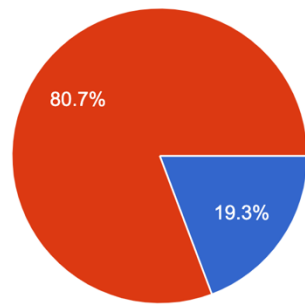


- ... is or contains offal.
- is not or does not contain offal.

Q 49.

**Parmesan cheese**

493 responses



- ... is offal or contains offal.
- ... is not or does not contain offal.



## Appendix C: Sample Informed Consent Form for Interviewees

### INFORMATION ABOUT MY RESEARCH

**Title of the study:** Exploring the Fifth Quarter: An Exploration of the place of offal eating in contemporary Irish food culture, its extent, its ambivalences and its future as part of a more sustainable food production system.

1. **Overview:** This study will examine how offal consumption has declined in recent decades in Ireland and try to pinpoint some of the economic, social and cultural reasons for this. It will also assess the extent and nature of contemporary consumption of offal and attempt to build an overview of ‘who’ eats it, as well as trying to gauge whether there is an appetite for more of it in the future.
2. **Research procedures:** An online survey was carried out and a series of interviews with ‘expert voices’ is being conducted with the intention of harvesting richer, more in-depth data for analysis.
3. **Benefits:** Most offal produced by Ireland’s meat industry is currently exported. Increased consumption domestically would result in a reduction of carbon emissions by the industry and lead to increased sustainability of the country’s food production system, assisting towards the attainment of the United Nations 17 Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)
4. **Risks:** Not applicable
5. **Criteria for inclusion/exclusion from participation:** Sample participants are ‘expert voices’.

6. **Confidentiality:** If I can unanimous approval from the six participants who have agreed to be interviewed, I would like to use their full names. If I can't get unanimous approval, I will agree to maintain confidentiality.
7. **Compensation:** This study forms part of the requirements for a Masters Degree in Gastronomy and Food Studies from the School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology at Technological University Dublin. No participants are paid for their input.
8. **Insurance:** This study is covered by standard institutional indemnity insurance. Nothing in this document restricts or curtails your rights.
9. **Voluntary Participation:** You are voluntarily participating in this study. You may withdraw at any time. If you decide not to participate, or if you withdraw, you will not be penalised in any way.
10. **Stopping the study:** You understand that the researcher may withdraw your participation in the study at any time without your consent.
11. **Permission:** The content of this study has been agreed with my appointed thesis supervisor, and it has the approval of the Ethics Committee of the TU Dublin School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology.
12. **Data protection:** The completed interviews will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in a secure fashion (if in paper form) and data/recordings from the interviews and surveys will be uploaded onto a file drive that is encrypted and password protected. That electronic data will be kept for a period of 2 years.
13. **Further information:** You can get more information or answers to your questions about the study, your participation in the study, and your rights from Niall Toner who can be contacted at the following email address: [nialltonerjr@gmail.com](mailto:nialltonerjr@gmail.com). If the study team learns of important new information that might affect your desire to remain in the study, you will be informed at once.

# INFORMED CONSENT FORM

## Research Involving Human Participants

<b>Project title:</b>		
<b>Principal Investigators: Niall Toner (Supervisor: Dr. Brian Murphy)</b>		
<b>BACKGROUND:</b> For this study, participants will take part in a semi-structured interview		
<b>Participant Declaration:</b> <i>Tick yes or no as appropriate</i>		
I have read or have had the information sheet read to me and that I understand the contents.	Yes	No
I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and am satisfied with answers.	Yes	No
I consent to take part in the study.	Yes	No
I understand that participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw at any time.	Yes	No
I understand that withdrawal will not affect my access to services or legal rights.	Yes	No
I consent to possible publication of results.	Yes	No
<b>I (the participant) give my permission to:</b> Use the data obtained from you in other future studies without the need for additional consent.	Yes	No
<b>Researcher Declaration:</b> <i>Tick yes or no as appropriate</i>		
I have explained the study to the participant	Yes	No
I have answered questions put to me by the participant about the research	Yes	No
I believe that the participant understands and is freely giving consent	Yes	No

**Participant's Statement:**

I have read, or had read to me, this consent form. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I freely and voluntarily agree to be part of this research study, though without prejudice to my legal and ethical rights. I understand I may withdraw from the study at any time. I have received a copy of this consent form.

**Participant's Name:**

**Contact Details:**

*Participant Signature:*

*Date:*

**Researcher's Statement:**

I have explained the nature and purpose of this research study, the procedures to be undertaken and any risks that may be involved. I have offered to answer any questions and fully answered such questions. I believe that the participant understands my explanation and has freely given informed consent.

*Signature:*

*Date:*

## Appendix D: Interview Questions for Semi-structured Interviews

### GENERAL INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

- Can you tell me a little about your family background? / Numbers of children?/ Socio-economic circumstances?
- Can you tell me about how food featured in your early family life?
- Can you tell me a little about your current relationship with food and cooking?

### OFFAL-SPECIFIC QUESTIONS

- Can you tell me about your earliest experiences with offal meats? (Did your family eat offal regularly? Did your parents or grandparents eat offal when they were young? Did you realise at the time where it came from/ What did you think when you found out? What types of offal did they eat?)
- What are your own experiences with offal cooking and eating since then? (Can you tell me how offal meats feature in your life now? Do you still eat it regularly and how often? What is your favourite offal cut and could you say why you like it/ describe the flavour?)
- Can you describe a time when you were disgusted by food? (Have you ever gutted an animal? How did that make you feel? What is it about offal that you like/ dislike?)
- Do you think inward migration has played any role in any renewed interest in offal meats?
- Tell me how you think Ireland's meat production system could become more ecologically sustainable?
- Could an increase in offal consumption play a role in that process?

- Offal can sometimes be difficult to define. How would you define it to someone who had no idea of what it was? (Which parts of an animal do you think it includes?)

#### OFFAL EATING GENERALLY

- Do you Irish people have difficulties with offal-eating in comparison with other European and non-European cultures?
- What proportion of people in Ireland do you imagine still eat offal?
- What body parts would you definitely not eat and why? (Eg, Eyes, udders, spleen?)
- What offal or offal dish have you not tried yet that you would like to try? (Where do you buy offal? )

#### OFFAL AND SOCIETY

- Is offal is a food you associate more with better off or less well-off people and can you tell me why?
- Why do you think so few people eat offal now compared to in the past?
- Do you think there is a disconnect between what people eat and where it comes from? (Are people blinkered when it comes to eating meat, in relation to where it actually comes from?)
- How do you think we can repair that disconnect?

#### SUSTAINABILITY

- Do you think offal eaters have similar motivations when it comes to eating offal as vegetarians might when it comes to refusing meat, in relation to animal welfare and environmental concerns?

- Do you think making offal more available would encourage more people to eat it?
- If more people ate offal more regularly, could it make meat production more sustainable and ecologically-friendly?
- Are you aware of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UNSDGs)?
- Any other comments?

## Appendix E: Interview Transcripts With Initial Coding

### Interview Subject 1

Interview Subject 1 (IS1)– initial codes	
<p>Yeah, okay, so I grew up I grew up mainly in the UK, but also in, my father was in the RAF (Royal Air Force). So we moved, we moved around a lot. I did spend time in Yemen, when I was a child, but we were mainly in the UK and then moved to Ireland when I was a teenager. So mother, father and two brothers. So that, but my two brothers were, are considerably older, like there's a big age gap. So I'm the youngest by ten years and eight years.</p>	<p>Nuclear family Nomadic childhood Big age gap</p>
<p>Kind of middle, middle, I guess, RAF officer and a teacher parent set parents.</p>	<p>Middle class Higher education</p>
<p>I kind of, I mean, my mother was a really terrible cook. So and she, because she was a quite a feminist and she associated being good in the kitchen with being a disloyal, being disloyal to the feminist movement. So she, she was very keen on convenience food that meant that she didn't have to cook. And she had like, almost zero interest in food, I would say. So, um, because my father was away a lot, she sort of got away with that, and I think he wouldn't have dared complain about the food because she would have got it thrown it at him if he did so. So we had, we were on a pretty much a rotation of lamb chops, pork chops and steak, on a three day rotation served with smash and, and frozen peas. And that was pretty much the diet I grew up on. And then there were things like Findus crispy pancakes, which she was quite keen on. And the boil in the bag fish, she was very <i>anti-</i></p>	<p>Mother poor cook Eschewed cooking on feminist grounds Little culinary background Lot of convenience food Monotonous diet Processed food</p>



having cooking smells in the house. So anything that meant there was no smell was good. So she would never cook fresh fish, it was only boil in the bag fish. And if she was away, my father would cook and he was kind of he had a couple of dishes that he did, which were made from scratch dishes like there was a cod dish or remember that he was pretty good at. He also had a bit of a fondness for those steak and kidney pies that came in a tin. So there were, those were a treat. And there wasn't, you know, there would have been that would have always been fruit and yoghurt and stuff in the house, but very little my mother, but she did make bread, because she liked the smell of bread. So she'd make sort of soda bread. But that was that was about it. It was pretty dull.

Well, I mean, you know, I, a lot of the, you know, work as a journalist, so a lot of the writing I do is about food, and restaurants in particular. And it's, you know, that grew out I think I you know, I taught myself to cook because the food at home was so terrible. That's so boring. So when I first left, I didn't cook when I was a teenager, but when I left home, I taught myself how to cook. And I taught myself quite well how to cook mainly because I liked having you know, I wanted more interesting things to eat and I liked having friends around and sitting around a table with decent food and wine and stuff. So that's where my interest in food came from... a bit of a rebellion against my mother, I think probably. I was never not into baking at all. Still I'm not but so I have you know, I find I'm at a point where I've, you know, I have kids. I have four kids, my oldest kid is 30 this month and having spent you know 30 years or 35 years cooking family meals I find that my in interest in cooking is not what it was. Because of the because of the drudgery of

Mother didn't like cooking smells

Food that didn't smell was good

Offal as a treat (processed, convenience)

Tinned food

Limited repertoire of home cooking

Monotonous

Eats Professionally

Learned on the job/ for the the job/ because of the job

Eats out

Learned to cook as a young adult

Neophilia

Doesn't like pretention around food

Rebellion against parents

Tired of cooking

Now jaded by pretension of chefs

Losing interest in cooking

cooking. I still love going to restaurants but only good ones. But I am tired, very tired of a lot of the, the kind of pretension around food and the particularly on the part of chefs. So I'm jaded by that. Now, so. So yeah, I'm not maybe I'm not as interested in it as I was.

Offal enforced

Yeah, I was trying to think of this. I went when I went to school in England. So when I, you know, youngest child, there were school lunches. And one of the lunches was liver and bacon, which will come so we'd set it to take, you'd sit at a table with like, 10 other girls in this big refectory, and the dishes would be brought to the table and there would be one of them was liver and bacon. And it was absolutely disgusting. Because the liver was I mean, like completely solid and rigid. I don't know what I actually don't know what animal that would look it certainly wasn't calves liver. It was pig's liver, or what it was, but it would come in this big, you know, aluminium tray with 10 or, 10 portions of liver. And it would come with bacon that was just kind of, you know, not bacon with nice crisp fat or anything just sort of bacon with a lot of white sort of un-crisp fat on it. And and that would come what I guess that came with like some kind of potato or whatever and some kind of vegetable, it was absolutely, absolutely disgusting. And I did not eat it. And occasionally, my father would cook liver at home, which was marginally better, but really not great. So that's what I remember. It's my first experience of offal.

Offal caused aversion

Averse to texture

Poorly cooked

Offal caused disgust

Off-putting

Aware of origins

Negativity around offal

Liver I knew it was a type of meat kind or whatever. Yeah. But one that I didn't much like.

Ate offal abroad m  
because of money

<p>Well, am I you know, I do remember eating like... I spent some time in Paris when I was kind of quite like maybe 18 or 19. And I remember going to <i>Chartier</i> with a friend of mine. And it was the we were it was the first time we'd been to Paris. And we'd gone with a sort of certainly it was our leaving cert trip, actually. And I was with two friends. And we had a budget for our trip. And of course, the budget sort of went out the window because we just saw all the clothes and we were like, oh, I want to buy clothes without so all our money for food and everything we decided we were going to spend on clothes. And then, but one of my friends and I said well, we can't be in Paris for 10 days and only eat kind of baguettes in our hotel room. So we went to <i>Chartier</i> because we'd heard about <i>Chartier</i> and there was a dish on the menu that we both ordered. And because it sounded really good because it came in a mustard sauce or something and whatever. But our Leaving Cert French wasn't quite good enough to realise that that '<i>rognons</i>', were kidneys. So I mean our faces when you saw these two plates of <i>rognons</i> arrived in front of us. And she refused to touch hers and I think I sort of battled through about half of it. Kidneys... veal kidneys I guess, which, now I would love. But I didn't love them then although I think the mustard sauce was pretty good. So I wouldn't be I mean, I don't think I would never been squeamish about it. But I wasn't very educated about it, I suppose. So I mean, I was kind of probably what and then I suppose it just as I got older, I got more willing to try it. So I definitely didn't resist trying offal when I had the chance to.</p> <p>I eat it in restaurants, but I don't think I would... I don't cook it.</p>	<p>Travel</p> <p>privilege</p> <p>monotonous diet</p> <p>High end dining</p> <p>Didn't mean to order</p> <p>Refusal to eat</p> <p>Struggle to eat</p> <p>Tastes changed since</p> <p>Not squeamish</p> <p>Lack of knowledge</p> <p>Got more adventurous</p> <p>Tastes changed with age</p> <p>Don't cook offal</p> <p>I'm open-minded</p> <p>Order it in restaurants</p> <p>Neophilia</p>
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I mean, I really, look, I'm very open minded about offal, or most offal like, I think I said this to you the other day. There's a... sweetbreads are on every menu in Dublin at the moment or around Ireland, I mean, I've been in like five or six restaurants in the last two months where there have been sweetbreads on the menu, and treated in different ways. And I can only assume that one of the suppliers now has a source of those. I actually think they're French but I could be wrong. I think they're lamb sweetbreads from, from France. But I could be wrong on that. And I think that, so I'm always happy to try them and I think that's kind of interesting. I'm really happy to see them on. So I've had them in lots of different guises over the last couple of months, sweetbreads in particular, like in La Gordita, they chop them up, and they put a crust on them, and they fry them with garlic, and you have them with lemon. In the Buttery in Cashel Palace, they do a really classic French treatment of them with so you can actually hardly tell what they are, there's so much sauce and garnish and whatever. So lots of different ways. And that's kind of interesting. So I do, like, if I see them on a menu, I order them. I like veal kidneys. I had those Peplow's a few weeks ago, and they were really good. In that kind of mustard, the sauce that they were that's a classic French thing, I guess. What are the kinds of I like? Calves liver, but I never see it on a menu. It used to be kind of used to see it more often. You know, 15 or 20 years ago, than you see it now. I very rarely see it on the menu, but I'd order it if I saw it. And what do I not like? Well, I wrote a review about Assassination Custard this week. I don't know if you saw that. But it's all about tripe. Because I ordered the tripe dish. And I just can't hack it. I have a problem with. I have a problem with that dish.

It's a texture thing.

Increased availability

Sweetbreads trendy

Availability

seasonality

assumed they come from France

Positive about more offal showing up

Interesting ways of cooking

Disguising offal

Taste

More common in the past

Gastronomy

Averse to tripe

Difficult

Is less common

Problem with it

It is a texture thing

No memorable food disgust instances

Has gutted fish

Has witnessed slaughter and butchery

I've gutted fish, but not, not a mammal kind of? Nope. I mean, I've seen it done, but I haven't done it.

I think it is making a comeback, because and I think the reason for that is that, I think obviously restaurants are, you know, trying to keep under pressure from costs going up, and so on. So I think they're perhaps more receptive to things that might they might not otherwise have looked at. So yeah, I think it is making a comeback. Particularly sweetbreads.

Well, I mean, I, I would, I mean, I'd like to, I mean, I'm not, I wouldn't be a big fan of the sort of intensive beef farming that goes on, you know, the grip the grain feeding of cattle, and so they wouldn't be very keen on that with a grain finishing of cattle. So I would prefer that ever. Like, if we're talking about beef, then I'd obviously prefer if everything was grass fed, and grass finished. And you know, that more farmers were using regenerative methods than are at the moment because there's some really good beef producers who are farming regeneratively and I'd like to see more of that. And, obviously, I mean, I actually don't know what happens to the bits. I mean, I presume the bits that the butchers don't sell, or get, you know, go to pet food or something at the moment, do they? I don't know. I actually don't know. I should know, but I don't know. So, you know, I think obviously, if you could get more human food out of an animal than is currently the norm, that would be a good thing. So if you know if people were more open to each other bits, the bits that they're not keen on, I guess.

Offal is economical  
for chefs  
Nepophilia  
Making a comeback  
Sweetbreads on trend

Problem with industrial  
farming  
Prefers grass-feeding  
and regenerative

Doesn't know what  
happens to offal  
Better farming  
Gaps in knowledge

More human  
consumption good

More willingness to try  
would be a good thing

Offal difficult to define  
Not sure how to define  
Heads and feet  
'Those' bits

God I could I kind of think of it as organ meat, but maybe I'm maybe I'm wrong. And I probably includes the, the head meat in that and wouldn't include foot meat in that and stuff. I mean, foot meat isn't really offal, is it? But it's like, trotters and things. So yeah, I suppose I think of it I think of offal as organ meat.

Association with poverty  
Our history with food

Well, I think there are probably associations here that it's like poor people food. And I think people are perhaps, maybe, you know, given the history here, people are more sensitive about that than other cultures might be. I don't know, in the way that you know. Like, I mean, I know, like my mother grew up in Kerry near the coast, no Kenmare. And she would never eat things like muscles, because they were free food and poor people's food, and she wouldn't eat, like oysters and things like that, because that was kind of, em, it was somehow not what... I suppose it's what poor people ate. There's sort of famine associations with some of that kind of stuff. So I don't know if I don't know if offal falls into the same category. I suspect it does. And that people regard it as a, I think maybe there's a sort of class element to it, as well. And that might be why the people who don't want to perceive themselves as you know, working class or, or agricultural class or whatever, don't want to eat it. So I think it's probably to do it probably has something to do with upward mobility and whatever, that kind of thing as well.

Association with poverty

What 'they' ate  
Othering of poor

Association with Hunger

Class associations

Economic upward mobility

1 in 5 would eat it

Horrible texture

'no issue' with calves liver  
(Is this a class thing?)

I'd say maybe 20% of people would be open 25% of people would be open to, to eating it and eating it open to eating it.

