

The establishment of trust in food and social relations in modern society

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Recently, my boyfriend bought a broccoli at the supermarket, which we were planning to eat for dinner. When taking the plastic off, we saw a lot of insects on it, alive and dead. These crippling creatures made us wonder if we could still eat the broccoli. For an answer, we consulted the internet and we found it could do no harm eating the broccoli with insects. However, we did not feel completely reassured and our appetite faded. Even though we still decided to cook it and I ate some of it, my boyfriend did not. It was not really satisfying, as I was still a bit stressed about eating it. For example, I would eat a broccoli with insects on it, if someone I trust would say I could eat it. I would, from then on always experience less risk by eating insects on a vegetable. The information provided on the internet did not fully reassure my trust in eating the broccoli, something fundamental missed, something I would call the 'knowledge gained by experiences'. This includes the trust we gain by affect, which is not based on rational reasons.

I noticed that I have trusted the supermarket, until we found these crippling insects on the broccoli. This made me question what trust can do, to our relationship to food.

Like many consumers nowadays, I have not met the person who produced the broccoli. Because the production and distribution chains have become longer, consumers and producers are less likely to meet and establish trust. Therefore, for the establishment of trust, other strategies are needed.

In their research, De Krom and Mol (2010) focus on the consumer and the 'place where the decision is made', namely the shopping floor. This is the place where the trust between food chain actors, NGO's and experts is communicated to the consumer. The information provided on the package serves as an instrument for communication.

In supermarkets, where consumers do not directly know the producer and the way in which the food is produced, labels can be seen as providing an avenue in the trustworthiness of produces. Moreover, labels are often seen as a replacement for the personal interaction between consumer, government and industry (Tonkin *et al.*, 2016). These food packages provide information for the consumer, partly replacing the lived experience of food production (Carolan, 2011).

However, consumer trust is not fully determined by information provisioning through labeling (De Krom and Mol, 2010). Explicit knowledge will only have a minimal impact on the feelings and understandings consumers hold towards food (Carolan, 2011).

In my opinion and from my personal experience, trust relations are not only established on the shopping floor but trust is established in social relationships as well as individual experiences.

In this study I will find out whether and, if so how, trust in food is established through social relationships. I will therefore focus on the establishment of trust, based on objective knowledge such as labelling on the one hand and embodiment, intersubjective relationships and social/political choices in social space on the other hand.

For understanding trust relations in and around food, trust needs to be defined. This definition will be elaborated in the second chapter. In chapter three, the objective ways of gaining trust will be discussed, followed by the different aspects of social space¹ and inductive knowledge²¹ in chapter four. Finally, in chapter five, the importance of embodiment¹ will be broached, also as being the fundament for social movements such as Slow Food.

1.2. Methodology

For information collection, a literature study was conducted. To create a more valid outcome, it is advised to include empirical studies. However, due to time restrictions solely a literature study could be done, in trying to understand trust and its relation to food. At the start of this study, I expected trust not to be only based on objective knowledge. Therefore, it is possible that the information presented in this study is somewhat biased, as the search terms I have used to find literature, were based on these expectations. Moreover, I have used the term “inductive knowledge” and divided this in a few sub-terms, represented by the different chapters and sections. These aspects of inductive knowledge are not all factors determining trust in food. In this study, I have tried to understand the relationships around food and how it is that we do or do not trust to consume something.

¹ These terms will be elaborated later

Furthermore, I have focused on Western- and modern societies and how these societies relate to food. This influences the way in which this study could be applied to different cultures and circumstances. What comes forward in this study as well is how trust relations differ among time and space. Therefore, it is rather difficult to predict how people will react and establish trust relations to food. So generalising the information on a larger scale is therefore complex.

2. Defining trust and describing trust-relations

In modern society, our food is mainly supplied by the flexible and globalized food system. Food chains have become longer and are based in multiple territories. Therefore, producers and consumers are less likely to meet, which means that trust in food is less based on interpersonal relationships. There even seems to be a tendency towards an increased objectification of culture, where the subjective elements are less acknowledged. This objectification of culture produces the idea that less and less personal knowledge is needed to have confidence in something or someone. However, trust is more than only the rational knowledge, and it needs more than rationality to create social relationships. This essential part of trust could be defined as inductive knowledge (Möllering, 2001). Inductive knowledge could be explained as knowledge gained by social and individual experiences. It holds the notion of affect, the subjective feelings and emotions towards someone or something.

Different authors define trust as a social phenomenon, which is far more complex than only the rational assessment of risk. Trust is therefore seen as founded on a cognitive as well as an emotional basis (Tokin et al., 2016). Because there is no definite guarantee that individuals, technologies or organizations will act out of expectation, trust is always related to some sort of risk. Consumers need to take as little risk as possible, so the chance that something goes wrong –becoming sick of the consumption of bad food- is limited (Bildtgård, 2008). In this way, trust can be seen as a simplifying element, reducing complexity in everyday life situations. It can be seen as an adventure, to reduce social complexity, consumers venture to trust people and systems. While being on this adventure, they still want to confirm their trust by testing the trustworthiness and rationality. Trust and risk, together with feelings, are crucial in shaping the meanings and practices of consumers (Kristensen et al., 2013).

