

**Perceptions of the authenticity of food: a study of residents in  
Dorset (UK)**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of  
Bournemouth University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**October 2015**

**Bournemouth University**

## **Abstract**

In this thesis I critically explore the relationship between authenticity, the individual, society and the food consumed within that society for a group of residents in Dorset in the United Kingdom. . The authenticity of food impacts on our understandings of the economic, social, political and environmental contexts of food and is worthy of research. As such I focused on my participants' perceptions of the authenticity of food as something a priori; as it was perceived before other considerations, in order to get a primary understanding of the subject.

I have positioned myself as a reflexive explorer / researcher who views the world from the position of interpretive constructionism derived from the ideas of postmodernism. I have utilized a qualitative research strategy; phenomenology and more specifically Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). My explanation of the methodology is accompanied by a description of the philosophical underpinning to the work with specific reference to Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, Levinas and Derrida. Data were collected using focus groups based around a meal.

When I asked my focus group participants about their perspectives on the nature of the authenticity of food, they described understandings that were vested in four key areas: Family and friends; Saucing: cooking and flavour; Sourcing: where does it come from? and; Interaction with the distinctly other (people that were not friends and family). In terms of the discussion of family and friends, much of this was to do with their experiences of growing up and their relationships with their parents and grandparents. In analysis, ideas such as time, tradition, heritage and gender came to the fore. When looking at saucing, the focus was on the process of cooking and eating, and memories of flavour and aroma. Sourcing highlighted feelings of localness and led to the development of concepts relating to connectedness to those that produce the food and connection to the food itself. There were also concerns as to the provenance of food and feelings of trust and mistrust. Finally, in looking at the distinctly other, as opposed to kith and kin, participants related experiences of trust and vulnerability, authority and independence, and inclusion and exclusion. These ideas informed a discussion on the nature of hospitality in the context of the authenticity of food.

In my conclusions I describe how I found my participants' perceptions of authentic food to be constructed in a place between them as individuals and the Other and changed over time. Perceptions of authenticity were fluid and playful. I also evaluate the work using the criteria of rigour, resonance, reflexivity and relevance, where relevance is split to look at relevance to the academic community and to broader society.

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## Acknowledgements

My journey to obtaining a doctorate began a long time ago. I am blessed with parents, Albert and Vivian that nurtured me in a loving Christian family environment with my sister Susan and brother Clive and I only wish that my father could have lived to hear my news, but maybe in some way he will hear of it all. I was also blessed to marry Anne and she, along with our daughters Phoebe and Lucy have, and continue to, provide endless support, all underpinned by the love of God.

At Bournemouth and beyond I have received help and guidance from many colleagues. I must specifically thank Professor Roger Vaughan who first introduced me to qualitative research and helped me prepare for my viva, and Professors Les Todres, Kate Galvin, Immy Holloway, Andrew Errington and Stuart McCutcheon, Dr Susanne Gellweiler, and Revs Herbert Harris and Michael Scott, for helping me develop and giving me many special insights.

My early supervision came from three colleagues, Professors Alan Fyall and John Edwards and Dr Peter Lugosi and I thank them for setting me on the right path. Special thanks must go to Drs Lorraine Brown and Philip Long who picked me up soon after my transfer and helped me through analysis and the writing of my thesis with wise counsel and enormous patience. They have discussed, read and commented on so much material with such generosity of spirit.

I am grateful to my external examiners Drs Claire Haven-Tang and Richard Tresidder for reading my thesis, giving me the opportunity to discuss it, and for providing me with useful feedback and to Professor Janet Dickinson and Dr Erika Borkoles for additionally helping me to prepare for my Viva.

Finally I would like to thank my participants. Without them there would be no thesis.

Pax vobiscum

Sean



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## List of abbreviations

CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
EEC	European Economic Community
FE	Further Education
G	Group
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
S	School
USDA	United States Department of Agriculture
V	Village
WTO	World Trade Organization
Defra	Department of Food and Rural Affairs

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# **Chapter 1: Introduction**

## **1.1 Introduction**

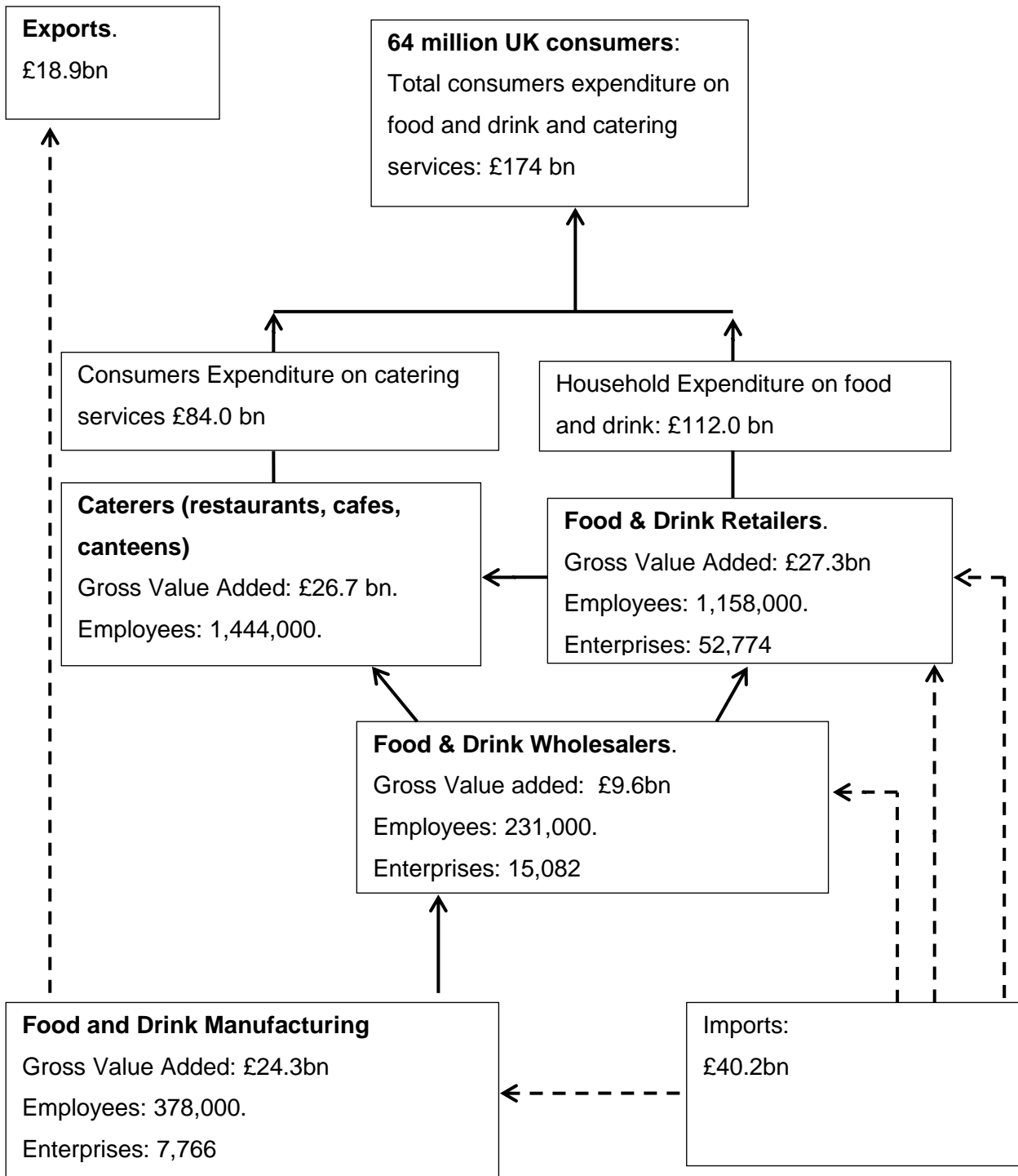
In this thesis I examine the concept of authenticity with particular reference to the authenticity of food from the perspective of a group of white, middle and working class people from Dorset in the UK. I have positioned myself as a reflexive explorer that views the world from the position of interpretive constructionism derived from the ideas of postmodernism. I have utilized a qualitative research strategy; phenomenology and more specifically Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). Data were collected using focus groups based around a meal. The results of the work surprised me and it has been a transformative experience. In this introduction I will initially explain the academic context and rationale for the work. I will then outline how it evolved in terms of my personal rationale, my initial ideas on the subject and methodology and how this developed into a PhD Thesis. Finally I will explain how the thesis is structured.

## **1.2 The context of the work**

I will set out the context for this study by examining some of the contextual literature. Therefore in this section I give an outline of why food is important economically, socially, politically and environmentally. I will then look at the importance of the idea of authenticity. This somewhat reductionist approach to examining the literature, and to analysis in general, has its drawbacks in that any division of the subject into separate areas fails to acknowledge the highly integrated nature of these different perspectives, and this must be borne in mind when looking at the literature.

### **1.2.1 The economic importance of food.**

When writing about economics I am thinking about the production, consumption and transfer of wealth, where wealth constitutes things of value. In terms of food's contribution to the United Kingdom (UK) economy, Defra (2014) indicate that in 2014 food and drink manufacturing had a gross added value (GVA; the value of goods and services produced) of £24.3bn, food & drink wholesalers £9.6 bn, caterers £26.7 bn, and retailers £27.3 bn. In total, 64 million people in the UK were spending £174 bn on food, drink and catering services (see figure 1.1). The food and drink industry in the UK is substantial, although this has to be set against a total GVA figure for the UK of £1,525 bn (ONS 2014). Food therefore accounts for more than 12% of UK GVA. Recently UK and global food prices have risen significantly and the implications of these increasing costs may well be significant in terms of decreasing standards of living and other effects (Headey and Shenggen 2008), though these trends are subject to cyclical variation.



**Figure 1.1 Economic summary of the UK food chain beyond agriculture. (After Defra 2014)**

The numbers in Figure 1.1 are for the UK in 2014. The world market for food has been estimated by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) (2015) at \$4 Trillion per year (four million, million dollars US or £2.6 Trillion using the exchange rate of

February 2015). Whilst it is debatable as to what 'the world market for food' means, the food industry is large, economically important and complicated.

Figure 1.1 also serves to illustrate the complexity of the food supply chain. Supply chains have developed over many centuries (Beer 2001a). They are intricate, complicated and at times controversial (See Blevins 2013; Bourlakis and Weightman, 2003; Eastham et al. 2001; Pullman and Wu 2012; Wallace et al. 2010 for extensive overviews of the way in which the chain operates.) In a study I undertook in 2000 (Beer 2001b), I followed the international supply chain for red meat around the world. For one theoretical supply chain from Australia to the United Kingdom for beef, I calculated that it might involve over 22 different individuals/organizations from farm to plate. This has significant implications for consumers who buy from complicated global chains and are separated from those that produce their food. I will now go on to look at the social importance of food.

### **1.2.2 The social importance of food**

The size of the food, industry in financial terms, represents two facets of the consumption of food. Firstly humans need to eat to live, so there is a purely physiological need for food. However, secondly eating is far more than nutrition; the consumption of food is a social activity, it helps define individual identity and is a cohesive force within social groups. As Germov and Williams (1999) maintain,

*"While hunger is a biological drive, there is more to food and eating than the satisfaction of physiological needs. There are also 'social drives' that affect how food is produced and consumed. Food is not only essential to survival; it is also one of the great pleasures of life and the focal point around which many social occasions and leisure events are organised."* (ibid, p. 2)

Therefore, much of the expense of consumption is linked to the social manifestation of eating as well as the biological. Social groups use food on a number of levels, to socialize and to celebrate. These events can take place on a daily basis, in terms of a family eating together, or annually with regard to celebrations such as Christmas, Passover or for a birthday. Other celebrations featuring food, such as those for a birth, may be once in a lifetime (Anderson 2014; Ashley et al. 2004; Sutton 2001). In some circumstances food itself may be the focus of the celebratory event, as seen in the growing phenomenon of the food festival (Cavicchi and Santini 2014; Hall, and Sharples 2008). In broader terms, different cultures may be seen through a food lens, where food helps to define the nature of that culture and where food is used by social groups as a means to socialize individuals within the group (Ashley et al.2004;

Counihan and Van Esterik 1997; Korsmeyer 2005). Lévi-Strauss (1997) has theorized how the movement from rotten, to raw, to cooked food, is an indicator of the process of humanities civilization, the culinary triangle of raw, cooked and rotten symbolizing the dynamics of culture (cooked) and nature (rotten); and unelaborated (raw) and elaborated (cooked) (Ashley et al. 2004). Thus society experiences a changing relationship with food, as do individuals. As people establish their own identity their relationship with food often forms part of this identity. This is complicated; in terms of the process and the subsequent role that food plays (Anderson 2014; Belasco 2008; Conner and Armitage 2002). Having said this, at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century discussion of the social dimensions of food is underpinned by a number of concerns with regard to the relationship between society and the food that it consumes. In particular, there are issues as to the quality of the food that is consumed, the availability of food and human health. I will write about concerns with regard to food quality later in the literature review, here I will briefly discuss the availability of food and human health.

Humanity, is currently faced with a situation where many people are starving to death because they cannot gain access to good food. At the same time, many people live in areas where food is comparatively cheap and abundant (George 1991; Bassett and Winter-Nelson 2010; Conway 2012; Lappé, et al. 2014), so much so that they are suffering health problems such as type 2 diabetes, in part, as a result of an overconsumption of the wrong types of food. The World Food Programme (2015) indicates that about one in nine people on earth are hungry. This equates to approximately 795 million people. The UK food charity Sustain (2015) estimates that up to 4 million people in the UK are in, what they call, food poverty. Sustain use a variety of definitions to explain food poverty including that put forward by Liz Dowler of the University of Warwick,

*“The inability to consume an adequate quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so.”  
(ibid)*

At the same time, as indicated above, there has been a growth in illness relating to the over consumption of food, particularly, but not exclusively, in the developed world (see for example Belasco 2008; Popkin 2006; Wyatt et al. 2006). The growth in illnesses, such as type 2 diabetes and cancer is significant and there are causal links to increases in weight as a result of the consumption of too many calories (Gatineau et al 2014; Bianchini et al. 2002; Renehan et al. 2008). This growth in illness, as a result of overconsumption, is taking place at a time when people, in a country such as the UK,



seem to be very interested in food and cooking as evidenced by the growth of the celebrity chef culture (Caraher et al. 2000, Henderson 2011; Rousseau 2012). There is a tension here that needs to be better understood. It is also a tension in which perceptions of authenticity may play a role. Having considered some of the economic and social dimensions of food I will now look at its political context.

### **1.2.3 The political importance of food**

Governments are interested in the food industry as a business sector, not only because of the substantial amounts of money that are involved in the industry but also because food is central to human existence and therefore politics with both a small and large 'P'. By this I mean the actual practice of governmental politics (the government of the public affairs of the country and the strategies and ideas of political groups) and the political world of business (the strategies and ideas of organizations/business); two areas (P and p) that are often inseparable. Brillat-Savarin (2011, p. 10) maintained that, "*The destiny of nations depends on the manner in which they feed themselves.*" The key problem for governments relating to food is ensuring that nations have food that is priced reasonably for those who are producing and consuming it. Food needs to be sufficiently plentiful, which is directly dependent on/or gives rise to prices within the chain; a product of the economic laws of supply and demand (Begg et al. 2000). Food needs to be of sufficient nutritional quality and it needs to be safe. Finally, food needs to be acceptable to those that consume it. There has been extensive writing and research in this area for millennia, as indicated by Cannon (2005) who cites the writings of the Egyptian Imhotep (6000 years ago) and the Chinese Emperor Huang Ti (4500 years ago). The work of Malthus (1986) is still cited by economists and politicians. More recently, these tensions have been examined by authors such as Darling (1941), Body (1982), Solkoff (1985), Cannon (1987), Nerlich (2004), Nestle (2007, 2010), Schanbacher (2010), Paarlberg (2010), and De Castro et al. (2012), all of whom examined the global food industry. The major concerns relate to the failure of markets and government policy in terms of intervention in markets to provide citizens with a reasonable supply of food, at a reasonable price that is safe and of good quality in terms of the nutrients provided. Specific concerns with regard to the quality and safety of our food have been elaborated by authors such as Blythman (1996, 2006), Schlosser (2002) and Wilson (2008). Much of this literature has been informed by on-going environmental concerns (which will be discussed in the following section) and also by the precipitation of food chain scandals, whether these are mad cow disease (BSE - Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy) and Foot and Mouth Disease in the UK (Anderson et al 1996; Haydon et al 2004) or contaminated milk in China (Changbai.

and Kleinb 2010). At least in the UK, few people starve, whilst unfortunately starvation has always been a reality for many people world-wide (George 1977; Sanchez, and Swaminathan, 2005.)

If there is an overall political move/milieu in which governments engage with the food supply chain at times, there are specific points where this engagement becomes very public. Two such examples would be the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) negotiations. Again both these areas have received significant attention in terms of academic research. Examination of the 1957 Treaty of Rome (EEC 1972) indicates that the common agricultural policy was one of the foundations of the community along with the free movement of goods (Title I), the free movement of persons, services and capital (Title III) and transport (Title IV). It is in effect a food and agriculture policy and article 39 outlines five key objectives:

- (a) to increase agricultural productivity by promoting technical progress and by ensuring the rational development of agricultural production and the optimum utilisation of the factors of production, in particular labour;*
- (b) thus to ensure a fair standard of living for the agricultural community, in particular by increasing the individual earnings of persons engaged in agriculture;*
- (c) to stabilize markets;*
- (d) to assure the availability of supplies;*
- (e) to ensure that supplies reach consumers at reasonable prices. (ibid)*

Over the past 56 years these objectives have often created tensions. The original, CAP was established during a time of food shortages. The success of European farmers in producing food through subsidized systems led to food surpluses and some would say environmental damage (Hill 2011). Costs have escalated and the reform of the CAP has been an on-going object of negotiation within the European Union (Ackrill 2000; Sorrentino et al 2011; Langmaier, 2010). It has also led to tensions with countries outside the European Union, particularly with regard to our negotiations within the various GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) rounds under the auspices of the WTO - which actually replaced the GATT in 1948, though the terms are still used almost synonymously (Narlikar 2005). These rounds of negotiations are not to be underestimated in that they cover most aspects of international trade and are economically and politically extremely important. In the past, the European Union's support of farmers through the CAP and programme of subsidized exports to third

countries, has caused significant tensions (Swinbank 1999, 2008; Swinbank and Carsten 2006). Environmental concerns with regard to food production and consumption have heavily influenced political agendas and I would not like to examine specifically some of these environmental issues.

#### **1.2.4 The environmental importance of food**

In this discussion my understanding of the word environment relates to the surrounding conditions in which we live. Human beings are animals that exist in competition for resources with each other and also with the other forms of life that inhabit the planet. They have, however, been particularly adept at gaining control of resources, and in particular, moving from a position where they took food from their environment to one where they manipulated the environment to provide them with food (Spedding 1975). As such, this brings people into conflict with 'nature' for scarce resources, or it might be considered that the consumption of food and drink is the consumption of nature itself. The CAP (EEC 1972) clearly states that its first objective will be to increase productivity by promoting technical progress and by ensuring the rational development of agricultural production. This built upon previous agricultural revolutions of the 17th and 19th centuries (Overton 1996; or Kerr 1993 for a very specific Dorset based account) as well as Britain's own wartime (particularly World War II) and post-war drives for food production (Hardymont 1995). The scientific revolution that this represented resulted in productivity that had not been previously envisaged, but also considerable social, economic and environmental costs. This process and the resultant environmental tensions were mirrored in many developed countries around the world and has been documented by many authors such as Carson (1962), Harrison (1964), Shoard (1980), Pretty (1995; 1998), Emden and Peakall (1996) with slightly less critical views coming from Body (1982), Avery (1995), and Spedding (1996). These accounts provided a basis for on-going argument covered by individuals such as Jansen and Velma (2004), Uri (2005) and Warren et al (2007).

The principal concerns of commentators relate to the destruction of biodiversity, pollution of the environment, detrimental effects to human health and the loss of traditional systems of production, landscape and communities. The counterarguments rest with the need for progress and the more efficient use of resources in order to feed a growing population. This is a simplification of the arguments, but the stakes are high. On the one hand, we have the future of our environment, and on the other hand, the need to feed the population that is not only growing but increasing in its expectations of the food that it will eat. This is then coupled with very powerful vested interests in a number of directions. These ideas will be discussed further when I examine the

concept of sustainability. Having examined some aspects of the economic, social, political and environmental contexts of food I would now like to discuss some of the ideas underpinning perceptions of its authenticity.

### 1.2.5 Food and authenticity

In each of the contexts discussed above, it would seem that ideas surrounding the notion of authenticity are important. I am basing this assertion on a simple definition of authentic as being of undisputed origin and not a copy; genuine (Oxford Dictionaries 2015). Without wishing to deconstruct this definition there are clear implications with regard to the previous discussion. In terms of economics, value is based on the need for the thing that is being valued to be as stated; to be authentic. If beef is being purchased and it turns out not to be beef but horse meat, then the stability of the food chain and the financial systems that underpin it are compromised. Similarly if a government is found to be allowing such food to be sold, then subjects of that government may call their stewardship of food safety into question, for many reasons not least of which being that horsemeat may not be meat that is readily (knowingly) consumed within that culture. On another level the production of a particular artisan food product may attract significant price premia that industrial food concerns might want to exploit. Politicians may be forced to protect the identity of that product because people want to consume the 'genuine article'.

Authenticity has been a subject of great interest to academics. In terms of food, there is interest in whether it is authentic in terms of being what it is described as, which involves the scientific determination of the composition of the food, something I call **validation**. There is interest in the **description** of food, recipes and eating experiences (though this might be considered to be hospitality) that have a specific identity; an authentic dish for example. There tends to be less discussion of the way that this authenticity is/was derived (authentication), differing perspectives, the feelings of the individual, the meaning of authenticity. This search for meaning is what I call the **nature** of authentic food, in other words how we as individuals or societies determine, experience, construct, and perceive authenticity.

Interestingly, Pine and Gilmore followed up their 1999 book on the experience economy with Gilmore and Pine's (2007) text on authenticity. The rationale was that the move from a service economy to an experience economy had been a justified shift (the subject of their first book), but so much of the experience economy was made up of pseudo staged experiences and people were looking for something more. There

has been ongoing discussions of authenticity in related areas such as tourism, cultural studies and anthropology, and I will discuss some of these later in the literature review. However, I think that there is a lack of research relating to what people specifically think authentic food is and how they have constructed this understanding; what experiences in their lives have led them to perceive authentic food in this way. Another weakness in the literature has been a lack of engagement with underpinning philosophy. I think that this applies not only to the ideas of authenticity, but also to methodology. Philosophers such as Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, Lévinas, and Derrida have much to contribute. This makes it a subject worthy of exploration not only as a topic in itself, but as a subject that can encompass many different ways of thinking.

### **1.2.6 Conclusions**

In this section I have demonstrated that food is economically, socially, politically and environmentally important. I have shown that the authenticity of food is a significant component of these discussions and also that these discussions may be central to developing an understanding of what authentic food means to people. This is what I mean by the word perception in the context of the title of the thesis; perception is the way in which something is regarded, understood, or interpreted. This gives a strong rationale for the study; although my discussion in this chapter is brief further discussion of these ideas will be presented in the following chapters. I will now look specifically at my aim and objectives.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives**

As a result of a period of reflection, reading and discussion I developed the following aim and objectives. The background to this process is laid out in the personal reflection in Chapter 4 and is also underpinned by an initial review of literature.

The aim of my research is to:

Critically explore the relationship between authenticity, the individual, society and the food consumed within that society for a group of residents in Dorset in the United Kingdom.

In this context society refers to the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community (OD 2015). To achieve this aim, the following objectives were identified:

1. To review and evaluate what is understood by authenticity in the academic literature.
2. To explore, using a phenomenological approach, the views, perceptions and understandings of authenticity as applicable to food, as discussed by residents in Dorset.
3. To develop this analysis in the context of the literature and my own experience.
4. To contribute to current knowledge as to how individuals perceive the authenticity of food and to indicate what the implications of this might be for society in general and a future academic research agenda.

This aim and these objectives form the focus of this thesis; I will now put them into context.

## **1.4 The evolution of the work**

In the following paragraphs I will outline the circumstances that led me to undertake a PhD and how my initial ideas developed with regard to the subject itself and also the methodology that I subsequently used. I then go on to outline the ongoing development of the study through to completion and the support and administrative systems that helped to facilitate it.

### **1.4.1 The personal rationale for the work**

In February 2006 I returned to Bournemouth University following a period of secondment working for a government-funded project whose original remit was to try and link universities and colleges with rural businesses. I had been appointed to the university in 1993 as Senior Lecturer in Agriculture, working at a land based study centre in East Lulworth which had been closed in 2004. I come from a farming background and had taught in the Further Education (FE) sector before moving into Higher Education at Bournemouth University. In 1992 I married my wife who was a chef who had also worked in agriculture. This experience gave me an interest in food, how it is produced and consumed and the political, economic, social, technological and environmental factors associated with food and the food supply chain. This particular

background has also had a very strong effect on me as an individual, as well as a researcher and is something I have reflected on extensively with regard to this piece of research (see Chapter 4).

#### **1.4.2 The academic rationale for the work**

As I have already discussed, food is important. It is important from economic, political and environmental perspectives as well as being intrinsically wound into our social lives. Authenticity is an important term used in discussions of food, but it is a much contested concept, and there is a dearth of studies that try to establish what people understand by this term, authentic food, in its simplest form. By this I mean before questions are raised about it being authentic British food, local food or by it being defined by some other context. Thus I am examining in this thesis what people perceive authentic food to be.

I am also using a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology is a qualitative method that is suited to investigations of this type. It is also an approach that has been used in a limited way within the food, tourism and hospitality literature and sometimes it has not been used to best effect. There is therefore an opportunity to utilize this method in a comparatively new context. Additionally the philosophical basis to phenomenology has much to contribute to ideas of authenticity. I consider that this is an exciting duality to explore.

#### **1.4.3 Initial ideas on the subject**

I had thought about doing a PhD before going on secondment and on return decided to try and develop my ideas further. Initially I was interested in undertaking a study that looked at the dynamics of sustainability in rural areas and subsequently the relationships that link sustainability in traditional breeds of livestock. I was keen to focus this work on the Exmoor region of North Devon and West Somerset, as this is my home area and it has some very distinctive characteristics that would lend itself to research. Senior members of my School were not receptive to these ideas as there was a cultural move within the School away from involvement in the rural economy, with increasing emphasis on the experience economy. I have a broad range of interests and was intrigued by the idea of the nature of experience. At the same time I wished to retain an interest in food and its production. Subsequently I developed the kernel of an idea that would focus my research on the nature of authenticity with specific reference to food. With this start point in mind I will now explain how this thesis is structured and how it is to be read with particular reference to my use of literature.

## **1.5 The structure of the thesis**

The thesis consists of a number of chapters set out in a way that reflects the inductive nature of what has been undertaken. These are:

### **Chapter 1 Introduction**

This chapter covers the aim and objectives of the study, how the work evolved and the broad academic grounding and context of the thesis. Finally I describe the structure of the thesis.

### **Chapter 2 Literature review**

This contains a broad review of literature designed to establish the area of research and the research gap that I address in this study. As such I examine ideas of authenticity from the food and hospitality literature as well as the tourism literature, where there is a long standing discussion on the subject. I start off the chapter by examining the social and cultural importance of food. This section is designed to further develop the context of the study and to examine some of the ideas that I considered before data collection and analysis. I did not introduce new areas of literature into this chapter after I had analysed the data as this would run counter to the inductive approach associated with qualitative research. Instead I have introduced new literature into the analysis chapters (as well as dialoguing with the literature covered in the review chapter). I consider that this represents a more transparent and honest account of how I used the literature and it is faithful to the inductive approach.

### **Chapter 3 The philosophical underpinning of the work**

In this chapter I initially discuss my philosophical world view. I then move on to look at perspectives on authenticity from the philosophy literature. The final section looks at the specific philosophical theory underpinning the work in terms of phenomenology, hermeneutics and social construction. This is a study based on a phenomenological approach and the underpinning philosophy to this is central to the research method and therefore central to the study.

### **Chapter 4 Methodology**

In this chapter I discuss the broad methodology and specific aspects of the research method. I start off the chapter by outlining the research design. I then go on to look at how I analyzed the data. I finish the chapter by discussing the role that reflexivity played in the study.



## **Chapters 5-8**

The analysis and discussion chapters:

Family and Friends

Saucing

Sourcing

The distinctly other

In these chapters I present the data under thematic headings and enter into a dialogue with the published literature, based on the reflections provided by the participants and my own experience. This is based on material previously discussed in the literature review as well as fresh sources that were pursuing following data analysis. Such literature was not included in the earlier review chapters because analysis led me to it: I did not consider it significant during the earlier literature review.

## **Chapter 9 Conclusions**

In the final chapter I present the key findings of the study. I discuss the way in which the thesis makes a contribution to knowledge and theory and finally I make recommendations for future research.

## Chapter 2: An introduction to the Literature

### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present an overview of the academic literature that helps put into context understandings of perceptions of the authenticity of food. This involves looking at what academics have written about the authenticity of food and also at areas that may be important for my participants' consideration of authentic food. The first challenge in conducting this literature review relates to the way that understandings of authenticity potentially permeate so much of our lives, and the way that so much of our life experience may permeate our understandings of authenticity. As such many people have written about food, authenticity and human existence (severally and together); potentially the pool of literature is very large.

Therefore I will start the introduction with an overview of food culture in the UK and in particular the way that it has changed over the 20th and early 21st centuries. This should give an overview of the way that we are currently consuming food in the UK. This will be followed by a more specific examination of the literature relating to the authenticity of food and the concept of authenticity in the food hospitality and tourism literature.