Well, I'd have to, I'd have to say tripe now, because, like, I do think the texture is quite horrible, actually. And, but I have no

Different abroad  
(looking outward)

<p>issue with, no issue with calves' liver no issue. I mean, I think you know, it's kind of it's like. I went to I mean, I went to a restaurant in Rome called <i>Santo Palato</i>. Have you heard of it? Which only serves offal. And there's a sort of woman, young woman chef there. And that was an incredible meal. Because like, we had loads of different things, and everything was offal and it was really exciting, but the tripe was that the one I just couldn't do, but I kind of try pretty much anything else. And I'll still try tripe and maybe one day I'll find a preparation of it that appeals to me. But I mean, the one and Assassination Custard not only had tripe in it, but it also had other like pig bits in it and like pig foot meat and stuff on it's just like the texture stuff. It is you know, actually the flavour of the sauce and everything is delicious, but just the content is kind of...</p>	<p>Better 'over there' They know better Perseverance 'other pig-bits' (problem with feet?)</p>
<p>I can't think of one I can't I mean, I haven't tried tripe and <i>drisín</i> or whatever. But I don't think I really want to do that. I don't know. Because it's tripe. I have tried tripe and some forms, but not all forms. I mean, I've never had, you know, like, Félim (her husband) says his mother used to cook sheep's heads, you know, when he was a child, and that the smell was absolutely revolting, and it would just pervade through the whole house and stuff. So I mean, I don't know, I've never had sheep's head, but can't imagine that.</p>	<p>open-minded  doesn't fancy tripe and <i>drisín</i> Wiling to even try tripe again</p>
<p>Oh, no. I mean, absolutely. There is. Yeah, of course. Of course, there is. I mean, I still like you know, I'm, I still I have lots of friends who will, you know, who I go to go out to dinner with who will really want sort of, you know, chicken fillets and don't even want brown meat and stuff. And that sort of white meat and fillet steak and whatever. They only want those kind of,</p>	<p>Husband Disgusting memories from childhood Sheeps' heads Can't imagine eating one (Neophobia?) People have anodyne tastes They like plain food Distanced from animal Set in their ways Limited diets Limited food literacy De-animalised Want it perfect Bear no relation to origins</p>

sort of premium things like a chicken breast or fillet steak or whatever, which I kind of think inferior to other cuts and so on. But they are a kind of anodyne in a way or something. They're just kind of little perfect things and whatever. They bear no relation to an animal again.

Yeah, I think I mean, I think it can. Yeah, absolutely. I mean, but whether people get it, I suppose people get very set in their ways, don't they? They buy their rashers of bacon, and their chicken fillets and their whatever, fillet steaks and so on. And there's also, you know, I mean, there's still an awful lot of people who don't understand the connection between fat and flavour and so on. They just don't get it. But maybe they just don't care about food. I don't know. You know, that they'll only go for very lean things. I mean, you know, the people who weren't, who will only buy chicken breasts, but they won't eat the thigh or something, you know. Which is not obviously not offal, but it is that the same people who would never order the sweet breads or anything.

No, no, I don't think... I don't think it's to do with that. I think it's to do with wanting to try different flavours and being more adventurous as an eater. And more more open minded about different cuisines and different cuts and different everything. I don't I think very few are motivated by the sustainability angle.

And if it was more available? Yeah, but I think there's, you know, obviously, there's a fear factor because people don't know how to cook it. I mean, I'm not sure I, you know, I mean, I'd know where to look to find out how to prepare sweet breads and cook them. But I mean, I've never done it. I've got like, I mean, I, like I would never, I would never. I would also the other thing

- Neophobia
- People set in their ways
- Limited diets
- Limited food literacy
- Don't care about food
- Fat phobic
- Don't get 'flavour'
- Plain food
- Limited diet
- Class
- Offal eating no to do with animal welfare
- Neophilia
- Open-mindedness
- Fear factor
- Lack of culinary knowledge
- Greater availability
- Knowledge gaps
- Resistance
- Unwilling to experiment
- Fear of taking risks
- Neophobia
- Refusal to eat
- Not mainstream



is, I suppose the other thing is, you know, because there's a resistance, and people don't know how to cook them. And because, you know, people are unwilling to experiment at home, I think we take people who are cooking for a family say, not really going to take the risk on cooking, you know, kidneys for the family or something. When they risk everyone kind of goes, Ugh, what's this? I don't want to eat it. So but, you know, I mean, I suppose it just gets it's, it's not seen as I mean, it's sort of hyper fashionable in a way but it's not actually mainstream, trendy to eat offal. And therefore, people don't know how to do it and scared of taking the risks scared of waste. So it's much easier to try in a restaurant. I mean, I think it's funny what Gaz does. At Michaels he often, when he has something kind of quite 'out there', that might be offal. He says, "Try it, but if you don't like it, you don't pay for it." Now, obviously not, restaurants can't afford to subsidise the you know, the eating of offal but that's okay. You know, I mean, there's nothing to lose then in that situation. Is there? If you're offered a kidney or whatever, to say, I'll try it, or tripe or whatever. Nothing to lose. So, I mean, maybe... I don't know how you would get kind of get, get free, offal to people, or tiny tastes of offal for very little money to people as a way of encouraging people to experiment, I don't know how you do that. And of course loads people don't eat out in restaurants and stuff, so that's not... But if there was a, you know, a marketing campaign, like, you know, by the way in the supermarkets, you have the ladies handing out little bits of whatever, maybe you have little bits of offal and, you know, try it that way or something tiny tastes for very little investment. Yeah.

- Fashionable to eat it
- Lack of knowledge
- Nothing to lose
- Marketing
- Give it away free
- Willingness to try
- Encourage experimentation
- Education
- Information

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Interview Subject 2 and 2(b)

<b>INTERVIEW SUBJECT 2</b>	<b>INITIAL CODES</b>
<p><b>DATA – 2 rounds of coding</b></p> <p>So two older brothers Stephen and Colin and a sister, Jen, and then mother and father Joe, Joe passed away in 2018 and my mother Patricia who is an artist.</p> <p>Sort of like the dinner was important part of the day in the house. It didn't last for a long time. The food was good and probably very meat heavy. I would say was the norm back in the day. And I remember my father eating tripe, tripe and onions with milk. And then. Someone asked me this the other day about how I got into food later on and showed an interest in it. I remember we went to Annamakerrig the writers' and artists' retreat up in Monaghan. So I went there and there used to be these huge long dinners cooked by the artists. I can't remember the food per se but I just remember the atmosphere, being in these big rooms, big old rooms with a big long table. And that always stuck with me, you know. I just think people took a lot of time and put a lot of thought into what was being cooked. And then there was conversation before and after the meal. You know what I mean?</p> <p>I would have been, I dunno, 13 maybe? So I vaguely remember going up most summers but it could have only been two. Just seemed like long rambling summers. I would go up and down with my dad. It was only about an hour and a half in the car. We used to swim in the lake there beside the house. So that was my form..., that's the formative stuff, would have been a home with my parents. Yeah. And I always remember we were myself and my brother were like the dustbin, the two of us, sucking the</p>	<p>Middle class</p> <p>Higher education</p> <p>Ate good food</p> <p>Dinner time important</p> <p>Meat-heavy diet</p> <p>Father ate tripe</p> <p>How got into food</p> <p>Commensality</p> <p>Doesn't remember food</p> <p>They put though into food</p> <p>The put time into food</p> <p>Ate around a big table</p> <p>Remember conversation</p> <p>Nostalgia</p> <p>Long hot summers</p> <p>Formative time</p> <p>Home</p> <p>Dustbin</p> <p>Sucking the bones</p> <p>One brother vegetarian</p>

bones of the chicken and everyone else looking at us. So funny the other brother became a vegetarian, who also eats chicken. The (inaudible) carrot thing came later. Just putting those two things together kind of makes sense of how I joined the dots from the two things together.

The current one. Well obviously, we run a restaurant, here, Assassination Custard. Ehm. Its been going. How long has it been going? 2015, nearly eight years. We have the keys eight years. And like I me like. When me and Gwen met first all those years ago. We used to travel a lot and everywhere we would go we would see places that are similar to this and we would always kind of go ‘it would be great to run a little restaurant. And we’d always keep an eye out for a place. I did my arts degree as a mature student in Cork and I stayed on for a year and I cooked at the Glucksman. And that was another kind of movement to help me go again, another level you know. I was starting to learn then how to cook at this time. How to cook... the science behind it and all. I was staring to become a chef rather than just a cook. ‘Cause I always liked cooking. So living in Cork I gained that. I worked in Café Paradiso down there as well for probably nine, ten months. Something like that. That was great vegetarian food. Vegetables as the stars, you know. Like what we do here is like the meat could almost be the side, you know? There is a lot of vegetable s as well.

Well that was. That’s definitely the first one. Before my dad died he used to ask me ‘how’s the tripe going? He used to ask me. How did people get it? Did they eat it? and I’d

- Joined the dots
- Run a restaurant
- Dreams/ ambition
- Travelled a lot
- Saw places abroad
- Education
- Cooking skills
- Loved cooking
- Became a chef
- Loves vegetarian food
- Vegetables as stars
- Meat as a side dish
- Dad ate tripe
- How is the tripe going?
- Emotional connection
- Travelling tasted offals
- Looked out for different cuts
- Mainstream in other countries
- Special to have it here
- Off-menu here
- Made sense to do offal

be going well, you know a little bit. So that was. Definitely, tripe, from my dad. Then I suppose travelling away would always be looking out for those cuts of meat you know when we were away on holidays. And sometimes it just happened. In other countries it's just on a menu. Like here it's a bit special to have it on. Not many people do it, especially in this small space where we're know for it. Like you might have to ask for it off menu or something. Like here we just do it. But in other countries they just have it. So we get it. That's part of the deal. It just makes sense to me to do that. Like, the other issues came later, like the kind of waste issues and y' know, using all the animal. That kind of came later. It was most actually just, yeah I like this it's tasty, you know? Why not eat it?

I dunno. I mean you were here. You were probably one of the first as well. We that. Let's eat it. Some people are horrified. I mean we got a review off Katy McGuinness recently and we got like 27 or 28 out of 30 or whatever it was and the review was great but as she said but like she said it's not us, it's her. But she had the offal and she didn't like it. The tripe. But loved everything else. She kind of gave out about herself. She knew. I should be trying this, I'm a food journalist.

Ehm. I don't really, no. I couldn't say. Obviously, my dad probably, my dad's mother probably cooked offal for him.

Waste and using all the animal came later  
Taste came first  
  
Some people horrified  
Restaurant critics even reluctant  
  
Should be having this but not  
  
  
  
Don't remember grandparents eating it  
  
Lot of meat  
  
  
  
Hearty appetites  
  
Meat heavy diets

<p>Ate a lot of meat.</p> <p>(b) They had a lot of meat. They worked for Guinness's. They had money and it was all boys. There was one girl I think.</p> <p>One girl yeah.</p> <p>(b) They came home with a hearty appetite.</p> <p>There were two girls actually, but they used to eat a lot of meat. It was just they had money like. You know what I mean. They were a working class family from around the corner but they had money and they had money to spend. Maybe meat used to be cheaper then, I don't know., but I think one side of the family didn't eat much meat. They probably came from...</p> <p>(b) They were all girls.</p> <p>They were all girls yeah.</p> <p>My grandad was a teacher yeah.</p> <p>Not really. It could have been fish for all I knew. I remember the smell of it, in the house, you know and when we cook it here I get that smell just takes me back, you know, ehm, Proustian memory or whatever. I do get it. Gwen gets it. Gwen's family probably. You probably had a bit more offal stuff?</p>	<p>They were well-off working class</p> <p>Didn't know where it came from</p> <p>Smell is nostalgic</p> <p>Mum stuffing hearts (Visual nostalgic) (surgical)</p> <p>Overcooked liver</p> <p>Grey colour</p> <p>Bouncy texture</p> <p>Lamb fancier than pork</p> <p>Lamb taste too strong</p> <p>Kids have sharper senses</p> <p>Less inclined to strong flavours</p>
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(b) My dad/ Well I don't remember back too far. I remember my ma stuffing hearts for my dad, and sewing it with a blue thread, which was there when you eat it.

We had liver. I remember having liver a bit, always overcooked and grey and bouncy. You know what I mean. Eugh! Do remember that though. Gwen's family always told that story about. It's not offal meat but didn't you get the pork chops and you dad got the lamb, that was kind of fancy. I still have that in my head when she told me that. I remember that kind of thing as well. Lamb's fancier.

(b)– No we were put off the lamb. We didn't like lamb as kids. Cause of the taste was too strong.

It's kind of stronger

(b) As kids you do have. I don't know either your senses are sharper but you now kids would be less inclined to have that developed in them to eat that kind of strong-flavoured food. So I'd say it's more visual and you know, just imaginative for kids. The idea of eating heart. The idea of eating kidneys you know. Is something that. You know it's almost that it would be left strong in a kid's memory that.

I didn't eat enough of it for to be put off by it as well

I think I tried it but I can't remember trying it. I just remember the vision of him eating it and the smell of it I can't honestly remember trying it. Maybe I did.

Visual, kidneys hearts

Its imaginative

Strong in kids' memories

Didn't eat enough

Not put off

Visual memory of tripe eating

Don't remember trying

The smell of it

May have

You ate what you got.

You ate what you got

Too much choice now

Put it in the kids meals

Subterfuge

They eat some of it

They are on to us

Tripe favourite offal

Seeking it out

Seasonality

Sweetbreads

Most will try

Heart on now

Cooking important

People got it

<p>I don't think adults refused food in those days. You know I think it was you get what you get and you ate it.</p> <p>You get what you get and don't get upset.</p> <p>(b) Yea not like nowadays when you get too much choice.</p> <p>We try and put some of the offal in the kids dinner. If we have leftover tripe here on a Friday we bring it home and then you know stick it on some pasta and there'd be a stray bit of tripe and they'd be like eugh.. and the sauce its fine but. They get it, they know. A yeah. They know what it is. I know what these are up to.</p> <p>Well tripe obviously. We have had it on recently a lot. I'll probably wait till the weather gets warmer and I'll be thinking lest do something different and when we go to our, where we get our offal from Broughgammon farm etc or the Brown Pig and you see stuff whether its sweetbreads or liver or kidneys. I just pick them and we have them, they'd be on the menu and then you don't have to do tripe. And most people will try something. Like at the moment there's veal heart on which is great from Broughgammon. It not very big. A bit bigger than I expected it to be. And you cut that thinly into little strips and just grill it and serve it with a sauce. And I think most people got it, especially in the second sitting, you know. Someone else was here and they were getting everything except the veal heart and I said 'aah you have to'. 'You have to get it, you know'. And there was another girl over there who always comes here for the offal and she was kind of shouting over to me and going 'ah, what's the point in being here if you don't</p>	<p>People 'got' it</p> <p>People are curios</p> <p>Some customers evangelistic</p> <p>Sometimes give a half portion to try</p> <p>Vegetables important</p> <p>Finish off the meal</p> <p>Didn't plan it</p> <p>It evolved</p> <p>Slow cooking</p> <p>Tripe funky</p> <p>Pre-blanchd</p> <p>Get rid of smell</p> <p>Taste stays</p> <p>Texture</p> <p>Not the texture though</p> <p>How you cook it</p> <p>Make it more palatable</p> <p>Chunkier in some places</p> <p>Certain aroma that triggers.</p> <p>When you are eating it</p>
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get the offal'. And I just gave them a half portion. I would always say, finish on this, because otherwise you might finish on something else, which is fine. Could be a vegetable dish. Could be braised fava beans or could be a large salad or something but it's nice to finish on a bit of meat or a bit of offal, especially if you didn't (inaudible). That happened pretty organically. We didn't sit down with Gwen and go ... Its almost a traditional thing really you know, vegetable and then finish on meat on the menu. Then all of a sudden it became load of vegetables and then not just meat but offal. Sometimes it won't always be offal. Maybe a slow braise or something. Or an off-cut or. Something.

Taste or flavour or both? Like it is like, it's usually kind of par cooked or blanched, It's blanched. And so it's a little bit funky, 'farmyardy', you know? And I think if you don't kind of pre-blanch it like in water, maybe a bit of vinegar, gets rid of that a little bit. You don't have to do that. But that'll get rid of that kind of smell. And you can definitely taste it in the final dish.

Yeah people say it's the texture. I don't think there is a texture. I know there's texture.

Yeah I try and do the tripe in strips. Sometimes in Spain or Italy or other places I've had it it's a bit chunkier, I try to do it in strips. I think it is a bit more palatable really.

It think there is a certain aroma off it that maybe when you are eating it that triggers.

People get confused  
 All foods have texture  
  
 Steak can be weird  
  
 Doesn't look like heart  
 Rectangles  
 People don't recognise it as offal  
 It's like steak  
  
 Only experienced disgust when sick  
 Get jaded of cooking certain things  
 Then it's time to change  
 Monotony  
 It can transfer into what you send out  
 Fancy restaurant  
 Tasting menus  
 Liquid nitrogen  
  
 Gloopy and weird  
  
 Butchered goats  
 Guttled pheasants



<p>That what flavour is really. Taste and aroma.</p> <p>(b) Yeah I think people get a bit confused with that. I think there's something that people say it's a texture but like when you think of all the textures of food.</p> <p>Even a rare steak can be weird. Like the veal heart is very like a steak when you trim it of all the bits its very like em, a steak. It's almost like a big rectangle block and then you just kind of slice into that and then you grill it. And then when you give it to people, they hardly know its offal. You have to tell them. You just say to people well it is actually like steak and then they might say, well I don't like steak and then you say, yeah okay.</p> <p>Not really. The only time I'm ever disgusted by food is when I'm physically sick. Which is interesting itself, you know? Maybe there's times when I am cooking here and you know, you're cooking so much you're not disgusted by it but you get a bit jaded of it, you know what I mean? I you know people love it and that's grand. That sometimes happens and then you might change the menu, cause you want them to like what you're cooking, you know what I mean? That will transfer in what you present to people, but I've never been. I've never gone. I'm trying to remember is there some fancy restaurant I've been to and they've done some absolutely crazy thing . Can you remember anything like that Gwen? Probably the same in that way. Somewhere away. Some tasting menu in a fancy restaurant, you know what I mean. Something in some, I don't know, liquid nitrogen or something and it's all gloopy and weird. But</p>	<p>(Getting in touch with nature)</p> <p>Cooking pheasants</p> <p>Get rabbits sometimes</p> <p>Would like to do more butchery</p> <p>Some chefs use whole carcasses</p> <p>We are too small</p> <p>Being aware of where it some from</p> <p>Realization put people off</p> <p>Visualisation puts people off</p> <p>Knowledge you are eating a kidney or a heart</p> <p>You are neve eating the arm of a cow</p> <p>People think it's strange</p> <p>Attracts curiosity</p> <p>What do you do here?</p> <p>Not bacon and cabbage</p> <p>Unfamiliar but familiar</p> <p>Wasn't shocked by the heart</p>
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that would be very rare I'd be going to those places. But I can't really remember anything disgusting.

I've butchered. We did goats here, didn't we? We did pheasants down in Cork that were basically shot very recently and then we hung them. Poachers gave us some. I think we were trying to find ducks and I was like.

Somebody dropped into our flat in Glasnevin and we had to take all the feathers off the pheasant in like a studio

In a bedsit. In a studio bedsit. There was a period of time around then when we were living in Cork and coming up here that we were doing pheasants a lot for some reason. I dunno, we were just getting them off people. More of those, kind of small birds. Like we get rabbits sometimes and we get them whole, but they're gutted and skinned and all. I'd love to do more butchery. Like I'm not an expert at all. If you had a bigger kitchen. I know chefs and they work in big kitchens, and they get the whole carcass in and they use it all but we do as much as we can. But you couldn't It's just too small for that. You know, there's the butcher, there's the chef there's the customer who eats it. If you can do all of them it's great.

(b) What's interesting though you know is being aware of where it comes from and that really makes a difference. You know if you are eating a heart. Like the, like the realization, the visualization, which is probably what puts people off things as well, the organ meat, you know that you are eating kidney, that you are eating a heart. You are

But some people are averse

Could be a poverty association

Dad ran from that a bit

You become more squeamish

Reminds of poverty

I kind of understand

Cheap cuts but not anymore

(Perception)

Not cheap for the size of portion

Treated like it's a cheaper meat

Different ideas about it abroad

Where to get it in Dublin

Think you can't get it but you can

Asian restaurants it can be off menu

Parnell Street

Some great offal

never really eating the arm off a cow. I know it's a leg but arm know what I mean. The idea that you're eating...