When societies grow more complex, and risk becomes more outside our personal control, the need for trust increases (Bildtgård, 2008).

Hardin (2002) shows that trust based on personal relationships, is related to interest. When I trust you, it is because I think it is in your interest to take my interest serious. In this sense, you value the continuation of our relationship and therefore you have the motivation to take my interest serious. However, relationships are not entirely based on interest, there is also the more emotional bond, the affection towards someone which has

less to do with your own interest.

The cognitive part of trust is established on what in some sense is experienced as truth. These cognitive experiences, and trust in general, are not the outcome of a choice; we discover it, or are somehow convinced of something to be true.

Trust also entails the element of competence; we judge if someone is trustworthy based on his or her skills. You would probably have less confidence in the competence of a teenager to babysit, in relation to an older, more experienced person. The relative competence is easily weighted; the older person shows relatively more competence in babysitting. In general, we tend to rely on people whom we know to be competent, rather than the ones we know too little about to judge. Competence is sometimes somewhat hard to judge, for example in the case of judging professionals. Therefore, in these cases other agencies take the responsibility to judge the competence of the professional. With labeling for example, the trustworthiness of the professional has been checked. But again, for consumers it is still hard to judge these agencies.

In important matters, we prefer to take less risk and go with someone whom we have a history of trustworthiness with and a sense that this person will have the motivation to follow through. Moreover, trusting someone is not the same in all situations. I might trust someone for some specific knowledge or actions, and trust someone else in other situations. A few people I might trust in almost everything, and a lot of people I do not trust in anything. Hence, trust really depends on the context (Hardin, 2002).

For understanding trust in food, we can see the interlinkage with risk assessment as well. In food consumption, this relationship is referred to as 'the double nature of eating'. On the one hand, there is the risk of becoming ill or even dying because of eating wrong food but on the other hand, eating is a biological necessity and often even a source of pleasure (Bildtgård, 2008). Also in the choices what to consume, we can see the struggle between diversity and homogeneity in our food. This is what is referred to as 'the omnivore's paradox'. For humans, new kinds of food are a potential danger but new foods are of a vital necessity to adapt and maintain healthy in new circumstances. This explains the reason why preferences in taste increase when we are familiar with the food, but contrariwise it shows why we do not appreciate excessive repetition and monotony in our meals (Fischler, 1980).

These explanations of trust and trust relations will form the basis for the following

chapters. In chapter 3, the objective and rational way of gaining trust will be discussed. This objective and rational information is one of the factors that shapes our trust in food.

3. Trust gained by objective means

Nowadays, in the West, most of our food has travelled long distances. Generally this results in a wide range of products available in the shops, so consumers have more choice when going to the supermarket, any moment in time. However, we can see a homogenisation of food throughout the world (Bildtgård, 2008). Industrialised food can namely lead to the availability of the same products all around the globe. So for example, in England you could drink the same Coca-Cola as you would find in Tunisia.

The distance separating most individuals from the production of food makes consumers rely on given information by for example food packages. The information provided on these packages is replacing the knowledge that would be otherwise gained through the lived experience of food production (Carolan, 2011). Consumer trust in food and food safety is nowadays strongly related to the trust experienced in food system actors -like industry, certification bodies and government-. These food system actors try to communicate their trustworthiness by the knowledge provision of labelling. Therefore we can see labelling as providing room for consumers to judge the trustworthiness of the food system actors (Tokin et al., 2016).

In modernity, science-based information is generally seen as trustworthy and legitimate. Choices based on science are understood as rational and publicly beneficial. This, in turn, is based on the assumption that scientific knowledge is neutral and will in the end lead to a better world (Bildtgård, 2008).

Information that can be conveyed with words, pictures and diagrams is since the industrial revolution the main source of information about food, that consumers have. The advantage of this type of knowledge is that it travels well and people distanced by time and place are able to get the same knowledge. This type of knowledge lies at the heart of the modern agriculture, where production is standardised and information is quickly transported (Carolan, 2011).

There is, however, a growing public concern over practices related to modern farming techniques, such as manipulation of organic matters and hormones given to cattle to promote their growth. On an individual level, awareness about health risks and safety increases and this, in turn, may increase anxiety about various food choices (Bildtgård, 2008). Consumers have less control over production processes, and they become aware of the increased risk involved.

In this chapter, I have elaborated the objective way for gaining trust, which is just a part of the whole trust relation consumers have with food. The advantages of the globalised food system carry some disadvantages as well. The objective information on which trust is based, is just part of the more individual as well as the social experiences we have with food. In the next chapter, the focus will be on what Möllering calls inductive knowledge; the social and individual experiences in which trust in food is embedded.