In total this represents a considerable body of literature and therefore I will be concise in looking at these various themes. Depending on the themes that emerge from data analysis, further literature will be reviewed and presented in the findings chapters as appropriate. This is commonplace in inductive qualitative research, where the literature review takes place in two stages (Holloway and Brown 2012). The conclusion to the chapter will summarize the discussion and it will indicate gaps within the literature that I expect to explore. Primarily this exploration is focused on the nature of the authenticity of food from a human perspective, which is the perspective of individuals and society, where society refers to a group of people who,

*“share a common culture, occupy a particular territorial area, and feel themselves constitute a unified and distinct entity – but there are many different sociological conceptions (see D. Frisby and D. Sayer, 1986). More loosely, it refers to human association or interaction generally, as in the phrase ‘the society of his friends’.”*  
(Scott and Marshall, 2005, p. 622)

Similarly I will be discussing culture and when I do this I will consider culture as,

*“all that in human society which is socially rather than biologically transmitted, whereas the common sense usage tends to point only to the arts.”*  
(Ibid, p. 132-133)

I am aware that, as Scott and Marshall (2005) indicate, there is considerable debate over definitions. Therefore I could have looked at contributions from anthropologists such as Hall (1997), Hofstede (2002), Hofstede et al (2010), and Geertz (2010) for example, however, for the sake of clarity I will use the definitions above as my guidelines. Therefore when I am using the word social I will be favouring ideas relating to the organization of society, and when I am talking about culture I will be referring more to the ideas, social behaviour and customs of a society, of which intellectual activities and arts form a subset. It is within understandings of society and culture that I frame my own perceptions of authenticity, although they extend also into the economic, the political and the environmental. Such is my holistic understanding of the concept. I discuss this further in the Methodology. I am not sure where my participants may position their perceptions; it is the aim of my study to find out.

Given the philosophical perspective that I am assuming for this work, there is a second challenge and that is to explore the literature without developing too many preconceptions. As indicated in the introduction, this thesis represents an approach that is ‘post-modern’, ‘interpretive’, ‘inductive’ and ‘phenomenological’ by nature. For some researchers working within this philosophical space, preconceptions are problematic. This is one of the tensions within an hermeneutic approach where foreknowledge influences our understanding (Schmidt 2006). Our readings (understandings) of a text are based on our understandings of previous texts that we have read (Adler 1997). This suggests that no concept can have an absolute meaning (Waeber 1996), not for the individual and certainly not for a collective (and that is before we start to look at the postmodern playfulness of authors such as Derrida (1997 and 2001)). I consider that this is a tension, but not a problem; it is a statement about our ontological and epistemological existence. It is something to be acknowledged and managed. In order not to pre-empt my findings I have not attempted to undertake an exhaustive review of the literature, but one that again indicates the scope or dimensions of discussion that have bearing on the research area. Thus I hope not to overcrowd my mind with ideas that might affect my interaction with the participants and my analysis of the data. This is something that is a particular concern for qualitative researchers and part of the focus of the phenomenological approach, which I shall discuss in the literature review (chapter 4). As Holloway and Brown (2012), reflecting on the work of Husserl maintain,

*"For Husserl, this was at the centre of his understanding of the practice of phenomenology, calling this suspension of preconceptions "the phenomenological reduction," which aims for open-mindedness in researchers. This does not mean that you try to empty yourself of all past knowledge but that you maintain this knowledge aside. Both descriptive and hermeneutic phenomenologists would agree that the possibility of seeing something freshly, differently, or from a new perspective is a crucial dimension of phenomenology's discovery-orientated approach."*  
(Ibid, p. 42)

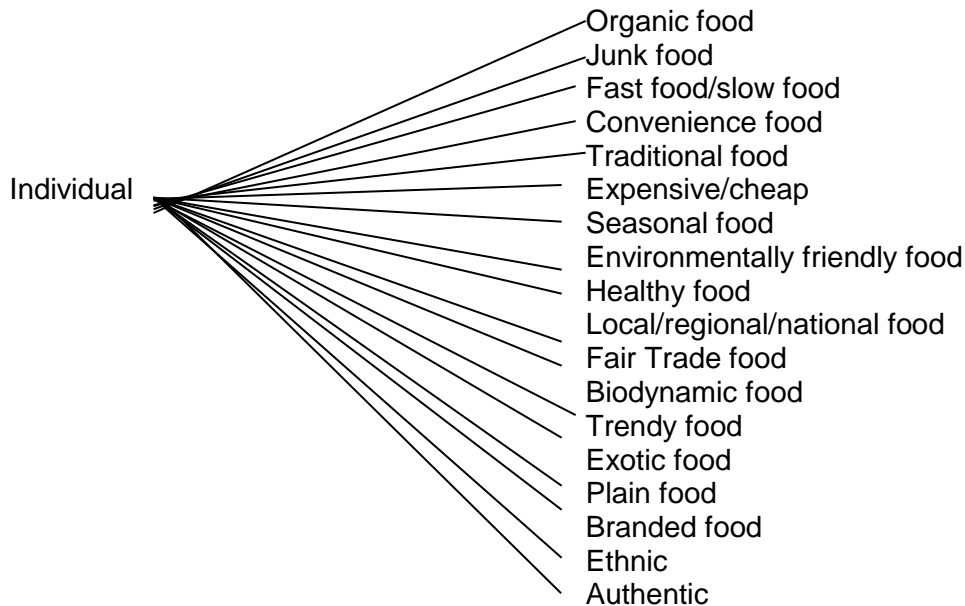
Again this was a spur for producing an overview of literature that is concise. Whilst there is a conciseness to the literature review, there is also breadth. In part, this is to provide a further indication of context, but also given the inductive approach, I do not know where my participants may take me within this context, so in part it needs to be broad. It also covers many of the areas that may be relevant to ideas of authenticity and so foregrounds my own personal understanding. Having said, this I will refresh the references in this review after analysis to maintain a greater currency for the reader, and then further refresh the references that I use in the analysis chapters in terms of currency and scope, depending on the direction that the data takes me. My approach to the literature review and the broader use of literature in the thesis is guided by Holloway and Brown (2012), also Ridley (2008), Chenail et al. (2010), and Daymon and Holloway (2010). After a brief introduction I will now examine the social and cultural importance of food in terms of popular food culture, sustainability, protected foods and localness and tradition.

## **2.2 The social and cultural importance of food**

### **2.2.1 Introduction**

There can be little doubt that society and culture are dynamic in nature. In this section, I will indicate how food culture has changed during the 20th - 21st-centuries. In 1996, Mark Redman and I (Beer and Redman 1996) gave an overview of this process in the UK during the latter half of the 20th century, focusing mainly on the environmental background to food consumption. Other commentators (such as Mennel (1992); Mennel and Murcott (1992); Tansey and Worsley (1995); Blythman (1996, 2006); Beardsworth and Keil (1997); Macbeth (1997); Warde (1997); Fieldhouse (1998); Germov and Williams (1999); Atkins and Bowler (2001); Gillespie (2001); Rebora (2001); Spencer (2002); Civitello (2003); Rappoport (2003); Watson and Caldwell (2004), Counihan and Van Esterik (2013), Ashley et al (2004), Anderson (2014), and Johnston and Baumann (2015)) have also commented on the enormous social and cultural changes that are associated with food consumption and its complexity.

There is now a situation where our understanding of the food consumer has become more complex and individualized, with multiple factors considered to affect consumption, of which authenticity is one of many, as indicated in figure 2.1 below.



**Figure 2.1: An impression of the range of perspectives with which British consumers may view their food choices. (Adapted from Beer et al. 2008)**

In order to explore this further, I will now look at some of the literature relating to themes that might be important to an understanding of the authenticity of food. These are: popular food culture, sustainability, protected foods, and localness and tradition.

### **2.2.2 Popular food cultures**

In terms of popular culture, I am referring to the food that is commonly eaten by people living in the UK. This has been in a constant state of flux, with many authors (such as Burnett (1983 and 1999); Black (1985 a, b); Brears (1985a,b); Drummond and Wilbraham (1991); Hagen (1992, 1995); Oddly (2003); Mason (2004); and Spencer (2012)) describing the changes in British food and drink over, in some cases, hundreds of years. Mason (2004) provides a good overview of the situation in the early 21st century with the movement from an ethnically white British food culture (see Beer 2009) to a culture that is based on multicultural food consumed within discrete cultural groups, consumed between cultural groups and also aspects of a fusion of the different cuisines (Panayi 2010). Indian, Chinese, Thai, Italian, French and many other gastronomies are to be found in restaurants and takeaways on the British high street, as well as in ready meals for sale in British supermarkets and home cooked meals. As part of this cultural change, there has been a growth in the supply of food for specific

ethnic and religious groups, thus we have seen a growth in the supply of Halal food as the Muslim population has increased (Lodhi 2005; Ahmed 2008; Wilson and Liu 2010). There has also been an interest in diet from a number of other personal perspectives, including health for example (Shepherd et al. 2006; Stevenson et al. 2007). In some cases, issues of health have led to significant changes in diet and individuals becoming vegetarian or vegan, for example (Ruby 2012), though these decisions may be for many other reasons. The numbers of people opting for these diets in the UK is increasing (Beardsworth and Keil 1993; Rozin et al. 1997; Beardsworth and Bryman 1999; Kenyon and Barker 1998; McDonald 2000; Poveya et al. 2001; Philips 2005; Timothy et al. 2006; Key Note 2012).

Another reason for this significant embracing of different cuisines would seem to be the popularity of food programs on television and radio (Hardyment 1995). Indeed this has given rise to a phenomenon known as the celebrity chef. Early celebrity chefs included individuals such as Fanny Craddock and Graham Kerr ("the galloping gourmet"). The new generation of celebrity chefs includes individuals such as Delia Smith, Jamie Oliver and Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall. Such is the power of these chefs that an expression, the "Delia effect", is now part of common language. This expression refers to the purchasing of products by consumers following their use in a television cookery programme. Their broader power, above and beyond links with industry, should not be underestimated (Caraher et al. 2000; Hansen 2008) and should be reflected upon (Rousseau 2012). All this adds to the rich milieu that represents popular food culture in the UK.

### **2.2.3 Sustainability**

In the area of food production and consumption, there has been much discussion with regard to what the term sustainable means. Sustainable development is defined in the Brundtland Commission Report Our Common Future as,

*"... development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"*  
Brundtland Commission (1987, p. 43)

Other definitions include:

*"... improving the quality of life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems"*  
IUCN - World Conservation Union, (1991, p. 14)

*".. living on the earth's income rather than eroding its capital. It means keeping the consumption of renewable natural resources within the limits of their replenishment. It means handing down to successive generations not only man-made wealth (such as buildings, roads and railways) but also natural wealth, such as clean and adequate water supplies, good arable land, a wealth of wildlife and ample forests"*

This Common Inheritance: Britain's Environmental Strategy, DETR (1990, p. 47)

From these definitions, themes start to emerge. These relate to current actions and being able to continue to live a good life in the future. From a business perspective, it is possible to look at The Triple Bottom Line, or "TBL", "3BL", or "People, Planet, Profit". This was used by the United Nations, through the ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives), to develop a standard approach to public sector full cost accounting and is increasingly being adopted by the private sector as part of Corporate and Social Responsibility. The phrase was first coined by John Elkington in 1994 (see Elkington 1994 and 1998).

This type of focus is all very well but there is a secondary question: what does the consumer perceive as being sustainable? Many authors have examined the rise of the ethical consumer. Newholm and Shaw (2007) provide a very good overview of many of the issues. There seems to have been a rise in ethical consumption in the late twentieth century, of which green consumerism can be seen to be a part (Smith 1994; Blythman 1996; Mephram 1996; Germov and Williams 1999; Atkins and Bowler 2001; Schlosser 2002; Wilson 2008; Zaharia and Zaharia 2014).

Possibly this move to the ethical has been as a result of increased media coverage (Roberts 1996; Strong 1996.) Interestingly, Thøgersen (2006) maintains that there is now an anti-environment media backlash that may affect businesses that have a green or sustainable orientation. An increase in available information has been cited by Smith (1995), Strong (1996), and Berry and McEachern (2005). The greater diversity of products and attempts at segmentation have also been mentioned by Strong (1996). Risk mediation has been suggested by some (Beck 1992; Harrison et al. 2005; Parkins and Craig 2006) and food has been the subject of a whole variety of on-going concerns and specific scares, which may also have sensitized the consumer to thinking about the provenance of their food. Other authors argue that when consumers are freed from the basic difficulty in obtaining protein and calories, as a result of an increase in income, they may start looking at other things to do with where their food and other goods come from, ethical concerns and environmental impact forming part of this (Brooker 1976; Hansen and Schrader 1997; Dickinson and Carsky 2005). Whatever the reasoning, there is strong evidence for change in culture, though this is not a

universal change and seems to affect some individuals more than others depending on income and access opportunities (Kardash 1974; Peatie 2001; Finisterra do Paço et al. 2008).

## **Organic Food**

With a growth of interest in sustainability we might expect to see a growth in the sales of organic food. Organic food is often considered to be food produced without the use of artificial fertilizers, pesticides and fungicides, but actually it is more complicated than that. Organic production is governed by European Union regulations (Defra 2015a). In the UK, organic supply is overseen at the production level by one of ten certification bodies: Organic Farmers and Growers Ltd (UK2), Scottish Organic Producers Association (UK3), Organic Food Federation (UK4), Soil Association Certification Ltd (UK5), Bio-Dynamic Agricultural Association (UK6), Irish Organic Farmers and Growers Association (UK7), Organic Trust Limited (UK9), CMI Certification (UK10) and Ascisco Ltd (UK15) (Defra 2015b). Since 1993, when EC Council Regulation 2092/91 (European Commission 2007) came into effect, organic food production has been strictly regulated.

Regulation sets out the systems used in organic farming and growing and the inspection system, which must be implemented to ensure this. All foods sold as organic must originate from certified growers, processors and importers. This regulation is implemented in the UK under the Organic Product Regulations 2004, using the Compendium of UK Organic Standards. This set of regulations defines organic food and its production in the UK (Defra 2015c). Thus when a consumer buys organic food in a shop, or through a food service outlet, there will be an audit trail that can trace the ingredients back to the point of production and guarantee that the systems of production conform to the organic ethos laid out in the regulations.

Consumers buy organic food for many different reasons. These include notions such as it is better for the environment, uses less agrochemicals, is safer, more nutritious, less processed and more natural (Harper and Makatouni 2002; Makatouni 2002; Padel and Foster 2005; Williamson 2007) although some maintain that their motivations may be in some way less than ethical (McEachern and McClean 2002). In the UK, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, growth in the consumption of organic food escalated rapidly. In 2007, the Soil Association (2007) reported that,

*“retail sales of organic products in the UK were worth an estimated £1,937 million – representing a 22% increase since 2005. The retail market for organic*



*products has grown by an average of 27% a year over the last decade.” (Ibid. 2007, p. 3).*

There was no organic market report in 2008 from the Soil Association and it is not clear why this was the case, however, by 2009 the figures reflecting back on 2008 represent an overall increase of 1.7%. This strong early growth dropped-off as the recession took hold in late 2008 (Soil Association 2009). In 2009, sales showed a decline of 12.9% compared to 2008 (Soil Association 2010), 2010 was 5.9% down on 2009 and 2011 was 3.7% down on 2010 (Soil Association 2011, 2012). Thus, over four years there had been more than a 24% slowdown in the consumption of organic food in the UK. In part, this indicates that the consumption of organic products may well be price sensitive; it represents a luxury section of the shopping basket. Also it might have represented a maturing of the market, as outlined by Smith and Marsden (2004) where a ‘new’ commodity in the market gradually succumbs to the price pressures of the food supply chain, however, 2012 saw a growth of 1.5%, 2013, 2.8% and 2014, 4% (Soil Association 2013, 2014, 2015), figures that indicate a recovery, but growth that will have to be interpreted in the fullness of time.

### **Fair Trade**

As well as environmental concerns associated with food, social concerns also appear important to some consumers. One area which exemplifies this is the idea of Fair Trade, which can be seen to develop benefits socially, economically and environmentally for the food and drink producers. There is great disparity between the amount of money that farmers or primary producers earn and the prices/returns for those further up the supply chain; for processors and retailers for example (see Beer 2001b for an example based on the international supply chains for red meat). As a result of this and other social concerns, the Fair Trade movement developed and has given rise to a number of brands, including the Fairtrade Mark, which is probably where most individuals come across this concept (Raynolds 2000; Renard 2003; Raynolds et al. 2007; Andorfer and Liebe 2011). The Fairtrade mark is essentially a consumer label which appears on products as an independent guarantee that the primary food producer is getting a better return for their crop.

Fair Trade products must meet the International Fairtrade Standards (Fairtrade Foundation 2015) that are set by the International certification body, Fairtrade Labelling Organisation International. Trading standards stipulate that traders must:

- pay a price to producers that covers the costs of sustainable production and living;
- pay a 'premium' that producers can invest in development;

- make partial advance payments when requested by producers;
- sign contracts that allow for long-term planning and sustainable production practices.

The theory is that certain consumers will be prepared to pay more for their coffee for example if they think that some of that premium is going to the primary producer (Jones et al. 2003; Bacon 2005; Loureiro and Lotadeb 2005; Andorfer and Liebe 2011). Reynolds (2002) maintains that this process shortens the social distance between producer and consumer. Food Products that currently have fair trade status include: bananas, cocoa, coffee, dried fruit, fresh fruit and fresh vegetables, honey, juices, nuts/oil seeds and purees, quinoa, rice, spices, sugar, tea, and wine. Many organizations have achieved Fairtrade status whereby they have expressed a commitment to developing systems that support the fair trade ethos, with regard to their catering for example. Increasingly Fairtrade is entering the 'mainstream'. For example, many chocolate brands will use Fairtrade chocolate. Some consider that the mainstreaming of the Fair Trade movement may result in it losing its more radical edge (Low and Davenport 2005). Of course, if the coffee is purchased from an ethical source that supports overseas farmers, yet the milk that goes into the coffee comes from standard sources that may well exploit farmers closer to home, the true reality of 'fair trade' may be a little tarnished.

### **Animal welfare**

Animal welfare is another area that can be considered within the multiple dimensions of sustainability. With changes in culture, so there have been changes in the demand for foodstuffs that do not compromise as much the welfare of any animals involved. Possibly 'compromise the welfare' is a term that is a little evasive. If we eat meat, we kill animals and this process is never pleasant and for some immoral (Singer 1995; Foer 2009). McLeod-Kilmurray (2012) has discussed this in terms of the implications of 'Industrial Livestock production' and its effects on animal welfare in particular, but also the broader environment in general, using Bosselam's (2006) concept of ecological justice. The ultimate expression of this may well be the fruitarian approach where advocates only consume fruits, concerned as they are for the damage they may do to animals living in the soil if they consume roots. As a form of veganism it might be considered a little extreme by some. Vegans (those who do not consume any animal products) and vegetarians (those who do not eat meat but who will eat other animal products such as dairy) may adopt their dietary preferences for different reasons, but many do so because of concerns over animal welfare (see authors such as Johnson 1996; Wicks 1999; Sabaté et al. 2001; De Backer and Hudders 2015). Whether these diets would still be called bizarre and unusual (Dickerson and Fehily 1979) is

debateable, though there are concerns about aspects of nutrition, particularly regarding fruitarian diets (Wolfe 2007; Mangels 2008).

There are other options that still involve the consumption of animals, but take into account aspects of animal welfare. The Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has developed a welfare branding system called, Freedom Foods (RSPCA 2015). Again this is based on the idea that consumers may pay a premium for food that is produced in a 'better' way (Bennett 1997). The scheme is based on the Farm Animal Welfare Council's Five Freedoms (FAWC 2015):

1. Freedom from Hunger and Thirst - by ready access to fresh water and a diet to maintain full health and vigour.
2. Freedom from Discomfort - by providing an appropriate environment including shelter and a comfortable resting area.
3. Freedom from Pain, Injury or Disease - by prevention or rapid diagnosis and treatment.
4. Freedom to Express Normal Behaviour - by providing sufficient space, proper facilities and company of the animal's own kind.
5. Freedom from Fear and Distress - by ensuring conditions and treatment which avoid mental suffering.

This branding scheme, amongst others, gives consumers the opportunity to buy meat that comes from production systems that have clearly defined welfare standards and exclude some modern practices in terms of animal farming. Some commentators maintain that this is a fairly static system and that something more dynamic, that takes into consideration an animal's changing circumstances, is necessary (Kortea et al. 2007). There are also proposals to introduce a European Union scheme (Kehlbacher et al. 2012) and there is evidence that consumers may be willing to pay differentiated premia (ibid; Napoliano et al. 2010) or may not (Harvey and Hubbard 2013). It is possible that consumers will only buy these products if they are in some way subsidized. There also seems to be significant variations in consumer attitudes from country to country as not all cultural groups have the same understanding of animal welfare (Nocella et al. 2010; Toma et al. 2012).

#### **2.2.4 Protected foods**

In certain circumstances governments will seek to give special credence to certain food products; something that could be considered a form of authentication. The European Union sets out definitions for the nature of specific foods using a certification scheme (Defra 2015d; EU 2015). The basis of this scheme is summarized by Defra as,

*“In 1993 EU legislation came into force which provides for a system for the protection of food names on a geographical or traditional recipe basis. The scheme highlights regional and traditional foods whose authenticity and origin can be guaranteed. Under this system a named food or drink registered at a European level will be given legal protection against imitation throughout the EU. Producers who register their products for protection benefit from having a raised awareness of their product throughout Europe. This may in turn help them take advantage of consumers’ increasing awareness of the importance of regional and speciality foods.”*  
(ibid).

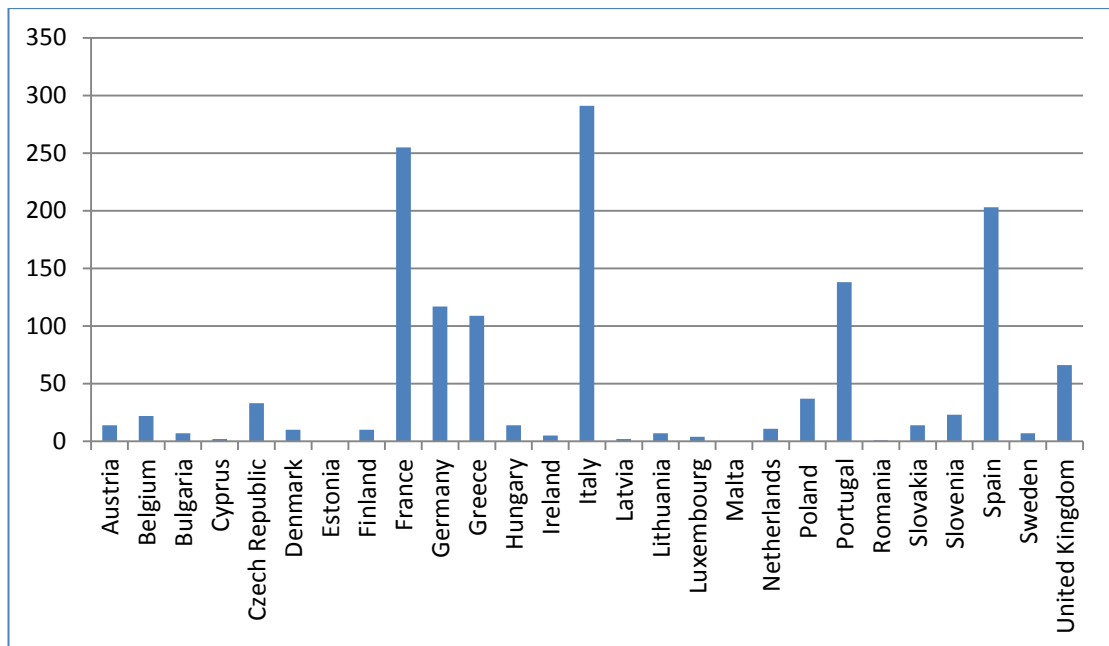
Thus certificates of Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) & Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (Certificate of Specific Character, CSC) are used to set out a legal definition of a whole series of different products. These certificates may record geographic areas of production (comparable to the French *Terroir* system), ingredients and production methods. Some examples of UK registered products are given in table 2.1.

**Table 2.1: Table to show examples of various protected foods/drinks in the UK (Defra 2015d).**

Type of food/drink	Examples and type of protection
Beer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kentish ale PGI</li> <li>• Newcastle Brown Ale PGI</li> <li>• Rutland Bitter PGI</li> </ul>
Cheeses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Buxton Blue PDO</li> <li>• Dorset Blue PGI</li> <li>• West Country Farmhouse Cheddar PDO</li> </ul>
Ciders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gloucestershire cider PGI</li> <li>• Herefordshire perry PGI</li> </ul>
Cream	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cornish Clotted Cream PDO</li> </ul>
Fresh fish, mollusks and crustaceans and products derived there from	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arbroath Smokie PGI</li> <li>• Scottish Farmed Salmon PGI</li> <li>• Whitstable Oysters PGI</li> </ul>
Fresh meat and offal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Orkney lamb PDO</li> <li>• Scotch beef PGI</li> </ul>
Fresh vegetables	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jersey Royal Potatoes PDO</li> </ul>
Traditional Speciality Guaranteed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional Farmfresh Turkey CSC</li> </ul>
Certificates of: PDO: Protected Designation of Origin, PGI: Protected Geographical Indication: TSG :Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (Formerly, Certificate of Specific Character or CSC)	

As can be seen from the graph below (Figure 2.2), the distribution of these products is not even throughout the EU, with six out of the 27 countries (Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Greece) having a 79.4% share of all EU designations as of March 2013. The importance of these designations should not be underestimated. An

example of their perceived commercial value can be gauged by recent court actions relating to certifications such as that between the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie Association and Northern Foods (Evans and Blackney 2006; Nair 2006; Potter 2012).



**Figure 2.2: Graph to show the numbers of protected food and drink products in the EU as of March 2013 for different member states. (EU 2015).**

Northern Foods, a major UK based food producer, tried to block a designation which would have meant that the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie –a classic component of British gastronomy- would have to be produced in a specific area rather than a number of locations around the UK. Similar confrontations have occurred with regard to the production of Parma Ham in Italy and between the Champagne producers of France and the wine producers of England (Thienes 1994). In the latter case, English producers are no longer allowed to market their sparkling elderflower wine as Elderflower Champagne.

These sorts of designations are not limited to the EU (Mochini et al. 2008), nor do they sit easily within the dynamics of international trade (Josling 2006). Interestingly the EU is now certifying food products from non EU countries as part of the scheme. As of March 2013 Andorra, Brazil, Columbia, Croatia, Sri Lanka, Morocco, Norway, and Vietnam have one item registered, India two, Thailand three, Turkey four, and China 10 (EU 2015). Within the EU, there is some evidence that consumers are interested in this form of certification (Dimara and Skuras 2003; McCluskey and Loureiro 2003; Superkova et al. 2008), but it is limited and is mostly from European countries other

than the UK. Indeed there seems to be scepticism about food assurance schemes within the UK (Eden et al. 2008).

### **2.2.5. Localness and tradition**

#### **Exploring the idea of localness**

One way in which individual interests and concerns with regard to food seem to have come together is in an interest in 'local food'. This movement (in terms of history and process) has been described by commentators in books by Pinkerton and Hopkins (2009), Ackerman-Leist (2013), and Small (2013) and in academic papers, by Ilbery et al. (2006), Hinrichs (2003), Sonnino and Marsden (2006), Feagan (2007), Giovannucci *et al.* (2010), Pearson et al. (2011), and Wittman et al. (2012). Ideas of local food evoke a sense of place as described for Monmouthshire by Haven-Tang and Jones (2005; 2010). In Beer (2001a), I described how originally human beings had very short food supply chains (they ate what they hunted and gathered) and how these supply chains gradually lengthened with the on-going process of specialisation and aggregation within the food supply chain. In the late 20th century, these extended global food supply chains began to be viewed with increasing scepticism by some people, as has already been discussed. This led to individuals seeking out food which had been produced more locally and in ways with which they had more sympathy; and herein lies a tension, particularly with regard to academic interpretations of this movement; 'local food' is not just about food that is produced locally.

This tension can be considered three fold and relates to place, purpose, and process. The word 'local' implies a short supply chain; a close proximity of production to consumption; but local might be 10 metres (my back garden) or 1,000 miles (if I lived in Australia). This local production may be for a whole series of different reasons or purposes (political, economic, social/cultural, and environmental), combined or otherwise, and may be implemented through a whole series of different processes. The definition of each of these elements can vary from case to case, though the term 'local food' may be used as a catch-all for this movement, or localness may be a component of a variety of other terms used to describe food movements that question the modern global food supply chain. Allen et al. (2003, p. 63) talk about "multiple and conflicting meanings" and Feagan (2007, p. 24) endeavours to tease out "the diverse respatialization threads among (such) food system permutations". In doing this Feagan separates out elements, but subsequently brings them back together concluding that localness is diverse.

In the table in appendix 2.1, I have taken some of the names for these movements cited by Feagan (2007) and have described the different components of place, purpose and process that the terms represent according to the original authors. This analysis shows that localness, when looking at actual distance from producer to consumer, can have multiple definitions in terms of distance and the importance of distance. For some, chain length may be important; for others, the number of links in the chain. The purpose is also multifaceted. Some consider that the aim is to oppose the globalisation of the food chain by agri-food businesses. For others, it is about providing safe or sustainable or decentralised or environmentally sound or democratic or just, food for all. In terms of processes, we are looking at many different ideas, from farm shops and farmers markets through to cooperatives and political activism. Whilst I have already indicated that this may be a problem relating to Feagan's methodology, it is also indicative of the complexity of the construction of this term. In contrast, Werkheiser and Noll (2014) have questioned the very basis upon which local food systems operate. Far from addressing ethical concerns they highlight the way that these systems may perpetuate the status quo.