But someone might come in. Someone came in yesterday and we were busy as she came up to the bar and she asked 'what do you do here?', and I was gonna burn stuff and she wanted a menu and I couldn't find one and I had two plates of heart coming out and she was like 'it's not really bacon and cabbage kind of place is it?' And I said, 'No not really.' And then I went "well it kind of is in a way, you know the way. I mean bacon and cabbage is amazing. I mean there's nothing wrong with bacon and cabbage. We just don't really do it, but we do versions of I you know. And then she looked at the heart and she didn't go oh! As most people might. So That happens. People go 'I can't believe you're doing; I don't know... kidneys? What? And you've got to look at that as well. Maybe it's the poverty bit. And my dad ran away from that a little bit and people have done that. You become a bit more middle class about stuff, more squeamish and, oh, that reminds me of poverty. It's a pity really. But I kind of understand.

(b)They were cheaper cuts but they're not necessarily anymore,

Well if we keep cooking them they won't be anyway.

(b) But they're not really cheap, are they? But I suppose for the size of the portion you are buying it's relative but you're still kind of paying the same price. Okay you're not paying for tomahawk steak but... It's not treated like a cheaper meat. In a different country so they have a different idea of it what'

A few Italian restaurants

Fancy restaurants but highly 'prepared'

Very different

Need for education

People ask why are you serving 'that' meat

Neophobia

Like to cook it

It nice to eat

Tell people where it comes from

Dairy industry

It would be waste otherwise

Vegans understand it better

Because of the waste issue

Vegetarians a bit floppy

Find that bizarre

Make it more mainstream

Will supermarkets sell it?

Our local does

Describe to a child

Yeah, I think so. I mean when someone. I mean when people talk about where to get offal and so on in Dublin, like they mention us, and they think there are not many other places but there is. We know loads of places you can get offal. But sometimes its off menu and you have to ask for it. Or a different menu or something, but there are places that do it. Like the ‘man and woman offal slices’ up in, em, what do you call it up. In Parnell Street. Lee’s Charming Noodles It’s a noodle house and they make their own noodles. And they have some great offal off menu. You have to ask for it.

(b) - Tierra Madre do...

I think Tierra Madre kind of. They do tripe dishes. And some of the fancy restaurants do it too.

(b) Well most would. You know but they have it done in a way. You know like little bit of kidney and a little bit of something else, done in a way that’s very different to the way we do it.

K D. - I think we need to educate ourselves a bit more, into what we are eating. That would be the first thing. Yeah? Like people almost ask that question here, in a roundabout way as in why are you serving that meat? Or why are you doing that? And first you have to answer the question. You say you like to cook it and that it is nice to eat. And then that these are stuff that are by-products of the dairy industry like veal or like goat meat and the kids and all that. And obviously, that is just going to be food waste otherwise or it will be packed off and put into dog food.

Weird wobbly bits  
Are chicken wings offal ?

Some books list chicken wings

Because our parents stopped eating it

Reminds us of poverty

Offal went to poor people

*Testaccio* still serve offal today

It is where the offal went

You have to eat it a bit quicker

Makes you think differently about cooking it

Cooking knowledge

Slow cooking

Oxtail not offal

Don't know where. You know. Why not eat it? If you are vegan fair enough. Although vegan chefs almost align themselves with me. I mean one particular guy I know and he likes our stuff on Instagram and he be like, he makes tempeh and all this other meat substitute stuff and it's amazing. And he gets it, because of the waste issue. I mean he wouldn't eat it, you know what I mean. Whereas the vegetarianism stuff would be a bit more floppy about 'ah that's grand or I'll eat this or I'll eat goats cheese but I won't eat goats' meat. I find that kind of bizarre. But once we educate ourselves then the next step is to get it a bit more mainstream. I dunno. Like will supermarkets ever have that again. Although some supermarkets do have kidneys and offal. In certain parts of Dublin like our local place has it. You know?

K D – I suppose the way you would describe it to a child. All the weird, wobbly bits. I dunno. It is the innards I suppose. Remember that book. There's a book at home I have on offal and they have chicken wings. Chicken wings are offal? And I'd be going is that offal?

K D - Its Anissa Helou. I think it is?

K D - Yeah she's great. She was over here at one of the food things. The J P Mc Mahon thing. So I have a coupled of books at home that do mention all that and in Italy they call it the fifth quarter as well. Yeah so.

Brain and sweetbreads really delicious

Farmers wives keep the really good parts

They are delicious

Neve done brains

Negative messages from authorities

Mad cow disease

Off the menu for a generation

Foodstuffs become baddies

Too fattening etc

Very small cohort of offal eaters

Would eat but wouldn't cook

Parents ate it

Nostalgic tastes

Didn't have in ages

Like having it served up

No blood on hands

Poor but rich in other ways

Won't buy raw and prepare

Lack of cooking knowledge

Well, it probably going back to that thing again of initially you know our parents eating it and when they stopped eating it, we were at a certain age and it reminds us of poverty as well. I mean all the good stuff in Rome went to the slaughterhouses in *Testaccio* and that's where all those good bits and the wobbly bits, that where they all went and then the poor people got that stuff. That's where the slaughterhouses were, so all the restaurants around *Testaccio* get, they still serve offal today, now maybe a bit more for tourists or whatever and for locals too, but that where all the cows were slaughtered, and all the offal went to the local restaurants. So..

Yeah, you kind of have to eat them quicker I suppose, which is kind of makes you think a bit differently about how to cook stuff. I mean there is obviously ox tail and all of these 'braise-y' kind of things. I think a lot of people eat ox tail and don't think ox tail is offal. It's just like kind of slow cooked.

(b) But here's other offal that is actually liker really delicious like brain and sweetbreads and thigs like that and like when we'd go to the butchers, they'd say like that, the farmers' wives keep all these parts. They don't actually get out of the farm because they're for them. And they're delicious like.

Or its (inaudible). Or something like that. We've never done brains. We've done sweetbreads.

(b) But isn't it a bit like. I don't know if it would be like some authority again, announce that something is bad for

Get a buzz out of feedback  
Love if they love it

Like to finish with it

None I wouldn't eat  
Testicle sac was a bit weird

Asked what it was as was  
afraid not to buy it

Appearance was off-putting

Didn't want to admit I was a  
bit horrified

Fond of eyes

Ate a pig's eye

Foodies were not really up  
for it but he was –  
(neophilia)

you and all of a sudden that's off the menu for a whole generation of people and was it, Mad Cow Disease? And they seem to have big influence on food in Ireland, like the way that bread became an ogre, or sugar. You know. It became a bad food. Nobody eats bread. Nobody eats pasta. It's too fattening or that kind of thing.

Very difficult to say. You mean percent-wise?

(b) About ten per cent I'd say would eat it but I mean on a regular basis, may be one in a hundred.

About one percent. Yeah, you're right actually. People might come here and eat it, but they mightn't cook it. They mightn't know what to do with it, but they come here and eat it. Or their dad ate it and they come here to have it. You get a lot of that conversation, don't you? Yeah, that's nice.

Yeah. Like people love it, out, like. They. Might not have had it in ages and they love it prepared for them by someone else, which is kind of going against the kind of em, the poverty thing cause it's like, it's rich in other ways. People will pay for it, but they won't buy it and prepare it.

And like you do get a bit of a buzz out of the customers who love it you know rather than, if they didn't like it; its grand you know but if they really love it, you kind of go 'Ah'. You know. It's like they are being 'customers of the week or something when they are being really enthusiastic. And the rest of the menu they love but. They like finishing off with a bit of offal as well you know.

Kids ate fish eyes  
People baulk at fish eyes  
when they get the whole fish  
Kids have eaten fish eyes

Fascinating

People won eat tripe

Will eat sausages

Don' know what' in them

Hard to understand

They won't touch the 'purer'  
stuff

Find it weird

Like to do brains

Haven't cooked them

Hard to get them

Might not sell in restaurant

Always order offal when  
away

Seeks it out (neophilia)

<p>I don't know. I mean nothing really pops into my head. We tried. We tried em, cows bollocks for want of a better word, didn't we. It was a bit hairy. We had kind of like you know the sack.</p> <p>(b) You weren't sure what it was so you asked the butcher and then you were afraid not to buy it.</p> <p>They had taken off the hair and you could see where the hair was. You know. That was a bit off putting. To say the least. But I think I... Did we cook it? I think we cooked it. This was years ago. You see this is when I was first trying to cook. Yeah, I didn't want to admit. I went I'll take it because I asked him whatever. But I probably would have bought it because I was interested in seeing what this was.</p> <p>(b) Anything that comes out to a table in a restaurant with an eye, he eats the eye.</p> <p>We went down to St John. He [Fergus Henderson] cooked down in Waterford in The Tannery and he did a half pig head and you're sitting at the table with all strangers. We all went down for the night. One of our kids babysat. So, we stayed the night there. And the pig's head came out and everybody is oh yeah, they're all eating the cheeks and the skin was all crispy and then there was the eye and they were all 'Uh huh the eye'. 'I was like uh huh. The eye!' And it does it kind of bounce around your mouth. Is kind of hard to eat.</p> <p>(b) Did you get one of our kids to eat an eye?</p>	<p>Seeking our offal stalls in back streets</p> <p>If there's gristle, he'll find it</p> <p>Big pot, dirty towel</p> <p>You're not allowed to look (Mystery)</p> <p>Wobbly stuff (texture)</p> <p>Seasoning</p> <p>Cheap</p> <p>Secretive</p> <p>You don't really want to be here</p> <p>Don't actually know what you're getting (mystery)</p> <p>Part of the fun... (neophilia)</p> <p>Crispy</p> <p>Boiled</p> <p>Association with poverty</p> <p>Prime cuts to the rich</p> <p>This has turned around now</p> <p>Middle class people in fancy restaurants</p>
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Two of them. And they did eat it. Fish eyes. You know when you get the whole fish. And some people would say I wouldn't eat an eye. I'd balk at an eye and look at all the other stuff they're eating. Like I'm always fascinated by people say they won't eat tripe or they won't eat kidney or something and you're going. "Well they eat sausages. I'm like. I know you can get a good sausage and maybe the butcher will tell you what's in it but you still really don't know what's in it.

The casing as well. Yeah. I don't understand that. Whereas generally the stuff that we do it the purer stuff. I mean you might not like it but, you know I find that weird.

I haven't done brains. I think I might have done it at home.

(b) – We did brains in (inaudible).

Cooked them?

(b) No.

Don't think I ever actually cooked them. Maybe at home. I cook sweetbreads here all the time, but brain. If I could get brain. If I had an inside track of where to get it, I'd do it, that would be nice. Don't know how much it would sell though, do you know what I mean?

(b) But to have at home you mean?

They might not eat it in our place

Let the chef do something amazing with it

We don't hide it

You're going to have like it

Not choice

Availability is an issue

Butchers shops homogenized

Pre-sauced

Pre-marinated

Need to seek it out

Some people still want that stuff

Our local butcher doesn't but local supermarket does

Anomalous

Contradictory

Ambivalence

Demand can be very local

There because it sells

Pickled pork

All the pig bits

But I do like when I'm away, say there's a sweetbread dish n somewhere. Say there's a kidney dish on somewhere in whatever restaurant we are in I'll definitely try it.

(b) He is often looking in back streets like some stall, you know run by some lads from an older generation of, handing out bits of ... gristle and offal, he' find it.

In Sicily, I can't remember what it is called. Eeh. I'll get back to you ne the name of it. But there are these old men. They have this big pot, with a dirty towel. And it has to be dirty. Towel. It's filthy. And the towel is over the top of the pot and they dip their hand in, right. And you are not to allowed to look. And they come out with all this stuff, yeah. All. This wobbly stuff. And they stick it on to some bread and they throw a bit of salt on it and a bit of lemon juice and they give it to you and it's like a couple of euro or something and it can be a bit tough. And you have to find them. Like if you are gonna. I went off one morning in Sicily to try and look for these lads and they look at you and they king of they're going ' 'you don't wanna be here' and you have to really tell them you want to be here. "I want to be here." And ehm it's. It's amazing. You know. But I don't even know what it is. We were talking about what's in a sausage but I don't actually know what this stuff is. It's stomach. You know. It's tripe its. What's it called again?

(b) Is it not like crispy bits?

Not really no. It's all boiled. *Bolito*. Yeah.

People are squeamish

They don't want to see the eye

There is a disconnect

Try to tell them where it comes from

Mostly people know

Fine if you're vegetarian

Huge disconnect though

Veg in supermarket is grim

Same thing year round

Good quality but

homogenous

More greengrocers

More people to use them

Offal-eating not conscious consumption

Starts with taste

Is it going to be nice

Couldn't do all offal

Good food available if you know where to look

Seasonal

Hard to keep the menu small in spring

Eh I think traditionally it is associated with less well of isn't it. All of the sort of prime cuts would have gone to the rich, you know the nobles So eh...I do think that that's changed a little bit as I said when you go to the fancy restaurants particularly in Dublin, they probably do offal, you know and they would be frequented by middle class people, but they'll eat it there and they might not eat it on Kevin Street. Or. They'll joke about sure listen I'll. Leave it to the gift of the chef and he'll cook something amazing. Like when we do it, it's not really hidden away or anything. It is what it is. You're gonna have to like it. You know.

I don't really know. It's hard to get it I suppose. Like there's nothing worse than going to butcher shop and, kind of its all recognizable you know? You know all that stuff. You know what I mean? And it's all those cuts of meat that you know, particularly beef and there is loads of cuts of meat that is in a sauce or already marinated. You know all that stuff? And you are like. So, if you go to a good butcher and you see what they're doing with all the off cuts and offal and it's there in front of you. I think that's great, and actually, people around here are buying it. So I think more of that. You know. Like that butcher. Our butcher opened in Kimmage and they weren't really selling the offal the as much. They had to compete with the supermarket as well which does have offal but in Terenure they do sell a lot of kidneys and liver, but more kidneys I think. Kinda weird.

(b) In some areas in butchers in Dublin they sell certain cuts.

Meat part is easier

More availability

People might eat more

Might be more expensive

Maybe food is too cheap

Think of what we are buying

'French housewife' approach better

No weekly shop

Weekly shop means more waste

Don't really need it

Big trolleys of food

Panic buying like covid

I did some too

Everyone buying good stuff

Eating well

Cooking again

Cheap meat and chicken off-putting

People getting averse to it.

Food treated with respect

Veg and animals

Cause obviously you can only have it there to sell it. You know what I mean.

(b) - Like they'll serve like (INAUDIBLE) and. Like they know that they'll sell loads.

Like kind of pickled pork. You know that thing. Must look into that. There's some traditional dish around here. One of the butchers' shops up there have it. Yea like C N Meats up the top have all offal . If you ever go in there, like they have all the pig bits. Yeah. Yeah.

People are squeamish a little bit. They don't really know. That's the thing. They. Don't want to see the eye. You get a cut of meat it's just a cut of meat. Could be anything. Could be any animal in a way. Yeah there is a disconnect. I mean when we are chatting to people here, we do try and tell them where it comes from. And mostly people know. It doesn't mean they are going to like it if they are vegetarian or whatever that's different. But there is a disconnect, a huge disconnect. Supermarkets are all the same. Like when you want to go and buy some veg its ah, it's really grim. You know. Seasonal is one this but it's just same, same all the time. The quality might be good, but em... It's really hard to. There are some shops around but there are not enough greengrocers. We need more of them. And then we need to go to them.

Need for education

Neophilia

When there's demand, farmers will follow

Waste a big part of cow

We just want certain cuts

Butchers eschew offal

They think I'm mad

They'll talk about it

Still think I'm mad though

Lost knowledge

Butchers still good on the main cuts with cooking

Younger ones don't know about offal

Lost knowledge

Need to seek is out

Can be hard to get sometimes, despite seasonality

Arcane and complicated systems

expensive as a result

Eh... You mean when people come her and offal they are doing it consciously in a way that will benefit everybody and whatever. Like I don't know. Like sometimes it starts off with me like 'Is it going to be nice? I think that stuff kind of comes later, I think. Maybe the fact that we do more vegetarian dishes. Well that gets the, everybody can eat that. If it was all offal, that would be half the customers gone already, because you know, it is like the thing we do. We didn't sit down at a round table and say let's do eh eighty per cent of vegetable and then lest do little bit of meat. It just happens to be that way and it is easier to get vegetables, though I know I was giving out about them. But there is Mc Nally's Farm and a few other people. Coming up to the spring now it's actually really hard to do a menu and to keep things off the menu. You are kind of going 'shit, there are so many good things there'. You know what I mean? So eh, that's a problem and that's only the vegetable part. In some ways the meat part is gonna be easier because there is so much less of it and we don't have to do tonnes of it.

Em. Yeah Maybe. If it was more available, they [our customers] would be giving out to us about it. 'I told, the butcher and he has kidneys now, and that's because of you'. And it would probably be more expensive. The more people eat it the more expensive it's going to be. But maybe you know, maybe food is too cheap sometimes. Like maybe we should think particularly of what we are buying, you know. Like we still kind of cook and buy like the French housewife kind of job. We don't do a weekly shop. It's kind of like (inaudible) back into the

expensive

lost knowledge

lost value of it

difficult process

staff issues

specialization

barriers to availability

off-putting for butchers

you can't just get it

slaughter is brutal

animal has to die

been to an abattoir

no difference between eating

a tongue or a steak

diversity in diet

flavour

we think our diet is diverse

not diverse

supermarkets homogenized

meat and vegetables

knowledge

more we know less we know

supermarket, back in and buy something. See what you need. Think what you want for dinner. What you want to eat. Because there's more waste. But also. That has been shown in studies with the food waste people buy big trolleys of food and I know the way you might do it and you've a bigger family, bigger house and you've a car. And you know I get it, but like I don't know. You really don't need that. Like during Covid, during the first part of it. That was kind of different it was a panic, people buying stuff because they thought we were going to starve. Now I had a bit of that too.

(b) But everybody was buying really good stuff. Everybody was kind of eating really well. And cooking, because everybody had to cook. So that kind of improved people's live a little bit. But like, cheap meat and chicken can be really off-putting, like you know, supermarket meat can be really off-putting. And I think people really have an aversion of that when they realise that, oh I'm not so fond of that. So, I think that if they. Know that it is treated with respect and stuff, they can kind of hopefully eat it, whether that is the apple of whatever the meat is.

Chickens are fairly really abused

Yeah. It is obviously up to us to educate ourselves. It is up to us to try different things and if there is a, if there is a want for it. If there is a demand for it the farmers will go down that road. But you know. I'd say if you asked farmers in general they'd tell you. Like. I don't know what percentage of the cow we all eat every day is wasted, but I'd say its huge, what's wasted. Do you know what I mean. There are certain cuts and the rest, no one wants to eat it.

education important  
learning all the time  
very conservative in Ireland  
(neophobia)  
  
outward looking  
food's better abroad  
travel and bring back ideas  
because we are an island  
what if we were landlocked  
open-mindedness  
insularity  
more renowned food cultures  
doesn't mean we don't have  
one  
sometimes people go abroad  
and don't try the food  
exotica  
  
our indigenous food culture

(b)The butchers don't eat offal. They, you know. We go to certain butchers, and they say 'Do you eat that?

I think they see me coming sometimes. I think some of them go and hide at the back. They say, 'shit here's your man'.