4. Inductive knowledge: social space

Man feeds not only on proteins, fats, carbohydrates, but also on symbols, myths, fantasies. As Levi-Strauss puts it, things must be “not only good to eat, but also good to think”. (Fischler, 1980, p.937)

In this chapter, different aspects of social space in relation to food will be elaborated. Social space could be linked to what Möllering calls inductive knowledge, both terms hold more subjective, affective and emotional relationships. Thus, there is more than the objective and rational knowledge on which our trust is based. Social space is very broad and divergent, therefore this chapter is divided in different sections. First, in section 4.1, the differences in food relations between traditional- and modern societies will be shown, after which intersubjective relationships will be discussed in section 4.2. In 4.3, the emotional basis for trust is described and finally, in section 4.4, we will dive into the habits on which trust is based. All these aspects form of the basis of the social space on which trust is partially built.

4.1. Traditional and modern societies

A number of authors have written about the way in which food is embedded in culture and routines. In traditional societies, geography and tradition have offered a certain security in eating. The geographical condition of the localities created some continuity in the menu. If it was not possible to produce certain types of food in the area, you would not expect to find those foods in your meal. From generation to generation, traditional pathways were passed on. In this continuity, there was a clear distinction between the eatable and the uneatable which created some psychological safety against the potential risk of eating this food (Bildtgård, 2008). The production was mainly domestic, and only a few products, like spices, salt and sugar, came from elsewhere. Therefore the eating habits were always relatively the same, except from the moments of fest, where rare and more expensive foods were consumed. The social and cultural structure for eating habits were remarkably rigid, stable and almost coercive. Additionally, religious prescriptions and prohibitions shaped the way in which the fixed numbers of meals were consumed (Fischler, 1980). Of course dangers of eating the wrong food existed in traditional societies

as well, but these were then perceived as being part of the food, or as the will of God (Bildtgård, 2008).

In some cases we can see how culture carries typical ways of preparing food, which is beneficial at the biological level as well. Think about cooking food for detoxification.

Interesting are the cases where culture seems to rule over biology, as the influence of culture on the biological adaptation of the human body. Lactose, for example, present in milk –products-, is broken down by the enzyme lactase, which tends to drop off when we grow older. But with the domestication of animals, there seemed to be a selection pressure towards people who kept the ability of breaking down lactose, and therefore could eat and drink milk products. In this case we can see how the culture of domestication shapes the way in which human bodies learn to adapt to certain food, in this case milk (Fischler, 1980).

But when entering modern society, a lot has changed in food and eating. Because the food chains have become longer, the food has lost its traditional identity and food risks have changed. The more communal way of eating and the sense of security that this commensality provided have eroded (Bildtgård, 2008). The rhythm of our eating-practices is undergoing changes. Ritualized ways of consuming the meal are fading, which is partly caused by the increasing habit of snacking. In this way, food consumption is becoming less of a social, but more an individual practice. Fischler (1980) states that food selection is becoming less embedded in social decisions, but increasingly a matter of individual choice. However, individuals lack reliable criteria to make proper decisions and therefore experience an increased feeling of anxiety, he argues. At the same time, parental authority is diminishing because children are more exposed to influences from the media, commercials and from school. In this way, the food habits of children are not only shaped by the structure of traditional food patterns anymore (Fischler, 1980). In addition, Bildtgård (2008) argues that nowadays, the consumption choices are much more based on individual decisions, which results in an increasing anxiety about eating. The globalization of the food system has introduced new types of food, creating a wider variety on the shop-shelves, but also increasing the gap between producers and consumer and identifying what we eat, becomes harder (Bildtgård, 2008).

Altogether, eating in modern society seems to be one big adventure. Though, in our daily lives, we are not continuously anxious about our food choices. Bildtgård (2008) states that the nature of eating could be handled through either the strategy of control, or through the

strategy of trust. In modernity, the highly advanced production technologies make it more and more impossible to take personal control of our food; thus the importance of trust is likely to increase. Consumers expect organizations such as food processing industries and retailers to take responsibility and control over their food production. Therefore, consumers need to trust those organizations.

In some cultures certain types of foods and drinks are seen as having certain powers and these foods are trusted to be good to eat or drink always and everywhere. People trust these foods per se, which could be referred to as 'faith in food' as it covers an inherent trust in food. An example is the Swedish 'faith' in milk, even a few Swedish would say that milk is 'always good' which could be seen as inherent trust in milk (Bildtgård, 2008).

Social policy can generate trust as well. Trust is namely needed for social corporation, but to corporate, people have to accept some restrictions to their actions. These restrictions are made by formal institutions such as laws and informal institutions such as social norms. Because we know these institutions exist, we can trust those to regulate the behavior of others and behave more relaxed in our everyday lives. In the case of food, we trust the producers to take those institutions serious and not overstep the law by for example not neglecting the mandatory animal controls or hygiene measures. Because we believe other people to accept the same social constrains as we do, we are able to trust food that is foreign to us. As the information about food is so complex nowadays, consumers lose knowledge about the products. More and more, this knowledge is in the hands of the industry that has the responsibility for the quality of the food. Thus peoples' trust nowadays is more based on institutions rather than on persons. In some cases however, consumers and industry do not share the same interests. In 4.4, these trust relations will be elaborated in more detail, and the trust in professionals and organizations will be highlighted. In case of genetically modified food, the goal of industry's increased production, may clash with consumer concerns about health. In these cases, Bildtgård (2008) argues that the government can have a mediating role. However, we can see the states' authority as universal arbitrator is being challenged from a number of sides. In modern societies, non-governmental organizations increasingly articulate the consumer concerns about food. Those organizations, like certification schemes, do not necessarily perceive the state as the legitimate actor for political authority (Bildtgård 2008).