Even if we simply focus on the length of the supply chain, problems ensue. As I discussed in Beer (2008), a confrontation arose in 2007 involving a supermarket and an organic food chain; the central dispute revolved around the definition of local (Times 2007). The editorial indicated that;

*“Whole Foods Market, the American organic food chain that opened a London store in Kensington last month, is being investigated by trading standards officials after a complaint from Waitrose. It is thought that the complaint relates to the way that Whole Foods defines local produce as food sourced from anywhere in Britain.”*  
(Ibid, p.3)

The response from the organic retailer was:

*“we don't have a strict definition of local- that is up to our customers. We give them the name of the product and where it is from so they can make their own decisions (Ibid, p.3)*

The debate around this concept of localness led the Food Standards Agency in the UK to commission a report on the subject: COI (2007). This was based on interviews with 1508 adults aged 16 and over. The report is wide ranging but, with specific reference to the term local, the results were interesting. Most respondents (40%) said that local food was food produced within a ten-mile radius of their home, however, 20% defined it

as being produced within their county, 15% from their county or a neighbouring county and 20% as being produced within the region.

Feagan (2007, p. 1) states that there,

*“Is a strong argument for replacing our food systems, while simultaneously calling for careful circumspection and greater clarity regarding how we delineate and understand the ‘local’.”*

At the same time he states that,

*“Being conscious of the constructed nature of the ‘local’, ‘community’ and ‘place’ means seeing the importance of local social, cultural and ecological particularity in our everyday worlds, whilst also recognizing that we are reflexively and dialectically tied to many diverse locals around the world.”* (ibid p.1)

It is difficult to see how these two aims can be effectively reconciled and it may well be that the term local can really only be defined by the individual(s) that use(s) it.

### **Exploring the idea of tradition**

If defining local is problematic, then the same can be said for ‘traditional’, though possibly for different reasons. In his paper from 1991, entitled "what is tradition?" Bruns highlighted the key to the problem,

*“I can’t promise that I will be able to produce a clear idea of what tradition is. Possibly it will be enough if I can just make it harder for people to speak of tradition in the usual way, which is to say, without a second thought.”*  
(Bruns 1991, p. 1).

The problem is that the word ‘tradition’ is used without any real thought as to what it actually means. The Oxford English Dictionary (OD 2015) defines tradition as,

*“the transmission of customs or beliefs from generation to generation, or the fact of being passed on in this way.”*

and the key word here is transmission. There is much discussion in the literature about what is traditional, but little on how foods become traditional. Shils (2006) explores the idea of tradition within its broadest sense, and describes the tension thus;

*“Being handed down does not logically entail any normative, mandatory proposition. The presence of something from the past does not entail any explicit expectation that it should be accepted, appreciated, re-enacted or otherwise assimilated.”* (Ibid, p. 12).



Critchley (2001) looks to the work of Husserl and Heidegger to identify two approaches to the transmission of tradition (for Husserl he draws on the Crises of the European sciences 1970b and for Heidegger, Being and Time 1962). Critchley maintains that there are two approaches to tradition,

*“1. As something inherited or handed down without questioning or critical interrogation.*

*2. As something made or produced through a critical engagement with the first sense of tradition, as an appeal to tradition that is in no way traditional, a radical tradition.” (Critchley 2001, p. 69).*

Thus what is handed down may well be picked up as tradition, may not be picked up or may give rise to a radical new tradition which owes its existence to the old.

In terms of food there are some insights. In the 1990s, Euoterroirs undertook an exercise to produce an inventory of regional food in Europe. In Great Britain, this was published as a text called *Traditional Food of Britain: An Inventory* (Mason and Brown, 1999). The listing of traditional foods for the South West of England included delicacies such as; Bath Chaps, Bath Oliver, brawn, chitterlings, clotted cream, Cornish Heavy Cake, Cornish Pasty, Devon Cattle, Devonshire Split, Dorset Horn sheep, Dorset Knobs, elvers, Mendip Wallfish, Plymouth Gin, Shrub, and spiced beef.

The inventory was based on a series of criteria for inclusion. These were:

*“1. Region: preferably, the food should be linked to a region and, ideally, the locality should be included in the name of the product.*

*2. History: the food should have a dead men struggle tradition that extended three generations (a generation was taken to mean 25 years) or longer.*

*3. Savoir-faire or knowledge: a specific body of knowledge should be required for processing the ingredients or manufacturing the product, for example cheese-making, brewing, baking or fruit cultivation.*

*4. Marketing: the product should be ‘alive’, or still marketed. Scale production was not an issue - it could be kilos or tonnes. Foods that were sold through restaurants, however, were not counted as marketed; nor were any that were only cooked or created for domestic consumption.*

*5. Recently extinct products, now vanished but which people alive can still remember were included.*

*6. ‘Emergent’ products based on traditional craftsmanship but made by new producers and adjusted to the demands of today's consumers were also included.” (Ibid, p. 12-13).*

The authors were critical of the process that had been used although they maintained that the purpose of the introduction to their book was to,

*“Justify the approach agreed by Euroterroirs in producing a valid list, albeit with exclusions, omissions and lacunae, of traditional British foods!”*  
(Ibid, p. 13)

The categories used provide a fascinating insight into the way in which organisations might seek to define something and the problems of exclusion that this can cause. Particularly evident would seem to be the continental fascination with the terroir, as typified by the Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée, Le Label Rouge and the Appellation Montagne (Bessière 1998). Also evident is the tension between authority (however 'democratic' the process of validation may be perceived) and the individual. In terms of tradition, this is something that Bruns (1991, p. 8) warns of,

*“One must not conflate and confuse tradition with the forms of cultural transmission that tried to fix and control it. Tradition must always be distinguished from institutions of interpretation.”*

Bruns (1991) sees tradition as a far more open and honest form of transmission and draws on the philosophy of Gadamer, Lévinas and Derrida to place it firmly within a discourse between people the past and the future. Bessière (1998) also sees interplay, but this time it is between tradition and modernity in developing an idea of heritage. If all terms (tradition, modernity, heritage, local, and authenticity) are in a continual state of flux as a product of their social construction, then this will give rise to a very fluid world which we can examine through snapshots or through understandings of this fluidity. At the same time there will be forces within us and without that to seek to try and 'fix and control'. Gruffudd (1995) considers that the 'fixing' can be quite deliberate, possibly cynical, "Ethno-histories – encoded as "traditions" – are frequently inventions or recycled myths" (Gruffudd 1995, p. 49), though they may serve a purpose for society. This fits in well with the ideas of invented tradition classically put forward by Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983), as also discussed by Boorstin (1997) in *The Image. A guide to pseudo-events in America* and taken further still, but possibly in a different direction, in the discussions of Baudrillard (1994) in *Simulacra and Simulation*. These references may seem a little dated, but they represent original foundations of the discussion that continues today when an author such as Belasco (2014) examines the modern invention of food traditions in the USA.

These concepts are further discussed by authors such as Bonner (1998) and Shils (2006) in broad terms, but the more specific food literature is not as enlightening in terms of seeking to investigate how certain foods become traditional foods. Authors are often very good at explaining the history and development of a food such as the British consumption of tea (Smith 1986) or the Vietnamese consumption of rice (Avieli 2012) and as such may well be describing the processes that give rise to a product or practice being called traditional. What authors do not do is make this connection explicit. Many authors simply take the concept as a given; something that Bruns (1991) warned about.

### **2.2.6 Conclusions**

In this section I have examined the literature that relates to the principal social factors that I think provide context to food consumption in the UK and also represent issues that may well come to the fore when participants discuss their ideas of the authenticity of food and drink. As such, it represents my feelings with regard to what issues may well be important, though these may not be important for my participants. In that eventuality, I will draw on additional sources of literature when analysing my data.

I would now like to look at the academic literature relating to authenticity in general, and the authenticity of food and drink in particular. To do this, I will look at a discussion that has taken place in the food and hospitality literature and then the tourism literature, where there has been some very involved work on the subject of authenticity.

## **2.3 Ideas of authenticity in the food and hospitality literature**

### **2.3.1 Introduction**

In this section I will look specifically at the food and hospitality literature with regard to authenticity. I will start off with a brief introduction and then will go on to look at the importance of the authenticity of food. After this I will consider objectivity and subjectivity as well as time, production, localness, nature, place and perception before drawing some conclusions.

I consider that the food literature addresses the subject from three primary perspectives: validation, description and nature. In terms of the amount written, the most important area of discussion is validation. By **validation** I mean the scientific determination that what a food is described as, is indeed what it is. Most of this literature is scientific in nature and describes the ways in which food can be tested,

verified or validated as being unadulterated and containing the specific ingredients or levels of nutrients that it is supposed to by law or by product description. Thus there are authors such as Reid et al. (2006) who examine recent technological advances in the determination of food authenticity, Asensio et al. (2008) the determination of food authenticity by enzyme-linked immunosorbent assay (ELISA), which are all scientific papers about how food scientists verify that a food contains what it is supposed to contain. There are many such papers.

Seemingly the second most popular area of research relates to the **description** of food, recipes and eating experiences (though this might be considered to be hospitality) that have a specific identity. Thus there will be discussion of what is Parma Ham (Hayes et al. 2003), a Melton Mowbray Pork Pie (Gangjee 2006) or a Roman Sauce (Grainger 2006) for example, or what constitutes a genuine Medieval Arab meal (Perry 2006). Beardsworth and Kiel (1997), and Fischler (1988) maintain that it may well be impossible to define these mythical authentic recipes, given the involvement of individual cooks and specific ingredients, however, these authors tend to take a positivist perspective with regard to defining the existence of a food; there is a specific thing called Parma Ham or a Cornish pasty and they are able to say exactly what it is. Some are more nuanced. Miele and Murcoch (2002) examined the aesthetics of traditional Tuscan cuisines. They discuss the aesthetics of entertainment, the gastronomic aesthetic of food, the aesthetic of typicality, and place in the context of a specific restaurant. They use the word authentic but never really explain what it means. There tends to be less discussion of the way that this authenticity is/was derived (authentication), differing perspectives, the feelings of the individual, the meaning of authenticity. This search for meaning is what I call the **nature** of authentic food, in other words how we as individuals or societies determine, experience, construct authenticity.

### **2.3.2 The importance of the authenticity of food**

I have already discussed the importance of food to human society from a range of perspectives. Authenticity and its connection to food are seen by many to be particularly important. Beverland (2005), looking at luxury wine, maintains that authenticity is "*one of the cornerstones of contemporary marketing*" (p. 1003). Carroll and Wheaton (2009) maintain that references to authenticity, with regard to food and dining, have increased sharply in the recent past. DeSoucey (2010) highlights how tradition and authenticity are seen as valuable ways of protecting food producers in one country against imports from abroad (see also Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Soares 1997; Shils 2006). At the same time, Groves (2001) maintains that consumers have an

expectation that authentic food will attract a price premium. York (2014) highlights the importance of concepts of authenticity to the value of many goods; however, he considers that the whole idea is a 'con'. This is important from a commercial perspective but also from a social perspective as Robinson and Clifford (2007, p. 3) maintain: Food & Drink are 'defining cultural artefacts' and therefore their authenticity is obviously a subject for debate.

### **2.3.3 Objectivity and subjectivity in considerations of authenticity**

As indicated above, the discussion of authenticity within the food literature has tended to be structured in terms of validation, description and nature. Within the discussion of validation and description, there seems to be some internal structure or narrative, however, within the discussion of nature, it is much more difficult to define this narrative thread. There are few well-defined historical milestones with regard to the literature, in contrast to that in the tourism literature which I will discuss in the next section. Having said this, Robinson and Clifford (2007) do try to do look at this narrative thread within a flow from structuralism (Functionalism) to post-structuralism. They do not make a strong case, but probably do not set out to as it is not the central argument of the paper.

There is some discussion of objectivity and subjectivity. For example, Jang et al. (2012), when looking at authenticity in ethnic restaurants, consider that authenticity can be viewed in two ways, objectively and subjectively. Their initial starting point is Taylor's (1991) definition of authenticity, "that which is believed accepted to be genuine or real" (ibid, p. 17). Here, they are defining a word by using other words, which they do not define. This is something that others do and that I discuss specifically in the next section. They consider this definition to be one that leans towards objectivity. Indeed the paper is a positivist quantitative analysis using exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis. In addition, they support this objective viewpoint by citing Trilling (1972), Appadurai (1986), Cohen (1988a), Ebster and Guist (2004), and Wang (1999) that authenticity is best judged by an expert. In this particular context they consider that the authenticity of an ethnic restaurant is best judged by individuals who are natives of the culture that the restaurant represents as presumably there is a 'form' that is correct. Subjective authenticity on the other hand is 'constructivist' and dependent on context, with customers expecting symbolic authenticity assessed from an outsider's perspective, based on past experience or knowledge. The implication is that subjective authenticity is not 'genuine or real' authenticity at all. They also call subjective authenticity perceived authenticity, but do acknowledge that this perception has value. Sims (2009) considered that food providers were more objective with regard to their

understanding of authenticity, whereas consumers were more subjective when constructing authenticity, often in a way that was connected to achieving a more authentic sense of self. Tellestrom et al. (2006) go as far to suggest that many stories of localness and authenticity are constructed to “reflect urban consumers’ ideas of the countryside” (p. 130).

#### **2.3.4 Authenticity: Time, production, localness, nature and place**

As well as objectivity and subjectivity, a number of other themes emerge from the literature including time, production, localness and nature: all can interact and often have an underlying characteristic of place. Pratt (2007) defines authenticity in terms of looking at what is inauthentic and artificial; for him this is mass culture. For him, authentic food is invested in location, and the artisan process in terms of its production. Whilst he acknowledges that this rejection of mass culture may well be considered by some, such as Miller (1995), to be a harkening back to a time before the “encroachment of global capitalism” (Pratt, 2007, p. 295), he considers that this rejection is more to do with connecting with those who produce our food, positioning authentic within the local,

*“However the point here is to suggest the possibility that consumers may also try to recapture the aura of authenticity through consuming goods that are valued precisely because their connection to the world of production is known. In that sense, authenticity is not a survival from some prelapsarian world of peasants and artisans, but precisely a shadow cast by an economy organised around exchange value.”*

(Ibid, p. 295).

Presumably, in this context, lapsarian refers to a more recent occurrence than the ‘original’ fall of humankind from innocence, which forms a part of various religious beliefs, to which the term often refers.

This focus on time and production/localness is also discussed by Freedman and Jurafsky (2012) in the context of authenticity in America and the potato chip (crisps). They identified four components of authenticity commonly used within branding. These were, historicity (time), ingredients/process (production), locality and naturalness. The concept of historicity highlights the way that those involved in marketing placed products within some sort of historic context, this depth giving rise to authenticity. There was a tendency to try and connect to traditional (long established) methods of production and specific areas or localities. This was also borne out by Beverland (2005) with regard to luxury wine, and Beverland et al. (2008) who looked at consumer attitudes towards beer brewed by Trappist monks in the Netherlands and Belgium.

Johnston and Bauman (2007) show something similar when looking at upmarket food magazines such as *Bon Appétit*, *Saveur*, *Food and Wine* and *Gourmet*, where food was illustrated as being authentic by reference to where it was produced, simplicity and history. DeSoucey (2010) maintains that the language of authenticity,

*“...assists the development of narratives about geography-based particularities of cultivating plants and animals for eating”* (DeSoucey 2010, p.2)

The European Commission (2006, p.5) maintains that this link helps “share the common goal of furthering authenticity” within the EU and is linked to the idea of terroir and the EU designations of origin, Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), that I have previously discussed (the third designation, the Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG) is not geographically bound). These geographical designations are based on the idea that geographic conditions give rise to special elements of a food or drink (Bell and Valentine 1997), an identity (Bessiere 1998), the so called “taste of place” (Trubek 2008), which seems to be naively privileged over method of production and breed, for example. Power politics and authority have a specific role to play, as discussed by Abarca (2004), in the context of ethnic food, by Hughes (1995) with regard to food campaigns in Scotland, by Morris (2010) looking at Māori food in New Zealand, and Zukin (1997) looking at class displacement. There is also an element of tradition in these designations, though authors such as Bell and Valentine (1997) are a little more cynical considering that many of these designations of genuineness are more ephemeral,

*“culinary cultures constructed as ‘original,’ ‘authentic’ and place-bound—regional or national cuisines, for example—can be deconstructed as mere moments in ongoing processes of incorporation, reworking and redefinition: food is always on the move, and always has been”*  
(ibid, p. 192).

Indeed authenticity is a much more dynamic term involving construction and reconstruction (Fischler 1988).

This connection of place with authenticity was also one of the things that underpinned the high status of food products. Freedman and Jurafsky (2012) made the connection between the pursuit of authenticity in general and authentic food in particular with the more affluent, something that tends to come out in Gilmore and Pine’s (2007) *What Consumers Really Want Authenticity*. Freedman and Jurafsky (2012) go on to make a very important point by suggesting that authors such as Bourdieu (1984), De Vault (1994), and Holt (1998) have highlighted that it is working class people who are more likely to cook food based on tradition. Moisio et al. (2004) maintain that this is also the

case with family, given that this is the basic unit of society. Stiles et al. (2011) take this further in examining how ghosts of taste are evoked in order to claim authenticity for products,

*“These ghosts include the faces and places of relationality, by which food narratives claim authorship of food by people and environments - farmers and farms, say - and thus claim authenticity. The ghosts of taste symbolise connections that people make with their food either through labels, commercials, or histories. From these everyday séances comes spirited possessions that can shiver the physical sensations of taste, shaping what, and who, tingles the tongue. The ghosts of taste reveal themselves in the ways we perceive the quality or taste of food. They enliven food within the phantoms of people and environments and can also enliven claims of food as property - as the possessions of particular faces and places. The ghostly gastronomy authenticity thereby connects political culture and political economy.”* (Ibid, p. 226)

This is quite a long quote, but one that I found interesting as it sets things out in very poetic terms. Part of me resonates with this description, but I am not sure how it would resonate with a non-academic audience or an academic audience from a different methodological persuasion. The exciting question arises as to who/what these “faces and places” might be and as to how they might resonate with people if indeed they do.

### **2.3.5 Perceptions of the authenticity of food**

I have found more direct engagement with perceptions of authenticity in the context of food and drink to be limited. Robinson and Clifford (2007) cite the work of Kuznesof et al. (1997) and Groves (2001). Groves' is the more focussed work, but appears to be built on that of Kuznesof et al. who looked at consumer perception of regional foods. Kuznesof et al. point out that in their study;

*“The word authentic was mentioned only four times by three groups during discussions relating to the product prompts”*  
(ibid, p. 203).

Given my perspective on the analysis of data, I do not think that the number of times something is mentioned, or if it is actually mentioned at all, is necessarily essential to the analysis, however, researchers do need to put this into context. Kuznesof et al. considered that the factors that they had discussed such as, geographical specificity, a flavour of the area, poorer people's food, whatever the locals eat, old-fashioned food, home-cooked food, tradition and heritage did not “in itself make a food ‘regional’” (ibid, p. 203). In order to bring wholeness to their understanding of regionality they thought that something was missing and this something they called “authenticity”. This was their ‘X factor’. They then went on to highlight a number of factors that affected this



'perceived authenticity' including, personal factors (knowledge and experience), product related factors (name, label, appearance, packaging, description) and situational factors (retail outlets, catering, establishment, visitor/tourist). I did not find this extension to their analysis necessarily convincing. Kuznesof et al. seem to be saying that there is something missing from our understanding of regionality, which they are going to call authenticity. They do not really going to explain what this might be, however, they indicate that there are various factors that affect it. Therefore for their participants, it may not have been authenticity at all, but 'spirit' or 'essence'.

As I indicated above, Groves' (2001) paper was more specifically orientated towards consumer perceptions of authenticity, however, it was towards the authenticity of what Groves called 'authentic British food products' as opposed to food and drink in general. Five focus groups of between seven and nine individuals were conducted, the transcripts analyzed using QSR NUD\*IST software and a grounded theory approach after Strauss and Corbin (1994). Initial discussion supported the conclusions of Kuznesof et al. (1997), however, there was not much detailed discussion of participants' situational and personal dimensions; the paper was more concerned with discussion of the product related factors affecting perceptions of authenticity. Groves (2001) then goes on to highlight five dimensions of authentic British food products. I think that emphasis on "British" is important. These are outlined in table 2.2.

**Table 2.2: Dimensions of authentic British food products Groves (2001).**

<b>Dimensions of authentic food products</b>	<b>Definition of dimensional</b>
Uniqueness to Britain	Originally grown, reared or manufactured in Britain
Cultural and/or traditional association	Present over time
Characteristics of the production process	A natural, or the original production process
The presence of an authority	The assurance of authenticity from a trusted body
Desired extrinsic attributes	Dependent on the individual's own criteria for specific extrinsic attributes

Groves was at pains to point out that authentic Britishness was not just about "traditional products with specific designated origins", but also "brands that have been available for long periods" (ibid, p. 252). Authority was considered to be very important, where the authority figure needed to demonstrate a high level of knowledge of the product and needed to be seen as being independent in order to gain trust. Naturalness was another characteristic that appeared important for the participants.

Freedman and Jurafsky (2012) also highlighted an element of naturalness in perceptions of authenticity. Groves considered that she had identified two forms of authenticity, the first relating to traditional products "produced using traditional skills and from traditional raw materials" (p. 253). The second related to British food brands, which she considered to be more dynamic in nature, though as indicated above there was a need for these brands to have been available for a long period of time. The concept of tradition is not defined. In this regard, there is an opportunity to investigate perceptions of authenticity unencumbered by initial ideas of Britishness. Robinson and Clifford (2012), as part of a quantitative paper looking at authenticity and festival food service experiences, undertook a meta-analysis of dimensions and themes of authenticity that have emerged from the food literature. This is outlined below in table 2.3.

**Table 2.3: Food literature authenticity dimensions (adapted from Robinson and Clifford 2012)**

<b>Dimensions of authentic food</b>	<b>Key themes</b>	<b>Sources</b>
Politics	Consuming other; social and economic injustice	Appaduria (1981); Heldke (2003); DeSoucey (2010); Morris (2010); Schlosser (2002); Zukin (2008).
Naming/branding/ Presentation	Association with place/time; mythologizing; trustworthiness/legality/authority; delivery style	Beer (2008); Bessiere (1998); Hughes (1995); Johnston and Baumann (2007); Kuznesof et al. (1997); Tellstrom et al. (2006).
Provenance	Heritage/tradition; 'local' ingredients; uniqueness	Beer (2008); Groves (2001); Hughes (1995); Moasio et al. (2004); Tellstrom et al. (2006); Sims (2009).
Production process	Integrity of cook/vendor/organisation; association with celebrity; methods, simplicity/natural	Abarca (2004); Carroll and Torfason (2011); Groves (2001), Hughes (1995); Jones and Taylor (2001); Johnston and Baumann (2007); Kuznesof et al. (1997).
Personal	Individual connection (e.g. ethnicity); self-identity; prior knowledge	Beer (2008); Camus (2004); Groves (2001); Johnston and Baumann (2007); Kuznesof et al. (1997).
Social	Context; place of consumption	Beer (2008); Carroll and Torfason (2011); Johnston and Baumann (2010); Kuznesof et al. (1997); Lu and Fine (1995); Moasio et al. (2004).

I have made specific comments on many of these papers and books and would agree with some of Robinson and Clifford's (2012) analysis. However, I might have a different perspective on some of their interpretations. I think that issues such as the environment and associated with it elements of primary production might have come to the fore, and I am surprized that these ideas are not explored particularly well in the food authenticity literature. I think that many of the areas overlap; indeed I do not think

that the authors mean themes to be mutually exclusive. There are some foodstuffs which would act as excellent examples of all the dimensions. DeSoucey (2010) discussed Foie Gras as a product and it would not be difficult to see how such a famous and controversial product might encompass themes relating to politics, branding, provenance, production process, personal and social as well as other themes relating to concepts of the environment and animal welfare for example. It is always interesting to read what people think one's work means. At one stage Robinson and Clifford (2012) quote my paper (Beer 2008, p. 16),

*“The legal basis of this authenticity (objective authenticity?) is constructed by consensus (constructivist authenticity?), and we may choose to engage with it in whatever way we wish (post-modern authenticity)”*

Robinson and Clifford (2012) considered that I am alluding to both the essentialist and existential domains inherent in food (I must also point out that I would no longer use the word constructivist in that way). I think it goes further than that, in that food can hold and reflect everything, just as the grain of sand in William Blake's poem Auguries of innocence;

*“To see a world in a grain of sand  
And a heaven in a wild flower,  
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,  
And eternity in an hour.”*

*(Blake 2000)*

### **2.3.6 Conclusions**

Initially when looking at the food and hospitality authenticity literature I divided up the material into sections relating to validation, description and nature. Of these the area of 'nature' which I defined as how we as individuals or societies determine, experience, and construct authenticity - was the most important in terms of my particular approach to looking at authenticity. Within this context, I found it difficult to find a flow of ideas. There were some references to objective and subjective authenticity and then a number of other papers and books that looked at the subject from the perspective of time, production, localness and nature where the idea of place seemed to be intermingled with many of these themes. I did not find authors who were trying to approach the idea from a perspective of what authentic food actually was, as opposed to authentic British food for example. This makes me excited in that it will be interesting to see the sort of responses that participants come up with when they are asked to look at their ideas and experiences of authentic food in an unfettered way. I would now like to look at some of the discussion of authenticity within the tourism literature.

## **2.4 The tourism literature and authenticity**

### **2.4.1 Introduction**

In this section I will look at some of the tourism literature relating to authenticity as I considered that a considerable amount of reflection has been carried out in this area, and much of this may well be transferable to more specific ideas about food and drink. Often the food and hospitality literature cites references from the tourism literature and I have already alluded to this in previous discussions.

### **2.4.2 Tourism and authenticity**

The contribution that food and drink production and consumption make to tourism has been widely discussed by authors such as Hjalager and Richards (2002), Boniface (2003), Hall *et al.* (2003), Hall and Sharples (2008), Long (2011), Spiller and Schulze (2011), and Getz (2014). The tourist does not cease to be the individual that consumes when they go on holiday; underlying the pattern of consumption on holiday is the pattern of consumption at home. There is, however, good evidence to suggest that people's disposition to many things shifts when they go away from home (Pearce 2005).

There is an historic and on-going debate about the way that authenticity is constructed within the tourism literature. Many commentators (Cole 2007; Wang 2007; Chhabra 2008) trace the initial genesis of this discussion to MacCannell (1973; 1989) who seems to establish a basis for an objective truth upon which authenticity is based, where authenticity is a self-explaining concept that is fully genuine and trustworthy, and a tourist experience of authenticity that is in some way staged. Thus the tourist experiences a performance of authenticity that is put on by the host. This harks back to Smith's (1977) discussions of the relationship between the self (the tourist) and the other (the host). This was developed further by Cohen (1988a; 1989; 2001; 2007) in looking at the way that authenticity might emerge as a result of this interaction, or might actually become negotiated and agreed (Bruner 1994; Hughes 1995). Such arguments might be considered to be constructionist in nature, where individuals co-construct their lives and understandings of life.

Wang (2007) considers that the constructivist (though I think that constructionist is the more appropriate term) arguments are expanded upon by a series of post-structuralist interpretations of authenticity by authors such as Boynton (1986), Daniel (1996), Silver

(1993), and Millinger (1994). These are characterized by pessimism with regard to any notion of authenticity and a focus on the experience of the toured object. The state of pessimism with regard to the idea of authenticity is developed further by Reisinger and Steiner (2006a, p. 67) who maintain that:

*“Authenticity is too unstable to claim the paradigmatic status of a concept. As a result, the concept-free term authenticity should be replaced by more explicit, less pretentious terms like genuine, actual, accurate, real, and true when referring to judgments that tourists and scholars make about the nature and origins of artefacts and tourism activities.”*

This reflects the thoughts of Adorno (1973) who criticized the use of language by existential thinkers such as Heidegger. I consider this to be obfuscation. Authentic is a term that is used in society in a variety of ways and we should be able to elucidate at least some of its meaning. This is a feeling that Belhassen and Caton (2006) share and was in part conceded by Steiner and Reisinger (2006b). In the first case, Reisinger and Steiner (2006a) were looking at the concept of ‘object authenticity’ which is applied to things in terms of establishing the *“genuineness of artefacts and events.”* (*ibid*, p. 65). They cite Kuhn’s (1970, p.17-18) idea of a ‘basic concept’ as “an idea accepted “once and for all by all members of its community” (*ibid*, p. 65) with a view to establishing that something is authentic. The idea that authenticity can somehow be elevated to something transcendental, above any ideas of human determinism, is further examined by Cohen (2002) who looks at Wang’s (2000) analysis of work by individuals such as MacCannell which,

*“assumed or implied the existence of some ‘objective’ authenticity of sites, objects and events, as defined by experts and professionals, such as ecologists, curators or anthropologists”* (Cohen 2002, p. 270)

Authentic experience by tourists came from the link to/experience of, authentic things. Something that was certainly not transcendental as Cohen goes on to say,

*“This link was gradually loosened by the realisation that authenticity is not a non-negotiable, given quality, but is in practice often socially constructed.”* (*ibid* 2002, p. 270)

The implication is still present though that in some way authenticity still might be socially constructed, that there is a form of absolute authenticity. These ideas do not necessarily fit easily within a postmodern paradigm.