(b) They love the idea and the chat but they just think we're mad. They think he's mad. Your man's mad.

And. if I buy something a steak off the butcher, and I go oh, how long will I cook that for, I find they are knowledgeable. But some of the stuff. Some of the older butchers will know about the offal, but some of the younger lads might just be.

(b) And they always say they can get stuff for you.

And they say they can get stuff and sometimes they can't. It's weird . Trying to get lamb tongues there a while ago. Like lamb tongues. We eat a lot of lamb and like there's going to be tongue in the head of the lamb but I think the process is it's really hard to get and when I got them off they just charged me what the abattoir charged. Yeah. It was expensive but he didn't add on his own. He was just like. It was a. Pain in the arse. It was sound of him really. They were like three euros a pop for the tongue, were they?

It was expensive

It wasn't like 50 cent for a tongue and I was buying like forty of them. It was expensive enough but he charged me

what he got charged and it was a lot and it was a pain in the arse but it was a lot because I think they had to get a different guy with a different folder or woman to look over this head is getting cut off. It is going in the bin and the hadn't just thought of, it's not normal, you know what. I mean. Oh, the normal stuff is going off that's grand. That person is doing this that's his job, but the process its different with someone else and I think they had to hire someone in on a different day, maybe a day off and work out what is happening with these heads and get the man in to take the tongues out of the head, you know what I mean? And they really had to have someone who could only do that and not just anybody to actually take them out, like you know. So that is the level of stuff behind the scenes. It's not can you not just get me them.

(b) The abattoirs are quite brutal. In any sense so eating any part of an animal, the animal had to die.

I've never been to an abattoir. I think (b) has.

But I don't see the difference between eating you know a tongue or a tail and eating prime steaks. You know. I don't even eat prime steak. There is so much flavour. I think it is a diversity [issue], because in spite of us thinking that we eat a really diverse diet we actually don't. Like if you go to a supermarket everything is homogenous, red peppers, tomatoes, salads, all year round and you know it is the same with meat, You can acquire taste for offal. You can.

It's a bit the more we know the less we know. You can look up anything on the internet. You can look up all the books and we all think we know it all. Like I don't know



enough either. I'm learning all the time. You kind of think you can. You've access to how to cook stuff and how to get and what is it. It doesn't really mean anything.

(b) Well I suppose cooking it means there is loads of spices and loads of things that we can work with but also it is still very conservative here.

Irish people look out a lot. Even for news we look to Britain and America and we look to Europe We look away and then we travel away and we get our bits and we bring them back. And there is a fair bit of that, 'cause were an island. I don't. know what we'd be like if we were landlocked. You could arguably say we'd do the same thing. But you might. We're an island. I don't know. There is a little bit of open-mindedness in sort-of ways. You might go to some other countries with a food culture that is more sort of famous or more renowned or something. It doesn't mean we don't have one but. You go there and you might not go out and have their food all the time all the time.

(b) Crickets in sticks and stuff and locusts and...

In a way then it should be a lot more about looking in at what we have.

Interview Subject 3

<b>INTERVIEW SUBJECT 3 (IS3)</b>	<b>CODES</b>
<b>DATA</b>	
<p>We've, we've been very lucky. We've never lacked for anything, it that's an answer that you'll accept.</p>	<p>Middle class</p>
<p>Okay, for me personally. Because I suffered from kidney failure and ended up on dialysis diets played a massive part in my life. So, from a very, very early age, I was very aware of what I was allowed to eat, and what I was not allowed to eat. So, protein was one thing I to watch; three ounces of protein. I had to avoid potassium in veg, things like oranges, bananas, chocolate. And obviously, when I went off the dialysis, particularly haemodialysis, this became much, much stricter, and far more important for my health. So, to answer your question, food has played a massive part in my life and understanding what I am eating. And the benefits of what I eat and what I don't eat have been hugely important to me.</p>	<p>Restricted diet            Illness restricted diet            Food aware early            Food avoidance            Health consciousness            Food massively important</p>
<p>Yeah, well, subsequently to receiving a gift of life, which I received, when I got a kidney transplant, I then was released back to a relatively normal life. The irony is, say, just take fish. Fish was one absolute no-no, for me when I was on dialysis, high in potassium, and didn't seem to have a good response to my body for whatever reason. So it's just funny. Because I got used to not eating fish from</p>	<p>Got a kidney            Avoided fish            Still avoids fish            Low potassium diet            Being used to things            Habits stay with you</p>

the diet, I was from a very early age, I wouldn't eat a huge amount of fish. It's not that I'm against eating fish. But it's funny the way certain habits stay with you for a long period, if you've been used to them for a long period. But, at this moment in time, thank God I'm allowed eat pretty much anything that I that I want. I do watch, I don't take an excessive loads of protein in because that's been a little harder on the kidney, but thank God, I'm allowed eat what I want.

Absolutely, absolutely. And I suppose the first line that stuck out to me, Niall in your overview was that this study is going to try and examine how offal consumption of this kind in recent decades in Ireland, and to try and pinpoint some of the reasons for this. And again, this is my opinion, based on my experience, as a butcher here for the last 40 years, in our shop, offal certainly hasn't declined in sales. Right? That's my honest opinion. I do think often, the availability of it has declined significantly because the amount of small butchers like us with small abattoirs has declined significantly over the last 10 years. Now, if you want exact numbers, I suggest you contact the Associated Craft Butchers of Ireland. If you want to contact number, I'll give you that to get specific numbers. My point to you and I, and in I am a butcher, a real butcher, farm, abattoir, boning, processing, curing chilling and shop, the relevance of my point about the abattoirs, if I slaughter an animal, I have to sell everything. Everything. Okay? Now, that includes the heart, the liver, the kidney, the tongue, the tripe, the oxtail, whatever, I have to sell everything. But so many butchers today do not have the benefit of having their

Allowed to eat anything  
Choice

takes pride  
Experience

Demand not declined

Lack of availability  
Decline in butchers  
fewer abattoirs

I'm a real butcher

I have to sell all of the animal

Including the fifth quarter

Concerned about waste

haven't noticed a decline

can't sell beef hearts  
can sell livers kidneys tongues  
oxtails

odd person buys beef heart

pet food

<p>own abattoir. So, they are less likely to be ordering offal and offal cuts from a wholesaler for that, for that reason, that's the reason why there is less availability of offal.</p> <p>That's my own personal opinion. The first point that you raised in your overview about the decline in offal I cannot say I have noticed that and if I just go quickly through it if you don't mind; beef, I see no difference if I go through it; heart, liver, kidney, tongue, and oxtail and let's go through these one for one, if you don't mind, heart, the hardest part to sell is the beef heart absolutely no doubt. The odd person will then buy that stuff as roasted. Very, very few. It is the hardest part to sell. Most weeks, it's chopped up, cooked and sold as pet food. Ditto I would say with beef liver, so if we're doing 10 heifers a week, we possibly would sell three beef livers across the counter. The rest is cut up for pet food. But that is no different than what it was 10 - 15 years ago. Beef kidneys, some are sold in the shop, and whatever we don't sell in the shop are chopped up and we sell them in a steak and kidney pie, and our steak and kidney pies along with all the rest of our pies are literally sold out every week. Ox tongues and oxtail and you are not going to believe this... If you don't prebook, an ox tongue, or an ox tail in here, you will not be able to buy it. Ox tails in particular, I'm booked out about two weeks in advance in our shop. Okay, so that's beef. The beef intestine, beef gut is used for puddings, so its washed and used as a casing for puddings. If we go to lamb, and again, I just got to take them in order that I have them, liver, heart, kidney tongue and intestine and lamb's liver, no different to what has been in the last 40 years. There isn't a week that will go by that if we do 25 lambs on a Tuesday. And that lamb given inspected by the vet, goes into our shop on</p>	<p>no different to 10-15 years ago</p> <p>sell kidneys in pies</p> <p>Tongues and tails in big demand</p> <p>Not going to believe</p> <p>Gut used for puddings</p> <p>Hearts, liver, kidney, tongue sells</p> <p>Intestine for sausage casings</p> <p>No change in 40 years</p> <p>Artisanal butcher</p> <p>Kids buy hearts for science classes</p> <p>Sometimes get the lungs to</p> <p>Beef lungs only good for dog food</p> <p>Lambs' tongues g into white puddings</p>
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<p>Wednesday, it's sold out by Friday. That hasn't changed in the last 40 odd years since I'm working here. Now, obviously, you could say well, why don't you buy in more. We only like to sell what we produce in our own abattoir. Lambs' hearts. Yeah, they're quite popular again stuffed roasted. Believe it or not, a lot of the kids would buy them in the Cross and Passion college for their science classes. They're not so keen on the beef hearts for whatever reason. They all go for the lambs' hearts, sometimes buy the lamb pluck with the lungs on it as well. I didn't mention the beef lungs sorry, I should have mentioned beef lungs, they're chopped up, go into dog meat. Obviously, that's the only use for them. Come back to the lamb. So the liver, the heart, kidneys, they're sold every week. Basically, we sell the piece and we split them in two people fry them. Lambs tongues go into white puddings. Lambs' intestines, massive demand for them. Sheep casings. The interesting little oddity I give you about that is that this time of the year, when we're using spring lamb, the casings are much narrower. They're much harder for Fred in our processing unit to fill out the sausages because the casing is much narrower. Later in the year and the lambs get that bit bigger, the intestine gets a bit wider, it's much easier to use. And lamb sweetbreads, this part this time of year, they are an absolute delicacy. I mean personally, I bring them home wash them, dip them in flour, you can dip them in, throw them on the pan. Absolutely delicious. So, the only other thing I was going to mention to you was chicken. So obviously, we call them the giblets are delivered together. They are sold with chickens. Customers make their own stock. So, I hope I haven't gone too much off tangent there.</p>	<p>Seasonality</p> <p>Seasonality</p> <p>Taste</p> <p>Gastronomy</p> <p>Giblets in the chickens</p> <p>Gastronomy</p> <p>Taste for lambs liver</p> <p>Authenticity</p> <p>Taste for black pudding</p> <p>Texture</p> <p>Taste</p> <p>Flavour</p> <p>Savour</p> <p>Appetite</p> <p>S</p> <p>slaughtered animals</p> <p>needed know-how</p> <p>skills</p> <p>techniques</p> <p>recipes</p> <p>tradition</p> <p>teaching</p> <p>training</p>
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Oh I love lamb's liver. Full of iron. So the three things for me full of iron. Black pudding, and the reason I say black pudding is because we make our own black pudding with real blood as opposed to the powdered blood most black puddings are made with today. So I'd eat black pudding, liver, spinach, but liver absolutely love it particularly the, the lamb, spring lambs liver is very, very tender and absolutely delicious. I'd fry an odd kidney. Ox tongue when it's cooked, and sliced, and it's cold on the deli is absolutely delicious. So I'd have no hesitation in eating any of us.

Did it? Yeah, I did it years ago. Yeah. As part of my training, I would have served under my father here for years. So when I started, a butcher needed to know a little bit about livestock on the farm, needed to be able to slaughter and know how to slaughter, make sausages and puddings, break beef, cut beef, cure bacon, spice beef, address a counter and obviously do all the costings that go with it. So, I was very lucky that my father had the wisdom to make sure I got to I got a chance to work in all those different areas. So to answer your question, yeah, it was a long, long time since I did it. But look, it was part of my initial training to be a butcher, you know?

Don't think so. I'd be pretty open minded when it comes to food. I try anything. The one thing now I wouldn't. Now, mussels, oysters, all that kind of food I wouldn't touch but maybe that goes back to my kind of non-fish-eating part of my life, you know,

open to trying anything  
is averse to some foods  
is averse to certain seafoods  
wouldn't touch  
non-fish eating

migration has played role  
immigrants 'get' the  
nutritional value of offal

immigrants more  
knowledgeable regard cooking  
offal  
immigration increased demand

been told he is a model of  
sustainability

'locavorism'

farm near the abattoir  
source animals locally  
low waste

<p>No, you're absolutely on the money - huge factor. And the reason being they understand the nutritional value of some of these meats. Their ability to cook them the right way is obviously another factor. But you're absolutely right. The influx of different nationalities has certainly, if anything, slightly increased the demand for offal.</p> <p>It's funny the you ask the question. We were recently part of the Small Firms Association, National Business Awards, which we actually won, right? And we won the national title and the retail category. One of the judges and I was discussing our business with this particular individual afterwards. He said, "I don't think you realise was an opportunity you have to tell your story, how green you are, how sustainable you are". Our farm is literally 200 metres from the back entrance to our place here. We would source from local farmers, I'd say within, I'm gonna guess here a 15 mile radius. When the judge visited our premises, he was intrigued as to the lack of waste. So for argument's sake when the boys are in the boning hall and they're boning a side a beef there's a one, one big tray left at the end. So any what we call waste, it's all cooked. For pet food. The bones are cooked, chopped, cooked, cooled and bagged and sold. So instead of spending 25 quid for them to go off to the incinerators were recycling them. And we're getting money for them, obviously, but the customers are getting what they want. And it's a form of managing our waste. The judge couldn't get over the lack of waste. He felt that was a huge opportunity for us to look at the whole sustainability</p>	<p>bones are sold</p> <p>Lack of waste</p> <p>Sustainability</p> <p>Haven't time</p> <p>Can define offal</p> <p>Thinks it is a small cohort</p> <p>Has tried everything</p> <p>Associated with financial poverty</p> <p>Seen as cheaper</p> <p>Requires culinary knowledge</p> <p>Less well-off but better off</p> <p>Knowledge</p>
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model. And to be very honest Niall it's just something I haven't had the time to do.

Again, I can only give you when I think of offal, what do I think of? I think at the heart, the liver, the kidneys, the tongue, the tripe, the tail, the sweetbreads, brain, intestines, I suppose you could skin. Blood. You know, that's, that's, that's what I think of, you know.

There's a very small, very small, very small proportion. So if you were to ask me, of our customers coming in here to the shop. Five percent guess?

I think I've tried pretty much. Everything.

Look, there's no doubt. Less well-off.

Down the line. Absolutely down the line, cheaper. But again, I go back to the lady that comes in here, and knows what she can do with an ox tail, or an ox tongue, or lamb sweetbreads and how to cook them, and the nutritional value of lamb liver. You know, she's, in some ways you might be less well-off and buying cheaper cuts. But in

Disconnect

Education

People don't know where food comes from

Education

Kidney

Community

Skills

Education

Disconnect

People don't think about it

Better costs more

Onus on food producers to communicate

Education



other ways, she's well off because she knows the value of what she's buying.

Huge. We had a couple of open days here. On Saturday morning, opened up the shop, opened up all the facilities and let anyone that wanted to come in and have a look. And the general feeling was one of total and utter amazement, because people only see at the front of the shop, and they have absolutely no idea what goes on out the back. Every year, I take a group from Tallaght, Annette brings down a group. I love meeting them. They're normally culinary students, because I love to take a side of beef bacon and let them see what all the different cuts come from. We also go a step further, we take TY year. I'm. Because I'm transplanted, I go into the school and I do Organ Donor Awareness talks. They come over here, they spend the morning over here we might get them making sausages or burgers. Again, we'd break a side of beef and show them where all the different cuts come from. Because a lot of them really have absolutely no idea where the food is coming from. They see the plastic tray and the supermarket with the chops on it or the steak on it or whatever. They don't think any further. It's only when they come over here they realise all the amount of work that goes into trying to have really good food presented to customers, but also the amount of work that goes in to it. And with that comes a cost.

Communication

Perception

New ideas

Education

Creativity

Taking responsibility

People disgusted by it

Don't want to eat that

Can understand aversion

Don't want to know

Butchers not interested

Needs to be more available

More education needed

People want cooking skills

I think it's the onus is on us. Right? The butcher. So, I would be certainly not very good with any form of social media. Emma would be far better than I would, but. So what we started to do, is on a Saturday morning, I'm just calling him through the way the SFA award, there was part of it was a package and it was a social media training course. And I went one day, and the lady said, open your LinkedIn profile, I didn't even have one. So basically, she explained the benefits of this. And, you know, if you have a specific message that we're trying to get out to customers, how we could possibly do it. So I've started doing videos on a Saturday morning, when the shop is set up, the counter is beautifully dressed, and some week, I might my pick something like if we did a new product. I'm trying to think. I'm trying to think of one off-hand, and we did a meat, pork melt recently, sausage meat with the cheese in the middle of it. We did a beef truffle. So, if I might, I might focus one week and something new, I might focus on rib on the bone. The last week I did was spring lamb for obvious Easter, spring lamb. So, my intention next is to basically take a side of beef, but not in a 10-minute video, but maybe a 60 or 90 second video, show people where the different cuts are coming from the next day and our story a little bit more. So, I think the disconnect has to be repaired by me. Because I'm, I'm the person that is most interest to make the customers aware of the uniqueness of what we are here. What we do here.

Yeah, I think if you asked a group of people, it certainly gets high section of those who, offal I don't want to eat it.

The young want cooking advice

Volume of production too big (monolithic)

Have to ship it out

Course you would. I can understand that. As you say to most kids, when they come in here, and we have groups, and you said offal and they just go 'uegh'. No. Don't want to know about that. So yeah, I can understand that.

No, there's no interest in selling it. That's my opinion. And if it was more available. I think it needs to be two pronged. One more availability. For two. Again, it's up to the butcher, to advise a little bit more about the nutritional benefits of let's say, lamb liver, and how best to cook it as well. Because there's no doubt from serving behind the counter. The biggest thing people look for here, particularly on a Friday and Saturday, at the weekend, is probably cooking advice. (Okay.) Okay, younger generation, they are crying out for help when it comes to cooking advice. And that's not just for offal, that is everything across the board.

Yeah, I suppose the only concern is the volume that we're producing in the factories, which as you quite rightly say, is predominantly being exported. It was have to yes, any little bit helps, but there'd want to be a huge amount eaten, I think to have an impact? Because the quantities that are being produced are high. So that's my answer to that is going to be a considerable increase, because purely because of that level has been produced week-in, week-out.

<p>J N - No, I haven't (heard of the UNSDGs) being very honest. Okay, that's fine.</p>	
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Interview Subject 4	

<b>DATA</b>	<b>INITIAL CODES</b>
<p>I grew, I grew up in Malahide, Dublin and the youngest of three kids and two older brothers and my parents are both from Northern Ireland. So my dad is a farming background. So he's from Fermenagh, and would have been on kind of a small farm, they would have had a few cattle whereas my mom grew up in Derry in kind of a small little village town but her father would have been more a labourer. And, so I had kind of either very, either quite a quite a nice upbringing in Malahide kind of you know, like that, but I summers were spent in Fermanagh doing the hay and working on the farm.</p>	<p>Middle class Dublin – rural parents</p> <p>Farming and working class</p> <p>Worked on farms as a child</p>
<p>Interesting. So my, my mum, kind of isn't that into cooking, for example. So, you know, we would have had our very our food have been quite basic, you know, like the breakfast was, you know, like, it was Rice Krispies and a slice of toast for breakfast. It was like ham sandwiches for lunch. And the dinner is would have been like your meat and two veg kind of combination. Like we definitely didn't grow up, in a household where there was any rice or pasta or anything like that, that would have been very much notions... perception. So we would have grown up in a very kind of, plain, I would have called it, food environment. And then, like, I, my mother actually had a lot of tummy problems. And she was in her 50s. And she went on to get a diagnosis of something. And I remember that changing the food in the house, which possibly has prompted me to go into the career that I've gone into. And there were certain things that she couldn't tolerate, or she couldn't have. But it was like, I would have said, a very,</p>	<p>Mother not into cooking</p> <p>Basic food</p> <p>Breakfast cereals, sandwiches</p> <p>Meat and two veg</p> <p>Monotonous food</p> <p>Limited diet</p> <p>Mother's diagnosis changed the food</p> <p>Nothing exotic</p> <p>Meat and two veg</p>

very plain starting point to food, nothing too exotic. Like, when we went on holidays, like you try pasta and try something different. But when you're back home, it was like, you meat and veg sort of option.