In this section, the differences between traditional- and modern communities have been discussed, resulting in different relationships with food. Knowing this kind of historical

background, another aspect of social space will come forward in the section 4.2, namely the habitual trust relationship we work with in our everyday lives.

4.2. Habitual trust

Trust is based on the assumption that the world will continue looking as it did before. As long as this assumption is not betrayed, we will continue acting on our habits. Trust is thus merely automatic and habitual. Central to the concept of habitus is that our daily life choices are often not based on cognitive, active and reflective choices, but are generated automatically through our habitus. We start reflecting on the practices, which were mostly automatic before something went wrong (Bildtgård, 2008).

People base their decisions on habits until a problem arises. In these cases, we will consciously make the decision whether or not something is trustworthy. Bildtgård (2008) argues that there are two situations where this reflexive trust is activated: 1) when something different happens in the food-selection process, like the food we used to buy is not available anymore, or if it goes bad; 2) when we come across a discourse that problematizes our food habits, such as when someone comes up with a moral argument to not eat meat. In these situations we become aware of our habits and cognitively reflex on our practices.

In these cases, trust in the food actor will be reconsidered based on three different foundations: a) the reputation of the actor -based on historical actions-; b) the skills of the actor -how does the butcher cut the meat? - and c) the way in which the actor represents him- or herself. For example, when going to the butcher, we look for signs like correct use of vocabulary and the right clothing (Bildtgård, 2008).

Nowadays, however, our trust in food increasingly depends on strangers, we do not know the butcher anymore, so we cannot value his skills. How is it than possible to trust these strangers in something so intimate as our food? This can be explained by the trust we have in someone's profession. We trust a baker to bake the right bread, as we believe him or her to have the knowledge and the skills to do so. We assume professionals to communicate and share information among each other. Consumer trust is, as said before, more and more based not on personal relationships, but on organizations or their representatives. The most typical expectation we have from organizations is that we trust them to act *instrumental*. This means, we expect organizations like retailers and processing industries to act efficiently, rationally and on a continuous basis, which continuity provides the

stability on which our habits are based. A good illustration of this instrumental trust is the ideal steadiness of fast-food restaurants, referred to as McDonaldisation.

McDonaldisation is based on four pillars: efficiency, calculability -everything in the production process is visible and calculable-, predictability -everywhere you go, the meal will be the same- and control through non-human technologies -standardization and more machines involved in production-. In this way, businesses gain trust from consumers who rely on the spot-on continuity of smell, taste, texture and service provided. It is imaginable that in the future, people will form their community and identity around these kinds of businesses so they get emotionally attached to it. These businesses will then provide quality and safety and ask for the trust of its customers on the basis of their habitual and emotional bond (Bildtgård, 2008).

In communities, a certain way of thinking about the world is commonly shared. This shared way of handling problems and doing things works as a shield from chaos, and creates stability in how the world is interpreted. This comfort of knowing what to expect, and what is expected, makes it easy to trust people and to judge if someone is trustworthy. When looking at food and eating, we can see the same shared way of thinking within the community. Shared beliefs about what to eat, how to prepare it and when to consume, are guiding the way in which food is experienced inside the community. When consuming the food that has a shared meaning, the meal becomes an expression of communal identity and at the same time of individual belonging. These types of communities are rare nowadays, but this does not mean that the idea of communities does not exist anymore. One example is the community of the nation state, where the members share common values and beliefs but where the majority has not met one another in person. In nation states, there is often a collective way of thinking about food. These ways of thinking about food become expressions of community and at the same time give reliability and security in the situation of the meal. However, the influences of different international cuisines make their way into national food habits, and the way in which food is experienced. For example, most Dutch people would see pizza as something not typically Italian, but being a normal part of a Dutch meal.

In the case of Mexico, food cultures played a prominent role in defining the identity of the nation state. During the late 19th and early 20th century, the ruling Spanish elite forced the Mexican diet to change from a maize-based to a wheat-based diet. The virtue of the wheat-based diet was even taught in schools and was a way for the Spanish elite to gain power. Later, the typical Mexican meals were collected and formed a foundation for the

unification of the national identity that could overcome the old divisions of class and race. This case clearly shows the importance of diets in defining community and belonging (Bildtgård, 2008).

In this section, the importance of habitual trust has come forward. The continuous way of our practices shapes how we behave and implicitly creates trust relations. The following aspect will be emotional trust, elaborated in the next section.