The arguments above would seem to exemplify tensions in the use of language. Saussure’s structural linguistics, as developed in his *Course in General Linguistics*

(Saussure 2011), laid the foundation for the discussion of the Signified (the concept or meaning of what we are talking about) and the signifier (the linguistic sign, the spoken word) – the actual thing itself is known as the referent. Saussure's ideas of structural linguistics can be extended into a broader discussion of semiotics which examines the nature of the sign and the signified in a broader context, such as work by Tresidder (2010, 2011, 2013) looking at signs and symbols within tourism and hospitality. In *Of Grammatology*, Derrida (1997) deconstructed this analysis to show how there is no stable signified, no stable meaning because every potential meaning turns out to be a word whose meaning is dependent on other sounds/words searching for meaning; the whole edifice is based on *Différance*. Unpicking ideas of authenticity would seem to be a case in point.

Reisinger and Steiner (2006) claim that authenticity is too unstable to be defined and therefore we should use other words, which are “more explicit and less pretentious” (ibid, p. 67), but these words are no more stable than any other, and a word cannot in itself be pretentious. (As outlined by Schmidt 2006, there are several different ways in which the relationship between the sign and signifier can be interpreted following the ideas of Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Husserl, Heidegger, or Gadamer for example. Derrida provides one perspective). It would seem that Reisinger and Steiner (2006a) wish to privilege other words over authenticity because they cannot define it or because they have a problem with the way they think it has been privileged in the past. Wang's post-structuralist arguments are also possibly misjudged, and the question still remains as to what constitutes the nature of this toured experience or, in the specific case of my own research, the experience of food?

This debate is further extended by the (1999) paper by N Wang, which discusses the concept of existential authenticity, where authenticity in terms of experience and actuality is defined from within the individual (see also Brown 1994; Hughes 1995; Crang 1996; Daniel 1996; McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Wang 1997, 1999; Taylor 2001; Steiner and Reisinger 2006a; Brown 2012; Shepherd 2015). Similarly, Lugosi (2008; 2009) draws comparable conclusions in a hospitality context and Knudsen and Waade (2010) take this further by developing ideas of performative authenticity inspired by the lifeworld perspectives of Merleau-Ponty (1962) and indexical authenticity after Grayson and Martinec (2004) and Ray et al. (2006). In this case they juxtaposed indexical authenticity with symbolic (how well it meets the individual's own ideas – Jansson 2002) and iconic authenticity (how well it resembles the original: Ray et al. 2006).

I believe that Cole (2007) provides a useful overview in that she considers that authenticity is a western cultural notion, with no objective quality, that is socially constructed and therefore negotiable, and that this negotiation often leads into a complex process of potentially positive and negative exploitation. However, the picture is still not coherent, as simultaneously she maintains that within the literature there is a notion that there is a primitive other pre-modern world which is considered authentic. This is either because it is objectively so (cool, after the scientific philosophy of Karl Popper 1959, 1963 for example) or because this is socially constructed in some way (hot, after the Sociology of Durkheim 1984, see for example, Selwyn 1996). If the former, this would seem to be an objective quality and therefore self-contradictory. There is also a modern world, which is inauthentic and it is the tension between these two worlds that provides the space for the discussion of authenticity. This harks back to the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts, Discourse on the Origin and Bases of Inequality, and Confessions*) along with the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss (*The Raw and the Cooked*), deconstructed by Derrida (1997) to show how they favoured nature over culture and presence over absence. Specifically referring to the authenticity of food in the context of tourism Scarpato and Daniele (2003) allude to MacCanell's (1989, p. 3) idea that for the modern tourist, reality and authenticity are,

*"Thought to be elsewhere; in other historical periods and cultures, impure, simpler lifestyles."*

Scarpato and Daniele (2003) are sceptical of this, as is Urry (1990) they consider that authenticity is more likely to be based in a sense of place and the development of a new form of localism, however, they do not discuss how the process of authentication might take place.

Even when a researcher does discuss the process of the negotiation of authenticity, as if from some sort of blank sheet, as in Wang (2007), there seems to be a fall back such that the tourist does get something that is authentic, but actually it is not really authentic. This is because whatever might be considered 'genuinely' authentic was not something that they wanted or that the hosts thought they would want. Cohen and Cohen (2012) take on the ideas of cool and hot authenticity from a perspective of authentication. For them, it is not about whether something is considered authentic, or experienced as authentic, but it is about the process of authentication,

*"A process by which something -a role, product, site, object or event - is confirmed as "original", "genuine", "real", or "trustworthy".*  
(ibid p. 1296).

This is something that they favour as a quite deliberate move away from the experience of authenticity. In a way this is picking up the language that Reisinger and Steiner (2006a. p. 67) used in an attempt to replace/denounce the term authenticity, but the term is still there. I consider that the approach of looking at the authentication process is a valid one. It is something that has been picked up by other authors such as Ateljevic and Doorne (2005), Jackson (1999), Alexander (2009), Noy (2009) and Xie (2011). It is Xie's work on ethnic tourism in the folk villages on Hainan Island in China that really starts to explore these ideas of authentication in a rounded way.

### **2.4.3 Conclusions to reflections on the tourism literature**

Within the tourism literature authenticity can be seen to be a highly contested idea; this brief overview only gives an indication of the diversity of arguments that have been and are being articulated. As Brown (2013, p. 177) indicates, "no doubt the debate will continue." What the discussion does bring is a series of frameworks that have evolved over time, often in a convoluted and confusing way. Wang (1999) articulates 3 key perspectives: objectivist, constructivist (constructionist), and postmodernist, which tends towards abandonment. It is this act of abandonment that Wang considers opens up the way for an existential consideration. However, I do not consider it fair to separate constructionism from postmodernism in this way as existentialism informs many of the ideas that might be considered postmodern in nature (Brown 2013). Even if existentialism is based on an,

*" approach which emphasizes the existence of the individual person as a free and responsible agent determining their own development through acts of the will"*  
(OED 2012)

no human being acts in isolation, and there must be room for a view that incorporates elements of social construction, existentialism (in terms of the freedom of the individual) and authentication.

### **2.5 Conclusions and reflections on the literature reviewed**

The conclusion will summarize what I have discussed in the literature review and also indicate the gaps within the literature that are to be explored. In the introduction I indicated that I was going to present an overview of the literature that involved looking at areas that may be important for my participants' consideration of authentic food and also at what academics have written about the authenticity of food, and in particular



human perceptions of the authenticity of food. I started off by looking at the economic, political and environmental importance of food. Above and beyond our basic need for sustenance, food can be seen to be a very important component of human life in a broader sense; as such its control is associated with power. Within public (P/political), commercial and social spheres, claims on authenticity may well have considerable value. An indication of the dynamic nature of food culture was followed by a consideration of some of the areas that I thought my participants might refer to in positioning their ideas of authentic food. These included popular culture, ideas of sustainability (including 'brands' such as organic), protected foods (where 'society' identifies particular products as being special and worthy of protection) and finally ideas of localness and tradition. It is within these areas that I imagine the participants might wish to focus some of their discussions.

This was followed by consideration of the food, hospitality and tourism literature. Much has been written in the tourism literature about authenticity and there is a strong, if at times, complicated narrative that runs through it. The food and hospitality literature is strong in some areas, particularly those I referred to as *validation* and *description*, but I think that researchers have not been so effective in exploring the *nature* of authenticity. I do not think that they have searched for what people mean when they talk about authentic food or drink. True, there are a number of studies that have looked at what authentic British food is or at what authentic food in an ethnic restaurant might involve, however, they have not looked at the relatively unfocussed idea of what authentic food means to the individual. I think that there is an opportunity here.

Therefore based on the review of literature, I consider that there is an opportunity to engage in a study that will explore human understandings of the authenticity of food and drink from a perspective that has a strong underpinning in philosophy from epistemological and ontological perspectives. I believe that this will make an original contribution to knowledge.

Writing a literature review for an inductive piece of work is interesting because it serves a different purpose from that in a positivist deductive study. The review has been broad (there is a very large body of work that could make a contribution to this study). In it I have given a context for the work; I have highlighted potential gaps in the literature that the work might address. It also indicates the sort of things that I think my participants might talk about. It reflects factors that I think might underpin my perceptions of authenticity, localness, traditions, sustainability, protected foods. But I have reached a stage when I must pause. I need to be able to clear my mind and set

things aside in order to do my analysis, a central part of which is the phenomenological reduction, which I will talk more about in the methodology.

Finally I am looking forward to listening to what the participants will have to say about their understandings of authentic food. I am interested in gaining an insight into how they have developed their ideas, as an academic exercise and also as a way of self-exploration.

*“No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. If a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friend's or of thine own were: any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bells tolls; it tolls for thee.”*  
(Donne 2012, p. 45).

In particular I wonder about their experiences and their interactions with others because surely as John Donne (2012) noted people do not act in isolation.

I will now move on to looking at the philosophical underpinning of the work.

## **Chapter 3: The philosophical underpinning of the work**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This is a phenomenological study. Phenomenology is first and foremost a philosophical approach to looking at the world in which we live; it is only more recently that it has become a research approach, but one that is characterized by a strong philosophical underpinning. Therefore in order to use a phenomenological approach to research, the researcher must explain this philosophical underpinning in order to contextualize the work. The failure to do so has been a major criticism of phenomenological studies (Szarycz 2009; Pernecky and Jamal 2010). Thus what I will do in this chapter is to explain the philosophical underpinning of the work in advance of looking at the broader literature and the details of methodology. In order to do this I will first look at the philosophical world view that I assume in undertaking this work and what various philosophers have had to say about the nature of authenticity. I will then go on to look at the philosophical basis of phenomenology.

### **3.2 Philosophical world view**

In this section I will start off by looking at the idea of philosophical perspectives and will then move on to discuss some of the different perspectives from which the world is viewed. I will then draw some connections between these different worldviews and broader philosophical understandings before outlining my own philosophical worldview that I have employed in this work.

#### **3.2.1 Philosophical perspectives**

Researchers are expected to be able to position their work in terms of the particular way in which they view the world and the resultant way in which they construct and justify their approach to their research. In effect they are being asked to articulate their philosophical position or as Creswell (2009) calls it their philosophical worldview. This he maintains will influence the selected strategy of enquiry (qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods) and resultant research method. Other commentators use different words to describe this “*basic set of beliefs that guide action*” (Guba 1990, p. 17). Thus as Creswell (2009) points out, Lincoln and Guba (2000) and Mertens (1998) call them ‘paradigms’; Crotty (1998) calls them ‘epistemologies and ontologies’; and Neuman (2000) ‘broadly conceived research methodologies’. Much of this seems to be word games, though from a philosophical perspective, discussions of ontology (the nature of being) and epistemology (the nature of knowing) seem most appropriate, as the terms

above all seem to have ontology and epistemology at their heart. There does not seem to be consensus as to what word should be used to represent this idea of a philosophical worldview.

### **3.2.2 Different perspectives from which the world is viewed**

Just as there is debate about what the idea of a philosophical worldview might be called, there is also a debate as to what different perspectives there might be. Creswell (2009) maintains that there are four basic worldviews: post-positivism, constructivism, pragmatism and advocacy/participatory. Bernard (2013) identifies positivism and then a number of other perspectives (hermeneutics, phenomenology and humanism) that are seen as a reaction to positivism. Hennik et al. (2011) maintain that the interpretive paradigm emerged during the 1970s as a reaction to positivism and it is often seen in this context. Prasad (2005) identifies four views that might be considered 'in opposition' to positivism: the Interpretive Tradition (symbolic interactionism, hermeneutics, ethnomethodology, phenomenology), Deep Traditions (semiotics and structuralism), Critical Traditions (critical theory, feminism, historical materialism) and 'Post' traditions (post-modernism, post-structuralism and post-colonialism). Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p. 22) consider that,

*"All research is interpretive, it is guided by the researchers set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed whereas others are highly problematic and controversial. Each interpretive paradigm makes particular demands on the research, including the questions the researcher asks and the interpretations he or she brings to them."*

Thus they consider that positivist and post-positivist perspectives are interpretive as are constructivist, feminist, marxist, cultural studies and queer theory. This is an expansion on Denzin and Lincoln (1998), which is contained in a book, edited by them. The book also contains a chapter by Schwandt (1998) that discusses the interpretivist approach and its relation to constructivism and constructionism. Certainly Schwandt sees Interpretivism as something contrasting positivism. I would, however, share Denzin and Lincoln's (1998) view (if it is indeed the basis for their view) that all knowledge is in some way socially constructed and subjective. In terms of these relationships, there could be much discussion with regard to ideas of taxonomy as some of the perspectives would seem to be derived from, or subsets of, other perspectives; the landscape is not clear. But possibly we are expecting too much, as Schwandt (1998, p. 221) maintains when discussing constructivism and interpretivism,

*“As general descriptors for a loosely coupled family of methodological philosophical persuasions these terms are best regarded as sensitising concepts (Bloomer 1954) they steer the interested reader in the general direction of where instances of a particular kind of enquiry can be found. However, they “merely suggest directions along which to look” rather than “provide descriptions of what to see.”*

This is a world of fluidity. The following figures (3.1 and 3.2) illustrate a more holistic representation of the relationships between philosophy and methodology, with the illustration by Giacomini (2010) relying on slightly more linear relationships than that of Niglas (2004), however, they do physically illustrate these ideas of fluidity.

Figure 3.1: The relationship between philosophy and methodology in social science and education research (Niglas 2004).

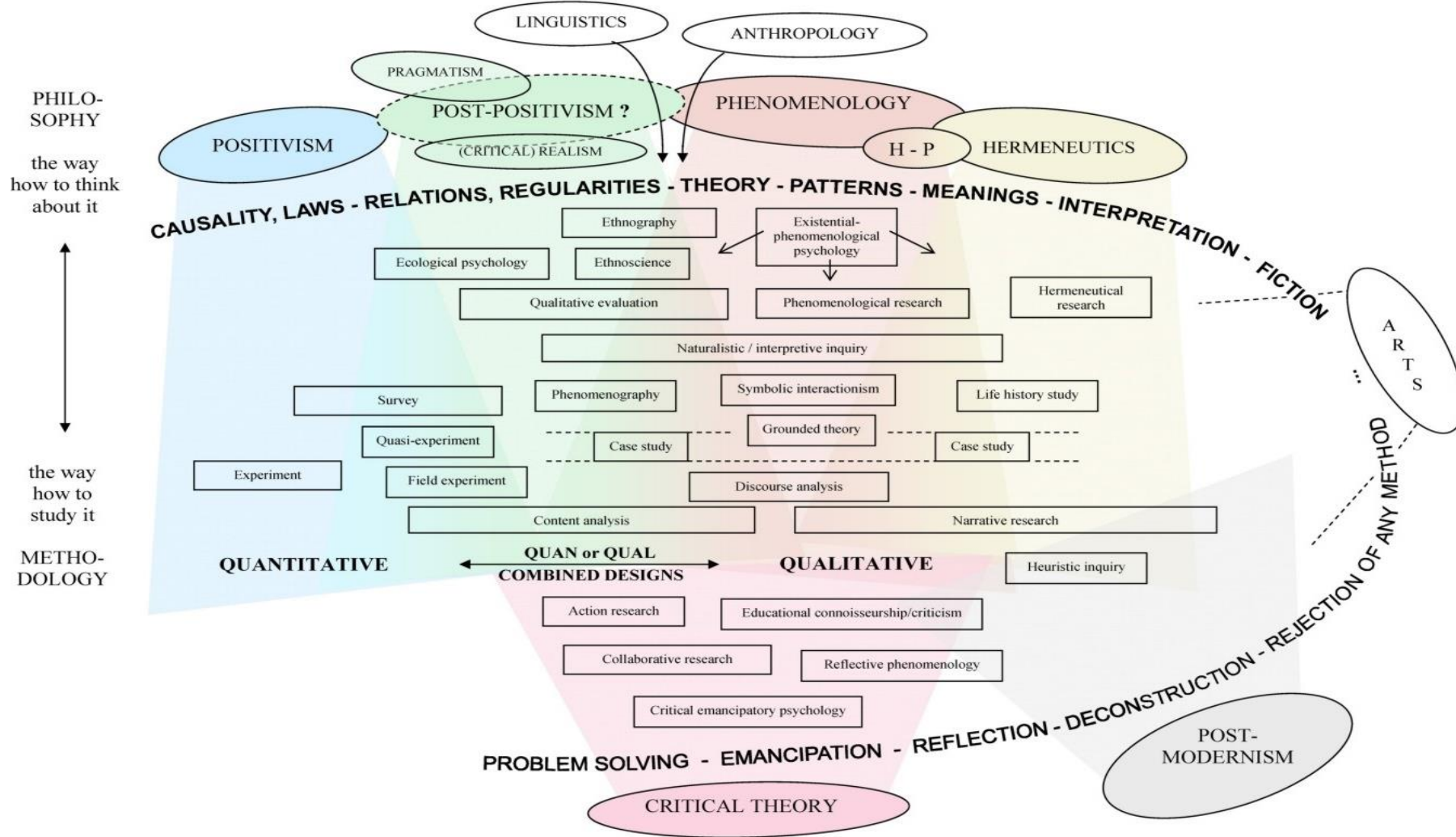
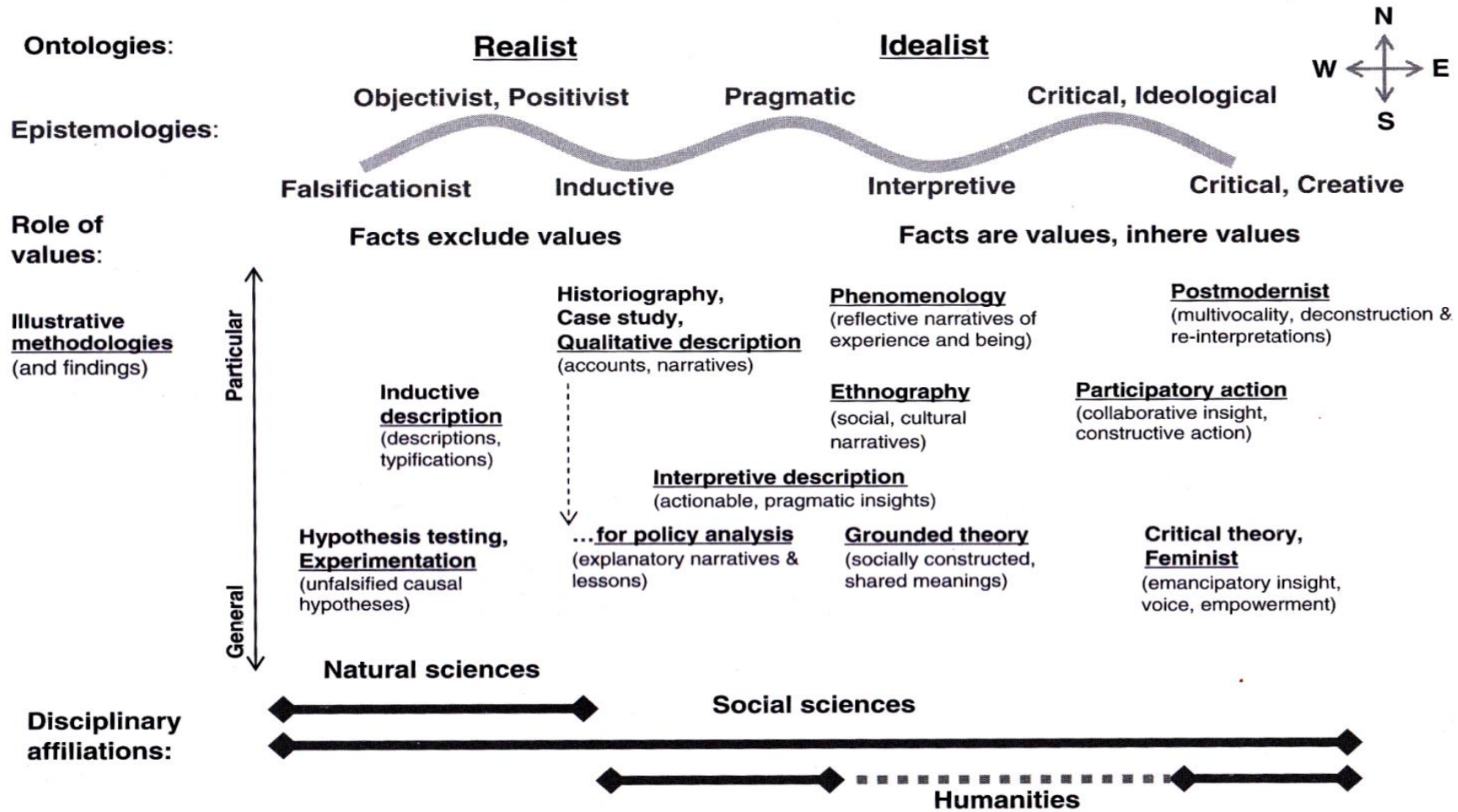


Figure 3.2: Health research traditions, by ontological and epistemological neighbourhood. (Giacomini 2010).



### **3.2.3 Connections between world views and broader philosophical understandings**

In addition to a lack of stability with regard to definitions, for some commentators it is as if these “views” have appeared out of the ‘ether’ and I think a very important step has been missed, a step that ties these worldviews into/to the broader history and discussion of philosophy. The ideas that underpin our current beliefs about what we know and how we know it (epistemology) and the nature of our being (ontology) have been developed over many thousands of years. In Western Europe, the domination of Christianity and the Church during the medieval period was followed by a flood of new ideas during the Enlightenment and a move towards a scientifically based epistemology. Central to this was the development of positivism and thus post-positivism. As mentioned above, research methods texts are not always good at making these connections. Bernard (2013) attempts to do this and takes the reader through the philosophical ideas of people like Kant, Bacon, Descartes, Newton, Locke, Voltaire, Comte and groups such as the Vienna Circle to illustrate the development of positivism, though no mention is made of Karl Popper as one of the founders of modern scientific method. In addition, no mention of structuralism is presented, nor ideas about modernism. As indicated above, he considers that perspectives other than positivism are limited to hermeneutics, phenomenology and humanism and are seen as a reaction to positivism. There is however some patchy discussion of the underlying philosophical traditions. In a very interesting paper, Mack (2010) outlines the three principal philosophical world views as being positivism, interpretivism and the critical paradigm (her use of the word paradigm, which she applies to each). For each paradigm, she goes on to list the area of philosophy and the principal protagonists that underpin these philosophical perspectives. A summary of this is set out in table 3.1 below.

Again there could be significant discussion about what is ‘in and out’ and who is ‘in and out’. For example, where is Heidegger? Where are post-structuralism, marxism and post-colonialism? Many specific qualitative texts do try to make connections back to their philosophical roots. Some such as Hennik et al. (2011), Giacommi (2010), and Holloway and Wheeler (2010) start this journey. Those that focus on phenomenology as an approach are by definition philosophically grounded and authors, such as Finlay (2011), Smith (2008), Smith et al. (2009), Langdrige (2007), Todres (2007), Moran (2000), Van Mannen (1990), or Giorgi (1985) are connected emphatically with their philosophical underpinning. So philosophical links would appear to be of more or less importance to researchers depending on their academic background, or if they are using a specific approach or method such as phenomenology, which is strongly



underpinned by philosophy. Some such as Hennink et al. (2011) consider that it is best left to others, being beyond the scope of what they were undertaking.

**Table 3.1: Philosophies and philosophers underpinning the principal philosophical worldviews according to Mack (2010) with specific reference to education research**

<b>Philosophical worldview</b>	<b>Principal areas of philosophy</b>	<b>Principal philosophers</b>
Positivism	Deductive Reasoning Realism Scientific Method Positivism Logical Positivism Inductive Reasoning Post Positivism	Aristotle Descartes Galileo Auguste Comte The Vienna Circle Bacon Popper
Interpretivism	Phenomenology Hermeneutics Symbolic Interaction Ethnomethodology	Husserl, Schultz Dilthey, Gadamer Blumer Garfinkel
The Critical Paradigm	Frankfurt School and Critical Theory (1930s) Critical Theory (1970s) Critical Pedagogy Structuralism Critical Applied Linguistics Critical Discourse Analysis Queer Theory Feminism Post-Modernism	Adorno, Horkheimer, Marcuse, Fromm Appel, Habermas Friere Foucault Pennycook Fairclough Kosofsky, Sedgwick, Butler. De Beauvoir, Friedan Kuhn, Derrida.

My perception of a lack of stability, with respect to meaning has been unsettling. The natural scientist in me looks for an explanation that is taxonomic in nature or one that follows some logical form of set theory. Thus there would be higher-order “understandings” or theories, which would have lower order understandings of theories that form subsets of the higher-order based on shared common characteristics. This would be neat, however, not really representative of the evolution of human thought and it is not what we have. Guba and Lincoln (2008, p. 256) are persuasive when they say that,

*“On the matter of hegemony, or supremacy, among post-modern paradigms, it is clear that Geertz’s (1988, 1993) prophecy about the “blurring of the genres” is rapidly being fulfilled. Enquiry methodology can no longer be treated as a set of universally applicable rules or abstractions. Methodology is inevitably interwoven with and emerges from the nature of particular disciplines (such as Sociology and Psychology) and particular perspectives (such as Marxism, Feminist theory, and Queer Theory).”*

Surely this is an expression of the essence of post-modernism, that approach and understanding, which celebrates diversity of experience and perspective, the liberation of the individual and the idea, and the movement from the metanarrative and the mean to something less constrained by hegemony and power; something that challenges the idea of objectivity and the certainty of science as well as the ideas of modernity and the present moment (see for example Conor 1997 and Sim 1998). This gives rise to a tension, how do we live in a world of multiple truths and how do we establish ideas of validity (Guba and Lincoln 2008)? In terms of explaining some of the tensions between, and dynamics of, these relationships, Bernstein (1983) is excellent. He sees that there is a tension between objectivism (positivism) and relativism (interpretivism) and looks for a solution in Science, Hermeneutics and Praxis. On a personal basis, one of the most felt and resonating reflections on this is by Jung (2002) whose very accessible discussion of what he alludes to as science and spirituality in relation to the self (though the terms are very fluid) is worthy of reflection.

#### **3.2.4 My own philosophical world view for this work**

Given the discussion above, there is a need to clarify my own orientation for this particular piece of work. I would therefore like to position myself, loosely, with all the fluidity associated with an interpretive constructionist perspective, derived from the ideas of post-modernism. To be more specific, and using an adaptation of Denzin and Lincoln’s (2005) five-phase model of the research process, my approach to this research is outlined in Table 3.2 below.

In terms of being a multicultural subject (an individual living and engaging in a multicultural world), I consider that I am a reflexive explorer, someone with a keen interest in the world who is also thoughtful about how my experience of the other impacts on my own understandings and subsequent interaction with the other; this is very much an hermeneutic approach, which I will discuss later. In this research, I have used an interpretive approach, combined with ideas of social construction. I will discuss these ideas of social construction and constructivism later

**Table 3.2 Phase model of enquiry (adapted from Denzin and Lincoln 2005, p. 23)**

<b>Phase</b>	<b>My position</b>
1: The researcher as multicultural subject	Reflexive explorer
2: Theoretical paradigms and perspectives	Interpretive constructionism derived from the ideas of post-modernism.
3: Research strategies	Qualitative: Phenomenology
4: Methods of data collection	Focus groups
5: Methods of data analysis	Interpretative phenomenological analysis
6: The art, practices and politics of interpretation	Interpreter
7: Approach to evaluation	Reflexive

on in this chapter in section 3.4.2. My research strategy is qualitative. There has been considerable discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of using varying strategies such as qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods (Creswell 2009). I do not intend to repeat that discussion here, however, I have chosen a qualitative approach because it fits in best with my interpretive, constructionist worldview and because I am looking to develop a deep understanding of my participants' perceptions, whilst acknowledging the limitations to the generalizability of such understanding. In particular, I am adopting a phenomenological approach, using interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). I will elaborate on the phenomenological aspect of the work later in this chapter (3.4.1) and develop ideas relating to IPA in the methodology section, chapter 4. Central to this is the acknowledgement of my role as an interpreter. In terms of data collection, I will be using focus groups, which is a very innovative technique to use in a phenomenological study and I will discuss this, in depth, in the methodology chapter. I have evaluated my work as an on-going process and have sought not only to reflect on what I'm doing but to adapt my strategies and behaviour as necessary. This is central to a reflexive approach. I would now like to examine different philosophical perspectives on authenticity.

### **3.3 Philosophy and the nature of the authentic**

In this section I will start off by looking at the philosophical context of authenticity and then move on to look at what analytical, continental, poststructuralist and post-modernist philosophers have to contribute to our understandings of authenticity in the context of this thesis.

#### **3.3.1 The philosophical context of authenticity**

There is an initial problem with a discussion of the philosophical context of authenticity and that is the definition of authenticity. In simple terms, we could consider that it is authentic to be something that conforms to fact, something that can be trusted, believed, and relied upon, that is genuine. This argument can, however, prove to be

circular. After all, what is a fact? How do we define or construct 'facts'? The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology (Hoad 1996) defines authentic as,

*“Authoritative, entitled to acceptance or belief as being reliable; actual, not imaginary; genuine, not counterfeit.”*

Knudsen and Waade (2010) maintain that this means that truth, material existence and originality are the inherent qualities of authenticity. Thus this analysis looks initially at the development of Analytical Philosophy with a focus on ideas relating to existence; for it is from an analytical perspective that absolute truth becomes evident and therefore authenticity is a question of what is there. I conclude that the actual nature of facts/existence could be a component of, but does not explain, authenticity. This leads on to a discussion of the nature of more embedded perspectives, a characteristic of what is sometimes called, the Continental School of philosophy, which involves an overview of concepts such as Existentialism, Modernism, Structuralism, Post Structuralism and Postmodernism. I recognize the limitations of the term continental and will discuss this further in the methodology section. Having said this the most concise and accessible discussion on the nature of continental philosophy is by Critchley (2001).