I am, I actually really enjoy cooking, I don't get a huge amount of time to do it. You know, I kind of like workwise, and everything else, you come back and do the normal basic dinners and everything like that, I definitely feel my food has changed since having a family and also in terms of trying to improve environmental features. So like, we're definitely trying to go a little bit more, you know, flexitarian with our approach, and conscious of like, you know, I'd be much more conscious that the children have to get their Omega three once a week, so they have to have salmon once a week, or there's little things like that, that I would feel like they would help, I probably would implement some of my food choices, or like (inaudible). And I think, I think because of my career choice, I'm quite lucky. I've got a really nice relationship with food, I don't overthink it. I was kind of feel like I've kind of a food neutrality almost. So I don't deem food as being good for you or being bad for you. It's very much how it all comes together. And so I'm working to try to instil that into my children as well that they don't get into this 'oh is this good for you, is this bad for you' kind of, you know, kind of approach to it. But I would definitely, because I'm probably a plainer eater I have to work at like the odd night, you know, doing something that's a bit more flavour some and my youngest actually last week went, 'Oh, I love this. I do love flavour'. And I was like, God, I probably need to work another bit more. So I've noticed that two of them in particular, like when they go out, they want the

Enjoys cooking  
 Time limitations  
 Normal basic dinners  
 Concerned for environment  
 Eating less meat  
 Flexitarian  
 Health conscious  
 Little things help  
 Food choices  
  
 Food neutral  
 Neither good nor bad for you  
 Holistic approach  
  
 Trying to teach kids this  
  
 Trying to be more adventurous  
  
 Flavour  
  
 Need to work on flavour  
  
 Kids love chilli  
  
 Traumatized by offal  
 Negative childhood experience  
 Liver and apple  
 Stew-like

spiciest thing and they want the chilli oil and they want everything like and I'm like, okay, they're probably getting a bit bored at home.

Oh, God yeah. Like literally traumatised. So my mother used to do this dish which was liver with like apple. And like it was like as you know, a stew type thing and the texture of it. I just was like, I just hated that dinner. But I think she was always obsessed with iron and iron in the diet. So we'd have this maybe once a week. I remember the day that I realised that I love pâté. And the day my mom was like that. Liver is in pâté, and I was like, Oh, I do like liver. I just don't like it done that way. So like I think I might have been I say nine or 10 when I realised that the food I really enjoyed pate was actually liver, which probably made me decided not to like it for a short while and then go back to eating it again. But the minute I was old enough to say no to delivered dinner. I did.

I don't think I made that connection. Because I funny story, actually, my husband has because his mom was a home-ec teacher. And they used to have tongue once a week, and they loved it, absolutely loved it. And one day that kind of the stick came out and the tongue rolled out on the table. And apparently, his mom said there was mayhem for them freaked out, roaring crying and everything when they realised it was an actual tongue. So, I definitely yeah, in my, even I suppose I'm having liver when I'm having pâté. Like, I wouldn't really think about the fact that it's liver. You know, because when we go to France a lot now, and they always have like sweet breads on the menu. And I don't think I've ever tried it because I'm like, no.

Hated it  
 Texture  
 Obsessed with iron  
 Once a week  
 Didn't know it was in pate  
 Went off pate for a while  
  
 Negative childhood experience  
 Husband didn't know tongue was tongue  
 Loved it and then found out what it was  
 Freaked out  
  
 Don't think about liver when eating pate  
  
 Aversion to sweetbreads  
 Only cooked offal once, for pate  
  
 Parents ate offal a lot  
  
 Balanced diet  
 Ate liver and tongue.



No, I made liver once we were doing an 80s theme, dinner party. And I did liver pâté. And that was first, that was my one and only time cooking liver.

Yeah, they did. All the time yeah.

And yeah, my dad's upbringing, they would have been, they only actually they would have only gotten meat about once a week, they would have had their protein would have been eggs. So like they wouldn't have got kind of a meat that much. Whereas my mom's family, they would have had kind of probably a more balanced diet growing up. And her mom was English. But she would have grown up having liver and having tongue and having all of that and just. Yeah. And liked all of it.

Like if I go to a restaurant and its foie gras, but it's actually a bit like, 'livery' if the texture is a bit too. I like it more like a pâté.

I don't like if you've to cut it or slice it or anything like that. It's a texture thing. I think it's a texture thing, but I think the texture thing comes to the fact that I know what it is. Yeah. Okay. Like, I think if I had a blind taste on it, I'd probably be fine.

Foie gras has weird texture  
Off-putting

Don't like to have to slice it

Fact that I know what it is

Could eat it blindfolded

Visual

body parts?

Left an imprint

Trauma

Picked the rabbit for dinner

Felt guilt at having picked  
the animal to die

Didn't put off meat

How are things cooked

No issue with food

Health conscious

What you should and  
shouldn't eat

Disgusted by food

Ehm, yes, I did a French exchange when I was 14. They brought me down to a farm and showed me all these rabbits. So I was like, Oh, they're so cute. They're gorgeous. They're like bouncing around. And that evening when we were having dinner they went, 'this is the rabbit you picked'. I was like, oh my God, I sent an animal to his death. I think that's the first time I realised that like, when we're eating these, it comes from I was actually like, I remember that being really like, oh my god, this is not good. Didn't stop me eating meat. And I definitely was like, that is not okay to do that. And I kind of then was a bit more like I definitely probably a very typical teenage that kind of early teen years being a bit more of age, you know, how are things cooked it was a good view was a healthier that kind of stuff. Like I wouldn't have ever had, you know, an issue with food, but I would have been more conscious of food having a role in health. And that would have been kind of then, you know, what things we should or shouldn't eat was short lived. I think. I do remember the one time I was kind of disgusted by food was the time I realised that I had picked a rabbit and sent it to the its death and was now eating it.

So I know definitely when it comes to an actual piece of liver. It was the texture. I definitely know. It's the texture. I don't like the texture. I think there's a smell. There's something about our maybe it was the smell of that dinner being cooked like that. So I think it's more of a sensory thing as opposed to a taste thing. And I know that with food because the only other food I don't rely on our scallops is a texture I don't like so I when I bite into the texture, it's eugh, it gives me the ick. Like, you know, so I think for that, but then like, if I think about things, like if

Texture  
 There is a smell  
 Smell of the cooking  
 Sensory rather than taste  
 Averse to seafood  
 Bite into a texture  
 Ate haggis at a wedding in Scotland  
 Surprised she liked it  
 Didn't expect to like it  
 Dislike of liver has had an effect on other things  
 Can't deal with heart or kidneys  
 Association with function?  
 Not logical  
 Aware that steak and chicken are body parts  
 Previous bodily functions  
 Doesn't make sense  
 Feels sinister  
 Think about where food comes from

there was something like heart on the menu, or I had haggis at a wedding once and I was like you know, okay, like try it as haggis. It's quite nice actually. I kind of liked that. I obviously I was like

Yeah, she's Scottish. Okay. But I think it's like the I think the liver thing is stuck with me and partly had a knock on effect. But if somebody gave me heart or gave me you know, like some other type of thing like kidneys and I thought I just don't think I think I'd, my head, or, just go no, no thanks.

I don't know why this because it's like think about eating when I eat like a steak or chicken or anything like I don't think about the fact that I'm eating what part of eating with that feels like I'm eating something that was beating or working or like it was like a functional part, which doesn't really make sense, because obviously the other parts of the animal is functional too. But it just feels a little bit more like sinister maybe.

I think we obviously do think more about where food comes from. Because if you look at those cultures as well, like they don't worry what shape the carrot is when they buy it or like, you know, they're much into like, they are all about taste and flavour and the experience of food. Like I think I'm this very generalised say, but I think those cultures are better at even using probably herbs and spices. I mean, I'm sure if there was this probably research out there show that they use a lot more herbs, spices, flavours, all that stuff than we probably do. Because they they're

Other cultures not worried about shape of carrots

Taste

Flavour

Generalizing

Greater food knowledge

More adventurous palate

Taking time to eat

Restaurants

Not rushed

More about going out

Balance

Plain eating

Boring food

Aversion to gravy

Dry dinner

Huge cohort of plain eaters

Kids more adventurous

Kids want herbs

Go more flavour focus

Really nutritious

I should be encouraging

Reducing red meat

Huge drop in dairy

Plant -based diet

very much into taking time with their food. And like taking time with eating, you know, you go to a restaurant in France, there's only one setting, like where my parents live now in France, like you go to you just ring up and both the restaurant they don't ask you the time they're coming because as your table for the night. Whereas obviously here it's like a, you know, more mass production, it's like, it's probably by going out and having a drink any more than the food sometimes like it's like, you know, that kind of balance with that. So I think there's. I don't. I think we were traditionally very plain eaters like I would have grown up you know, where it's like your porridge or a sandwich and your lamb chop peas, carrots and potatoes or, you know, very basic food and like I have an uncle for example, like he doesn't like gravy. He likes a dry dinner. He doesn't like a wet dinner. Okay, I think there's a, there's a huge cohort of that. And then hopefully it goes now with a little bit more like globalisation, like more different cultures here. Like our I can see my kids are so much more into trying like, something Moroccan or something or experimenting or using, like, they asked me to buy herbs and spices in the shop that they want to try for a recipe. So I don't know whether if we go for flavour-focused, would we be more open to that kind of thing? I mean, it's really nutritious. As a dietitian, I shall be encouraging it.

I think I think a lot of that is as well because it's such a big movement to reduce meat consumption. You know, like I'm seeing it's like we're seeing a huge drop and people consuming like dairy or like, you know, red meat, like the move towards making their diets more plant based. So in

Encouraging more pulses  
 Seems counterintuitive  
 Don't mention in clinic  
 Can't remember last time I talked about it  
 3 per cent eat it  
 Wouldn't eat heart  
 Offal associated with poverty historically  
 Imagine getting kidney  
 Now in. posh restaurants  
 Almost like delicacy  
 Movement toward buy local  
 Trying to be more environmentally aware  
 Trying to teach about nutrition  
 More awareness  
 Teenagers against meat  
 Because its 'mean'  
 Becoming more aware  
 Heads judge more than bodies  
 Food more emotional than before

that environment of trying to get people to have more beans and pulses and you know, experiment, it seems to very much jar with the idea of saying to somebody have liver or have, like it's not something I think that we ever even discuss in clinic like I can't remember the last time I had a discussion around offal.

Think the heart.

Historically less well off with, you know, things I suppose. Now it's like the posh restaurants that we tend to use as it become it's now like almost like a delicacy.

To get like, you can imagine getting kidneys or sweet bread and like the posh restaurants

Yeah, I think that connection is probably more now, like, because I get it in that there's such a movement towards, like, buy local support, you know, like we're trying to, because we're trying to be more environmentally well aware. And they're trying to teach people about nutrition. Like, there's definitely much more in awareness about, like I see teenagers who go like, Oh, no, I can't eat like meat anymore. Because like, that's really mean. Like, so they're making that association. That means I think we're, we're definitely becoming more aware, which in some ways can be a good thing. But then another ways. You know, if you overthink it, like our heads, I have an expression is that our heads are far more judgmental of our food choices on our bodies are.

People talk about eating  
 The experience  
 Usen't to be like that  
 Asked what's for dinner and that was it  
 You ate it without questioning  
 Movement towards having to cook from scratch  
 Moral compass approach to food  
 More emotion to it  
 'stress eating' or no eating  
 Emotional attachment  
 Feeling mean  
 Feeling guilty  
 Air miles  
 Putting emotion with food  
  
 Used to teach what a Carbohydrate is  
 Now it is reassurance  
  
 Emotion  
  
 Health messages in the media  
 Binary thinking around food  
 If people guilty about eating a chicken breast, what chance a heart  
 Cannibalistic

There is more emotion attached to food now than ever before. Yeah. So when we talk even like, and you'll see that, like, you know, like, like, people talk about food eating and experience, or, you know. Like food is fuel. And I'm guessing you grew up in a similar kind of, to me, they're like, food was no way to come in and asked what's for dinner, but you just ate what you were given? Like, you wouldn't have been gone. Okay. I don't like that. Can you cook me something different? You know? Yeah. And, you know, there's been that movement towards having to cook from scratch, which is like, you know, people feel like they, you know, oh, no, I cook everything from scratch. Like, there's more moral compass of approach to food and the way of eating, and there's more emotion to it. So like, as well, now, like, that kind of thing of stress eating or not eating, if you're less stressed, like, we see all that emotional attachment. So think, the more that happens, you are thinking a little bit more like if you're being made feel, I mean, not made feel guilty, but people feel guilty by the fact that if they're, you know, green beans come from somewhere else, because it's far away, they start thinking about all those different things. So if you're made think about where your meat has come from, or how they've been farmed, or is this all of these things like you're, you're, you're constantly putting emotion with food? Yeah. I mean, my job has changed so much in the last 25 years of working as a dietitian, from going to teach people like what a carbohydrate is, or like what a protein is, to now reassuring people around food, that it's okay to eat a certain way. So, I definitely think that emotion has, for whatever reason, and there's probably multitude of things between the way it's been taught in school, or like the media or health messages and black and white thinking around food,

I'm eating that?  
  
Don't see ethics in offal eating  
'Omnivorousness'  
'Foodism'  
'Neophilia'  
Economically sound  
Good for me  
Guilt-free  
I enjoy it  
People label themselves  
Vegetarian  
Pescetarian  
I don't eat this r that  
They have an emotional relationship  
No need for labels  
Increased availability  
Maybe not the Irish though  
Outside influence  
Nutritious  
It is in pâté  
Liver highest consumed  
  
Maybe not tongue  
Things making a comeback  
Cheap  
Cos of living crisis  
Trying to feed families  
Nutritious  
Has potential

but there's that emotional attachment. And then, you know, if people feel guilty about eating a chicken breast, like, I mean, if you get down to that being a heart, obviously not a chicken heart. Like every time. You know, it just, it seems quite cannibalistic, almost, you know, I mean, oh my God. I'm eating that?

No, I see somebody who eats everything. Yeah, as in like someone who is a foodie, they love food, they always try stuff. They're like, willing to experiment. And you know, it could mean it. Like, economically, it makes sense as well. It could be that side of it, but I would see them as being someone who's like, this is good for me, this is what I enjoy. This is what I'm doing and not having that necessarily go into the food and the experience, but they're not having that guilt emotion with it. Whereas when people label themselves, the diet, whether they label themselves as, for whatever reason be it vegetarian, pescetarian vegan, you know, or like, just, I don't eat a certain category. They definitely have more of an emotional relationship with food. Like I don't think there is any need to label that. You can choose to eat away but doesn't have to be definitive, if that makes sense.

I think, yes in Ireland, because I don't think it would necessarily be the people who are like, I think it could be people who have, say, come from different cultures who are more open to using those foods as well could probably help influence it. And, like, I think liver is something that because it's so associated with high iron. And because it's associated with a commonly consumed food like pâté, I definitely think it's something that people I mean, I'm

Lost knowledge

More

It is nutritious

Lower in calories

Equal in protein

Makes sense nutritionally

Should use all the parts

Different cultures coming in

Open our eyes

Lovely

Positive

Anyone with links to another culture likes to cook from that culture and show us

They are proud of it

Can't imagine us doing that.

Familiar with UNSGDs through children

guessing that's the highest consumed one in Ireland. I'm thinking things like tongue, and I don't know, but I mean that like, people go back, like, you know, corned beef is making a bit of a comeback. So, they're just like, you know, because they're cheap. And like, there is a financial, you know, cost of living crisis kind of emerging for people as well. So, I think if people are trying to feed families and give them good, nutritious food, it's a potential. But I also think there's a whole, I mean, basically, if you're younger than 50, I don't know if you probably know how to cook any of those foods.

I think It'll get there the more you use. That's, you know, and that's what a lot of other countries do. Like, it's, you know, it's definitely going to be like, they are nutritious. Like, we know, like in terms of like, if you compare, say, let's think of kidney compared to the meat, like, it'll be a little bit lower in calories, but equal kind of more or less protein was higher in iron, you know, so nutritionally, it makes sense. Something in terms of with an animal, you know, going through, like the slaughter and using all the parts or later, yeah.

Oh, definitely, I think, you know, different cultures come in, and they open people's eyes to different way of eating and different, you know, trying different things. And that can be such a lovely, positive, you know, to kind of do that like to have people going like and, you know, I do find a lot of other cultures are very, like anyone I have had kind of links or with, they're always actually really quite a bit like cooking you something from their culture and bringing



it in really proud of it. Because saying, oh, like, this is what we eat in our country, and they bring it to you to try. Like, that's not something anyone Irish I can imagine ever doing.

I have heard some of them (UNSDGs) because my daughter is obsessed with being in the UN. Okay. So, there's a lot of, you know, she's quite sure she's going to be the next, you know, President of the UN person. She's 17. But um, she, she talks about them, we get like, you know, we get a lot of lectures.

Interview Subject 5

**INTERVIEW SUBJECT 5 (IS5)**

**DATA**

That's very personal. I just I have one sister Una. Yeah. Yeah. I grew up a Cork. I grew up near on the north side of the city near the docks overlooking the docks in a train station. So actually, you'd see offal back then. You'd see the import and export stuff, though, because it was happening on the dock still.

I have a French mother. So food was important, and decent food and then and then my dad's from Northern Ireland. So, a different attitude to food. And more scarcity and not wasting. I mean, a lot of us have had those parents of that generation. So yeah, I'm. Actually that

**INITIAL CODES**

Urban upbringing

Industrial/ docklands

Partial French background

Food important

Good food

Partial northern Irish background

Scarcity was important

Not-wasting

makes me think something my mom would make which is *pot au feu* which were you boil the bones of the meat for 10 hours, you know? I'm like, and my dad eating the morrow the bone and like all those things that we don't do anymore. You know, all the all the offal and the body parts in your plate.

If you got well, if you French Mother, you you're forced to eat all sorts of shit actually. Sorry, excuse my language. They eat everything. So I... I'm definitely when I made that film, there was an aspect to that. I did a residency in France about a couple years ago at the *Cité des Arts*. I was really taken with the opulence of the of the like, of the culture, but particularly, it's in food, as well as the displays in the markets. Market culture and... verging on grotesque. Yeah.