4.3. Emotional trust

In modernity, we have seen how trust built on personal relationships is diminishing, but we still have trust relations, based on personal and emotional bonds. The first person we have an emotional bond with, is often our mother. We trust her to feed us, and if this happens in a steady way, it will form the fundament of our trust in others. In relation to food, we can see how we learn to trust in what our parents prepare for us, and trust in the meals provided by friends who ask us for dinner. We then trust these persons to prepare food that respects our emotional bond.

We trust people whom we have an emotional bond with, not because we only think they are trustworthy, but because our emotional bond demands it. For example, we trust our friend not to let us eat something that challenges our identity -like tricking a vegetarian to eat meat or a Muslim to eat pork-, because not trusting them would challenge the emotional bond between us, on which our relationship is based. We thus expect our friends and family to be moral in their actions, which means acting out of the norms and values we share. We expect them to take good care of us, which will express their feelings for us. Also, on an individual level we can see how the food we eat shapes our identity. Through incorporation, food can challenge our conceptions of who we are. Think about vegetarians, if they eat meat, it will challenge their identity of being a vegetarian (Bildtgård, 2008). Here we can see the direct relation between the food we consume, our body and how this shapes our social identity.

In this section, the importance of emotional bonds is being shown. Personal and emotional relationships are thus of great importance in the relationships we establish with food, and food is important for the establishment of social relationships. The following aspect operating in social space, is intersubjectivity, between human and animal, discussed in the

next section.

4.4. Intersubjectivities between human and animal

In the Western civilization, meat consumption has long been seen as a symbol of human domination over the natural world. This is experienced as a positive and powerful domination on the one hand, but on the other hand, people are feeling a growing moral unease with meat consumption and the superiority of human kind. These -changing- relationships, we can define as the intersubjectivity between animals and human kind. Intersubjectivity can be understood as the connections between human and nonhuman realms (Arce et al., 2017) and in food, intersubjectivity can be seen as the relation between consumer and the consumed.

For the consumption of animals, a certain lack of intimacy is required in order to make them morally edible. This is why in the West, we do not generally like to eat cats, dogs and horses, as we have a close relationship with these animals. In Western societies, we will not find dog meat in a Korean restaurant. This is because the intersubjective relation that Western people generally have with dogs, differs from the Korean relationship with dogs. Therefore, dog-meat will not end up in our Western meals. Restaurants adapt to the standards and acknowledge the relationships of the culture in which it is based in (Bildtgård, 2008). Another example is the consumption of insects. Although it is a good and sustainable replacement of livestock production, the consumer acceptance is a big barrier of the adoption of insect consumption (Verbeke, 2015).

The reason for this is not that we as Western people could not digest this type of meat or insects, but according to structuralist anthropology, it is the way in which the culture we belong to, perceives the universe and the place assigned to things, animals and people. The human mind forces reality into the categories it has shaped (Fischler, 1980).

Though, paradoxically, there is a growing trend in eating local meat, where consumers know the producer does have a fair and close relationship with the animals (Staples and Klein, 2017).

In this chapter I have discussed different social relationships through which trust in food is established. We have seen how societies have changed, and new ways of trust relations are formed.

In section 4.2 the habitual trust in food is described as being the basis of our trust

relationship. We do namely trust something or someone until we find out it is not trustworthy anymore. I would say, that the insects on the broccoli created a moment of reflexivity. My boyfriend and I were used to going to the supermarket and buy a “good” broccoli. We thus trusted the supermarket to continuously confirm our trust, until we found out it did not.

In section 4.3 the emotional trust was elaborated. In this section it became clear how our social relationship is represented in the food, our friends and family offer us. In the case of the broccoli, I would have trusted my boyfriend to prepare me a proper meal -without insects-. But we prepared it together, so both of us were responsible for the preparation of a meal that would feed our relationship.

The term intersubjectivity was introduced, where the relationships between human and animals-as-food became clearer.

Going back to my broccoli-adventure, I did probably not like eating the insects because it is not common in our culture to eat them. The intersubjective relationship with insects is quite negative. But maybe, in another culture, or if we as westerners learn to adapt to these creatures as being food, I would have developed more trust in eating them.

But what would happen if we produce broccoli ourselves? This question will be elaborated in the next chapter, where the term embodiment will be introduced and linked to socio-political movements.

5. Inductive knowledge: embodiment and socio-political movements

During the time of Plato, in Ancient Greece, rational thinking was seen as something separate from the bodily experiences. The body and mind were seen as rooted in different worlds. Only after the twentieth century, scholars began to define senses like taste, as embedded in the body. In this sense, body and mind were more seen as interconnected (Carolan, 2011). The notion of embodiment is based on the idea that we experience and know the world through our bodies (Turner, 2011) which could also be seen as an aspect of inductive knowledge.

So if you think about the industrial revolution in relation to food, you can see the influence this process must have had on the relation we have with food. Namely, the experience of food production has become an experience for only a few producers. This also means that the practical and embodied knowledge of food production is increasingly in the hands of these few producers (Bildtgård, 2008).