### **3.3.2 The Analytical School of philosophy and authenticity**

What is a fact? This would seem to be a fairly straightforward question. One way of analysing philosophy as a subject is to consider that it has two perspectives; the scientific and the moral; the concrete and the abstract; quantitative and qualitative; objective and subjective. Bernstein (1983) would add rational and irrational; realism and antirealism. Critchley (2001) might add analytical and continental; knowledge and wisdom; truth and meaning. An initial analysis indicates that scientific or concrete perspectives make quite strong statements on the nature of reality; what are facts? This line of thinking is exemplified by *Idealism* where reality exists in the mind, *Rationalism* where knowledge is based on reason and *Empiricism*, where it is based on experience (Audi 1999; Honderich 2005). The Empiricists can be regarded as the predecessors of the *Positivists* who favour a scientific perspective and considered religion and metaphysics as pre-scientific and something that must give way to the new scientific ideas of a maturing civilization. In each case these philosophers are looking for the basis of reality, facts, and truth. If authenticity is something that might be considered genuine or true then it is important to understand the basis for this truth.

### ***Implications of analytical philosophy for the investigation of ideas of authenticity in this thesis***

The principle problem of trying to examine a philosophy of facts and existence is that although it provides fruitful lines of thought for looking at authenticity, existence and facts *per se* are only a component of the concept of authenticity, in as much as for some 'thing' to be authentic or inauthentic, or even to be considered, it must exist in a way that is common to people or groups of people. Instead of looking at facts and existence, it may be more appropriate to focus not on what is factual/real, but on what it is that is real; how the facts are constructed. Much of the analytical tradition produces touchstones for the examination of authenticity, but it is the, so called, Continental tradition that can turn this consideration of reality on its head by asking what it means to be human; to experience and for this reason it is the 'continental' philosophical approach that has underpinned the analysis and writing in this thesis.

#### **3.3.3 The Continental school and authenticity**

The, so-called, Continental School of philosophy approaches ideas from more embedded perspectives. I say 'so called' because the term is one of convenience and is not in itself accurate (Bragg 2011). These embedded perspectives may well be considered to be less quantifiable, more qualitative. In terms of authenticity, from a 'continental' perspective we might consider the approach to be about the relationship that the individual has with the thing being considered; the qualitative/subjective experience of the thing. This school of thought initially developed as a result of the work of individuals such as Søren Kierkegaard, who wrote in his journal in 1835 that, "*the thing is to find a truth which is true for me, to find the idea for which I can live and die*" (Flynn 2006, p. 3). Thus in discussing the nature of authenticity, it would seem reasonable to focus on the relationship between the personal and the thing. The history of the development of these ideas is based on a series of principal thinkers including Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Husserl, Heidegger, Levinas, Gadamer and Sartre. I will discuss the work of Husserl, Heidegger, Levinas, and Gadamer further in the next section with specific reference to phenomenology and hermeneutics, however, here along with the others mentioned I would like to provide a brief overview of elements of their work that relate to authenticity.

For many people, Kierkegaard is considered to be the first existential philosopher. He identified that human existence was part history, nature and society, and part inner and reflective. In his first major work, *Either/Or* he sets out two ways of living; the aesthetic and the ethical (Stangroom and Garvey 2005). These were radical ideas that were not appreciated at the time but formed the basis for existential and phenomenological

thought. Therefore there may be other dimensions to authenticity apart from one form of existence. Nietzsche developed these ideas, principally in terms of existentialism, and the freeing up of the individual. Nietzsche challenged the authority of society, the church and any absolute. For him these structures were redundant, but he did not look forward to abandonment or 'nihilism', he looked forward to freedom (Nietzsche 1991, 1997) that would allow individuals to choose for themselves; in this case to define what they thought was authentic.

Husserl (1970, 2001a, b) established the epistemological base of the phenomenological tradition. His philosophy centred on the idea that life is based on an individual's experience of things. A second important idea what was the first, and distinct from what? was the actual objectivist existence of an object was in many ways irrelevant, or at the least of secondary consideration; what mattered were the perceptions of the individual engaging with the object; therefore authenticity is a question not of absolutes, but of perception. Martin Heidegger further developed these ideas. The main thrust of Heidegger's thinking centres on the idea of Dasein, which he laid out in *Being and Time* (Heidegger 2007). The focus here is on ontology. Dasein is a primary theory of existence. It concerns human existence in the world and how individuals relate to it; how they connect to physical reality. In terms of the authenticity of a thing, individuals are able to define their own authenticity, though there is a context within which that decision is made. Heidegger did recognize the importance of the individual's relationship with society and also had his own conception of authenticity. This is based on an individual understanding their position in the world and taking personal responsibility for it, whilst exhibiting a care for the world. I will look at the work of Husserl and Heidegger further when I discuss the philosophy of phenomenology and hermeneutics.

Lévinas was heavily influenced by Husserl and Heidegger. His work tends to emphasize more the importance of society in determining the nature of our experience through his studies on ethics. The thrust of this relates to meeting with others. These meetings were considered a privilege, but also demanded engagement before the individual could be considered to be free (Lévinas 1981). Respect for and understanding of the other must underpin our understanding of ideas such as authenticity. Gadamer developed further ideas that stressed the relationship between the individual and society. In his book *Truth and Method*, Gadamer (1989) argued that there was a need to consider what people do within the context of their history and culture. In effect Gadamer said that individuals have an historically affected consciousness in that the history and culture of the environment within which

individuals exist affect them. A contextual understanding would seem to be fundamental to any understanding of a concept such as authenticity. From the moment an individual is born, he or she interacts with 'society', via the family and also directly with that part of society that is beyond the family. There could be an argument that this interaction actually begins before birth as a result of interaction with the mother or even as a result of some form of genetic memory. Originally the ideas of some form of genetic memory were put forward by John-Baptiste Lamarck in the 18th-century. Jung postulated forms of cultural memory, racial memory, collective unconscious and objective psyche (Jung 1954.) More recently there has been a series of discussions surrounding the idea of memetics; or genetic memory by commentators such as Richard Dawkins (1976) and Suzanne Blackmore (1999). Again I will look at the work of Lévinas and Gadamer further when I discuss the philosophy of phenomenology and hermeneutics.

Jean-Paul Sartre is one of existentialism's most potent symbols. He is also responsible for laying out what seems to be commonly considered its principal tenets. In *Being and Nothingness (1948)* Sartre analyses the nature of consciousness. Sartre divided being into two areas; being for itself or consciousness and being in itself which is everything else and which he considered was empty or nothingness. Sartre held that we exist, but nothing defines what we are, there is no human essence and we are free to write our own story on a clean sheet of paper. This is existential freedom, but with it comes responsibility. This total freedom can cause *anguish*; what can the individual rely on? Because of this the individual may seek to deny their own freedom and to live a life that is not, in Sartre's terms, authentic or true to the principles of freedom. Instead this would be a life lived in *bad faith* as would any attempt to transfer responsibility to others. Life is not value free, but individuals are *abandoned* and have to construct their own values (Sartre 1948); there is only the personal subjective moral sphere, no objective sphere exists. At the same time, there is no hope that we can rely on to help us out, this leads to a situation of human despair. Indeed Sartre maintained that "*man is condemned to be free*" (ibid, p. 631). We have responsibility for how we live our lives, and for how we define our authenticity.

### ***Implications of continental philosophy for the investigation of ideas of authenticity in this thesis***

If analytical philosophy looks at factual existence, then continental philosophy moves to humanize philosophy and provide ways of looking at the lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*), a term introduced by Husserl in his *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology (1970b)*. If authenticity is not all about facts, but is also about relationships, then philosophical approaches that seek to explore this are useful. It was

this usefulness that drew me to continental philosophy as an underpinning philosophy for the research in terms of subject and method.

### **3.3.4 Post-Structuralism, Postmodernism and authenticity**

Sociologists have developed a series of comparative ideas that come under the heading of Structuralism, an approach which regards social structure as having priority over social action (Scott and Marshall 2005). This was influenced in the mid to late twentieth century by Claude Levi-Strauss (Structural Anthropology and semiotic analysis of cultural phenomena), Michael Foucault (history of ideas), Jacques Lacan (psychoanalysis) and Louis Althusser (structural Marxism). The term can be generally traced back to Saussure's work on structural linguistics (Saussure 2013), though the actual term was coined by Roman Jakobson (Edgar and Sedgwick 2008). Interestingly, from an authenticity perspective, Scott and Marshall (2005) highlight the work of Levi-Strauss and general semiotics in that the underlying structure of a thing relates to categories within the mind. It is by making these associations that we understand and organize the world around us; so an idea such as authenticity would be based on structure. Barry (2002) maintains that within the study of critical theory, many of the notions which we have about ourselves are not defined but are fluid and unstable. They are not solid and are socially constructed. He calls them contingent rather than absolute categories. Hence there is no such thing as truth. All definitions and theories are provisional.

It is not clear whether Post Structuralism is a continuation of or a counter reaction to Structuralism. Barry (2002), writing about culture and literary criticism, maintains that many post structuralists see their approach as a fulfilment of structuralism's linguistic heritage. For him, the key commentators are Derrida and Barthes. Structuralism is seen as shackled by pseudo-scientific methodology, bereft of more free thinking and playful analysis. There may be other areas of overlap with the ideas of Postmodernism. There are specific problems of definition as Postmodernism is a broad and shape-shifting term and those that might be considered to be of the school take great pleasure in rejecting the label and all labels. The same comments would apply to a postmodernist discussion of an idea such as authenticity. Some have labelled postmodernist approaches as negative and nihilistic, whereas in many ways they can be seen as a more playful embrace of life's complexity and an acknowledgement of that complexity. Principal figures in the movement include many poststructuralists and in the context of authenticity, people like Foucault, Derrida, and Baudrillard are of interest.



Derrida had specific things to say on language (Derrida 1997). He argued that it might be considered that speech is a central, natural presence and is superior to writing, which is peripheral, unnatural and characterized by absence. He maintains a binary opposition between speech and writing. He developed the idea of logocentricity in that it might be considered that Truth is Speech; speech is the Cause and Origin of Truth, but what of writing? Why is it side-lined? Possibly he did not go far enough, for surely experience is also a 'Truth' and it should not be a binary opposition but a ternary tension between experience, speech and writing. Derrida extended these ideas, often in a playful way to look at the tensions between opposites and the way that our understandings are not necessarily constrained, but fluid. Thus ideas of authenticity could be similarly fluid. Foucault and Baudrillard took this challenging approach further, some would consider to extremes. A Foucauldian perspective might resist all forms of definition; what it is, it is. Baudrillard's concepts of Simulacra and the hyperreal (Baudrillard 1994) unpick ideas of fact and truth to a point where everything is constructed fantasy.

### ***Implications of Post-Structuralism and Postmodernism for the investigation of ideas of authenticity in this thesis***

I consider that post-structuralist and postmodernist philosophers bring some important ideas to an exploration of authenticity in the way that they examine meaning and play. Meaning is considered to be unstable, to be in a state of flux and play. This playfulness can be extended to the way that phenomena are described and contextualized. This is in contrast with the absolutes of the analytic school. Thus the approaches may well be able to make a contribution not only to an understanding of what authenticity is, but also to how it is constructed and I have sought to bring these ideas of play into my analysis of the data.

### **3.3.5 Overall conclusions with regard to philosophy and the nature of the authentic**

What therefore can we conclude? The situation is complex. At one end of a continuum, it might be considered that object reality is a given. Things exist. Authenticity can be defined (though how is it defined?). However, if we follow other arguments, we might conclude that object reality cannot be defined. We cannot say that anything exists; all we have is the evidence of our own senses. Applying an existential perspective to this idea of authenticity would seem to be reasonable, but where do we draw the lines with unlimited variation and relativism? With the fantasy world of Baudrillard? There is a point of balance or praxis, as Bernstein (1983) would

call it. This can be achieved by recognizing that human beings do have concepts of authenticity and the important thing is to see how they arrive at these definitions, without being judgemental, in terms of what is authentic or not. I will now go on to discuss some of the philosophical theory that underpins the thesis.

### **3.4 The philosophical theory underpinning the work: phenomenology, hermeneutics and social construction**

In this section I will be examining the principal areas of philosophy that underpinned the thesis. Firstly I will be looking at phenomenology and then I will move onto hermeneutics. Finally I will discuss the basis of social construction theory.

#### **3.4.1 Phenomenology and hermeneutics**

Just as qualitative researchers are called upon to examine and explain their own personal philosophical worldview (see section 3.2), part of undertaking a phenomenological study involves philosophically underpinning the work as a justification for the method employed; after all phenomenology is, first and foremost, a philosophy, the research methods being born of a philosophical approach (Moran 2000; Finlay 2011; Langdridge 2007). The specific phenomenological approach that I am employing in this thesis, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), is considered to be an hermeneutic approach. Therefore it is important to understand the philosophical basis of both the phenomenology and hermeneutics. There have been specific calls to elucidate the philosophical underpinning of phenomenological studies by authors such as Szarycz (2009) and Pernecky and Jamal (2010). This is as a result of what the authors considered to be poor practice in the past, although Szarycz seems to have multiple problems with the approach, regardless of how it might be applied. Pernecky and Jamal consider Husserl's approach to be limited to transcendental phenomenology, where the phenomena are perceived in objective purity. This approach is something that would be contested by Husserlian practitioners such as Giorgi (1985).

As indicated previously, I was particularly drawn to the use of phenomenology as a research method. This is for two reasons. Firstly my exploration of the philosophical background to ideas of authenticity drew me towards the phenomenological discourses of individuals such as Husserl (1982), Heidegger (2007), Gadamer (2004) and Levinas (1981). Secondly phenomenology is the study of life as it is lived; of experience. Therefore it would seem to be an appropriate method for looking at the authenticity of

food; the way individuals engage with authentic food, and the way the authenticity of authentic food is produced.

There is not the space here to undertake a detailed analysis of the phenomenological project. For such discussion, I could recommend many texts, however, Moran (2000), Finlay (2011) and Langdrige (2007) represent a range of different approaches to explaining the breadth of phenomenology. However what I would like to do is to give a broad overview of the philosophy underlying phenomenology and hermeneutics by briefly outlining the contribution of four of the principal protagonists: Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer and Levinas. As such this discussion draws on information from the three sources mentioned above.

### ***Husserl***

Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) was an Austro/German philosopher who may be considered the principal parent of modern phenomenology. Husserl sought to develop human science in contrast to the more reductionist and cold science of positivism (this was an endeavour further developed by Amedeo Giorgi (1985) in a similar set of circumstances 100 years later. The parallels are important as it is Giorgi that developed the phenomenological method as opposed to philosophy). In doing this, Husserl was looking to study the *essence* of conscious experience as it appears; as things show themselves to us (where essence is not a reductionist term, but a term that means more 'the whole expression'). In order to be conscious, we have to be conscious of something, and this Husserl called intentionality. In addition, how we are aware is referred to as *noesis* and the object of our consciousness is referred to as *noema*.

In order to fully engage with human experience, Husserl maintained that we need to engage in what he called a *reduction* or potentially a number of different forms of reduction. Reduction is commonly referred to, when talking about phenomenological method, as bracketing or the Epoché. It involves suspending previous experience, theoretical knowledge, or ideas about the world and the experience under consideration and focusing solely on the experience and the way that it appears, in this case through the lives of the participants. An example will help to explain this. It may well be that you do not believe that ghosts (in this case I shall call a ghost the appearance of an embodiment of a person after death) exist. However, you may be undertaking a study looking at human experiences of ghosts. In order to do this, from a phenomenological perspective, you must set aside your disbelief in ghosts and focus on the way in which your participants experience and understand what they consider to be ghosts. This discussion of ghosts is possibly a more apposite example than it at

first appears. In 2011 Professor Brian Cox ridiculed people who believe in ghosts on the program, the Infinite Monkey Cage (Cox and Ince 2011). He followed this up with several tweets,

*“Just heard we got complaints about lack of BBC balance about ghosts,” he wrote. “There are some utter nobbers out there!”*

*“Here is my official statement, which also has the benefit of being a fact. There are no ghosts, so it would be silly to believe in them.”* (Wales Online 2011).

Apart from the fairly loose use of the word ‘fact’, the statements would seem to be an example of the very cold use of positivist science alluded to above. Whereas a phenomenological perspective (and possibly a more balanced scientific one) would be interested in how people experience the phenomenon of the ‘ghost’ and what it means to them.

Husserl further subdivided the reduction into at least four different perspectives. The *Epoché of the natural sciences* refers to suspending ideas of scientific theory in knowledge looking at phenomena as they are lived, as opposed to as they are perceived by science. In looking at the *Epoché of the natural attitude*, Husserl asks us to suspend presumptions about existence (ontology) to focus on presence and subjective meaning (supposedly this leads to what is called the *psychological phenomenological reduction*). Thirdly, he talks about the *transcendental reduction* where we set aside our very own ego and finally the *Eidetic Reduction* also known as an *intuition of essences* where, through a process of *imaginative variation* (changing aspects of the phenomenon under consideration in order to develop an understanding of its essence), we may come to an understanding of the essence of the phenomenon. Husserl was, first and foremost, a philosopher, and it is Amedeo Giorgi (1985, 1997, 2009, 2010) who took his philosophy and developed it into a research method (descriptive phenomenological analysis) that can be used to explore human experience. Having said this it is the philosophy of Husserl in terms of his ideas of phenomenology that underpin the approach used in this research.

### **Heidegger**

Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) was a student of Husserl and is a philosopher who has had a considerable influence upon me. He arouses a variety of emotions in me because he was an active Nazi before and during the Second World War. He did things that I despise, though obviously I was not there and will never understand why he did them. He never apologized for his actions during the war. However, his ideas

about the nature of being have changed the way that I look at the world. Therefore, it is primarily to those ideas that I look while setting aside any personal thoughts about the man (*argumentum ad hominem*).

The two principal areas of Heidegger's work that have informed my own relate to the nature of being and hermeneutics. The former is primarily encapsulated in *Being and Time* (2007) where being is something fundamental, prima face even to discussions of ontology and human existence, because before there can be discussion, there has to be being; humans have to be. In the preface to *Being and Time*, Heidegger translates from Plato,

... δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὑμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα (τί ποτε βούλεσθε σημαίνειν ὅποταν ὄν φθέγγησθε) πάλαι γινώσκετε, ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ᾧόμεθα, νῦν δ' ἠπορήκαμεν . . .

Into German,

*“Denn offenbar seit ihr doch schon langer mit dem vertraut, wast ihr eigentlich meint, wenn ihr den Ausdruck, seined gebraucht, wir jedoch glaubten es einst zwar zu verstehen, jetzt aber sind wir in verlegenheit gekommen.”*

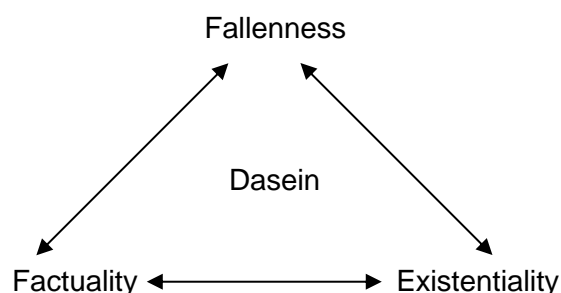
And translated by Macquarrie and Robinson into English,

*“For manifestly you have long been aware of what you mean when you use the expression “being”. We, however, who used to think we understood it, have now become perplexed.”(Heidegger 2007, p. 1)*

(I have reproduced the 3 quotes for two reasons. Firstly to indicate the lineage of the ideas and secondly as an illustration of transformation and interpretation; three steps for potential changes in meaning).

In *Being and Time*, Heidegger tries to address Plato by looking at a new way of thinking, however, the project is not complete and he returns to these ideas in some of his more poetic later work. There is though a basis for understanding the nature of being. As I explained in Beer (2008), the main thrust of Heidegger's thinking centres on the ideas of Dasein (Da-sein, ‘there being’ or ‘being in the world’). The concept of Dasein is based on three features which Heidegger considered characterized our lives; Factuality (facticity), Existentiality and Fallenness. Factuality represents the fact that we are here. We exist and we are the product of a past over which we now have no

control, where the future is unmapped, open, free and full of possibilities. The future Heidegger referred to in terms of Existentiality. Thus we are dependent on a past, which we can recognize but over which we now have no control, and a future which is open and undetermined. The final component of what we are, in relation to the world, is given by Fallenness; which refers to our ability to ignore both the past and the future. In other words, we live now, in this very moment, at this very time. Thus our relationship and experience of the world are based upon what is happening now, what we are experiencing now. How we are has been partially determined by the past but is also open to the future, but the responsibility for how we react and behave is ours. Some aspects of the theory of Dasein are represented in Figure 3.3.



**Figure 3.3: Diagram to indicate aspects of the nature of Heidegger's concept Dasein (From Beer 2008).**

Into being we are thrown (thrownness). We are also mortal, we will die; something Heidegger refers to as being-towards-death. If we are honest about this, it will cause us angst, a feeling of alienation, homelessness, what Heidegger calls *Unheimlich*. We can either hide away from all this by living the life that everyone wants us to live, by conforming, or we can live a more authentic life that faces up to this angst as we embrace our own decisions about the way that we will live, living an *authentic* life in the face of death. These ideas can be seen to partially underpin the writings of later philosophers, such as Sartre (2003) in *Being and Nothingness*, and the existential movement, along with other writers such as Nietzsche (1997).

These ideas of being give structure to the ontological assumptions within which I work, however, they also highlight an embeddedness of the individual in the world and therefore call into question the ability to perform the phenomenological reductions suggested by Husserl, in particular the transcendental reduction. Many commentators such as Finlay (2011) and Giorgi (2009) consider that this was a philosophical perspective of Husserl and that the psychological reduction is the focus for use in research methodologies. Potentially the transcendental reduction would imply an

ability to be ultimately objective, possibly viewing the world from a positivist perspective, however, this point is open to debate. For Heidegger, understanding was about interpretation by beings in the world and underpinning this are the principles of hermeneutics.

Hermeneutics can be considered to be the “art of interpretation” (Honderich 2005). Initially ideas relating to hermeneutics focused on the interpretation of texts, particularly biblical texts. Schleiermacher provided a more formal basis for this and Dilthey extended the idea of interpretation to look at the understanding of human behaviour and the products of human behaviour in general. Heidegger developed the focus on the individual who is doing the interpreting and the ways that understanding develops as the person who is trying to understand engages with the subject on increasingly hidden/complex levels (Honderich 2005; Schmidt 2006). This process results in changes in the individual's understanding (and thus in the individual). This engagement represents a hermeneutic circle (Heidegger 2007). Whenever we come to something we have some sort of pre-understanding of the thing, as Heidegger indicates,

*“Whenever something is interpreted as something, the interpretation will be founded essentially upon fore-having, fore-site, and fore-conception. An interpretation is never a presuppositionless apprehending of something presented to us.*

(Heidegger 2007, p. 191-192).

Heidegger considered that this was a form of bias, prejudice, but something that we could set aside and/or take into account, which has parallels with Husserl's ideas of bracketing. Based on this fore-having we move onto an engagement with the subject of our attention. This engagement and reflection on our engagement results in a new understanding/fore-having. As Finlay (2011, p. 53) explains,

*“The hermeneutic circle thus moves between question and answer; between implicit pre-understandings and explicit understandings; between the reciprocal relationship between the interpreted and interpreter; between understanding parts and the whole. Understanding deepens by going round the circle again and again.”*

In Heidegger's later work, such as *Poetry, Language, Thought* (1975), he developed these ideas further, adopting an increasingly poetic, art and language focus. Todres (2007, p. 19) evokes some of the ultimate complexity and artistry of Heidegger,

*“For Heidegger, there is a mysterious relation between language and being, in which the ‘unsaid’ lives always exceedingly as that which the said is about. Speech in a broad sense is pregnant with this excess.”*

*“Self is ‘out there’ (being-in-the-world) and disappears into a depth of meaningful happenings that are not separate from its being. It is unknowing by virtue of being, and intimate inhabiting, an ‘embodying of the presence of things that is pregnant with meaning’ (Ferrer, 2002, p. 122). But being-in-the-world not only disappears into the ‘unsaid’ of world-happening, intimate with excess, it also appears again in a historical gathering of what this means that living forward with others in situations. So there appears to be a rhythm of self/world understanding, of self-standing in unknowing, and self-appropriating the fruits of such unknowing in some meaningful way.”*

This is an excellent conceptualisation of my understanding as applied in this research. More specifically my understanding of Heidegger underpins my work in three ways. Firstly it is his ideas concerning hermeneutics, along with those of others such as Gadamer, that support an hermeneutic phenomenological method such as IPA. Secondly his focus on Being and temporality has proved to be important to understanding authenticity. Finally his work is valuable in the way that he sought to look at *Being* as something that is before all other considerations. I wished to look at the authenticity of food in a similar way. By this I mean that I did not want to look at the authenticity of British food or regional food *per se*, but I wanted to look at perceptions of the authenticity of food as something *a priori*; as it was perceived before other considerations. In all this Heidegger has been a guide.

### **Gadamer**

I was drawn to the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) principally because of his contribution to our understanding of hermeneutic phenomenology through his most famous work, *Truth and Method* (Gadamer (2004)). This contribution is in two main areas, those of experience and language. In terms of experience, I consider that Gadamer provides a human and social dimension to our understanding of hermeneutics. Heidegger is very much focused on Dasein. Although Dasein lives in a social world, as an anonymous contributor to the discussion at the International Conference for Research in the Human Sciences Conference (2012) maintained, “In Heidegger's world there are lots of hammers, but very few people”. Some consider that phenomenologists have difficulties with the other. Glendinning (2015) maintains that Heidegger simply defines away the problem; Dasein exists in the world with others. Gadamer develops his social ideas along with those of a phenomenological dialogue between the interpreter and the text; a dialectic (where the text could be a written text or some other form of dialogue). The resultant meaning is an integration of the interpreter's and text's horizons (Schmidt 2006) based on an *I-Thou* relationship.



This questioning of the text, must be sincere and Gadamer's inclusion of an ethical dimension to his approach is something that I find has resonance. He highlights three types of I-Thou relationship (Schmidt 2006). In the first, the interpreter's reliance on method and rules emboldens him or her with the feeling that they can be objective and therefore must be right,

*"The equivalent is a naive faith in method and in the objectivity that can be obtained through it. Someone who understands tradition in this way makes an object -i.e., he confronts it in a free and uninvolved way - and by methodically excluding everything subjective, he discovers what it contains. We saw that he thereby detaches himself from the continuing effect of the tradition in which he himself has his historical reality. It is the method of the social sciences, following the methodological ideas of the eighteenth century and their programmatic formulation by Hume, ideas that are a clichéd version of scientific method." (Gadamer 2004, p. 352).*

In the second type of I-thou relationship, the interpreter claims to understand the participant better than the participant understands themselves,

*"By claiming to know him, one robs his claims of their legitimacy." (Ibid p. 354)*

It is only in the third of the I-Thou relationships that a sincere and authentic understanding is reached,

*"In human relations the important thing is, as we have seen, to experience the Thou truly as a Thou - i.e., not to overlook his claim but let him really say something to us. Here is where openness belongs. But ultimately this openness does not exist only for the person who speaks; rather, anyone who listens is fundamentally open. Without such openness to one another there is no genuine human bond. Belonging together always also means being able to listen to one another." (Ibid p. 355).*

Similarly the interpreter must have a sincere relationship with their prejudices (what Heidegger called their fore-having). We must understand what is legitimate and the purpose of this legitimacy,

*"A person who does not admit that he is dominated by prejudices will fail to see what manifests itself by their light. It is like the relationship between I and thou. A person who reflects himself out of the mutuality of such a relation changes this relationship and destroys its moral bond." (Ibid 354)*

Gadamer maintains that tradition is a good guide as to what is legitimate. This is something that I have some concerns about depending on what that tradition is based on. Overall the idea of a dialectic and the ethical consideration of the other are issues that I consider to be important when engaging in phenomenological work, and have

guided my work in this thesis. These, along with his contribution to my understanding of hermeneutic phenomenology, have been very helpful.

### **Levinas.**

The work of Emanuel Levinas (1906-1995) is a fourth important philosophical influence underpinning my work. As with Gadamer, his influence is social/ethical. It is a powerful influence because it focuses on our relationship with, and respect for, the Other; those people other than myself. This is something that also underpins my own personal religious and political beliefs. I therefore feel an element of guilt in that I am not going to write at length about his work. *Totality and infinity* (Levinas 1981) and *Otherwise than Being* (Levinas 1998) provide a focus for his principal ideas relating to the importance and unfathomable enormity (Infinity) of the Other,

*"Our analyses are guided by a formal structure: the idea of Infinity in us. To have the idea of Infinity is necessary to exist as separated. This separation cannot be produced is only echoing the transcendence of Infinity, then the separation would be maintained within a correlation that would restore totality and render transcendence illusory. But the idea of Infinity is transcendence itself, the overflowing of an adequate idea. If totality cannot be constituted it is because Infinity does not commit itself to be integrated. It is not the insufficiency of the I that prevents totalization, but the infinity of the other."* (Levinas 1981, p. 79-80).

Later he goes on to celebrate the joy of this power contained within the presence of the Other symbolized by the use of the word *face*,

*"Thus the idea of Infinity, revealed in the face, does not only require a separated being; the light of the face is necessary for separation. But in founding the intimacy of the home the idea of Infinity provokes separation not by some force of opposition and dialectical evocation, but by the feminine grace of its radiance. The force of opposition and of dialectical evocation would, in integrating it into a synthesis, destroy transcendence."* (Ibid, p. 151).