Ehm, that's, it's kind of tricky right, eating food at the moment. Just because so many aspects of raw, natural. I guess, part of my practice for quite a while, is, I started working with found material, what would be like, precede poor materials. So, materials that are in abundance, almost that you fail to kind of recognise them in their origin, because they're so freely available, could be banana, could be a bottle of Coke, could be anything. And, so once I would work with these materials that often you'd have to think about, where they've come from, and so on, and kind of being. It's kind of hard it's kind of multi-layered, but being critical of kind of observing the design of how you know they're sold to us. And then realizing... when you start thinking like that all the time, so you walk into a supermarket like a SuperValu the way we buy food, it's really difficult to for me to kind of

Mother made pot au feu  
 Boiling bones  
 Body parts on your plate  
 Visual  
  
 Forced to eat  
 Diverse diet  
 Made a film  
  
 Opulence of market culture in France  
 The displays of foods  
 Verging on grotesque  
 Tricky relationship with food  
 Raw natural aspects of artistic practice  
 Packaging  
 'poor' materials  
 Materials in abundance  
 Bananas  
 Ephemera  
 Detritus  
 Coke bottles  
 Cultural offal  
 Where have they come from  
 Multi-layered  
 Observing the design  
 How it is sold  
 Supermarkets difficult  
 Overwhelming  
 How everything got there  
 Were it came from  
 Looking at things

because I can, it's kind of overwhelming, like a supermarket and it's like extraordinary in terms of how everything got there and everything and the origin of every place it's come from. So in terms of food that's really interesting, and I guess that the value of being an artist where you're constantly looking at things and challenging them and breaking them down. So I do think a lot about I have a kind of content, just, like not an easy relationship with food because I'm always trying to, it's, and it's impossible to eat food simply like, I guess that's evidence of that, of people starting to grow their own food, and they want more of a shorter food chain right.

It's really like, I could go, I don't want to lose. Yeah, no, it's totally like, and I mean, that was the thing with when I was paraphrasing the pig film, I was, like, I'm thinking about the pig is a mythological wild boar and like a totem animal that's really powerful in Ireland to like a ham sandwich that you might see on the ground, you know, like, how does it go from? Where are the disconnects? And how just like one animal that's the same as it gets so distorted, you know? Yeah, and I think because maybe you've done the same because I've really looked at the figures, I've really looked into how you would run the whole process of production from, from meat from growing, growing the animals to meat processing, and so on. It's really. It's staggering, like the level of production. So that's the issue. It's the industrialization. It's the amount of people. The amount of consumption. It's all stuff we know. It's just over-abundance. Yeah. Yeah.

Breaking them down  
 Difficult with food  
 Impossible to eat it simply (emotion)  
 Evident in GIY movement  
 Shorter chain  
  
 Paraphrasing in the film  
 Mythology  
 The ham sandwich  
 The wild boar  
 Researched the production and processing  
 Staggering levels of production  
 Industrialization  
 Over-consumption  
 Over-abundance  
 Animal overpopulation  
  
 Incomprehensible  
  
 Different reality  
  
 Stopped eating meat as a teen

And I think like, as much as we talk about overpopulation, it's not humans. It's actually farmed animals. Like the figures and then the next thing with that is that our brains are too small to actually comprehend those figures as well. Like, you know, a billion so yeah. You're holding those things and you're walking around. It's... it's different reality.

Like just what I was stopped eating meat when I was a teenager. Before that that yeah, it would be like, ceremony right? Say roast chicken. It's not offal really it is?

I mean, so roast chicken would be like the, yeah, the archetype of family, happy family memory. Like a congregation and you'd savour different parts. That's because my dad was a bit older as well, so he was more from a farming, poor background so the Pope's Nose which was like the, the chickens arse, which no one really liked.

A butcher told me. He was going to sell me a chicken that was actually six months old. It was like €70. Yeah, it's French are they like because he was like these chickens are four weeks old. They're not

I think if you have some French influences it's a bit better, because you'd see animals with the hair still on them on the head still on them and you'd cook the fish

Ceremonial roast chicken  
Dad had to get eh Pope's nose  
(offal)  
Nobody else liked that bit  
(chicken's arse)

Expensive food  
Artisanal  
Six-month-old chicken €70  
Special chicken  
French background helps  
You see animals with hair still  
on  
Head still on  
English market in Cork you  
saw it all  
People were still eating it  
Used to seeing body parts  
(not disgusted by them)  
Used to suck bones  
Wasn't a full fridge then  
Wasn't the abundance then  
  
Stopped because youthful  
morality  
Realise a lot of stuff you are  
thought is programming.  
(need for education)

with the head still on it and then, like the English market in Cork back then there was a lot of offal. People were still eating it, the crubeens, so I was used to seeing the body parts. It's harder now to actually to make that connection that you're eating physical bodies it's so processed. So yeah, like I used to suck bones but I guess it was the 80s, 90s so there wasn't that level of abundance that you felt like you were being wasteful, with a fridge full of meat. So you might eat meat once or twice a week.

I don't know. Yeah, it was ethical, it was just a strong sense of young sense of morality. Like, I think like it also you start to realise that a lot of this stuff that you are taught is not the story that, you know, the... I think about that in my work, but it's like I look a lot at like the early childhood programming around animals are a construction of... the fact we're not explicitly told that milk. cows make milk. They don't. Like lactating mother cows. So things like that. I think if kids knew that it would be different, but we're not even told them.

Yeah. That's the biggest one. The idea that pigs are filthy, and that they're lowly. And they're actually. Have you met pigs?

They're pretty remarkable. And I guess I focussed on them, because I think they really were quite smart. And they're really cognizant of their suffering, like, so. It's

Construction of ideas around animals (de-animalization)  
Might be different if kids knew

Mythology about pigs  
Dirty

Remarkable creatures  
Quite smart  
They understand their suffering  
It is dark  
Energetically that's something concentrated round the Irish border

Human pig relations  
High protein diet lead to evolution of human energy  
Seasonal before  
Boar common when we had forests  
Filthy pigs, filthy Irish

pretty dark. I really think the whole thing, from the start. So energetically that I would, then I would think about that as something. Because it's quite concentrated around that border. I was looking at the Black Pig Dyke. You know?

That we used to keep them in the house?

I don't want to say I have my theories that are pretty. I mean, so specific to Ireland?

Humans starting to eat meat was really the point where we started to have more energy and more strength and we started asserting ourselves stronger in the world whereas before we would have been more nomadic and follow the herd in the seasons. Pigs were really common when we had our forests, wild boar. And then there's stuff with the colonial historical, political social, where you know, pigs were seen as filthy, Irish were often portrayed as, pigs.

Or they could be portrayed as intelligent Sometimes there was thing around in these carnivals run intelligent pigs because you could teach them. So they were just... pigs for luck. That didn't go away, piggy bank. There was this pig face women. So they're like, but essentially, the thing about pigs is that they're, internally they're the exact same as us. It's what they're used by vets as surgeons and I mean, there's a future out there where we might have our pig pigs that have the same organs as us. But I wonder sometimes, because maybe they taste like us. Like where did the taste for meat come from? And when we were vegetarians, like that thing of eating flesh, what

Portrayed as intelligent  
 Carnivals  
 You can teach pigs  
 Same as humans internally  
 Same organs  
 I wonder if they taste the same  
 Where taste for meat came from?  
 Cannibalism  
 Eating animals stops us eating each other  
  
 Transferred to eating animals  
 Taste  
 Is it like human flesh  
  
 Link with function  
 Used to eat liver  
  
 Would like it now  
  
 Averse to some seafood  
 Still eat meat sometimes  
 Sacrifice (ritual)  
 Sheep give up when their time comes  
  
 Inevitable

you know, and it would have been like, what do we pigs so we don't eat, each other?

No but I think when humans elevated from bashing each other, eating each other yeah, out of necessity for survival, the transferal of that to animals say. I mean I don't know it's the taste. I'm talking about the taste just because it's pig meat is what the human flesh tastes like.

And when you see kidney,

We used to eat liver as well when we were growing up

Yeah. I think I would like it now actually.

Sometimes in France and when it's literally walking off the plate, some seafood. And you know I mean I still eat meat by my friends. Like I think an animal knows. Like there is something there if you go way back you know that they are there sometimes to be sacrificed. I mean, I've heard from sheep farmers the way, well it could be the breeding and their experience of living on the, this with us. They give up. Once they realise they're gonna die they just kind of have this release like it's almost inevitable when they're in there, yeah so.

And it would feed you for a winter. I have my students. I have some an elderly senior citizens group from fruit and veg market area and they remember people keeping pigs on Bolton Street. Yeah, and like, and the pig the pink pigs we eat now though, there would have been different there

Pig sustains  
Pigs in city not so long ago  
Pink pigs new (lost knowledge)  
Extinct Ulster pig tastier  
Lost taste for fat  
Taste (as in changing) a big thing  
Taste dictates taste (cultural?)  
Lost value  
Salmon a big deal for our ancestors  
Now it's practically throw away  
You have to remind yourself  
Things have gotten unnatural  
Lost touch with nature  
  
Lost tastes  
(Lost knowledge)  
Lost health  
Digestive disorders  
Our diets bizarre  
  
Farms used to limit size to prevent disease

was an Ulster pig that's gone extinct and that kind of the fat of that tasted really good but only to taste fast.

So the taste. Like taste is a big thing. That's what I was thinking this morning. Tastes and whatever that is and that kind of goes into art with like taste or style like, what dictates that but like taste really has dictated the fate of like a lot of these animals, where it changes. And like eating salmon I'd say for our ancestors would have been such a huge deal. And now it's like even eating something like, salmon and now it's like every canape and in every Marks & Spencers. I'm only saying those out loud because you have to remind yourself, about how the world has gotten and about how unnatural things are. Why don't you eat salmon?

I don't know we've lost the taste for bitters as well. And yeah, and every well it's you know, it's playing out everyone's got digestive disorders and yeah, people are getting sick. Yeah, our diets are really bizarre. But like, I mean, this, I just I have to hold back, because I guess it's just so easy to kind of bash capitalism, but it like it you know, we all know it, but it's really there was, I like most farms would have a limit on what size the herds are because if a disease breaks out fires, lots of. My doctor would talk about the concern of resistance to antibiotics. 80% of these drugs are used to agriculture, Big Pharma. In places like China, which would be the largest global consumer support, they're experimenting with these like story farms, the eight stories tucked away in a forest, I have tried to find the satellite images, it's really hidden experiments. That's pretty fucking dark. Like I don't care,

Resistance to antibiotics

Multi-storey factory farms in China

Hidden experiments

Dark

Feeding people

Living things

Consumption

Mechanisation

Not healthy

Meet your meat

Go back to markets

Healthier

You see the pig then come and collect it in the afternoon

Take the walls off the meat factories

Production lines

Killing factories

Only a few can tolerate the conditions.

Humans are better

Have a chat with your butcher



like if you're feeding people, but like, again, the energy like even that meat, like these are still living things you know, and then to consume that and put it into (inaudible). It's just so that there's no denying as much makeup we put on it and go, we're feeding people. It's essentially, it's the intention. It's the, it's the dark, anything mechanised around human life, just like not healthy.

How do you save the planet? I would say just meet your meat, meet your meat, maybe just go back to markets. Markets, like I just want to be healthier for everyone and communities. That thing where you go and you buy or you know, even you see the pig and you come and collected in the afternoon? Yeah, a chunk of fish for sure. Like this. That will be enough.

Well, then you take the walls off meat processing factories, and you have a hatch, and you get people to come? Because that's the reality, because what is some of those production lines? It's like 50,000 animals, or something they're processing they're killing Insane. Like that remember, like, during the COVID It was really interesting that, all those centres, it really dis blow the lid on people working there. Like, a lot of people I've worked for years, prisoners, post prison education, a lot of them end up in these [places], they are able to tolerate that kind of working environment.

I don't know. I think humans are better. We all have a desire to, I don't know, buy food and have a chat with your butcher or whatever. Yeah, more real.

More 'real'  
Body parts.

Make it palatable

you are Eating flesh  
Putting pigs on infants dresses  
etc  
Humans dominating animals  
Planet we share with other  
species  
Lost the connection with  
nature

Vegetarian food

Taste buds change  
Would eat if I could farm my  
own  
It's not fixed  
Taste changes

Wouldn't eat Eyeballs  
Cow's tongue with chips

So when you're saying offal it's actually body parts? It's like buying meat on the bone.

We're a bit far gone unless you put like neon colours into it. If you make it bright blue and put sprinkles on it, maybe.

Dehumanise. De-animalize? Yes. Yeah.

Well, it's, I mean, it's down to you to be like, I am eating flesh. But I think that it starts early with kids when we put those faces on hands and where you put like, little pigs and dresses, running around happy like it's not, you know, we have fully dominated, or tried to dominate every other animal. We actually live on a planet that's, that we share with loads of other species, We are really arrogant. We've just really forgotten we're not that important actually.

It would be something roots, from the leaf something pulse. All the plants.

Yeah. Well, do you know I mean your taste buds change occasionally. I mean if I was in a position, a place where I was farming my own a bit of my own meat I would.

Yeah. Occasionally

Yeah, it's that thing of taste. It's really it's not fixed. It can change.

Negative childhood experiences

Chips were nice

Pissed off cooks

left the skin on

worst thing when your a kid

lot of meat

bumpy tongue skin

no chips would make it better

maybe that's why I don't eat

meat

fed hearts to the cat

good to see the insides

connection with our own

bodies

healthy to know you are

pulling he animal apart

proliferation of restaurants

food's a pleasure of being human

Not much time for the goals

Down to individuals

Okay to participate

Eyeball? Oh, that reminds me I was in a boarding school in France. On Thursdays used to have cows tongue with chips. The chips were nice. But the cow's tongue, depending on how pissed-off the cooks were they'd leave the, they wouldn't take the skin off so it was like the worst thing when you're a kid that like you know the way a tongue is. There's a lot of meat in tongue actually. It's huge. Cow's tongue. But yeah, that bit of bumpy, clearly tongue skin would get me. Not enough chips will make it better. Maybe that's why I don't eat meat. Have you eaten tongue?

We used to buy hearts for the cat. Yeah, I mean even if it good for us to see hearts and see our organs more a bit more, right? Like you know if you're cooking and you're actually pulling apart the animal It'd be healthy,

60,000 restaurants. Like Dublin is just like a city for the restaurants.

Food's a real pleasure of being human right?

No, I didn't read them (UNSDGs) . I'm sure they're being changed all the time. What are the goals?

Yeah, inevitably this is going to be instrumentalized in a hurry and I think meat will end up being like this hammerhead, the people use to kind of distinguish being controlled or no being controlled. But the thing is, it's

Don't believe in global plans

Poor people ate the offal bits

Now its trendy

Weird thing

Nose to tail

I would expect to see more of it

I have eaten monkey brains

Neophilia

Pretty hard to eat anything these days (emotion?)

really I would say it's down to the individuals and their own and then because we're humans it feels to me really need to get back into their own selves and then from there go, 'Are you okay with participating in this system that produces food in this way but, no I don't believe in these any global plan. There's no one plan for this diverse planet. Let people grow food do whatever they want.

.  
 Growing up in the market, it was like the poor ate the offal bits, not the rich. But now there's some weird thing isn't there where it's become trendy. You know, nose to tail. So yeah I'd expect more see like. I had monkey brains Morocco. That's pretty good isn't it? Yeah I'm not afraid for a vegetarian. I've tried everything.

I mean you know when I think twice if you had to like. Even with fishing if it comes to a head ahead it's pretty hard, not for me.

ENDS

Interview Subject 6

**INTERVIEW SUBJECT 6**

**DATA**

Mum and dad, Dad's English, mum's Northern Irish and I've got two brothers...

Yeah, absolutely. My grandparents had a big walled garden and we got plenty of fruit and vegetables coming out of that. My parents very lucky. They travelled all over the world.

**CODES**

Grandparents had a walled garden  
 Abundance  
 Good diet

And as a result, we got to have quite like diverse and ah, well-fed palates. And yeah, my mum, she would have gotten apprenticeships to butcher when she was younger. And that would have done sort of food development, food technology for different businesses as well. And I suppose, you know, as a result that we were tried that sort of those foods or have been encouraged to try different foods when we were growing up.

I love it. And I have chosen to indulge that by building a farm where we specialize in growing rose veal and sort of trying to fix the food industry to a certain degree, but at the same time we've got a shop and cafes, so that allows us to indulge our passion for food by specialising in artisanal producers as well.

Earliest experience with offal. You're hitting it hard there. I genuinely don't know. Maybe it would have been snipe I would have been said like that joke of, you know, the way you eat snipe is, you sort of cook on the fire and then you eat the whole thing when you feel it's cooked. But I don't think we would have ever as kids would we've tried that. Possibly? I don't think so. Go but I think you know, it was always it's always there in like the sort of background of normal. Definitely, probably, kidneys. I've never like I was very lucky. My dad's grandparents lived in Spain. So we probably had to the kidneys Jerez, which is sort of a southern Spanish dish, which was sort of the area of Spain that they were in. Probably didn't like kidneys, kidneys would have been quite strong ones sort of get your head round. But then also, we would have spent a lot of time over

Well-travelled  
 Diverse diet  
 Educated  
 neophilia  
 Mother was a butcher  
 Into food development  
 Food tech  
  
 Loves food  
 Rears rose veal  
 Trying to fix food industry  
 Artisan produce  
  
 Roast snipe over a fire  
 Ate whole  
 Nostalgia  
 Connection with nature  
  
 Kidneys in Spain  
 Good childhood experience  
 Didn't like kidneys  
 Strong ones to get your head around (function)  
 Time in England  
 Forced to eat  
 Steak and liver pie  
 Steak and kidney pie pubs in England

in England. So, I'm sure probably when we're boarding schools and stuff, we probably had like steak and liver level pie or something. But definitely I remember sort of at around the age of 10 during sort of pub and getting steak and kidney pie and loving it.

Yeah. When we were very young I remember eating, not oysters but mussels. You know, where you're using the entire body of an animal? So I remember eating those when I was sort of three or four. But, you know, knowing that it was the full body of an animal. So yeah, definitely it was the concept that it was innards wasn't an issue, if that makes sense. It's, it's still part and parcel of, you know, we were brought up very much knowing where it came from. So, you know, if you're eating meat, you know, it is the body of an animal. So, yeah, the idea of eating an innards is no different.

I eat organ meats now and really, that is what we champion, in the business is that 'farm to fork eating, and really encouraging people to see sort of the value in the whole carcass? I mean, obviously, now sort of that whole, you know, I biased because I own a meat business, but there's this concept of eating meat-eating being unsustainable. And I'm being lectured at this by complete polyesters you know, like, the, the relationship that we have with livestock is far more than just meat, you know, its, its whole body is valued in different ways. You know, bonemeal is sort of fertiliser, you know, bones into glue, hides into clothing. You know, we've sort of grown up in symbiosis as we've evolved with livestock. And it's only recently in modern history that

Awareness of eating the whole body

No issue with innards

Brought up to know where it came from

Body of an animal

Farm to fork eating

See the value in the whole animal

I am biased

Question the concept of meat eating as

unsustainable

Getting lectures from people

The relationship is more than meat

Bonemeal, hides, glue

Symbiotic

Devalued in modern history

Intestines for sausages

Lost the value of the animals we consume

I really like kidneys

Liver is the easiest

Sweetbreads over a fire

<p>we've sort of devalued that to the point where it's just a protein. And, you know, the idea that even like the intestines, you know, that's when you use to make your sausages. You know, it's, we've lost the value of the animals that we consume and possibly</p> <p>Offal, okay. I really, really like kidneys. But at the same time as a go to offal, liver is probably the easiest. Or can I go into the rounds of sweetbreads? In which case sweetbreads cooked over a fire is unbelievable.</p> <p>If you cook it over the fire, it's sort of, it's crispy on the outside with slight smoky flavour but when you bite into it, you've salted it so it's nice and salty, but then you get this real sort of sweet deliciousness inside it like really, really sort of rich flavour, almost like butter or bone marrow.</p> <p>A time when I was disgusted by food? In bananas okay. I was a child. I could not stand bananas. I don't know why, just like visceral, like that smell, like a ripe banana opening. Don't. know why. No problem with it now. Baked beans would have been another one. Couldn't stand baked beans as a child. But again, no bother now.</p> <p>Don't know. It was weird. I don't really know whether that was, I don't know. But when you're a child you get antibiotics. It comes in like a banana flavoured paste. Possibly that was sort of like that would really turn of my stomach. And then the smell of a banana, just yeah, couldn't</p>	<p>Crispy outside, smoky soft, sweet,</p> <p>Rich flavour</p> <p>Butter-like</p> <p>Bone marrow</p> <p>Bananas disgusting when I was a child</p> <p>Visceral</p> <p>Baked beans disgusting</p> <p>Got over it</p> <p>Banana and antibiotics</p> <p>Slimy texture of beans</p> <p>People jump on trends</p> <p>Want to be different</p> <p>Want to have little cliques</p> <p>Raw meat trendy</p> <p>Raw liver</p> <p>Lot of interest from Mediterranean</p>
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deal with that. And beans, definitely the texture more than other things. But yeah, I don't know, these are all things that I've sort of grown to well, I'd say enjoy. Yeah.