In the case of fresh fruit- and vegetable supply, the products are tried to keep as fresh and natural as possible before going on the shop shelf. Long after leaving the farm, the freshness and naturalness of the foods are still produced and reproduced. In the shop, they are shown to the consumer as if they were recently harvested. In these cases, value is added by naturalising these products rather than industrialising them (Arce and Marsden, 1993). But not all consumers have the same perception of natural and fresh food. Carolan (2011) shows how his perception of a 'good' and fresh squash differs from the interpretation of his friend. His friend for instance, believed that all the squashes available in the store were the same and therefore he would pick the biggest, so he had to prepare only one instead of two smaller ones. He even joked he would like a sell-by date on fresh vegetables so he could determine its freshness. This understanding of 'fresh' works, in this sense, in favour of today's conventional food system.

For Carolan himself however, it is hard to find a good and fresh squash at the supermarket. This is because he has different lived experiences with growing his own squash, which determines his perception of freshness. When he was younger, Carolan had worked in a garden, growing his own fruits and vegetables. With these experiences, he has acquired

some knowledge, his friend had not. Hence the lived experience of Carolan his gardening work has given him certain knowledge he still uses when making his food choices.

If we look at trust in food through the scope of embodiment, we see that not only cognitive, objective information guides us in our decisions, but also the knowledge gained through lived experiences. Preferences are created and sustained by practices, by *doing* taste over and over again. Therefore, the choice for a certain type of food is just one part from a chain of material connectivities, which would otherwise be ignored by only looking at the moment of purchase.

When starting his first chapter of the book *Embodied Food Politics*, Carolan (2011) tells us about his preference for canned mushrooms. He grew up in a very tiny town where there were only canned mushrooms available and eating canned mushrooms nowadays remembers him of his childhood. Correspondingly, Bildtgård (2008) argues that it is well known how industrially produced food could carry strong childhood memories. These products may be consistent in smell, color, taste, and texture over decades, in contrast to the cooking of our parents, which is seldom as consistent as industrially produced food. In this sense, industrially manufactured food products can carry childhood memories over a long period of time and space and in this way become products of comfort. It does not matter how your life changes, these products stay the same. Likewise, the association of industrial produced food with a certain community is not uncommon. For example, IKEA sells Wasa crisp bread all over the world, providing Swedish people the embodied experience of community. These kinds of foods embody the comfort of home for people living abroad, in a perfectly visceral way -it smells, tastes and feels like home- (Bildtgård, 2008).

It took Carolan some time to appreciate fresh mushrooms as well. He has *learned* to like it by preparing, and eating them in the company of friends and family.

Another example of *learning* to like particular food, is in the time when McDonalds was introduced in Moscow. In that period, a lot of people did not like this type of food, so people had to learn to be affected by McDonalds' kind of food -and industrial food in general-. It took work for our bodies to be tuned to fast food and get to like fast food as we like it nowadays (Carolan, 2011). Fischler (1980) is quite pessimistic about the way in which consumers nowadays weigh their food choices. He states that in the Western world, people face problems linked to excesses rather than deficiencies. Our tastes are unable to give us some reasonable cues to what and what not we should eat. Cultural patterns, Fischler argues, have in most cases overridden peoples' natural ability to choose what is

biologically beneficial for them. From industrially produced food, for example, consumers are generally not aware of all the contents. In food items such as ketchup and salami, additional sugar is added. Experimental data shows that sweet taste tends to increase food intake –this is possibly why we can have a desert despite being full already-. According to our cultural patterns of consumption, these foods fit into the category of salty foods. But even when we classify it as salty, we see that a lot of sugar is added, which will probably increase our consumption. Thus cultural classifications of food and taste perceptions are at the same time fooled by the mere addition of sugar (Fischler, 1980). Carolan (2011) however, sees the future in a more optimistic way, by saying that if we learned to tune our bodies to like industrialised- and fast food, we should also be able to “re-tune” our bodies towards alternative foods.

As said before, the industrialisation of food production created global and long food chains, which made consumers lose the embodied knowledge of food production. Nowadays, the information of food production is mainly in the hands of industry. The embodied knowledge of food production is partly replaced by the information on food packages (Carolan, 2011). However, there are some examples where people re-embodiment the practices of food production, for example, by working in community gardens. Engagement in community gardening helps participants to reshape place and reconnect to the food system. In her article, Turner (2011) argues that by engaging in local food initiatives, the role of bodies is taking more into account in our lived experiences, contrary to broader agricultural activities which tend to position consumers as end-users only. In this sense, we can see the engagement in the production of food as one of the two strategies Bildtgård (2008) states in his article, namely the strategy of control. By producing your own food, you will take control of a greater part of the production process.

In their article, Hayes-Conroy and Martin (2010) argue that some kind of bodily resonance is needed to activate environmental and social activism. They call it the *visceral* account of activism; the capacity of the body and mind to think, judge and act together with the always embodied process of identification. This visceral process creates the fundamentals for political identity and generates the energy necessary for the mobilization of social movements. So bodies are seen as part of the process in which people look for identification.