When I first read this I can remember being close to tears, simultaneously of joy and anguish; joy in terms of celebratory expression in relation to the nature of humanity as expressed in the expanse of what an individual is, and therefore their elusiveness and complexity; but anguish in the way that human beings are prepared to treat each other. Levinas was writing based on his experience of the Second World War and the Holocaust. At the same time, I was drawn to other ideas about the nature of infinity. This term, meaning without end, gnaws away at our understanding of mathematics and science and in particular physics in terms of generating a unified theory that would effectively combine our understandings of General Relativity and Quantum Mechanics, in a way that would explain the nature of cosmology and our existence. It is an ever

present guest in all my thoughts. Above all, Levinas' care for the other is something that I have tried to retain with regard to my interactions with my participants and as an ethical touchstone that underpins this thesis in terms of my analysis for example.

I have briefly examined four philosophers whose work underpins my understanding and practice of phenomenology: Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, and Levinas. There are a number of other individuals that I could have discussed. Finlay (2011) discusses Merleau-Ponty, Buber, Sartre, De Beauvoir, Ricoeur and Gendlin. Langdrige (2007) also refers to Ricoeur and I will discuss one aspect of his work briefly in the methodology. One individual who is missing from this list is Derrida. There are some who consider that Jacques Derrida is not a phenomenologist; certainly Derrida resisted all such labelling (Glendinning 2011). Moran (2000) does choose to discuss Derrida, justifying his decision thus,

*"Since Derrida portrays himself as having gone beyond both phenomenology and philosophy, it might be argued that his oeuvre ought not to be treated under the rubric of phenomenology or even philosophy at all. But Derrida's path beyond philosophy is essentially a route which went through phenomenology. (Ibid 436).*

Whilst not necessarily agreeing with Moran's argument, I would like to briefly discuss Derrida's work in relation to this study, as he has had a significant influence, particularly with regard to what I might call a phenomenology of absence (a term that has been used by others, but it seems not extensively and possibly not in the same way (see Baudrillard 2001; Broadbent 2009 and McCartney 2009).

### **Derrida**

If ever there was "a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma" (Churchill 1939), it might be Russia, but it would most certainly be Derrida. Jackie (Jacques) Élie Derrida (1930 – 2004) has had a profound influence on the way in which I think. It was he, amongst others, who led me to question the very nature of understanding. I will discuss what this means with reference to two of Derrida's principal areas of thought; the stability of meaning and the nature of logos. These ideas are covered primarily in three of his books; *"Speech and Phenomena" and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs* (1973), *Writing and Difference*, (1978) and *Of grammatology* (1997).

As indicated above, Derrida resisted attempts at labelling his work in terms of any particular type of discipline or perspective on any discipline; labels, as with all other words, are problematic in the sense that they have no stability of meaning. Having said

this, his work flow is principally acknowledged/claimed by various academics as being within the poststructuralist/post-modernist traditions (see for example Belsey 2002; Connor 1997; Sim 1998 and my discussion in section 3.3.4). If we consider that poststructuralism and post-modernism share common ground, then it is necessary to look back at the original ideas of structuralism to see where they came (in opposition) from. Structuralism developed out of the study of linguistics and in particular the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure (2013). Saussure believed that there was a structure that underpinned language. In language we have words (*signs*) that are made up of the sound of the word, for example “sheep” (which is called the *signifier*) and the concept or the meaning of sheep (which is called the *signified*). If you asked me for an apple I will give you an apple (a small, roundish fruit). This is because we (I presume) have a shared understanding of the relationship between the signified in the signifier in terms of the concept of an apple.

*Of course I could give you a computer;* and there we have a very simple example of the instability of meaning. Derrida questions from many different perspectives the nature of signifiers and this instability. He did this through a process of deconstruction and concluded (if indeed there is a conclusion) that words only have meaning in relation to other words, but for Derrida this meaning (if indeed there is meaning) is not based on a relationship but difference or more correctly *Différance* - a self-contradictory term that means to differ and to defer at the same time or not at all, the spelling is deliberate. Derrida exemplified these ideas by the use of words like supplement, pharmakon, or hymen (Derrida 1982). These are words that have different meanings. For example based on Derrida’s reading of Rousseau’s works *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts*, *Discourse on the Origin and Bases of Inequality*, and *Confessions* (Derrida 1997), he maintains that supplement can mean to add to but also to replace. Meaning is unstable and playful and exists between ideas; it is about *différance* (Derrida 1982). At this stage, one may get the impression that we are moving into another world where commonly understood laws and understandings no longer apply. In many ways this is the point. Derrida’s work is about a fundamental questioning. It is about a playfulness with ideas and words.

At the heart of this questioning is the idea of logos. Logos is a Greek term that means truth, reason, or after Heraclitus (c. 535–475 BC) a principle of order and knowledge (Audi 1999). Through the process of deconstruction, Derrida maintained that at the basis of all our various discourses about knowledge there was no fundamental truth, origin or cause. In particular, there was no *transcendental signified* (god) that guarantees meaning. He was also critical of other things upon which we centre our

lives (logocentricism) and our discourses, be they male as opposed to the female, white as opposed to black, straight as opposed to gay, language as opposed to writing.

He talked about a metaphysics of presence,

*"...all the names related to fundamentals, to principles, or to the centre have always designated an invariable presence" (Derrida 1978, p. 353).*

Therefore if we look at our lives and the lives of others and we see patriarchy, where is the female voice? If we look at a white society, where is the black voice? If we look at the world and see heterosexuality, where is homosexuality? Where are the voices? Reading the work of Derrida encouraged me to consider a phenomenology of absence. Simply because something was not present in itself does not mean that the space where it should be does not exist, and therefore we are called towards it, to give it voice. There is no doubt that Derrida's ideas are complicated, not easily accessible and at times self-contradictory and infuriating, however, from his work and the work of others who might be considered poststructuralist/post-modernist (such as Foucault and Baudrillard for example) I have been given permission and the space to question ideas of meaning; to engage in a playfulness and to look for the things that are not present. This is important in terms of having an open mind in analysis and, for me, it is also politically important. Where is the female voice? Where is the black voice? Where is the voice of the poor? Where is the voice of the disabled?

These ideas that refer to an absence of meaning, need to have limitations otherwise the poststructuralist/post-modernist approach can be considered to be nihilistic; there is no meaning. I do not believe this was the intention of individuals such as Derrida or Baudrillard, after all they wrote texts and put together arguments, which were presumably designed to have meaning. As Baudrillard said,

*"Any system invents for itself a principle of equilibrium, exchange and value, causality and purpose, which plays on fixed oppositions: good and evil, true and false, sign and referent, subject and object. This is the whole space of difference and regulation by difference which, as long as it functions, ensures the stability and dialectal movement of the whole. Up to this point all is well." (Baudrillard 2001 p. 6).*

I do not consider that there is no meaning, but a considerable openness of meaning. In many situations there is shared understanding, based on Gadamer's ideas of good will (Michelfelder and Palmer 1989), however, this can break down. In this case Baudrillard is talking about breakdown in terms of our economic systems (strangely prophetic words), and the media,

"It is when this bipolar relationship breaks down, when the system short-circuits itself, that it generates its own critical mass, and veers off exponentially. When there is no longer any internal reference system within which exchange can take place, between production and social wealth, for example, or between news coverage on real events), you get into an exponential phase, a phase of speculative disorder." (Ibid p. 6).

So all is not without meaning, but meaning is open, dynamic and in flux. It is this playfulness of meaning that I have drawn upon in writing the thesis.

### **Conclusions**

In terms of this brief overview of some of the thoughts of the key philosophers who underpinned my ideas of phenomenology and hermeneutics, I think that it is important to pull some of these threads together; to summarize what I draw from these different philosophical perspectives. I acknowledge Husserl as the founding parent of the phenomenological approach, born out of the ideas of others but radical nevertheless. From Heidegger, I draw a sense of what it is to be and also ideas of hermeneutics, which are further developed by Gadamer in terms of a hermeneutic dialectic and also a sense of the other. From Levinas this sense of the importance of, and a duty towards, the other is magnified. Derrida encourages me to question, to be playful and to look for the presence of things that are not at once apparent. I would now like to write about an area of theory that draws from some of the ideas already discussed and that additionally underpins my methodological approach. I will now look at social constructionism and constructivism as areas of theory that are particularly important in this work.

#### **3.4.2 Social constructionism and constructivism**

Burr (1995) maintains that the emergence in the twentieth century of new approaches to understanding human beings characterized by the interpretivist, post structuralist and postmodernist approaches was underpinned by a common approach; social constructionism. Social constructionism is a difficult term to define because it is used in many different ways, however, it implies that groups of people jointly construct their understandings of the world, their social realities. Gergen (2009, p. 2) puts it simply: "together we construct our own worlds". Burr (1995) maintains that there are a number of components to this idea of social construction including a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge, historical and cultural specificity, knowledge being sustained by social processes and knowledge and social action going together. Gergen (2009, p. 6) shares the central ideas of the importance of social processes by saying that,

*“...the way in which we describe and explain the world are the outcomes of relationship.”*

and that of a critical stance by saying that,

*“Reflection on our taken for granted worlds is vital to our future well-being.”*  
(Ibid, p. 12).

He also states three other assumptions underpinning social construction that,

*“The way in which we understand the world is not required by “what there is”.”*  
(Ibid, p. 5).

*“Constructions gain their significance from their social utility.”* (Ibid, p. 9).

*“As we describe and explain, so do we fashion our future.”* (Ibid, p. 11).

These various assumptions can be seen to form an underlying essence of the Interpretivist, Post-structuralist and Postmodernist approaches. Both Burr (1995) and Gergen (2009) look back to these ideas for the origins of social construction. Gergen (2009, p. 26) stresses the importance of these dialogues that underpin all constructions of reality, the “fragility of rational argument” and the way that scientific knowledge has been shown to have a social basis (the undermining of the objectivity of the scientific worldview). Some go back further in time. Lock and Strong (2010) cite Giambattista Vico, the eighteenth century Italian philosopher. More recently there has been extensive discussion of the subject with 21 academic texts being published in the 1990s (Hacking 2000; Elder-Vass 2012). With regard to the more modern focus on social construction as a specific concept, Elder-Vass (2012) proposes Berger and Luckmann’s 1967 book *The Social Construction of Reality*, as the take-off point. With specific reference to psychology Burr (1995) favours Gergen’s (1973) paper, “Social psychology as history”.

I have already indicated that, having been trained as a natural scientist, my exposure to other ways of viewing the world was a revelation. In terms of the ideas of social construction it was as if a curtain had been lifted and exposed ideas that in some way had always been there in my mind, though I had not seen them. The idea that there can be multiple views of reality has caused me to use the word ‘reality’ less frequently without qualifying it. These ideas have influenced me at a fundamental level. Gergen’s (2009) critique of scientific knowledge as communal construction is compelling. Martin’s (1987) analysis of the way that scientific texts characterize the female body as a factory (whose purpose is to produce offspring, where failure to do so attracts a

language of negativity) is a brilliant example of the bias inherent in objective science. As a natural scientist who specialized in reproduction, when I first read this, it was as if somebody had pointed out the colour purple, and I had seen it for the first time. How could I have read and studied so many scientific texts and been oblivious?

The implications of the ideas behind social construction for my own research work are fundamental. The question/request I have asked/made of my participants is,

“Could you please describe experiences which have given rise to your understanding of the term authentic food?”

This question has at its base the assumption that experience, has in some way, shaped understanding; the phenomenological approach is about understanding experience. In some way, individuals have come to an understanding of this term. Presumably it would be possible for them to come to some sort of understanding in isolation, however, it is probable that social relationships have been important. My inductive, interpretivist approach needed to be as open as possible to what my participants have to say and even though social construction is a very important underlying theory it will have to be something that is set aside, bracketed, when I perform my analysis (I will return to this later).

There is also a theory called constructivism. This area of theory focuses more on the individual. Originally the term was linked to Piaget's theories of personal development, however, more recently discussion has centred on the activity of the individual in terms of the creation of their own phenomenal world (Burr 1995). There is a debate here as to whether the individual responds in a predictable, predetermined way or whether each individual constructs their own world, so-called Radical Constructivism (von Glaserfeld 1984). These ideas are picked up within the theories of personal construct psychology (PCP, Kelly 1955), which maintains that we construct our own personal reality and therefore by reconstructing it, we can engage with the world in a new way (Burr 1995). The tension between constructionism and constructivism relates to the degree to which the individual is subject to social influences or is independent from them. To me they seem to be part of the same process and in many ways inseparable. This is also the opinion of other commentators such as Botella (1995) and Burr and Butt (2000). As a consequence, this is the position I have adopted. In effect, the individual develops his or her view of reality through his or her personal negotiation within the world in which they find themselves.



### **3.4.3 Conclusions**

From this discussion I conclude that the formulation of an individual's perceptions and understandings are based on the interaction of the individual with broader society. This involves a dynamic of constructivism and social construction. There are many other potential areas of theory that may impact upon this work, however, given that this work is based on the primacy of my data, I will perform the data analysis and then depending on the results of that analysis, I will bring other areas of theory into play if necessary.

### **3.5 Overall conclusions and reflections**

In this chapter I have brought together the various philosophical discussions that underpin this work. In all research, this is important. It is particularly important in phenomenological research as phenomenology is a philosophical standpoint that has become a research method. I started off by looking at my philosophical world view. I consider that I am a reflexive explorer. I am employing the approach of interpretive constructionism derived from the ideas of post-modernism to undertake a study that is qualitative and phenomenological. I then went on to review ideas of authenticity within a broader understanding of philosophy and the specific philosophical underpinning to my method. I think that this is important for three reasons. Firstly our understandings of philosophy form the basis of our academic endeavours. I think that if I did not engage with this material in a meaningful way, then the study would be incomplete, ungrounded; after all this study is directed towards gaining the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy. Secondly many philosophers have something of value to say, not only about the subject, but about ways that the subject may be approached. Finally I think that food, hospitality and tourism researchers have been remiss in not giving their work a stronger grounding in our classical approaches to thinking. I think that valuable insights and credibility are lost, and I am not alone in thinking this (see Cohen 1979 and 1988b) even given philosophical discussion from authors such as Reisinger and Steiner (2006), Steiner and Reisinger (2006a) and Brown (2013). I think that there is an opportunity here.

The philosophical underpinnings of the natural sciences never really formed part of my training as a scientist. One possible explanation is that it was assumed that the approach was a 'given', assumed, beyond doubt and therefore there was no point in really investigating the epistemology and ontology of that type of endeavour. Reading philosophers such as Karl Popper filled a gap in my training. Reading the work of some of the continental philosophers opened up a whole new world; a world of possibilities and a world of freedom of thought. This has been a very important experience for me, but it has also created a tension within me. There is something

quite tangible, a palpable tension that I can feel. In addition, I feel a yearning, when I am feeling insecure/vulnerable/tired, to go looking for what Professor Les Todres calls my "permissions" (personal communication 31 March 2008, date?). I have also developed my analytical skills in terms of reading texts. I have to ask myself what within this world of freedom, is considered acceptable? Regardless what existentialists may say about freedom, there are still "guidelines", if not a code, particularly if one is submitting and defending a thesis.

I have developed a new feeling for words and their meaning, or the way that meaning is constructed. I have become fascinated with the more playful approaches of post-modernism to meaning; the presence of absence is not the absence of presence. The way in which deconstruction of texts exposes the presence of the un-recognized other; the female to the male, the gay to the straight, the black to the white, the otherly abled to the able; this causes me to question established ideas of meaning. I have also become increasingly suspicious of the certainty of meaning that some people espouse. In addition, I am also more suspicious of the certainty of meaning encapsulated in scientific method and the use of the normal distribution to categorize, explain and limit the vast and beautiful (and sometimes ugly) world that I/we inhabit.

In the next chapter I will explain the methodology and method that I have used in this study.

## **Chapter 4: Methodology and Method**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I start off by explaining why I chose to undertake a qualitative, phenomenological study. I look at the research design, revisiting my aim and objectives and discussing the way that I used theory to bring together a practical research process designed to achieve that research aim. Initially this will focus on data collection and then on the process of data analysis. I will then discuss the processes of reflection that I have undertaken as part of the work. I have positioned myself as a reflexive explorer and given the methodological approach that I adopt, where I am in effect the analytical tool, self-awareness and acting on that self-awareness have been central to my practice of phenomenology. Finally I will draw some conclusions and reflect on the process.

### **4.2 The research design**

#### **4.2.1 Introduction**

In this section I start off by reviewing why I chose to undertake a qualitative, phenomenological study then I will progress to my research question and the underpinning aim and objectives. I then go on to look at the use of literature and theory and how this evolved into a form of conceptual framework. Finally I would like to discuss the approach that I used for my fieldwork, in terms of theoretical perspectives (including ethics and sampling) and then moving on to the practicalities of running the groups.

#### **4.2.2 Why I undertook a qualitative, phenomenological study**

In previous sections, I have outlined why I undertook a qualitative study and why I am using a phenomenological approach (3.2.4), however it may be useful to briefly reiterate those ideas here. I am undertaking a qualitative approach because it best fits in with my interpretive constructionist worldview and because I am looking to develop a deep understanding of my participants' perceptions, whilst acknowledging the limitations of the generalizability that such an understanding offers. I am conducting a phenomenological study for two principal reasons. Firstly, my exploration of the philosophical background to ideas of authenticity drew me towards the phenomenological discourses of individuals such as Husserl (1982), Heidegger (2007), Gadamer (2004) and Levinas (1981). Secondly phenomenology is the study of life as it

is lived; of experience. Therefore it would seem to be an appropriate method for looking at the authenticity of food; that is the way that individuals engage with authentic food and the way that the authenticity of authentic food is produced. This would seem a much more fruitful line of enquiry than simply looking at the word authenticity. I am also impressed by the way that phenomenologists approach the nature of subjectivity through the phenomenological reduction. I have already discussed the philosophical basis for the phenomenological approach in the previous chapter. Phenomenology is distinct to other forms of qualitative research, though for many this is not immediately apparent. Finlay (2011, p. 15), citing Seamon (2000) maintains that:

*“Phenomenologist seek to capture lived experience - to connect directly and immediately with the world as we experience. The focus is on our personal or shared meanings, as distinct from the objective physical world explored by science. The aim is to clarify taken for granted human situations and events [as] they are known in everyday life but typically unnoticed and unquestioned.”*

There are still close connections to other approaches to qualitative research and so Finlay (2011) goes on to highlight six elements that should be present if a researcher is really ‘doing phenomenology’. These are:

1. A focus on lived experience and meanings;
2. The use of rigorous, rich, resonant description;
3. A concern with existential issues;
4. The assumption that body and world are intertwined;
5. The application of the ‘phenomenological attitude’;
6. Potentially transformative relational approach.

Other commentators have varying views (see Smith et al 2009; Langdrige 2007; Moran 2000), but Finlay provides a fair representation. Moran (2000) highlights nine philosophical perspectives on phenomenology including those of Brentano, Husserl, Heidegger, Gadamer, Arendt, Lévinas, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty and Derrida. In terms of method, Holloway and Brown (2012) maintain that these philosophical approaches have been translated into two primary approaches to method; descriptive phenomenology and interpretive or hermeneutic phenomenology. Langdrige (2007) describes three approaches; descriptive; interpretative, hermeneutic and template; and critical narrative analysis. Finlay (2001) outlines six approaches; Descriptive empirical, hermeneutic, lifeworld, interpretative phenomenological analysis, first-person and reflexive–relational. Holloway and Brown’s (2012) analysis represents the most straightforward approach, as the interpretive or hermeneutic approaches tend to have much in common. In this piece of research, I looked at the descriptive method

developed by Giorgi (1985) and also the interpretive/hermeneutic method developed by Smith et al. (2009) called interpretative phenomenological analysis or IPA (the difference in spelling is correct!). I will explain why I finally opted to produce data analyzed using IPA in sections 4.3.4 and 4.4.5 of this chapter when I have explained some of the nuances of the approaches.

I did consider using other approaches. I dismissed a quantitative approach because it did not fit in with my interpretivist world view. Furthermore, I was looking to explore the subject of authentic food in a way that gave rise to an account that explored ideas in depth and reflected the complexity of the situation, rather than an approach that tested objective theories (Creswell 2009). Within the qualitative approach, I considered a number of research strategies such as thematic analysis, grounded theory, ethnography, and narrative research. I could have conducted a study using one of these approaches, however, I found the phenomenological focus on the lifeworld and the use of the reduction intriguing. I also considered that it would be a good way of examining meaning in this context; something that I believe has subsequently been borne out in this study. Finally, I could have undertaken a piece of mixed methods research. I may go on to conduct a quantitative study using the understandings that I have developed in this piece of work; that will be another study. In terms of this investigation I considered that the qualitative work on its own would produce an interesting, coherent and complete thesis.

#### **4.2.3 Aim, objectives and the research question**

As indicated in the introduction, the aim of my research was to:

Critically explore the relationship between authenticity, the individual, society and the food consumed within that society for a group of residents in Dorset in the United Kingdom.

To achieve this aim, the following objectives were identified:

1. To review and evaluate what is understood by authenticity in the academic literature.
2. To explore, using a phenomenological approach, the views, perceptions and understandings of authenticity as applicable to food, as discussed by residents in Dorset.

3. To develop this analysis in the context of the literature and my own experience.
4. To contribute to current knowledge as to how individuals perceive the authenticity of food and to indicate what the implications of this might be for society in general and a future academic research agenda.

I will specifically discuss the role of literature in the following section (4.3.3). In terms of looking at objective 2, this methodology chapter considers how I explored this subject. In order to engage with my participants I had to try and construct a focusing question that I could pose to the groups. I settled on,

“Could you please describe experiences which have given rise to your understanding of the term authentic food?”

In terms of a phenomenological study, this question seemed to encapsulate what I wanted to explore. I also had a secondary question which was,

“Could you please describe experiences specifically as a tourist which have given rise to your understanding of the term authentic food?”

I asked this second question to broaden the discussion and to explore the interactions of my participants with different cultural situations; with situations that were of the other. In this I was guided by the literature relating to cultural differences and by Levinas’ philosophical focus on the other and also by Todres and Galvin’s (2010, p. 1) work on the dynamics of mobility and well-being which sees existential well-being as a product of “dwelling-mobility”. For them,

*“This term indicates both the “adventure” of being called into expansive existential possibilities, as well as “being-at-home-with” what has been given.”*

I considered this dynamism to be important and also that by asking my participants to consider this, it would enhance the richness of the data. In the next section I will discuss how I used literature in the study.

#### **4.2.4 The literature**

##### **The review of literature**

In terms of understanding the role and location of the literature, I have been guided by Holloway and Brown (2012) in that initially I have undertaken a broad light-touch review of the literature with a view to;

- Establishing the state of knowledge and theoretical positions
- identifying gaps and showing how my research will contribute to knowledge
- defining the topic and research questions
- shaping the research questions
- showing how others inform my study and acknowledging this
- supporting the choice for my approach
- Contextualising the research.

I have done this primarily within chapters 2 and 3, and also to a certain extent within the introduction. In addition, I am doing this within this methodology chapter with specific reference to my research methods. However, I will consult the literature further when I later establish a dialogue between the literature, my analysis and myself as part of the analysis and discussion chapters. In terms of the specific type of literature that I have engaged with, again I have been guided by Holloway and Brown (2012) and my supervisors and have focused on academic literature, specifically textbooks (including monographs and handbooks), scholarly papers in peer-reviewed journals and conference papers. In the analysis and discussion chapters, I have introduced new literature as well as discussing the literature that I had reviewed prior to data analysis. Within this, I have also introduced additional cultural references to add richness. This discussion of literature within the analysis is not designed to be exhaustive, but to illuminate the results of the data analysis.

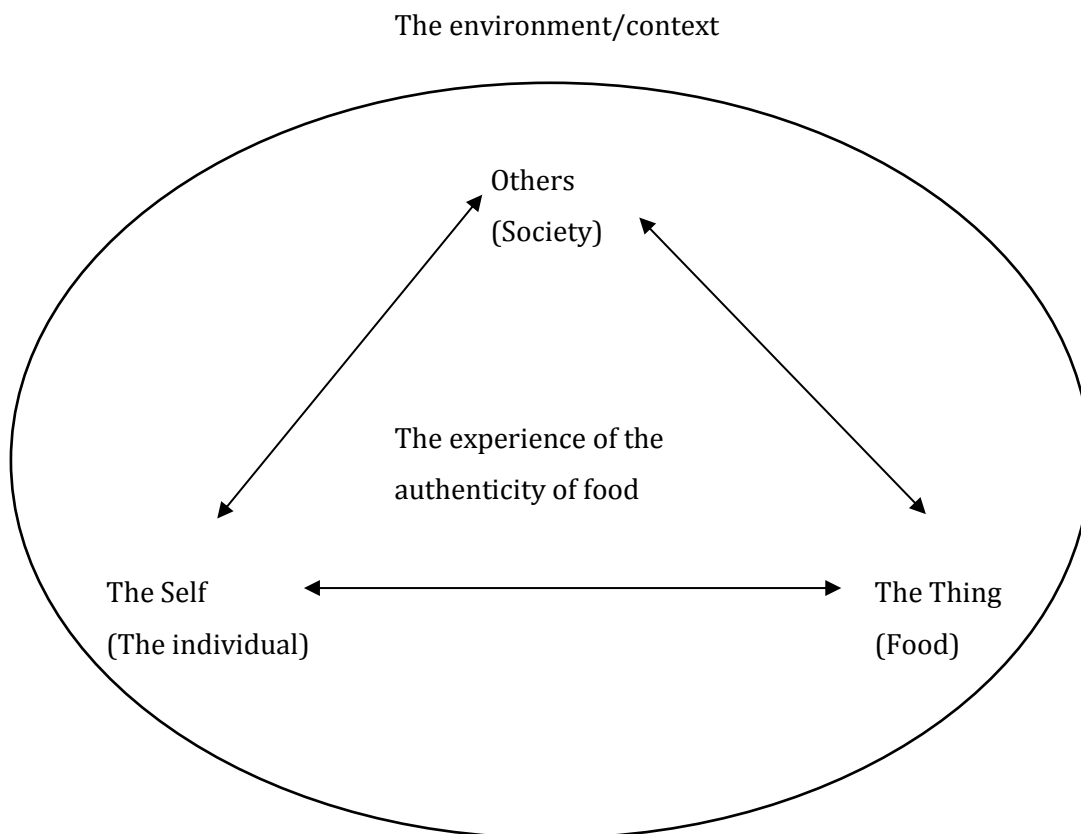
I will now discuss how my examination of literature and theory evolved into a form of conceptual framework.

##### **4.2.5 The conceptual framework: the self, the other and the thing**

Maxwell (2005, p. 42) maintains that an important function of using theory in the design of research is,

*“To provide a model or a map of wider world as it is...A simplification of what the world looks like.”*

The conceptual framework is a technique that is more normally applied within quantitative research, however, Hennink et al (2011) recommend its use within qualitative research, for amongst other things, to provide focus and structure to the study. I developed a very simple conceptual framework that I have adapted from Beer (2008), which is illustrated in figure 4.1.



**Figure 4.1 Conceptual framework, after Beer (2008)**

This was based on a range of reading and reflection. At the centre is the experience of the authenticity of food which drives this particular phenomenological study, this is seen to be influenced by the relationship between the self (individual), others (society, those people present to the individual) and the thing, in this case food. This all takes place within a given environment and context. As such this incorporates ideas of Social Constructionism and Constructivism and has been useful for personal reflection and for communication with others. One of its strengths lies in the very simplicity of the ideas as it strips away the noise that comes from multiple theoretical perspectives and tries to focus on experience, though, as I will discuss, even this is set aside when adopting the phenomenological attitude.

In order to explore perceptions of authenticity within this context I utilized focus groups as an approach to fieldwork. I will now explain why I adopted this approach.



#### **4.2.6 Fieldwork approach: theoretical dimensions of using focus groups**

I was drawn to focus groups firstly as a method for gathering data. If perceptions of authenticity are based on social construction, which is something that has influenced my initial thinking, the focus group gives an example of this process in action as the participants interact. Food and its consumption have strong group dimensions. Participants have the opportunity to describe their own independent experiences, as well as to further examine their own experiences in the light of others'. It is always important to examine the nature of interaction within a group. This point is particularly relevant, in this case, as interaction would seem to be central to the nature of authenticity. Secondly, the focus group acts as a food consumption experience in itself. Derrida (1997) maintained that it is impossible to capture the true nature of experience because all our data comes from the reflection of the individual. Verbal evidence is reflective of the event, written more so as the individual has the opportunity to revise what they write. The immediacy of the consumption of food and drink and the discourse that surrounds it may well give rise to a unique opportunity to gain data that is closer to the pre-reflective. In essence, it seemed and felt like an authentic way of engaging with my participants.

There is some debate as to the suitability of phenomenology as a method to analyze focus group material. Bradbury-Jones et al (2009, p.663) summarize this concern by suggesting that,

*“Phenomenology seeks essential characteristics or ‘essences’ of phenomena in a manner that requires the individual to describe their experiences in an ‘uncontaminated’ way.”*

Having considered the evidence they go on to suggest that focus groups can have a valid role in phenomenological study because they stimulate discussion and open up new perspectives. Similar discussion, focusing in particular on Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) can be found in Flowers *et al.* (2000, 2001); Palmer *et al.* (2010), Roose and John (2003), Smith (2004; 2008) and Smith *et al.* (2009). In particular I am drawn to Smith (2004, p. 50) where he maintains that:

*“While cautious about the use of focus groups for IPA [Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis], this is another area ripe for exploration.”*

He also goes on to cite Wilkinson (2003) who suggests that, in certain circumstances, it is possible that the focus group will result in more developed personal disclosure than

the individual interviews commonly associated with the phenomenological approach. Smith (2004) stresses the importance of the nature of group interaction in focus groups, and it is this group discussion that Wilkinson (2003, p. 187) considers “may actually facilitate personal disclosures”, even for sensitive subjects (see also Wilkinson 1998; Farquhar and Das 1999 and Frith 2000).