I don't know, I think culture nowadays is very. People are very quick to jump on a trend, you know, they want to be very different. But at the same time, they want to like, have their little clique. And it's sort of you can definitely see some people jumping on to trends. Oh, gosh, here we go again. At the moment, there's a big thing for eating raw meat, or raw organs; a lot of people looking for raw liver, which, yeah, each to their own. Do I think it's a cultural influx? I don't know. I mean, we would, we would definitely have a lot more interest from sort of your Mediterranean countries, you know, any of our Italian or French or Spanish customers will probably be quicker on board to buy it at the market stall. But whether they have an influence on the wider community, I don't know. I mean, offal has always been in every culture. So what is causing that awakening. Is it either like an Irish interpretation of Mediterranean dishes, which is giving us a different way of trying it? Possibly. But yeah, I'm not too sure on that one.

Stop concentrating on dairy, and concentrating more on your animal production off grass, rather than pushing that sort of dairy market, which is producing sort of cheaper bull beef, I suppose.

Driving environmentally friendly meat production? I think the more people that eat offal, the less requirement there is, for as much, how do you call it - main carcass consumption, because you're replacing see replacing, say you are replacing

Quicker to buy at market stalls

Level of influence of inward migration debatable

Why offal now

New ways of eating it

Dairy industry ding the damage

More animals on grass

Less cheaper bull beef

More offal means less main carcass

Replace minute steak with piece of liver

Can be swapped

Every. Minute steak comes out of a carcass with a liver in it

Impact on animals produced

People will begin to focus on quality

Nutrients and micronutrient content

Make-up of the proteins

Grain-fed will be questioned

See the benefits



a minute and they get frying steak with a slice of liver. Direct, it's a direct swap. But at the same time, when you produce that minute steak, you're getting liver out of the carcass. So yeah, that's gonna have a direct impact on the number of animals produced for sure. I suppose the next sort of 20 years, 10-20 years, I think people are going to start focusing on the quality of the foods that they consume. And with that, I'm talking about sort of nutrient contents macronutrient contents the actual sort of vitamins and, and makeup of proteins. I think the more that comes to the fore the more people will start to question your grain fed meats versus grass fed meats, and the clear benefits for sure.

How would I describe offal? Probably trying to I'm trying to think now. Would you call it the red pluck? Because the green pluck would be intestines red pluck would then be everything above. So yeah, you get your lungs, your liver, your kidneys. Yeah. It's red pluck by industry terms, but then it depends whether you want to put cheeks into that as well. I don't know. I've never looked to divide it on that level. But yeah, I suppose the extremities that aren't part of the main carcass is probably the way I describe that.

I think we have a very commercialised food system. Probably stemming from sort of the English occupation, the export of foods to feed the growing empire and as a result, we've ended up with lots of centralised sort of meat processing factories, everything's been some export driven,

Offal is flexible

Tend not to divide it so much

Food system

commercialized

Colonial legacy

Feeding the empire

Export centred

Cash crop

European countries keep more at home

Bigger food culture

Everyone is a peasant farmer

Food for own table

He was a tax

Neighbours remember the old ways

and it's been the main industry to a certain degree in Ireland. So it's, you know, it's sort of become a case of that industry provides us with our with our sort of money, basically our bread and butter. So everything's gone on exports, whereas I think European countries, they have a much more, it's difficult to say, they have a bigger food culture, you know, that terroir, the idea that every, everyone is a peasant farmer, but peasantry is producing food for their own table, rather than what sort of stipulated here where it was almost like a, it was a tax to a certain degree. Probably was a tax. Very much so. But yeah, I think sort of definitely in the last 50 years, culturally, we, you know, I have neighbours who are all farmers and they remember, in their childhood, eating pigs from the farm, you know, processing it all on the farm, but very much now, that is, that is that bacon, they sell it to make money, and then they go into a supermarket to go and buy it. And you go well, why are you doing that? And I think there's like a number of different reasons. But because everything's become sort of centralised, there's no small abattoirs left. And because it was our main source of income, that's why everything was streamlined to such an extent. Whereas if you were to look sort of at the more European countries, you know, farming wasn't maybe the backbone so much, and the sort of small local abattoirs stayed and then as a result, your local food culture stayed to a certain degree. I don't know. Is there is there an Irish food historian? It would be intriguing to discover.

Proportion. I think I would say 40% of Ireland have probably tried it. And now, probably not even knowingly tried it, you know, they've gotten they've had some like steak and kidney pie without actually thinking its got kidney

Rearing pigs, killing, butchering, processing on farm  
 Now they sell them live and buy ham in the supermarket  
 Why/ Abattoirs gone  
 Centralization  
 Streamlining  
 In Europe not the backbone as much  
 Local abattoirs stayed  
 Local food culture thrived  
  
 Occult offal  
 You don't know you've eaten it  
 Ver small number of active consumers  
 Raw liver trendy  
 10% eat offal  
  
 Neophilia  
 Has eaten eyes  
 Might struggle with testicles  
  
 If it was there  
 I'd get over it  
  
 Neophilia

in it. And I should think of your kidney or steak and live or something like that about that. But I would say people who are actively consume it, I would say, well, because it's a bit of a trend at the moment for raw liver, I'm gonna say ten percent will probably actively be like, Oh, yes. Eat liver.

I will eat everything once. I think I'm trying to think here what I would not eat. I have eaten pigs' eyes. I've eaten brain. Testicles. I've not eaten I would struggle to put some testicles in my mouth. But at the same time if it was there, I probably wouldn't say no. I give it a go. But yeah, definitely. I think my I don't know why, but I think my saliva glands would be like 'eh I'm not so sure about that one', pre-trying, and at the same time, I would just get over I think.

Ahm. Not that I'm aware of, but I would definitely try something.

Better or worse off people? I think food isa leveller in a sense. And I wouldn't associate the consumption of offal with being a rich man's or a poor man's hobby. I know its affordable. But different foods are affordable at different times of the year . I wouldn't make an assumption like that.

I'm just thinking here about that sort of question. You know, a lot of people always say like, venison is the meat of kings and stuff like that. But actually, some of the poorest people and sort of rural isolated communities? You know they all hunt and fish. They put venison on their plates, so, I don't know offal I would struggle to say it's one or the other. So

Food is a leveller  
Neither wealth nor poverty  
Affordability changes

Poorer rural people eat  
venison

Hunting and fishing

Affordable but still luxury

Taste

Acquired

School dinners

Lost knowledge

Cooking skills

Convenience wins

Price wins

Accessibility/ difficult to  
get

We have not been eating it

Routes to market gone

Education

Realizing the value

cultural significance

health

while it might be affordable, it could also be served at some of the top end restaurants.

It is, it is like an acquired taste. I do think it was cheap and as a result, school dinners probably ruined it for many people. It also takes it takes care and cooking skills to be able to produce it and we have become a nation where convenience, tends to be sort of the number one sort of decision, convenience and price over everything else.

Okay, so I'm just gonna go back to the last question quickly. The other biggest is accessibility. Because we haven't been consuming it. Now, it is harder to get because the routes to market have disappeared. And then in terms of this question, with how do we repair disconnect? I think education massively, education realising the value of both the cultural significance of food, but also the idea that your health will fundamentally come from your plate, getting people to make more informed decisions around the food they buy. And then in turn also leads to education in terms of cooking in order for people to then be able to make more nutritionally beneficial dishes as well as to select produce that is more nutritionally beneficial, and then I think with that, we are a naturally going to then reconnect with nature because like the fundamental driver of being human is survival you know they want to be healthy. And I think that's, that's key, you know if we can show people how to be healthy and well, I think the rest will fall into place.

be more informed  
cook better dishes  
eat more nutritional  
produce  
reconnect with nature  
survival is driver  
  
teach health  
rest will fall in to place  
  
conscientious consumption  
  
sustainability  
the environment  
vegetarians and offal eater  
have the same issues  
  
emotional  
  
Vegetarians who actively  
consume dairy I struggle  
with  
Commercial dairy biggest  
environmental factor  
Hypocritical

Oh massively so. Yeah, I think I mean it's a massive generalisation but yes, people who are conscientious about their... well, let's divide this. There's a few different times. But yes, those who are conscientious about their foods, sustainability and the environment. Yes, definitely. They have the same issues but they are divided in their way of solving those issues. There are a lot of people out there who are vegetarian because they just can't you know, I'm just going to use the concept of (inaudible) they can't deal with the concept of an animal died for them it is that is a cute cuddly, cuddly cow. You know others a few people are vegetarian for that reason so they wouldn't be in the same band.

You know, I'm just gonna get back to that last question. With a vegan as opposed to vegetarianism because something that I always struggle with, with vegetarianism is that they proactively consume dairy and arguably probably the biggest issues environmental factor in Ireland is the commercial dairy sector, and to be able to consume dairy but then disassociate yourself with the consumption of meat on environmental grounds is always hypocritical.

Not financially viable  
 Accessibility might increase consumption.  
 Customers tell me they have not been able to get it  
 Haven't been actively looking but neither had it been there

Lost value of livestock  
 Developed in symbiosis with it till WWI  
 Fossil fuels replaced our labour  
 Altered our relationship with nature  
 Slower pace of life  
 Lost sight of environmental efficiency  
 Living separate from the natural world

There was a reason it's no longer available. It just financially wasn't viable. If every butcher had it and therefore it was more accessible. I'm sure it would go up because there are people out there who come to our market stall and they say 'Oh. I haven't been able to get liver for years. I'll be back. They haven't actively been looking for liver, but there access to it has been lost. But definitely, if it was more available more people would eat it.

I have. [heard of the UNSDGs] But I'm not too sure where this is going.

So do I think the offal assumption will help us meet our sustainable development goals?

Yes I do to certain degree, I do think like we've lost, we've lost the traditional value of livestock in not just our farming system, our social system, you know, even our industrial system, you know, we developed up until the First World War, in symbiosis with nature to a certain degree. You know, there was a balance. Sort of, I suppose, with the invention of fossil fuels or the discovery of fossil fuels, has replaced the sweat off our own back with the sweat of the earth's core in the form of diesel and petrol and that that interrelationship with mother nature would have been so much more (inaudible) with that slower pace of life that we had pre fossil fuels. And I think, post-fossil fuels, that sort of blood sweat and tears has been reduced so much that we've lost sight of what sort of environmental efficiency really is. Because we're sort of, you know, we're always living as

God complex

We have become a deity, overseeing

This would be a healthy development

human beings. We're always living separate from the natural world and but we're, we've almost, I suppose, put ourselves in the role of a deity whose job it is to oversee the natural world, but actually, we are very much part of that. Yeah, anything that's more sort of environmentally efficient, is always a healthy, sustainable development for sure.

## Appendix F: Colour-tagging of Codes Under Five Headings and Sub-headings

Colour key:

**Yellow** **Culinary:** *lost skills, convenience, heritage and knowledge* - 89 codes

**Pink** **Dietary:** *dietary background, disconnect, industrialisation, availability* - 187 codes

**Green** **Awareness:** *ecology, re-engagement, education, influence of inward migration, neophilia* - 127 codes

**Red** **Aversion:** *disgust, bad-experiences, 'andromorphism', sensual aversion* - 159 codes

**Azure** **Socio economic:** *poverty, wealth, class, economics*: 211 codes

IS1	IS2 & IS2(b)	IS3	IS4	IS5	IS6
Poor cooking skills	Good food	Restricted diet	Middle class	Partially French background	Grandparents had a walled garden
Refused to cook	Mealtimes important	Illness	Rural parents	Food important	Abundance
Convenience food	Meat-heavy diet	Food aware young	Worked on farm in summer		Good diet
Monotonous diet	Positive childhood experience	Food avoidance	Mother didn't like cooking	Partial Northern Irish	Well-travelled
Processed foods	commensality	Health conscious	Basic food	Scarcity was a thing	Diverse diet

Off-putting smells	Good cooking	Food important	Breakfast cereals, sandwiches	Not wasting	Educated
Offal as a treat	Commensality	Avoided fish	Meat and two veg	Mother made <i>pot au feu</i>	Neophilia
Processed food	voraciousness	Got a kidney transplant	Monotonous food	Boiling bones	Mother was a butcher
Convenience food	Sucked bones	Still avoid foods	Limited diet	Body parts on your plate	Into food development
Eating out	Cooking skills	Habit	Anything else was notions	Visual	Food tech
Food professional neophilia	Diversity of diet	Low potassium diet	No pasta or rice	Forced to eat	Love food
	Vegetables important	Got used to things	Mother's diagnosis changed food	Diverse diet	Rear rose veal
Education	Emotional connection	Food habits stay with you	Even more limited		Trying to fix food industry
Commensality	Nostalgia	Allowed to eat anything	Pasta on holidays	Opulence of market culture in France	Artisan produce
Jaded by cooking	Neophobia	Choice	Meat and two veg at home	Displays of food	Kidneys in Spain
Drudgery	Travel	Lack of availability	Enjoys cooking	Verging on Grotesque	Positive childhood experience
Cooking for family	neophilia	Fewer butchers	Time limitations	Tricky relationship with food	Didn't like the kidneys
Refined tastes	mainstream	Fewer abattoirs	Normal basic dinners		Strong ones to get your head around
Negative childhood experience		I'm a real butcher	Concern for environment	packaging	Forced to eat in boarding school
Offal enforced.		I have to sell all of the animal	Eating less. Meat	'poor' materials	Steak and liver pie
Disgust	Taste most important	Including the fifth quarter	Flexitarian		Liked steak and kidney pie in pubs
Off-putting	Neophobia	Concerned about waste	Health consciousness affects food choices		Awareness of eating the whole body
Solid	No awareness of origin	Haven't noticed a decline	Good relationship with food		No issue with innards
Rigid	Smell	Less availability	Don't overthink it	Detritus	



Poor cooking	Cooking tripe evokes Nostalgia	Fewer abattoirs	Food-neutral		Brought up to know where it came from
Refused to eat	nostalgia	Sell livers, tongues, oxtails	Neither good nor bad for you		Body of an animal
Negative childhood experience	Visual	Odd person buys a beef heart	Holistic approach	Where have they come from	Farm to fork eating
Travel	Surgical	Pet food	Trying to teach kids the healthy approach		See the value in the whole animal
Refused to eat	Negative childhood experience	No different to 10-15 year ago	Plainer eater		Question the concept of meat eating as unsustainable
Battled through it	Poorly cooked	Artisanal butcher	Trying to be more adventurous		Getting lectures from people who don't know
neophilia	Grey colour	Kids buy hearts for science	Kids want flavour	Supermarkets difficult	The relationship is more than meat
Didn't resist	Texture	Culinary knowledge	Need to work on flavour		Bonemeal, hides, glue
Changing taste	Disgusting	Exclusivity	Kids love chilli	How everything got there	Symbiotic
Won't cook offal at home		Artisanship	Traumatized by offal	Where it came from	
Trendy now	Kids less inclined to strong flavours	Sometimes they get the lungs too	Negative childhood experience		Intestines for sausages
Increased Availability		Beef lungs only good for dog food	Liver and apple dish		Lost the value of the animals we consume
Reluctance		Culinary knowledge	Stew-like	Difficult with food	I really like kidneys
Resistance	Strong in the memory	Lambs' tongues go into white puddings	Hated it	Impossible to eat it simply	Liver is the easiest

Offal disguised	Connection with bodily function	Seasonality	Texture	Emotion	Sweetbreads over a fire
More common in past		seasonality	Mother obsessed with iron	Evident in GIY movement	Crispy outside, smoky soft, sweet
Nostalgia	Tripe-eating visual memory	Culinary knowledge	Texture	Shorter chain	Rich flavour
Willing to try	Don't remember trying	taste	Once a week		Butter-like
Can't hack	The smell of it	Gastronomy	Didn't know liver was in pâté		
Problem with it			Went off pâté when I found out	The ham sandwich	
Texture	Less choice in past	Culinary knowledge	Negative childhood experience		Visceral
Making a comeback	Kids reluctant to eat	Gastronomy	Husband didn't know tongue was tongue	Researched the production and processing	
Economics	Seasonality	Discerning customers	Loved it until he found out	Disconnects	
Cheap	Cooking important		Freaked out	Staggering levels of production	
Industrial farming	Takes persuasion	Nutrition	Don't think about liver when eating pâté	Industrialisation	
Grass feeding	Curiosity	Texture	Aversion to sweetbreads	Over-consumption	People jump on trends
Regenerative	Cooking knowledge		Only cooked offal once, for pâté	Over-abundance	Want to be different
Grain-finishing	Get rid of smell	Tender	Balanced diet	Animal overpopulation	
More offal-eating		Flavour	Ate liver and tongue		Raw meat is trendy
Neophobia		Culinary knowledge		Ceremonial roast chicken	Raw liver is trendy
	Make it more palatable		Foie gras has weird texture	Dad got the Pope's nose	Lot of interest form Mediterraneans
Associate with poverty	Aroma when you eat it		Off-putting	Nobody else wanted it	Mediterraneans are quicker to

					buy at market stall
Influence of history	Texture		Don't like to have to slice it	Chicken's arse	Level of influence of inward migration debatable
Associate with poverty	People get confused	Have slaughtered	Cutting	Expensive food	Why offal now
Social class	Lack of knowledge	Needed know-how	Butchery	Artisanal	New ways of eating it
Aversion		Skills	Fact I know what it is		Dairy industry doing the damage
Disgust	Doesn't look like heart	techniques	Could eat it blindfolded		Need more animals on grass
Texture	Grilled	Recipes	Visual	Value of animals	You can replace minute steak with a piece of liver
Disgust	Doesn't look like offal	Tradition	Body parts	French background helps	They can be swapped
Aversion	Get jaded of cooking certain things	Heritage	Left an imprint	Animals with hair still on	Every minute steak comes out of a carcass with a liver in it
Smell		Teaching	Trauma	Head still on	Impact on animals produced
Heritage	Monotony	training	Picked the rabbit for dinner		People will begin to focus on quality
Neophobia	It can transfer into what you send out	Open to trying anything	Horrified		Nutrients and micronutrient content
Disgust	Have butchered goats and pheasants	Averse to some foods	Realised where the food came from		Makeup of the proteins
Anodyne tastes	Wants to do more butchery	Wouldn't touch seafood	Felt guilt having picked the animal to die		Grain-fed will be questioned
	Awareness of origin	Don't eat fish	Wasn't put off meat	Connection with bodies	People will see the benefits