The Slow Food Movement is a good example. Slow Food –SF- tries to get people reconnected with their food and their local environment; with hands-on experiences, it

raises awareness about the food we consume. By being part of the farming- and distribution practices, consumers become more aware of their food and closer relationships between producer and consumer are established. SF encourages the feeling of what tastes good and feels good, and encourages the continuation of those feelings. It makes consumers aware of factors like organic and regional food, which make these feelings possible. In this sense, consumers become aware of where their food comes from and what they need to do, to support the continuation of this. These are great examples of the way in which SF uses the notion of embodiment to get people attached to their movement. People do what feels, looks and tastes right, mostly without calling themselves politically active. Thus SF helps to get people reconnected with their own, local environment and reconnect to place. On the contrary, SF is, like more social movements nowadays, not bounded to a certain territory. The movement founded in everyday life rather than traditional movements, and more or less detached from geographical boundaries (Hayes-Conroy and Martin, 2010). Traditionally, communities -and social movements- were restricted by distance and traversability, but are nowadays created over longer distances and time. This is possible due to electronic media. These electronic options provide people the possibility to establish trust relations, unencumbered by distance. Nowadays, trust relations are merely based on shared interest rather than on place. We choose to which placeless food community we want to belong. For example, vegetarianism, veganism, ecological food or health food can be described as communities founded by a common way of thinking about food, rather than formed by geography (Bildtgård, 2008).

We see how social movements as SF, try to protect the 'local' types of food and act against the homogenization of culinary practices and tastes. However, these kinds of food governance are formed more out of a Western ideology in contrast to China for example, where food safety issues are promised to be resolved by industrialization and standardization of produce. In China, these industrialized ways of production seem to be more compatible with celebrations of 'nature' and 'locality' (Staples and Klein, 2017).

Concluding, in this chapter, the importance of embodiment has been elaborated. The relationship between body and mind are seen as the fundament on which trust could be built. By engaging in the production process, consumers will establish a different relationship with their food. However, this is less the case in our modern society, where a few producers provide the main source of food. Initiatives like the Slow Food Movement

try to re-establish those relationships and get consumers involved by their visceral experience.

Conclusion

For realizing the importance of trust in food, the term “trust” must be clearly defined. Trust can be seen as a simplifying element, which reduces complexity in everyday life. We generally trust persons whom we have a history with, and believe in their competence to do what we expect them to do. Trust is always related to some sort of risk, as there is no definite guarantee that people, organisations or technologies will act on our expectation.

In today's Western society, trust is increasingly based on non-personal relationships.

Consumers are challenged to trust the industry that produces their food nowadays. The food industry generally tries to gain consumers' trust by providing objective and rational information, such as labels on food packages. The advantages of this type of knowledge are the traversability of information and it is fitting well within the ruling scientific conviction.

However, this knowledge is only partly defining our trust in food. The information gained by social as well as individual experiences, is as well of great importance for the establishment of trust in food. This is defined as inductive knowledge; the more affective, emotional, subjective knowledge gained by social and individual experiences.

This inductive knowledge could be divided into a few aspects, operating in social space: 1) understanding the difference between traditional- and modern societies, 2) trust based on habits in everyday life, 3) emotional trust and 4) intersubjectivities between human and animal. Traditionally, food patterns were formed by geographical boundaries and traditional cultures. These patterns and routines shaped the way for trust in food. Nowadays, these structures have made place for more individual food-choices and therefore we need to discover who and what we trust by ourselves. Consumers handle their food choices by the strategy of control and the strategy of trust. In modern societies, consumers need to increase the strategy of trust, as industry takes over the production –and control- of our food. This is a form of social policy where we expect others –the industry- to act on the same rules and norms as we do. We as well trust someone in his or her profession; we expect him or her to know how to behave in their profession. Moreover, we expect organizations that take control over food production, to act *instrumental*, which means we expect them to behave rationally, efficiently and on a continuous basis. Next to labelling, industry tries indeed to gain consumers' trust by serving predictability, calculability, efficiency and standardization. By the supply of predictable actions and products,

the industry feeds consumers' habitual trust. People namely act on habit, until a problem arises. Another factor determining how trust is generated is culture. Culture creates some kind of structure in the chaos of choices in everyday life. These cultural choices also work as a fundament for trust.

The other element of importance for trust, is the emotional relationship we have with the person whom we share the food with. We trust people to serve us the kind of meal that fits our relationship, because not trusting them would challenge our emotional bond. Not only the emotional relationship between people shape the relation we have with food, also the relationship between human and animal. We do not like to consume meat of animals we have an emotional bond with. Thus, in Western societies, we do not like to eat horse-, dog- or cat meat as well as insects, as these intersubjectivities are embedded in our culture.

The last elements on which trust in food is founded, are embodiment and the formation of socio-political movements. Embodiment could be seen as a more individual experience, but these experiences shape the more social relationships as well. The different lived experiences shape differences in how we as individuals relate to food and to each other. By sharing the lived experiences of food production and consumption, new social and political relationships can be established. Slow Food serves as an example to show how visceral experiences guides individual choices and shapes our collective nature of consuming.

Thus, as we have seen, trust is certainly embedded in social relationships.