This focus on the value of group interaction is further developed in the work of Steen Halling in Halling *et al.* (2006). Halling and co-workers developed a concept of a Dialogical approach to phenomenology, based on cyclical interaction between researchers, literature and data where understanding was developed through discussion and reflection, in this case amongst the researchers as opposed to the participants. I consider that my participants will contribute in a similar way to Halling’s colleagues. In an individual interview the researcher will interact with the participant. Subsequently the researcher will combine the discourse of a number of participants in search of the essence of the experience. I think that a parallel process to this takes place concurrently in a focus group amongst the participants, though there may be elements of particularly personal testimony that may be suppressed.

Having conducted six groups and analyzed the data, I have found this process to be problematic in some ways, but it has also proved to be a valuable and in terms of personal resonance genuine way of gathering and analysing data. It has led me to new insights in terms of the subject, and taken me in a direction I did not anticipate. In short, it represented a natural form of data collection, which also included aspects of social interaction, where people were [appeared] comfortable and helped facilitate data analysis, as there was a community of ‘researchers’ in the room. Against this backdrop, consideration must be given to some of the drawbacks, including the possibility that participants were not relaxed and were inhibited and that the ‘co-workers in the team’ were largely unknown and transitory. Questions arise. Did I get the essences that I was after or something different? Was this a case of contamination or difference? Again, overall from a practical perspective I found the experience very positive. I consider that the process speaks to the Dialogical Approach to Phenomenology developed by Halling *et al.* (2006) and a more genuine interaction with living speech as outlined by Ricoeur (1973, see also Langdrige 2007). Ricoeur draws the distinction between the *locutionary* (the act of saying something), the *illocutionary* (what we are aiming to do in saying something), and the *perlocutionary* (what we do by saying something; the effect that it has). Ricoeur was using this argument to demonstrate the difference between speech and writing, whereas I am extending the argument to indicate the potential differences between speech as natural discourse

amongst a group of people and speech as a conversation between a participant and a researcher.

This approach also has to be seen within the broader context of the phenomenological community. Finlay (2009) summarizes some of the current discussions that are present within the phenomenological 'family'. Principally these are:

- The broad definition of Phenomenology
- Normative as opposed to idiographic analysis
- The role of interpretation
- Researcher subjectivity and bracketing or epoché
- Whether phenomenology is science or art
- Whether it is modernist or postmodernist in nature.

Those interested in phenomenology represent a broad collection of views. When I weigh up the breadth of debate within phenomenology and the advantages and disadvantages of applying this approach to focus groups, I consider it a legitimate way forward and that it also makes an original contribution to our knowledge of methodology (see Beer 2011).

Underpinning the field work and other all aspects of the thesis is a process of ethical reflection. I will now discuss this ethical foundation as it was put in place before any data was collected.

#### **4.2.7 Ethics**

Consideration of research ethics has a particular significance for me. I have, for as long as I can remember, taken an interest in ethical and moral concerns. Given my Christian upbringing and beliefs, living a good life is important, possibly above and beyond anything else. This obviously has multiple implications for the way in which I conduct myself in my professional and private life. Since registering, I have seen a substantial change in the importance of research ethics within the University and the broader academic community, both in terms of attitudes to research ethics and its administration. From 2012 – 2014, I was the Research Ethics Representative for the School of Tourism on the University Research Ethics Committee (UREC) and since March 2014 I have chaired the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Panel (one of two research ethics panels that cover research within the University) and remain on UREC because of this. Research ethics is therefore an important subject for me.

As a general principle, I and others consider that ethical considerations are not simple, they are not clear cut. Ethics is a morally engaged and loaded subject, however, ultimately we need to be able to progress and most ethical decisions with regard to research are made on the basis that they are considered and broadly acceptable (Farrimond 2012). There are guidelines, policies and codes that provide frameworks for discussion. These include The World Medical Association Helsinki Declaration (WMA 2014) and The Belmont Report (NCPHSBR 1979) with its principles of respect of persons, beneficence and justice, The Singapore and Montréal Statements on Research Integrity (Montréal 2013; Singapore 2010), The European Code of Conduct Research Integrity (ESF 2010), UKRIO Code of Practice for Research, the RCUK Policy and Guidelines on Governance of Good Research Conduct (RCUK 2013), and the UUK Concordat To Support Research Integrity (UUK 2012).

In order to bring a more specific lens to bear on the ethical dimensions of my work, I have addressed the principal ethical concerns in each stage of the research process, developing ideas put forward by Hennink et al. (2011). The results of this analysis are to be found in table 4.1. Underpinning these considerations there is a principle of ethical risk relating to potential harm. In each case I acknowledge that there is a potential ethical risk, however, the subject under discussion was of great interest to my participants (on the whole) and was not particularly sensitive. It was a very different topic from a study on child abuse for example, and so a feeling of proportionality underpinned what I did. The analysis is based on ideas of beneficence; justice; seeking permission and providing information, minimisation of harm; a lack of coercion and informed consent; voluntary participation; minimising harm to the research team and being culturally sensitive; anonymity and confidentiality; and dealing with emotion.

**Table 4.1 Reflections on the principal ethical concerns within the work.**

Stage in the research cycle	Ethical issues	Reflections.
Research Design	<b>Benefice:</b>	There is a broad societal benefit from this research. Food has a central cultural significance and understanding how people perceive such an important thing is important in its own right. There are also important commercial perspectives to this research given the way that this term is used in business.
	<b>Justice:</b>	At all times in interacting with my participants I sought to be open. My approach to my research has never involved any form of exploitation or deception. Quite the contrary, in constructing my focus groups round a meal I have tried to elicit the principles of hospitality in their broadest form.
Data collection	<b>Participant recruitment</b>	<p><b><i>Seeking permission and providing information:</i></b> at all times I have tried to seek all appropriate permissions from organizations such as the University, or the school in the case of the first set of main focus groups and on all occasions the individual. I have also provided my participants with written and verbal information about my research and remained available to answer the queries.</p> <p><b><i>Minimisation of harm:</i></b> when conducting my work I have sought to bring benefits to individuals, rather than harm. In recruiting participants I was always very open leaving it up to the participants whether they wished to engage with the work.</p> <p><b><i>No coercion informed consent:</i></b> there was no coercion in recruiting my participants. Although I needed permission from the head teacher at the school (a potential gatekeeper) to run my focus groups, recruitment did not involve any of the school hierarchy and I made contact directly with my participants via a notice board. All participants were provided with information in advance.</p>

<b>Data collection</b>	<b>Participant recruitment</b>	<p><b><i>Voluntary participation, no harm to participants:</i></b></p> <p>my participants were free to participate or not and I could not see any way in which they were pressurized either to participate or not participate. Following participation in the groups my feeling was that they had enjoyed and benefited from what they had done and this was manifest in the thanks I received for running the groups and the fact that the school went on to use this method of engagement in a subsequent staff development programme.</p>
	<b>Preparing for data collection</b>	<p><b><i>Harm minimisation for the research team, being culturally sensitive:</i></b></p> <p>as the sole individual directly involved in data collection I was responsible for my own actions and whilst finding running the groups challenging it was something I enjoyed. Issues of cultural sensitivity were relatively limited in that I come from a similar background to my participants.</p>
	<b>Data collection</b>	<p><b><i>Providing information:</i></b></p> <p>all participants were provided with information in advance. This was reiterated on the day and I was available, and remain available to discuss issues that might have arisen.</p> <p><b><i>Informed consent, being culturally sensitive:</i></b></p> <p>I provided information for all my participants and obtained the appropriate written informed consent. The interesting thing was that I seemed far more concerned with regard to this than any of my participants. As indicated above I am from a similar cultural background to my participants and was not aware of any cultural issues.</p> <p><b><i>Anonymity and confidentiality:</i></b></p> <p>anonymity and confidentiality are complex terms in qualitative research as they can never be as cut and dried as they might be in quantitative research where data may well be obtained anonymously and is pooled thus maintaining confidentiality, up to a given point. In qualitative research we will normally know personal details about our participants. We will know who is speaking on the recordings, but the current good practices to anonymize these recordings at the point of transcription. Of course this means that we lose any than</p>

	<b>Data collection</b>	<p>specific details that we might have had about the participant, above and beyond simple things, like gender and social class, which might still provide some additional insight without identifying individuals. When we quote the participant in our writing this anonymity gives rise to a degree of confidentiality. This takes some explaining to participants and is something that I chose to provide in detail verbally rather than in writing. This approach enabled me to qualify my comments on anonymity and confidentiality. Thus this process was discussed and consent obtained for me to use the data in my research.</p> <p><b>Minimisation of harm, benefice:</b></p> <p>there was minimal harm in taking part in these focus groups. There was, possibly, some loss of time; certainly participants did not exhibit signs of other types of harm such as embarrassment for example. The impression they gave was one of enjoyment. I was interested in them and valued their contribution. It came across as an opportunity for them to tell their stories if they wished.</p> <p><b>Dealing with emotions:</b></p> <p>even though many of the stories were quite personal, there seemed to be limited negative emotional behaviour, such as displaying sadness. Indeed much joy and laughter seemed to accompany the focus groups. Indeed, as indicated above, the school was so pleased with the way in which it had gone that they use the format for a significant staff development programme that they wanted to initiate within the school.</p>
<b>Data analysis</b>	<b>Anonymity and confidentiality</b>	Please see comments under the ethnographic cycle.
	<b>Benefice</b>	I have reflected on the possible benefits of my research for my participants. I believe that there were significant benefits actually at the time of data collection in that many valued the focus groups themselves, given the way that they were held. Some expressed an interest in knowing how the research went and I will be following up on that. I also think that there is a benefit in being able to raise the profile of their ideas and stories. This is something I am keen to do.
	<b>Justice</b>	In terms of thinking about justice, I consider that I have produced a balanced and equitable account based on the stories of my participants. I have not tried to sensationalise what they said, but I have tried to write in an engaging way that draws the reader into their world.

#### **4.2.8 Recruitment of participants: sampling**

Having outlined the ethical basis for the study I will now discuss the process of recruitment. In undertaking this study, I ran 8 focus groups. The first two groups were pilot groups. The initial group was run in Dulverton on Exmoor in 2007 with members of the Editorial Advisory Board for the Exmoor Review (the Journal of the Exmoor Society), a conservation and heritage organization based in the southwest of England. There were 4 participants in this group. The second group was run with members of the Institute of Hospitality in Bournemouth in 2008. There were 10 participants in this group. Following this I ran three focus groups with teaching and support staff at a local school in Dorchester, Dorset in 2009 (8, 7 and 7 participants in each group). This was followed by three further groups recruited primarily from members of the British Legion, in a village in Dorset 2012 (5, 5 and 4 participants in each group).

The collection and analysis of this data constitutes the basis of the PhD. In each case the sampling has been purposeful (purposive/judgement) after Holloway and Wheeler (2010), Marshall (1996) and Coyne (1997). In particular I am, guided by principles of ethics and the opportunity of gaining access to people from whom I can obtain rich data (Holloway and Wheeler 2010). I was also conscious of the fact that sampling in this context is *“not always predetermined; it evolves”* (Holloway and Brown, 2012, p. 53).

With regard to the pilot groups I considered that the participants would have thought about ideas relating to food authenticity, given their involvement in their respective organisations. These groups allowed me to get a feel for the perspectives that individuals might have and also to experiment with the specific method; an unstructured approach based around a meal or some food consumption experience. Running the first three main focus groups at a local school allowed me to access a group of thoughtful individuals from the white middle and working class population in the South of England, who I took as my target/accessible population (Holloway and Wheeler 2010; Procter and Allan 2006). I chose not to look for a sample of people involved in food related activity, as by this stage I had come to the conclusion that the phenomenon I was studying was widespread in nature and most people would have a view about the food they eat. There was also an element of convenience, or opportunistic sampling, as this is a local school.

Overall the participants were predominantly middle-class by self-selection. Of those who responded to the question: “what social class do you think you are?”, 10 said middle class, 3 working class and 2 working/middle class, though some could be



considered to be first-generation middle-class. 19 out of 22 were female and the mean age was 41 (range 31-53). Given the nature of their employment, either as teachers or classroom assistants, I expected that they would have an interest in education and also in young children. Also given that they had signed up to the focus groups on a voluntary basis, I consider that they would have some sort of interest in food, although this was not necessarily the case. At least two of the participants indicated only a passing interest in food. One participant signed up for a group, but subsequently decided not to take part. Thus overall it might be considered that the groups comprised people who had an interest in education and the development of young people. They also expressed a varying interest in food. They were all white in terms of ethnic origin. One participant was Dutch, although I am not sure of her current nationality. She was brought up in the Netherlands and this had a strong influence on her life. Two of the participants had a Jewish background, one was from Eastern Europe.

Subsequent to conducting these groups I was interested to include more working class and male views for my second batch of three groups. In addition, I also wanted to include some perspectives from older participants in order to enrich the data. This could be considered to add a theoretical dimension to sampling, though I am unaware of studies that indicate effects of gender, class or age on perceptions of authenticity, though they are possible. Having said this, I was not looking to generalize from my sample. The participants' thoughts are their thoughts, though they can form a basis for broader discussion. I was also interested to try slightly smaller focus groups than the 7/8 participants that had taken part in each group at the school. I was interested to see if a smaller sample size affected the richness of the discussion.

Advice on the size of focus groups is variable. Holloway and Wheeler (2010) indicate that groups may contain between 4 and 12 people but 6 may be optimum, Holloway (2005) suggests 3-15, Hennink et al. (2011) suggest 6 to 8, Russell Bernard (2013) discusses the role of focus groups with 2 to 5 members. For specific phenomenological studies, Flowers et al. (2001) had groups of 4 or 5 and Palmer et al. (2010) had an average of 11. Comparing the discussion in the groups of sample size of 7/8 to 4/5, I did not think that it was necessarily any richer, but individuals did have a bigger share of the available time to make their contributions, given the smaller numbers.

With regard to the number of focus groups and therefore the sample size there are no clearly defined guidelines. Hennink et al. (2011) indicate that qualitative studies often have a limited number of participants because of the nature of the process. They refer

back to Glaser and Strauss (1967) and their discussions of saturation. Here the qualitative researcher collects data until they reach a point where the information/discussion starts to repeat itself, after this point is reached Hennink et al. (2011, p. 88) maintain that,

*“After reaching information saturation, further data collection becomes redundant because the purpose of recruitment is to seek variation and context of participants experiences rather than a large number of participants with those experiences.”*

That is not to say that new things might not come along. The post-modern perspective celebrates life’s great diversity, however, there is also a point where there is a feeling for the nature of the common experience. Therefore a balance must be met. As Hennink et al. (2011, p. 88) indicate,

*“You need to identify the point in your own data at which information begins to repeat itself, which will be influenced by your research topic and the variation in experiences of your study participants.”*

Given this, I have also looked at the experiences of others. With specific respect to phenomenological studies, Smith et al. (2009, p. 9) indicate that there is *“no right answer to the question of the sample size.”* Often phenomenological studies have a sample size of one. As a rough guide, Smith recommends 3-6 participants, although here he is talking about individual interviews. With regard to phenomenological studies using focus groups Flowers et al. (2001) had 4 groups with a total of 19 participants, though some additional individual interviews were also included. Palmer et al. (2010) had 5 focus groups with a total of 55 participants in total. I undertook my 2 pilot focus groups, 3 main focus groups followed by 3 further focus groups, a total of 6 main groups in all. I reflected carefully on the data that I was gathering and decided that by the end of the sixth focus group the essence of what I was hearing was starting to coalesce in a fairly consistent manner and it was at this point that I decided to stop. This was my personal judgement. If I had thought that I needed to go further, given the nature and context of my work, I would have done so.

The 14 participants in the village focus groups included 10 males and 4 females with 5 participants considering themselves as working class and 5 considering themselves as middle-class with four individuals considering themselves as classless. The mean age of the participants was 62 (range 48-88). When I reflected on the discussion within the groups, certainly there were differences between groups, but I did not consider that these differences were any greater between the school and the village groups. I do, however, think that whilst the richness of discussion was comparable, the slight change

in the composition of the groups did bring different perspectives into play. In the school groups, the participants knew each other, to a greater or lesser extent, and may have had knowledge of each other's families. In the village groups this pre-knowledge was the case for some, but not all, of the participants. This obviously influenced discussion and I acknowledge that the dynamics might have been different if everyone had been strangers.

Given this theoretical discussion of the research design I will now outline some of the practical considerations involved in data collection.

#### **4.2.9 The practicalities of data collection**

In running the focus groups I was guided by authors such as Holloway (2005), Holloway and Wheeler (2010), Hennink et al. (2011), and Bernard (2013) amongst others. In terms of my overall approach, I employed the moderator's guidelines proposed by Hennink et al. (2011). I will now discuss my approach to the pilot studies followed by the school and village studies.

#### **The pilot studies**

As stated above I undertook two pilot studies. The first was a focus group conducted around a meal with members of the Exmoor Society. The second group involved members of the Institute of Hospitality and consisted of hospitality professionals from industry and education tasting various products with subsequent discussion. The aim of these groups was to trial variations in the method for conducting and analyzing the focus groups. In addition, the pilot exercise helped me to gain an initial insight into the subject area from the participants' perspectives. The groups produced some interesting responses, which I analyzed qualitatively using simple thematic analysis after Creswell (2009). After each of the groups I also undertook a personal reflection.

Looking back on each of the groups, I considered that I was directed in my approach to facilitation. I used questions that tended to orientate the participants in particular directions. For example the second focus group revolved around tasting some specific foodstuffs with specific claims to authenticity such as those with a EU designation. I also thought that there were experiences and ideas that this directed approach might have been suppressing. In terms of data collection I therefore decided to use a much more open and participant-centred approach for my subsequent focus groups. Details of each of the groups can be found in Appendices 4.4 and 4.5.

## **The school study**

With the 6 principal focus groups I decided to follow the pattern of the pilot focus group with the Exmoor Society and conduct the group around a meal. In terms of some of the specific aspects of moderation I have outlined how I applied the Hennink et al. (2011) guidelines to these and the village groups in table 4.2 below. The school's head teacher was approached for permission and subsequent to this a notice was placed on the staff noticeboard encouraging staff to take part and giving them space to sign up.

The school had been chosen because of family connections with the school. Once numbers had been ascertained, 3 groups were planned. On the agreed days, participants came into a room at lunchtime where a buffet had been prepared. In looking at all the menus for the focus groups I reflected carefully on whether particular types of food might influence my participants. There is a danger of overthinking something like this, therefore I chose to provide a menu, which I think reflected the sort of food they would come across on a regular basis (see appendix 4.6 for menus). Having done the focus groups and reflected on this particular aspect of the study, I think that this was a fair decision to have made. I asked them to help themselves to food and to settle round a table. Previously they had received written information about the purpose of the focus group, but this was verbally reiterated. This written communication had included a consent form and a request for some initial personal information.

Following some general social 'chit chat' to start off and to put everyone at ease I posed the focusing question,

“Could you please describe experiences which have given rise to your understanding of the term authentic food?”

And we proceeded from there. Groups were recorded using:

- 1 Olympus digital voice recorder VN – 2100 PC and a Yoga EM – 278 stereo condenser microphone.
- 1 Olympus digital voice recorder VN 550 stereo condenser microphone.

**Table 4.2: The process of moderation after Hennink et al (2011)**

	<b>Detail</b>
Introductory tasks	Initially I welcomed and thanked the participants for attending, encouraging them to get a plate of food and sit for the school groups and for the village groups bringing food to the table where they could help themselves. I introduced myself and introduced the research in broad terms, although all participants had already been given a participant information sheet, signed a consent form and provided some basic background information. I identified how the recording of the discussion was to be used and outlined the process for discussion; I would pose an initial focussing question and then tried to contribute in as limited a way as possible to allow them to take the discussion where they wanted to. I indicated the potential length of the discussion (for the school groups this was limited to the lunch break. For the village groups they could go on until there was a natural ending). I then responded to any questions before starting off the discussion with the focussing question.
Ethical tasks	I confirmed consent for participation initially through the signing up process (for the school) or by speaking directly to potential participants (the village). This was then confirmed by asking them to read a participant information sheet and completing a consent form. Consent was then further confirmed in the discussion prior to the group starting. I assured that their responses would be anonymized once the data had been transcribed and that only anonymized quotations would appear in publications and that raw data would be stored securely and subsequently deleted.
Group cohesion tasks	I worked hard to develop rapport with the participants and to create a comfortable, permissive environment. This is difficult to do artificially as it can come across as being insincere, however, I used positive body language, reassuring tones of voice, initiated casual discussion and used the initial time to introduce all participants as appropriate. The very act of holding the groups round a meal made this quite easy and natural.
Facilitating discussion tasks	Within the actual discussion I endeavoured to encourage contributions from all participants. Within the school groups there were some people who did not say very much, but that was/is their right. It is also difficult to capture some comments not made in the mainstream of the discussion, though possibly I could have encouraged some people to speak more. The groups tended to be very democratic and there was a minimal need to manage group dynamics. I was trained as a counsellor and employ the skills of active listening to seek depth and detail in a variety of situations. Some adaptation is needed with groups and larger groups in particular, but this seemed successful. I used open body language to encourage discussion. I listened to issues raised and prompted the discussion where necessary; possibly I could have done this a little less. In order to provide sufficient information on each topic I used prompts to gain additional detail, stories and to invite new issues and opinions. There is a balance to be met here as I wanted the participants to lead the discussion. Finally I monitored the timing and pacing of the discussion and when I thought we had reached a natural end point rounded up the discussion and thanked the participants.

Files were transferred to a PC at the earliest opportunity labelled with a code. The DS 330 recorder saves DSS files and the VN-2100PC Wav files. Two recorders were used to provide back up and give better coverage of the room. I did not take notes as I was concentrating on facilitation, however, immediately following the group, I listened to the recordings, made notes and undertook a reflection. The transcripts that were subsequently produced record the responses to the questions and the discussions that unfurled as I encouraged them to discuss the topic with minimal intervention from myself. For the first three main groups, time was slightly limited. I found, however, that the period of approximately 50 minutes provided an appropriate space in which they could withdraw from the day's activities and discuss the subject in a very relaxed manner. The focus groups seem to draw naturally to a close allowing for final comments. I made myself available at the end to answer questions before clearing up. Further details of the practicalities of running the groups can be found in appendix 4.6.

### **The village study**

In order to recruit participants for my final three focus groups, I approached potential participants directly following discussions with members of the local British Legion. The procedure for conducting the groups followed that which I used for the school groups, however, this time I actually held the groups in my own home. I thought carefully about this and whether it would have been better to have held the groups somewhere more neutral. Subsequent reflection convinces me that it was a good way of conducting the groups; participants were relaxed, I had a sense of strong feelings of empathy and rapport and the resulting data appeared interesting and rich. The participants also seemed to enjoy the occasion and I do not think that there was an unfair imbalance in power that posed an ethical issue. I had met some of the participants before, possibly this made facilitating discussion easier. Some of them knew each other and some did not. This did not seem to affect the dynamics of the discussion. The final three groups were possibly a little more relaxed than the school groups. There were no restrictions on time and participants seemed happy to talk for up to an hour and a half. The meetings were recorded using:

- 1 Olympus digital voice recorder DM-670 digital recorder and a Conversor non-directional Microphone.
- 1 Olympus digital voice recorder VN – 2100 PC and a Yoga EM – 278 stereo condenser microphone.
- 1 Olympus digital voice recorder VN 550 stereo condenser microphone.

As a result of reflecting on the practicalities of running the groups, the microphones were raised up above the table and paper plates were used to cut down on background noise. This produced much better sound quality. I was pleased that I had the three recorders as for one of the groups only one of the recorders actually picked up a viable recording. Again the focus groups seem to draw naturally to a close allowing for final comments and I made myself available at the end to answer questions before clearing up. Further details of the practicalities of running the groups can be found in appendix 4.7. Again I did not take notes as I was concentrating on facilitation, however, immediately following the group I listened to the recordings, made notes and reflected on the experience.

#### **4.2.10 Conclusions**

In this section I have outlined how I approached the design of my research. Initially I discussed why I undertook the approach. I then went on to expand on my aim and objectives, to look at my use of literature and how this helped me develop a conceptual framework. Subsequently I explained my approach to fieldwork, ethics, recruitment and the practicalities of data collection. I will now go on to look at how I analyzed the data.

### **4.3 The process of analysis**

#### **4.3.1 Introduction**

In this section I will explain the process of analysis. As with all phenomenological studies this involves the adoption of the phenomenological attitude and it is here that I will start. I will then go on to explain briefly how the data were transcribed before the primary process of phenomenological analysis. This analysis is further developed through writing, an area that I found particularly interesting as it refined the initial analysis to produce something more fluid and coherent. Finally I will evaluate the work and in particular look at how well and the way in which the focus groups appeared to work.

#### **4.3.2 The phenomenological attitude – the reduction**

In this section, I would like to briefly discuss the basis of phenomenology in terms of the phenomenological attitude. This discussion will develop some ideas that have already been mentioned. In order to capture lived experience, phenomenologists assume the phenomenological attitude or utilize the phenomenological reduction originally envisaged by Husserl (1982; 2001a; 2001b), and developed as a practical

method by Giorgi (1985), and subsequently others such as Smith (2004), Van Manen (1990), and Todres (2007). Firstly the phenomenological attitude requires the researcher to engage with the phenomenon intuitively. As Giorgi (1997, p. 236) maintains:

*“For Husserl, the chief characteristic of consciousness is that it presents objects to us, and this presenting function he calls “intuition,” which refers to ordinary types of awareness, not anything romantic or esoteric.”*

Thus we are required to see things as other people see them and this involves setting aside our preconceptions: the way that we normally perceive the world. Husserl envisaged this reduction taking different forms as Moran (2000, p. 147) demonstrates:

*“In so far as it relates to the nature of psychic states Husserl refers to a “psychological reduction”. In general, however, it is not clear how to distinguish the different stages and great production. He distinguishes at various times between different kinds of reduction: indeed in Ideas I he speaks of phenomenological reductions; that is, in the plural.... Husserl often speaks indifferently of phenomenological and transcendental reductions. In the Cartesian Meditations, Husserl runs these together into a ‘transcendental-phenomenological reduction’. In the Crisis, as many as eight different forms of reduction have been catalogued. Iso Kern has argued that Husserl had different models of the reduction..... However, Husserl is not so well organized. Although he did talk about the need for a systematic theory of phenomenological reductions, in practice he was quite relaxed about distinguishing between the different ways of approaching one domain.”*

Giorgi (1997) identifies 4 principal examples from several different types of reduction and levels of reduction:

1. The phenomenological reduction (brackets the natural attitude).
2. The phenomenological psychological reduction (brackets the world but not the empirical subject).
3. The Eidetic reduction or the intuition of essences (which gives rise to the essence of the phenomena).
4. The transcendental phenomenological reduction (which brackets the world and the empirical subject).

However, he considers that these have mostly philosophical significance, being refinements of the basic phenomenological reduction, which breaks from the common way of seeing the world (the natural attitude). He considers this to be the “*minimum condition necessary to claim phenomenological state of one’s research*” (Ibid p. 240). We must set aside taken for granted assumptions in order to see the world from a new



perspective, the perspective of the other. A key part of this process is called bracketing or the epoché. For most commentators these terms are interchangeable, however, Bednall (2006) does try to make a distinction, though I do not find the arguments convincing. Bracketing could be perceived as an attempt to be objective, however, it is really an attempt to be “fully engaged, involved, interested and open to what might appear” (Finlay 2011 p. 23). It is necessary to be scientifically removed from, open to and aware of, whilst at the same time endeavouring to place oneself into the experiencing of the life world of the other (Ibid). Some commentators argue that into this process an element of subjectivity must come and that this must be addressed (Finlay 2011, 2008; Langdridge 2007; Rennie 1992 and Walsh 2004). Findings do not result from a passive interaction between data and researcher but something that is,

*“.....a constantly evolving, dynamic and co-created relational process to which both participant research contribute.” (Finlay, p. 24).*

Indeed,

*“Caught up in the dance, researchers must wager continuous, iterative struggle to become aware of, and then manage, pre-understandings and habitualities that inevitably linger. Persistence will reward researcher with special, if fleeting, moments of disclosure in which the phenomenon reveals something of itself in a fresh way.”  
(Finlay 2008 p. 1).*

I will now explain how I transcribed the data.

#### **4.3.3 Transcribing**

In order to transcribe the data the audio files from the groups were downloaded onto a password protected computer and the files loaded into Sonocent Audio Notetaker 2.5. This software presents the audio file as a series of bars that can be easily manipulated in terms of separating out sections, for example. Using a headset I was able to listen to the files, stop, pause, and go back as necessary. At the same time I was able to repeat the phrases and dictate them into a word processing window using Dragon Naturally Speaking 11.0 voice recognition software. This text can then be copied and pasted into a word processing file. This process was very efficient; no need for pedals or other peripheral devices. The whole process was controlled on the computer. As I am dyslexic, I have used Dragon software for several years. It is easy to train and can be very accurate and it is also comparatively cheap. I am surprised that its use is not more widespread. If there were difficulties in hearing certain passages, I was able to refer to the other audio files from the other recorders. At this stage the transcripts were

anonymized by giving the participants consistent pseudonyms. These were subsequently used for analysis.