Plain food	Realisation off-putting	Migration has played a role		Used to suck bones	Offal is flexible
Set in their ways	Visualisation off-putting	Nutritional value of offal	Health conscious	Wasn't a full Fridge then	Tend not to divide it so much
Lack of diversity	Knowing it's a kidney or heart	Culinary knowledge	What you should and shouldn't eat	Wasn't the abundance then	Red pluck, green pluck, extremities
Meat de-animalised	People think it's strange	Increased demand	Disgusted	Meat twice a week	Food system commercialized
Disconnect from origins		Farm near abattoir	Texture	Stopped meat because of youthful morality	Colonial legacy
Visually acceptable	What do you do here?	Sustainability	There is a smell		Feeding the empire
Limited palates	Poverty association	Locavorism	Smell of cooking	Need for education	Export centred
Lack of diversity	Dad ran from the poverty association	Source animals nearby	Sensory rather than taste		Centralising processing
Aversion to fat	You become more squeamish	Low waste	Aroma, texture	De-animalisation	Cash crop
No understanding of flavour	Reminds of poverty	Bones are sold	Averse to seafood	Might be different of kids knew	European countries keep more at home
Not interested in flavour			Texture of a scallop	Mythology about pigs	Bigger food culture
Neophobia	Perception as cheap			Dirty	Everyone is a peasant farmer
Neophilia	Not cheap comparatively	Open-minded			Food for own table
Open-mindedness		Neophilia		Pigs quite smart	My neighbours remember the old ways
Ethics not an issue	More available than people realise	Associated with financial poverty		Understand their own suffering	Rearing pigs, killing, butchering, processing on farm
Ecology not an issue		Seen as cheaper	Heart	[the industry] It's dark	Now they sell them live and buy ham in the supermarket

Lack of knowledge		Requires culinary knowledge	Visual		Abattoirs gone
Lack of knowledge	Widely available at upper end	Less well-off, but better off	Former function		Centralization
Resistance	Done very differently	She knows the value of it	Dislike of liver affects other things		Streamlining
Lack of culinary knowledge	Need for education	Education	Can't deal with heart or kidney		In Europe not the backbone as much
Unwillingness to experiment	Why are you serving that meat?	Openness	Association with former function	High protein diet leg to evolution and high energy	Local abattoirs stayed
Refusal to eat	Neophobia	People don't know where food comes from	Not logical	Seasonal before	Local food culture thrived
Waste issues	Curiosity	Education	Aware steak and chicken are also body parts		
Still on the fringes	Like to cook it		Previous bodily functions		Very small number of active consumers
Give away free	Nice to eat	Skills	Doesn't make sense		10 per cent eat it
Marketing	Tell people where it comes from	Education	Feels sinister		Neophilia
	Dairy industry	Disconnect	Think about where food comes from		Has eaten eyes
	Vegans understand it better	People don't think about it	Other cultures don't worry about the shape of carrots		Might struggle with testicles
	Waste issue	Better food costs more			If it was there
	Don't understand the morality	Education			Neophilia
	Make it more mainstream	Communication	Greater food knowledge	Cannibalism	Food is a leveller

	Get it into supermarkets		More adventurous palate		Don't associate offal with wether wealth or poverty
	Our parents stopped eating it	Perception	Taking time to eat		Affordability changes
	Reminds us of poverty	New ideas	Restaurants		Poorer rural people eat venison
	Was poor food now for tourists	Repair the disconnect			Hunting and fishing
		Education		Link with function	Affordable but still luxury
	Think differently about cooking it	Creativity			Taste
	Culinary knowledge	communication	Boring food		Acquired taste
	Farmers' wives keep the good parts		Basic food	Averse to some seafood	School dinners
	sought after	People disgusted by it	Uncle is averse to gravy	Still eat meat sometimes	Negative childhood experience
	Negative messages	Don't want to eat that	Likes a dry dinner		Lost knowledge
	Mad cow diseases	Can understand aversion	Huge cohort of plain eaters		Culinary skills
	Off menu for a generation	Don't want to know	Kids more adventurous		Convenience wins
	Foods become baddies	Butchers not interested	Kids want herbs	Pig sustains	Price wins
	Too fattening	Needs to be more available	Neophilia	Pigs lived in the city not so long ago	Offal is difficult to get
	Bad for you	More education needed	Go more flavour-focussed		We have not been eating it
	Will eat but won't cook	People want cooking skills	Offal really nutritious	We lost the taste for fat	Routes to market gone
	Parents ate it	The young want cooking knowledge	I should be encouraging it	Taste is a big thing	Education needed

	Nostalgic tastes	Volume of production too big	Reducing red meat	Taste dictates fate of animals	Realising the value
	Didn't have it in ages	Have to ship it out	Huge drop in dairy consumption	Lost value of it	
	Like having it served up	We'd have to eat a lot of it	Plant-based diet		Health
	No blood on hands	No awareness of UNSGDs	Encouraging more pulses	Now it's practically throw-away	Communications
	Poor but rich in other ways		Don't mention offal in clinic		Culinary skills
	Won't buy raw and prepare		Can't remember last time I talked about it	Lost touch with nature	Eat more nutritional produce
	Lack of cooking knowledge		3 per cent eat it	Lost tastes	Reconnect with nature
	None I wouldn't eat		I couldn't eat heart	Lost knowledge	The rest will fall into place
	Testicle sac bit weird		It is associated with poverty		Conscientious consumption
	Appearance was off-putting		Now it is in posh restaurants		Sustainability
	Didn't want to admit I was horrified		Almost like a delicacy	Our diets bizarre	The environment
	neophilia		Movement towards buying local	Farms used to limit size to prevent disease	Vegetarians and offal eaters have the same issues
	People baulk at fish eyes		Trying to be more environmentally aware		
	My kids have eaten fish eyes		Trying to teach about nutrition		Vegetarians who actively consume dairy I struggle with
	Neophobia is fascinating		More awareness among the young	Big-pharma	Commercial dairy biggest environmental factor
	People refuse tripe but eat sausages			Multi-storey factory farms in China	Hypocritical

	They don't know what is in them		Becoming more aware		
	Haven't cooked brains				Increased accessibility might increase consumption.
	Hard to get brains			Feeding people	Customers tell me they have not been able to get it
	Always order offal abroad				Haven't been actively looking but neither had it been there
	I'll definitely try it		People talk about eating more than they used to	Consumption	Lost value of livestock
	Big pot, dirty towel			Mechanisation	Developed in symbiosis with livestock till WWI
	You're not allowed to look		Usen't to be like that		Fossil fuels replaced our labour
	Mystery		You asked what's for dinner and that was that	Meet your meat	Altered our relationship with nature
	Wobbly stuff		You ate without questioning	Go back to markets	There was a slower pace of life
	Seasoning		Movement toward having to cook from scratch	Healthier	Lost sight of environmental efficiency
	Cheap		Moral compass approach to food	You see the pig then collect in the afternoon	
	Secretive		Stress eating or not eating		
	You don't want to be there				
	Don't know what you are getting				This would be a healthy development



	Part of the thrill				
	Neophilia		Air miles		
	Associate with poverty		Putting emotion with food		
	Prime cuts to the rich		Used to teach about carbohydrates		
	It has changed now		Now it is reassurance around food	Make it palatable	
	Middle class fancy restaurants				
	People who might not eat it in our place		Health messages in the media		
	Culinary skills to disguise			Humans dominating animals	
	We don't disguise it			Planet we share with other species	
			Cannibalistic	Human arrogance	
			I'm eating that?	Lost the connection with nature	
	Availability an issue		Don't see ethics in offal eating	Taste buds change	
	Butchers homogenised		Omnivorousness	Would eat if I could farm my own	
	Pre-sauced		Foodism		
	Local butcher hasn't got		neophilia		
	Local supermarket has		Economically sound	Wouldn't eat eyeballs	
	Demand is very local		Good for me		
	People are squeamish		Guilt-free	The cooks would leave the skin on	
	There is a disconnect		I enjoy it	Worst thing when you are kid	

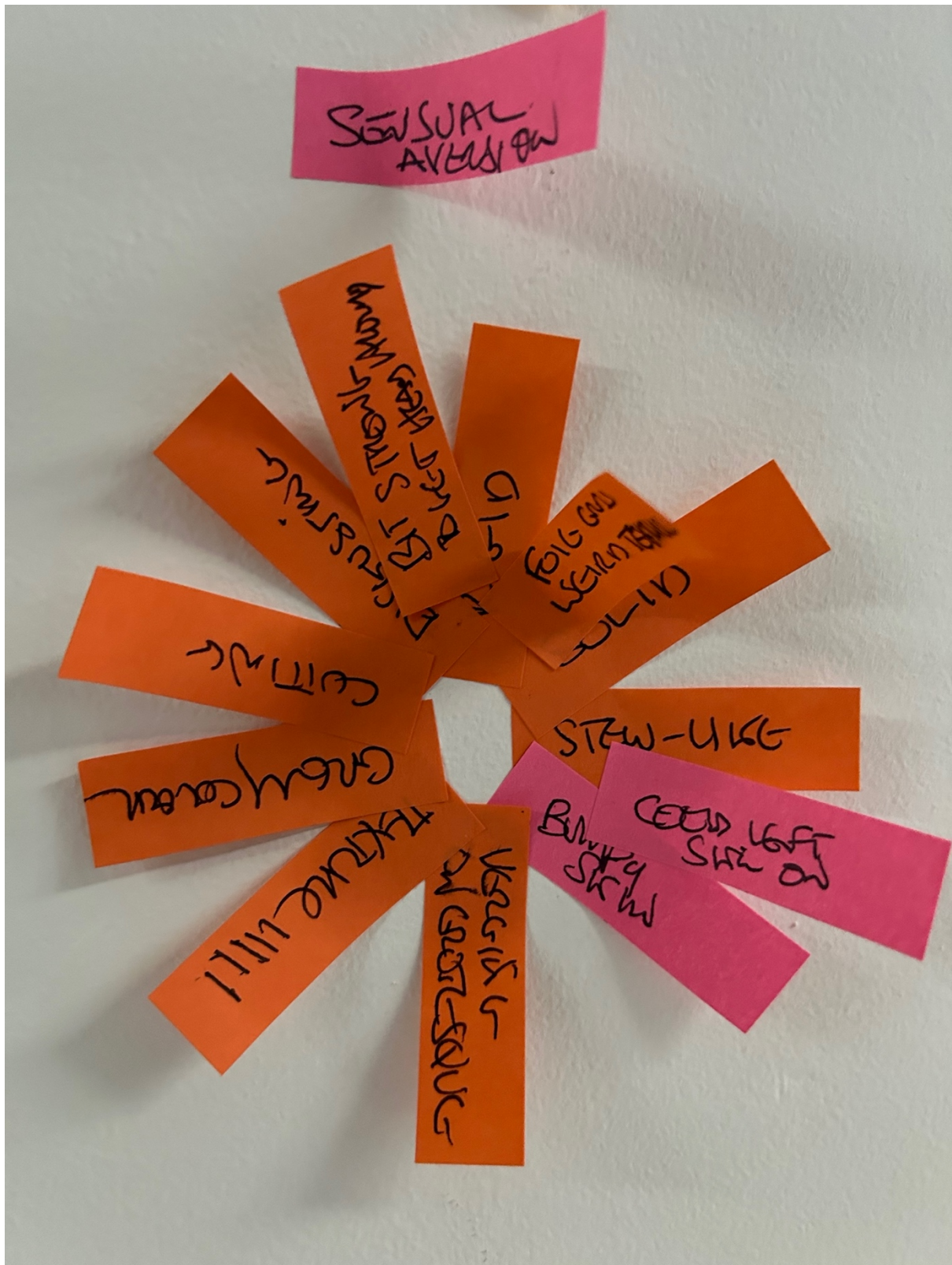
	Try to tell them where it comes from			Bumpy cow tongue skin	
	Mostly people know		Vegetarian	No chips would make it better	
	Veg in supermarket is grim		Pescetarian		
	Same thing year round		I don't eat this or that	We fed hearts to our cat	
	Need more greengrocers			Good to see the insides	
	More people to use them			Connection with our own bodies	
	not conscious consumption		Increased availability	Healthy to know you are pulling the animal apart	
	Starts with taste		Maybe not the Irish though	Not aware of the UNSDGs	
	Is it going to be nice?		Outside influence		
	More availability		Nutritious		
	Might be more expensive				
	Maybe food is too cheap		Maybe not tongue	Poor people ate offal bits	
	Think of what we are buying		Things making a comeback	Now it is trendy	
	No weekly shop		It's cheap	Nose to tail	
	Weekly shop means more waste		Cost of living crisis	I would expect to see more of it	
	Don't really need it		Trying to feed families	I have eaten monkey brains	
	Big trolleys of food		Nutritious	Neophilia	
	Cheap meat and chicken off-putting		Has potential		
	People getting averse to it.		Lost knowledge		
	Food treated with respect		Different cultures coming in		

	Need for education		Open our eyes		
	Neophilia		The influence is lovely		
	When there's demand, farmers will follow		Positive		
	Waste a big part of cow		People like to cook and show off their culture		
	We just want certain cuts		They are proud of it		
	Butchers eschew offal		Can't imagine us doing that		
	They ask if you actually eat it		Familiar with UNSDGs through kids		
	Lost culinary knowledge				
	Butchers still good on the main cuts				
	Younger ones don't know about offal				
	Need to seek it out				
	Can be hard to get despite seasonality				
	Arcane and complicated systems				
	Expensive				
	Cheap cut become expensive				
	Lost knowledge				
	Lost value of it				
	Difficult process				
	Staff issues				
	Specialisation				
	Barriers to availability				

	Off-putting for butchers				
	Diversity in diet				
	We think our diet is diverse				
	Not diverse				
	Supermarkets homogenised				
	Same meat and vegetables				
	You can acquire taste for offal				
	Outward looking				
	Food better abroad				
	Bringing back ideas				
	Open- mindedness				
	Insularity				
	More renowned food cultures				

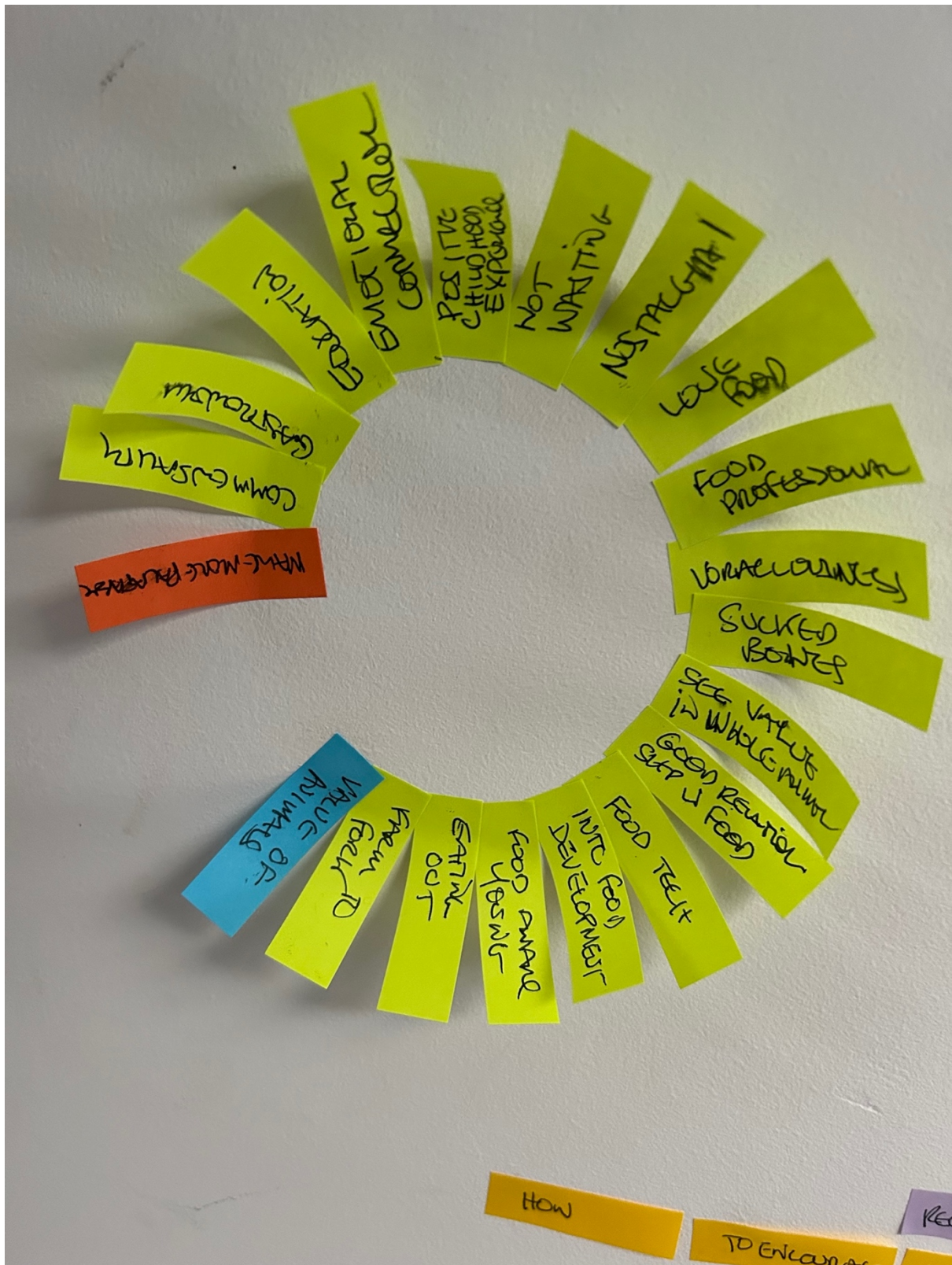


Appendix H: Sample Candidate 'Growing' Sub-Theme Cluster: Sensual Aversion –





Appendix I: Sample Cluster Candidate Theme 'Factors Influencing Positive Disposition Towards Offal' became 'Conscious Re-engagement'



Appendix J: Example of 'list' classification of 'aversion-related codes' for ease of viewing

GENERAL	EXPERIENTIAL	BIOLOGICAL	SENSUAL
OFF-PUTTING WHY YOU SQUING THAT?	BATTLED THROUGH IT CAN'T HACH REFUSED TO EAT PROBLEM WITH FORCED TO EAT FREAKED OUT FEELS SINISTER? CANNIBALISTIC	BODY PARTS SURGICAL DETRITUS DONT WANT TO SLICE IT CONNECTION TO OWN BODY PREVIOUS FUNCTION	BUMPY SKIN STEEL-LIKE VERGING ON GROSSING DONT LIKE CUTTING IT SOLID RIGID VISUAL APPEARANCE WEIRD TEXTURE SMELL AROMA





**Appendix L: Graphic Illustrating Final Themes and Sub-Themes**

***CULINARY  
DEFICIT***

Supermarkets

Homogenisation

Lost  
Cooking  
Skills

Loss of  
Knowledge

Convenience  
Food

Anodyne Tastes

Offal  
Exported

***THE GREAT  
DISCONNECT***

Biological  
Aversion

General  
Aversion

Negative  
Feelings

Poor  
Availability

Sensory Aversion

***AMBIVALENT  
AVERSION***

Neophobia

Skills Lost

Travel

Negative  
Childhood  
Experience

Neophilia

***RICH FOOD -  
POOR FOOD***

***CONSCIOUS RE-  
ENGAGEMENT***

Access to culinary skills

Foodies

Nostalgia

Education

Reconnection  
with nature

Good childhood food

Your grandmother  
was poor

Marketing

Inward migration