Two types of knowledge are important in this process, namely the objective knowledge and the inductive knowledge. The inductive knowledge includes social space, with the elements of modern society in relation to traditional society, habitual trust, emotional trust and intersubjectivities. The other aspect of inductive knowledge is described as embodiment, with the link to social and political movements, specifically Slow Food. Figure 1 serves as a visual representation.

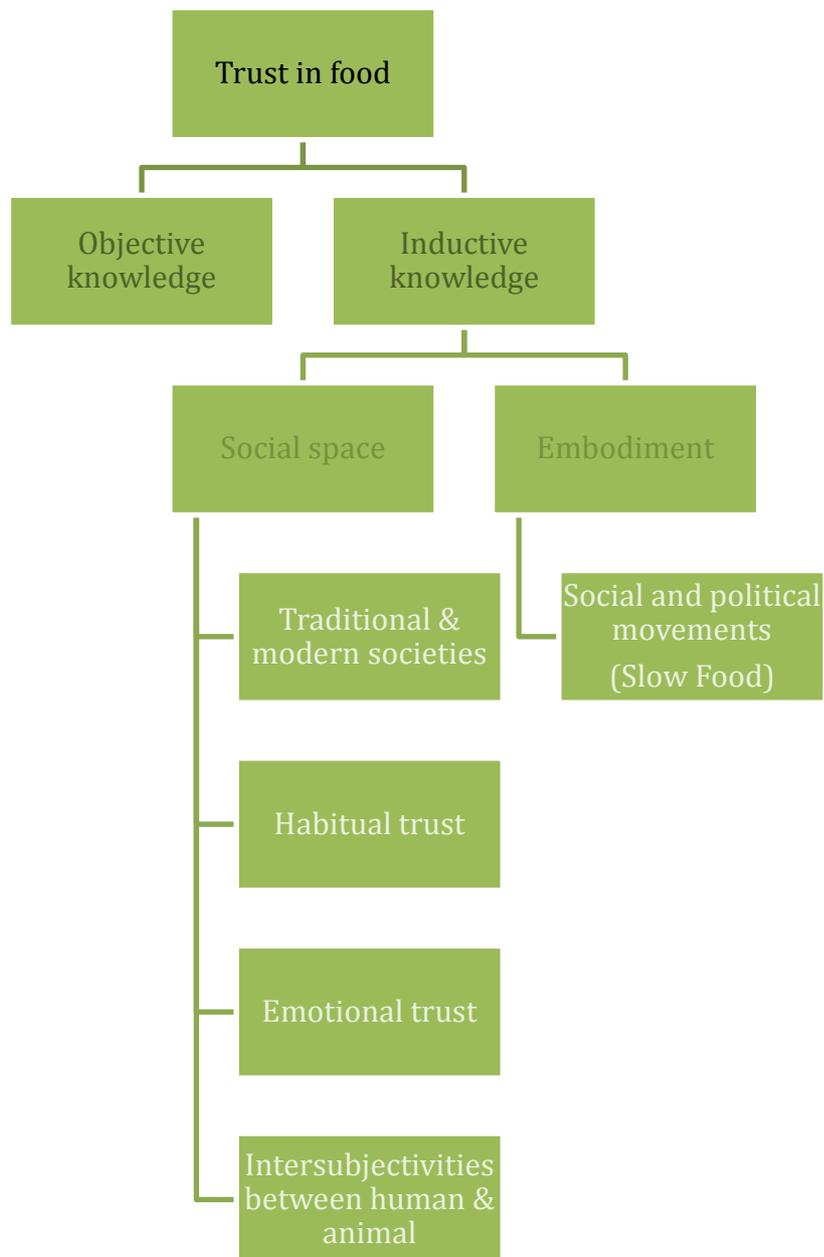


Figure 1. Structure of trust in food.

Discussion

In this study I tried to find out whether and how trust in food is embedded in social relationships. By connecting different literature, new insights are given in trust, in relation to food.

Placed in a larger comparative perspective, today's scientific research mainly focuses on the nutritional part of food. However, there is a need for understanding the social relationships in which food is embedded. These social relationships change over time, which therefore influences our relationship with food. The increasing complexity of food chains creates more complex social relationships as well. Food is a necessity for humans so we need to take good care of it and create a future in which food will be produced ecologically, economically and socially sustainable. To provide this sustainable pathway, scientific research is needed. With this study, I have tried to contribute to an insight into this sustainable development, mainly based on the arguments provided by the work of Bildtgård. In his research, Bildtgård focused on the social and individual relations in which food is embedded. He as well discussed what these relationships have to do with consumers' trust in food. Other literature gave different insights into food relationships, like the experiences of embodiment, which all together formed the fundament of this study.

This study could be seen as an addition to his work, as I have elaborated more broadly affective and emotional knowledge based on experiences.

In the end, I still like broccoli. Maybe, I could even call myself a member of SF, as I am more aware of the food I consume, where it comes from and if it is produced organically. Hopefully, many more consumers get, as Carolan calls it, "re-tuned" towards healthy, tasteful food which will feed our social relationships.

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