#### **4.3.4 Phenomenological analysis**

In this section I describe how I undertook my analysis. I initially analyzed my transcripts using two approaches: Descriptive Phenomenology (after Giorgi 1985, 1997) and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA after Smith et al. 2009). There are many ways of performing phenomenological analysis. There is also a considerable amount of controversy regarding the way that such analysis should be performed. Authors such as Moran (2000), Finlay (2011) and Langdridge (2007) provide good overviews of the range of methods. I wanted to try descriptive phenomenology because I consider that this is the closest method that has emerged from Husserl's philosophy. I wanted to try IPA because I thought that it might give me more of an opportunity to bring my own felt understanding into the analysis. I was interested in the work of Giorgi and Smith et al. because both perspectives provided a structured method, which closely allied to my previous experience as a natural scientist and also, given my dyslexia, the way in which I think. In order to understand the world I need to work within structures though this does not preclude me from setting those structures aside when I wish to. Also the qualitative research method is designed to slow the researcher down, to give rise to transferability rather than replicability. The researcher is not looking for correspondence, that is a 'black and white' view, an absolute robust truth (and method), but coherence; a view of truth that acknowledges that there are always various, more, different ways of viewing something.

I was interested in using these methods separately. I also, potentially, wanted to use these methods together. This has been done by authors such as Todres and Galvin (2006) who used Descriptive Phenomenology to provide a structure to their work and Hermeneutic Phenomenology to provide a more embodied interpretation of the experience of caring for a partner with Alzheimer's disease. Some authors maintain that this combination of descriptive and interpretive phenomenology is inherent in specific methods. Polit and Tatano Beck (2009) maintain that this is part of Van Manen's method (Van Manen 1990) for example. Drawing on Eatough and Smith (2008), Larkin et al. (2006) and Smith et al. (2009), Cassidy et al. (2011 p. 266) consider that the interplay of the descriptive and the interpretative is the outcome of an hermeneutic approach,

*"The final analysed account should offer a layered analysis of the phenomenon; firstly a descriptive, phenomenological level which conveys an empathic*

*understanding of the experience, and secondly a probing, more critical analysis based on the deeper interpretative work of the researcher."*

The first of the last three examples thus represents two methods being used together, whilst the last two examples indicate how elements of description and interpretation are theoretically combined within a single method. I had ensured that when I collected data it would be suitable for both descriptive and interpretive analysis and for the first group of three main focus groups (the school groups) I undertook the two analyses separately as indicated below.

### **Descriptive phenomenological analysis**

With regard to the specific method employed, initially I used descriptive phenomenology, adapting the method developed by Giorgi (1985; 1997 and other references to his work quoted therein). I started off by assuming an attitude of epoché, of trying to bracket out my bias and preconceptions. There then followed four stages:

1. I listened to the recordings and made a transcript.
2. I divided the transcript into meaning units. These are small sections of dialogue with specific meaning, not necessarily single sentences and not necessarily whole sentences.
3. These meaning units were then paraphrased on an individual basis, using appropriate academic language. I was a little sceptical of this process, but it creates a high level of engagement with the data and attention to every word.
4. Having got this level of immersion in the data I am called upon as a researcher to try and establish the essence underlying the data. This is central to the phenomenological reduction, not as in reductionism or shortening, but more as in re-ducere or a leading back (Van Manen Personal Communication 2008.) Initially the result of this is written out in as concise a way as possible. Central to this process is the use of *Free Imaginative Variation*. As Giorgi (1997) maintains,

*"As the name implies [ free imaginative variation], the method means that one freely changes aspects or parts of the phenomenon or object, and one sees if the phenomenon remains identifiable with the part changed or not. Ultimately, the use of the method depends upon the ability of the researcher to awaken possibilities." (Ibid p. 242-243)*

Defining the essence is an attempt to express the structure of the phenomena in as concise a way as possible, though Giorgi (1997) maintains that there may well be a single or multiple essences. I then developed this in terms of academic amplification, through writing, looking at the essence and dialoguing with it and the data to present an honest and interesting account.

### **Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis**

The above was followed by an interpretive approach based on the ideas of Van Manen (1990), Smith et al. (2009) and the Hermeneutic Phenomenology of Heidegger and Gadamer (Schmidt 2006.) Heidegger (2007) maintains that pre-knowledge includes elements of for-having (existing knowledge), for-sight (perspectives shaped by socio/cultural background) and for-conception (the resultant assumptions about the likely findings). Gadamer (2004) encapsulates these ideas as forms of prejudice. He also talks about the new horizons that develop as individuals change as their knowledge changes; their views of a particular thing will change and new appreciations will develop resulting in a new level/type of pre-knowledge. A full understanding will therefore never be possible, but understanding will develop. This is the essence of an hermeneutic approach. The researcher can use their previous understanding to help interpret. In this process the bracketing process is different in that I still aimed to exclude bias, in as much as it affects an honest and open interpretation; however, broader experience can be brought to bear.

There are many potential approaches to interpretive phenomenological analysis. The approach that I used is based on Smith et al. (2009) and follows a series of steps. This was one of the reasons why I chose this approach as I was looking for an approach with structure. The method follows six steps:

**Step 1. Reading and re-reading:** this is a process of immersion in the data, though for the first three main groups, as I had already undertaken descriptive analysis, the original transcripts were already well-known, though leaving them for a period and coming back to them with a fresh perspective did seem to be helpful. For the village groups this involved reading through the transcripts and re-reading. In each case, because I had undertaken the transcription, there was a greater familiarity than if I had 'contracted this out.'

**Step 2. Initial noting. Examination of the semantic content and language used at a very exploratory level.** An open mind is maintained and this is what Smith et al.

(2009) consider close to being free textual analysis. These exploratory comments are descriptive, linguistic and conceptual in nature. To a certain degree this stage seemed to flow having undertaken the descriptive analysis. Personal reflection is important for the conceptual coding. Work done at this stage draws on the researcher's experience and professional knowledge. It reflects a Gadamerian approach to hermeneutics; a dialogue between the researcher's pre-understandings and new understandings of the participants' worlds. In order to do this I produced a table of three columns (see appendix 4.8). The central column contained the transcript. In the right hand column I developed my exploratory comments. Many of the descriptive comments were also conceptual because the participants had been asked to talk about the experiences that helped them to find what authentic food was. They often described experiences but also explained ideas and concepts. If this was the case I underlined any comments that might be considered to be conceptual. In this column comments in plain text were descriptive, but I highlighted comments in italics that were linguistic in that they referred specifically to the use of language, both in terms of words, intonation and associated meanings. This column therefore consisted of both descriptive and interpretive analysis. I tended to make descriptive comments first and then think about interpretation.

**Step 3. Developing emergent themes.** At this stage, although the original data is preeminent, the data has now expanded to include the researcher's analysis. It is from this larger data set that emergent themes are developed. The researcher attempts to, *"produce a concise and pithy statement of what was important in the various comments attached to a piece of transcript"* (ibid, p. 92.) In order to do this I started to list potential emergent themes in the left-hand column of the table. I also used the left-hand column to list themes that related to group interaction. As I will explain later I did this for the school focus groups in order to develop an understanding and a simple model of the interaction process.

**Step 4. Searching the connections across emergent themes.** At this stage the themes that have emerged chronologically are mapped out into some form of more coherent whole. In order to do this I utilized a technique called abstraction which is a basic form of identifying patterns between emergent themes and developing what Smith et al. (2009) call super-ordinate themes. It involves putting like with like and developing a new name for a cluster. Thus I produced lists of emergent themes (each with a coded reference to their place in the transcript), looked for commonality and then rewrote the lists using the super-ordinate themes as headings. It was then possible to

take these super-ordinate themes and develop a more refined structure through further levels of abstraction. The results of this process could be tabulated resulting in tables that showed themes nested within super-ordinate themes. In some cases some of the themes seemed to have sub-themes which I also noted. Examples of these tables are provided in appendix 4.9.

**Step 5. Moving to the next case.** Having analyzed one focus group in this way I then moved onto the next focus group and repeated the process.

**Step 6. Looking for patterns across cases.** This step involves looking for patterns across the groups. Based on the analysis I was able to start with the first table of super-ordinate themes, themes and sub-themes and add new themes at each level, reviewing the nature of the overall structure and substructure. In the tables in appendix 4.9 I have colour-coded the tables to show how the various levels of themes developed. At the end of this part of the process of analysis, I had a table based on the analysis of the six main focus groups that represented the structure of the phenomenon; perceptions of the authenticity of food.

In particular, Smith et al. (2009) caution the researcher against producing analyses that are too descriptive and encourage a deeper level of interpretation that starts off working with the hermeneutics of empathy, but moves on to one of suspicion that is based on a deep questioning of the data. This pattern of descriptive and interpretative method is designed to give an open description of the phenomena that is faithful to the words of the participants before attempting to undertake a more interpretative analysis. It is important to note that this is not the end of the analytical process. Writing up the analysis resulted in a new engagement with the data, the phenomena and a further refinement of the structure of the phenomenon. I will now explain why I chose to use IPA.

#### **4.3.5 The way in which the different approaches were finally used**

Having undertaken the two analyses, I reflected on them carefully. It needs to be understood that there are some real tensions between some of the key practitioners of the two approaches (see Giorgi 2010, Smith 2010 and Giorgi 2011: to be read in that order), and there are sincere reasons for those tensions. It also needs to be noted, in this case, that the approach to data collection is not affected by the specific method of phenomenological analysis. I value descriptive phenomenology because it has a strong structure that forces the researcher to slow down and get very close to the data

they are examining. It also results in a strong structure for the phenomena that is being investigated. In order to do this the researcher must intuit, as Giorgi (1997, p. 236) explains:

*“The above discussion leads to the third point, which is the precise meaning of the term "phenomenon" for phenomenology. It means the presence of any given precisely as it is given or experienced. In other words, phenomenology begins its analysis of intuitions or presences not in their objective sense, but precisely in terms of the full range of "givennesses," no matter how partial or marginal, that are present, and in terms of the meaning that the phenomena have for the experiencing subjects.”*

I find the use of the phrase “precisely as it is given or experienced” particularly important here. According to Todres (2005), the central features of descriptive phenomenology after Giorgi are;

1. The researcher gathers detailed concrete descriptions of specific experience from others.
2. The researcher adopts the attitude of the phenomenological reduction in order to intuit the intelligibility of what is given in the experience.
3. The researcher seeks the most invariant meanings for a context.

For me, the separation of the process of intuition and that of interpretation can be problematic from two perspectives. Firstly there is an underlying suspicion that the two cannot be separated, as the exchange of views between Giorgi and Smith indicates. Secondly, when undertaking descriptive analysis I continually felt the need to interpret. Thirdly, I can see how it is possible to perform separate analyzes, but writing a coherent account combining the two distinctly different approaches on the same page (as opposed to different phases as in the work of Todres and Galvin 2006) proved problematic. Thus I decided to focus on IPA to produce a layered analysis that is both empathetic and interpretative, that contains description and interpretation. Consequently, it is this analysis that I present in this thesis. Writing up my findings chapters represented an ongoing process in terms of analysis and I will discuss this in the next section.

#### **4.3.6 Writing style**

I would like to provide a brief note about my approach to writing. As someone who is dyslexic, I do not find writing easy. In order to gain a sense of the whole, I tend to structure my work in a very deliberate way. I wrote my thesis in the first person because I thought that it was appropriate given my influence on, and embodiment in,

the process of research (Geertz 1988; Wolcott 2009). I also hope that it represents a more engaging style for the reader (Holloway and Wheeler 2010; Holloway and Brown 2012).

The actual process of writing has varied depending upon which section of the thesis I have been addressing. In my chapters covering the analysis and discussion, having discerned the structure of the phenomenon, I looked at this structure and divided it into sections, which resulted in chapters. For each chapter I went back to my analysis and looked through various levels of my notes to find sections of the transcripts which resonated most strongly with the results of the analysis. I had produced a very detailed analysis and this meant that there were many examples that I could use given the richness of the data. Having chosen the data to present I constructed an overall narrative that focused primarily on my data and my own interaction with that data. I considered this to be an on-going part of the analysis, drawing from Van Manen's (1990) ideas in *Researching Lived Experience*. I built my account up from the data; as always I gave primacy to the data. I then shared these accounts with my supervisors. This process has led to a refinement of the structure of the phenomenon. It is also to be noted that when writing the quotations I have used the language of the participants. Thus there will, at times, appear to be strange sentence constructions and spellings. This is what the participants said. I thought that it was appropriate to write them out in this way because this gives the reader a genuine feel for what was said and also not to write them out as they were spoken would, in effect, be denying my participants their voice.

Having done this I went back to look at some of the literature that I had covered in the literature review. In addition, I also investigated new areas of literature that had been highlighted by the responses of my participants. I drew this literature into my account in relation to the comments of my participants. I also reflected on the literature from a personal perspective. As such I created a dialogue between my data, the established literature and myself. This forms the basis of the latter half of the thesis.

In terms of writing style I am drawn to the words of the late Ted Hughes,

*"All falsities in writing-and the consequent dry-rot that spreads into the whole fabric-come from the notion that there is a stylistic ideal which exists in the abstract, like a special language, to which all men might attain. But teachers of written English should have nothing to do with that, which belongs rather to the study of manners and group jargon. Their word should be not "how to write" but*



*"how to try to say what you really mean"-we are just part of the search for self-knowledge and perhaps, in one form or another, Grace." (Hughes 1967, p. 12).*

Therefore I have written in a way that I consider is engaging and have tried to say what I mean. I have included cultural references to enliven the text. I am conscious that some of these might jar with some readers; possibly this is the point, in that I was seeking to engage with the reader. Resonance was one of the evaluation criteria that I used as I will now discuss.

#### **4.3.7 Evaluation**

In this section I explain how I have evaluated the work that I have done. Firstly I will start with a quotation from Finlay (2011, p. 261):

*"Good phenomenological research evokes the lived world. It challenges or deepens our understanding of the lived experience being studied. It helps us grow and enriches our work as practitioners. Good phenomenological research is likely to be rigorous and transparently trustworthy. These are the qualities which we try to bring into own phenomenological research and they are what we look for when evaluating other people's work."*

She then follows this by saying:

*"Of course, what is considered 'evocative', 'enriching' or 'trustworthy' research partly depends on the beholder - whatever works for you."*

Despite this apparent vagueness, qualitative researchers do structure their evaluation more than these quotations indicate, often through a range of specific criteria. Table 4.3 below indicates some of the commonly used criteria in the evaluation of qualitative research in general and more specifically phenomenology. From this range of criteria I was most taken with Finlay (2011) and therefore decided to use her set of criteria for rigour, relevance, resonance and reflexivity, whilst incorporating other authors' ideas within this framework. This evaluation is presented in the conclusions at the end of this thesis. Given that this was a piece of research based on focus groups it is additionally important to evaluate the way that these focus groups worked. This is of value from two perspectives. Firstly it helps evaluate the method and secondly I consider that it is important for our broader understanding of the subject. This is something that I undertake in the next section.

**Table 4.3: Table to indicate the range of criteria used to evaluate qualitative research in general and phenomenology in particular.**

Name	Criteria
Lincoln and Guba (1985)	For qualitative studies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Credibility</li> <li>• Transferability</li> <li>• Dependability</li> <li>• Confirmability</li> <li>• Authenticity (See Lincoln and Guba 1986)</li> </ul>
Yardley (2000)	For qualitative studies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sensitivity to context</li> <li>• Commitment and rigour</li> <li>• Transparency and coherence</li> <li>• Impact and importance</li> </ul>
Holloway and Wheeler (2010)	For qualitative studies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trustworthiness</li> <li>• Dependability</li> <li>• Credibility</li> <li>• Transferability</li> <li>• Confirm Ability</li> <li>• Authenticity</li> </ul>
Hennink et al. (2011)	For qualitative studies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That it is interpretative</li> <li>• That it is reflexive</li> <li>• That it is appropriate</li> </ul>
Smith et al. (2009)	Specifically with regard to IPA studies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sensitivity to context</li> <li>• Commitment and rigour</li> <li>• Transparency and coherence</li> <li>• Impact and importance</li> </ul>
Smith (2011)	Specifically with regard to IPA studies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Clearly subscribes to the theoretical principles of IPA: phenomenological, hermeneutic and idiographic.</li> <li>• Sufficiently transparent so read and see what was done.</li> <li>• Coherent, plausible and interesting analysis.</li> <li>• Sufficient sampling from corpus show density of evidence for each theme.</li> </ul>
Dahlberg et al (2008)	Phenomenology, hermeneutic is in the reflective life world <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rigour</li> <li>• Coherence</li> <li>• Twinning epistemology and method</li> </ul>
Todres and Galvin (2006)	Phenomenological research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scientific concern for the “structure” of the phenomenon.</li> <li>• Communicative concern for the “texture”.</li> </ul>
Finlay (2011), Finlay (2006), Finlay and Evans (2009)	For phenomenological research <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rigour</li> <li>• Relevance</li> <li>• Resonance</li> <li>• Reflexivity</li> </ul>

#### **4.3.8 The dynamics of the focus groups**

One specific area of the study, which it is important to evaluate, is the success of the focus groups. In order to do this I analysed the interactions of the participants. I used focus groups in this work for a number of reasons above and beyond it being a method of data collection. One of these reasons was to look at how the different members interacted in order to get an understanding of an aspect of the process of social construction; the way that individuals interacted with others to construct their social realities. Thus for the school groups, I undertook thematic analysis of the transcripts in order to explore the interactions and developed these into a 'model' of the process, that is a figurative representation of the ideas that I will discuss below. This model was developed iteratively based on the data from the first group, modified by data from the second and then the third. Having developed and refined this model, I compared it to the discussions and interactions of the village focus groups. Given the nature of the approach and the data it is not possible to test the model to see whether it was an accurate representation of the dynamics of the village groups, however, I found that the way participants behaved was very similar and I think that the model and discussion could be applied to both sets of groups.

As indicated previously, the participants in the school focus groups were all known to each other. They worked in the same school and many had worked directly with each other. They were teachers or classroom assistants and predominately female. Some of the participants in the village groups had met before; some had not. There was a mix of male and female and some couples. The mean age of the village groups was older than that of the school groups. This provides some context to the interaction that took place in the groups. Thus some of the formative processes that groups might go through (for example Tuckman 1965) were not necessarily apparent, even though these groups had not met in this form before, nor for this purpose. Also there was quite a convivial atmosphere as the groups were run around a meal. They were conducted at lunchtime. This was something different for the participants, something other than the normal day. The issue discussed was not, on the surface, contentious. All these factors may come together to explain the very positive and constructive way in which the groups appeared to function. I will now explain what I found, though I will not be using quotes to illustrate this explanation.

There was an overall feeling of discussion and negotiation of meaning between group members and at times within group members themselves as they sought to clarify and come to terms with their own understanding of authentic food and some of the

experiences in their lives. On the whole individuals were prepared to put forward ideas and then to have them discussed by the group. This discussion took the form of a combination of reflection, questioning, challenging, confirmation, probing, clarification, support and justification. This often led to a modification of views and the discussion of a new form of the idea. As such it reflects the academic dialectic process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, often attributed to Hegel though possibly more appropriately to Kant (Kaufman 1966.) I also consider that the process could be viewed as a hermeneutic approach, in that participants approached the ideas with an element of pre-knowledge and then returned to them changed, with a modified body of knowledge, as the cycles of discussion progressed. The resultant outcomes were met with acceptance, rejection or a more neutral acknowledgement. In my view consensus was never really achieved, in any area.

All this was conducted in a spirit of openness and good humour. At certain points in the discussions, there appeared to be experiences of emotion such as wonderment at the experiences that people had encountered. There was a willingness to cooperate; there were expressions of empathy; dialogue was constructive. At times there was nervousness and some participants said less than others, but there was never the impression that all participants were not engaged in the process. Individuals seemed genuinely thankful for, respectful and supportive of others contributions.

Such was the positive nature of the process that I went looking for the negative. This is in part inspired by the playful nature of postmodern analysis as exemplified by Derrida (1978; 1997) and the search for the undisclosed other, the wholly other or binary opposites. In terms of processes, where there was reflection, I looked for reaction without reflection, where there was;

Questioning	I looked for	Agreeing
Challenging		Acceptance
Confirmation		Rejecting
Probing		Acceptance without thought
Clarification/explanation		(Obscuring)
Support		(Opposition)

In terms of the general environment where there was;

Willingness to cooperate	I looked for	(Obstruction)
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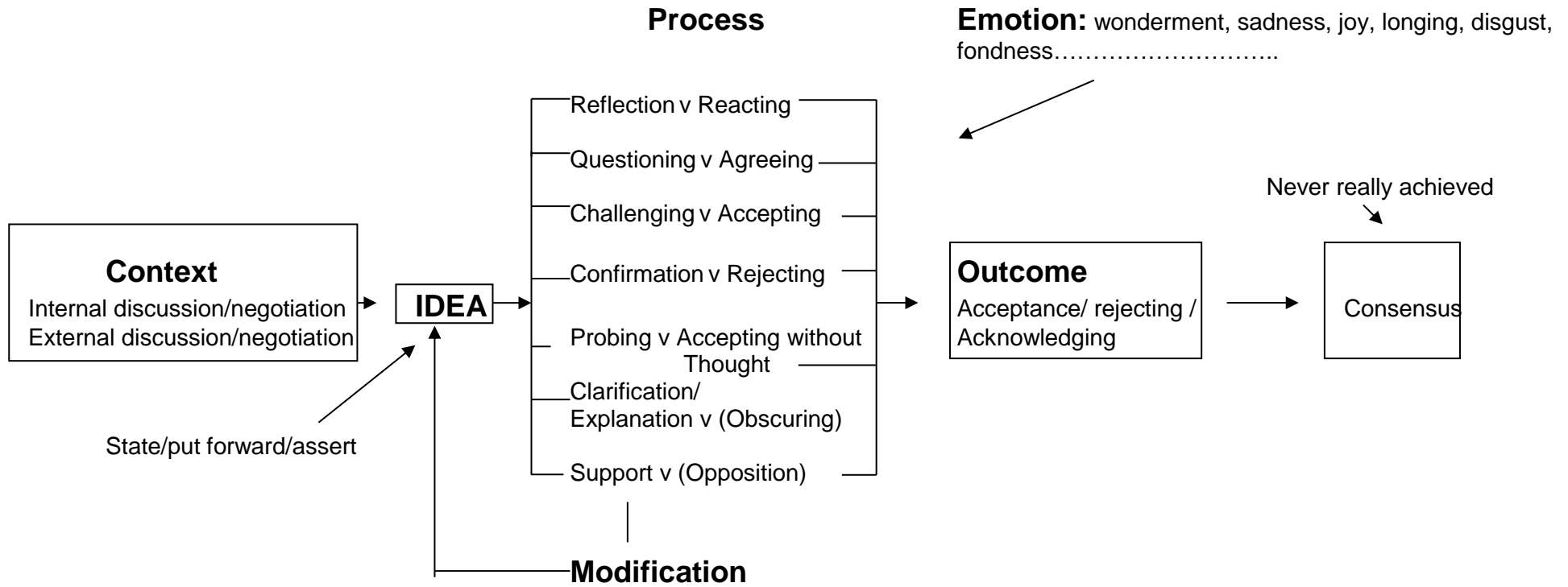
Empathy	(Indifference, Antipathy)
Openness	(Secrecy)
Constructiveness	(Destructiveness)
Nervousness/Sensitivity	Confidence
Humour	(Dourness)
Thanks	(Rejection)

I did not find the negative processes of obscuring, obstruction, indifference, antipathy, secrecy, destructiveness, dourness or rejection; hence I have bracketed them in the list above to indicate absence. Opposing thoughts were put forward constructively and with good humour. The use of humour was particularly interesting in that it was used in a way that was characterized by banter, irony, playfulness and at times teasing, whether it was in support of an idea or contradictory to it. I have set out these ideas diagrammatically in Figure 4.2 and sequentially in appendix 4.10. I start off with the idea of context in terms of an internal discussion within the individual and the external discussion within the group. This gives rise to ideas. These ideas went through the processes indicated above and were at times modified to form new ideas that might reach a stage when they were considered an outcome that was accepted, rejected or acknowledged.

Overall I think that this analysis of the dynamics of the focus groups indicates that they were conducted in a very positive, supportive, but at times challenging manner. This was the aim, to create an environment which resulted in a positive experience in its own right (participants thanked me for organizing the groups and the school took on the approach for staff development). This led to the collection of what I believe to be some very rich data produced by the open discussion of ideas and experiences.

Finally part of the justification for using focus groups was to emulate the Dialogical Approach to Phenomenology developed by Halling et al. (2006) and a more empathetic interaction with living speech as outlined by Ricoeur (1973, see also Langdrige 2007). I think that this was achieved. I think that responses were genuine and represented an authentic insight into the life world of the participants that framed their understanding of the authenticity of food. At the same time I think that the discussion created a community of exploration in the room that contributed to the analysis and development of ideas, not only for me as researcher, but also for the participants in terms of their own personal understandings.

**Figure 4.2 Dynamics of discussion**



**Environment:**

Willingness to cooperate v (Obstruction)	Empathy v (Indifference, Antipathy)
Openness (Secrecy)	Constructiveness v (Destructiveness)
Nervousness Sensitivity v Confidence	Thanks v (Rejection)
Humour (in support and contradictory)/Banter/Irony/playfulness/teasing v (dourness)	

### **4.3.9 Conclusions**

In this section I have explained the processes that I went through in order to analyze the data. I have examined the processes of phenomenological reduction, transcribing, the nuances of phenomenological analysis, writing, how I evaluated the work and more specifically how I evaluated the dynamics of the focus groups. In all these elements personal reflection and reflexivity were important and I would like to discuss this next.

## **4.4 The perspective of the researcher: reflection and reflexivity**

### **4.4.1 Introduction**

In this section I would like to say a little about the process of reflection that I have undertaken as part of the work, particularly as I have positioned myself as a reflexive explorer. I will start by looking at some general philosophical ideas about reflection and reflexivity and will then discuss two elements of formal reflection that I undertook prior to gathering data; an initial personal reflection and a deeper reflection after Romanyshyn (2007). This is followed by a section in which I explain how I used reflection as a tool on an on-going basis within the work.

Personal reflection has underpinned the work that I have done. Initially I went through a formal process of reflection in terms of reviewing my own background and position in general terms and also specifically with regard to the question of authentic food. Given the background that I had (not 'have' as it has changed as I have changed and is always changing), I considered that the main thrust of the data that I collected would revolve around ideas relating to provenance of food, local food, organic, certification schemes, local, national and international. This was not what I have found and I will discuss this later.

In addition I have been very interested in the work of Robert Romanyshyn (2007), specifically his work on engaging with the unconscious in terms of personal reflection. As a result I built this into my programme of research. This process has been very valuable, particularly when looking at the work on the unconscious it (along with other aspects of the work of Freud (2003; 1962) and Jung (1990; 1967) that I have engaged within my teaching of consumer behaviour). These ideas have challenged me with regard to the potential role of the unconscious in determining authenticity and to ideas of existential authenticity.

#### 4.4.2 Some general philosophical ideas about reflection and reflexivity

Qualitative researchers consider that it is important for an individual undertaking a piece of qualitative work to take time to reflect on their own personal position within, and relative to their work, throughout the process. This is for a number of reasons, not least of which is that, in effect, the researcher is the research tool. Thus reflection and reflexivity are seen as valuable, but there is considerable debate as to what reflexivity is. As Potvin et al. (2010, p. 446) maintain, there is a basic consensus, based on authors such as Foley (2002), Lynch (2000), Robertson (2002) and Salzman (2002), that reflexivity entails “*some form of recursive, turning-back upon, or mirroring of the self.*” Guba and Lincoln (2008, p. 278) maintain that,

*“Reflexivity is the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the human as instrument.”*

Finlay (2011) makes a distinction between being reflective as in ‘thinking about’ and reflexive as in critical self-awareness. In my research, I aim to be critically self-aware, however, in the absence of a name for reflexive reflection I simply called it reflection. Subsequent to this, discussion becomes considerably more complicated. Lynch (2000) has an inventory of ‘reflexivities’ that include six overlapping types (mechanical, substantive, methodological, meta-theoretical, interpretative, and ethnomethodological) and 14 sub categories. Finlay (2002) refers to five types of reflexivity as outlined in table 4.4 below.

This indicates a small window on some of the academic discourse surrounding reflection and reflexivity. It is an area in which it is easy to get lost without too much practical gain. I am in agreement with Potvin et al. (2010, p. 447) who maintain that

*“within the social sciences methodological self-consciousness and self-criticism are the most common forms of methodological reflexivity.”*

The idea is that the researcher will consider their own relationship with the participants and will be conscious of their own prejudices and assumptions. In addition, they will also have an eye toward bias. This may include reflection on the researcher’s own feelings, actions, interactions and activities (Salzman 2002).



**Table 4.4 Different types of reflexivity (after Finlay 2002.)**

Type of reflexivity	Explanation
Introspection	This is an exploration of one's own experience and meaning to further insights and interpretations in the research.
Introspective reflection	This type of reflexivity focuses on the relationship between the researcher and the participants. The researcher has to be aware of the way in which this relationship affects the research.
Mutual collaboration	The participants are part of the research and their own reflection on it influences the context of the relationships. This in turn affects the process of the research. The account is an outcome of collaboration between the partners, the researcher and the participants. Researchers must be aware of this.
Social critique	Reflexivity as social critique is linked to the power relationship and the social position of the research from the participant, which has an impact on the research that the researcher must acknowledge.
Discursive deconstruction	This type of reflexivity is linked to language and the variety of meanings inherent in it. Researchers concede, in their writing, that the findings can have multiple meanings and focus on the construction of the text.

There may also be an element of what Marcus (1998) calls confessional reflexivity, openly subjective reflections are included in order to undermine what Foley (2002, p. 474) calls,

*“Grandiose authorial claims of speaking in a rational, value free, objective, universalizing voice.”*

Overall there is a beautiful complexity as the researcher with multiple fluid identities interacts with other individuals who also have multiple fluid identities. As Reinharz (1997) maintains not only do we bring ourselves to the research, but the research changes us, producing a new self. Guba and Lincoln (2008, p. 278-279) explain this notion eloquently,

*“Reflexivity - as well as poststructural and postmodern sensibilities concerning quality in qualitative research - demands that we integrate each of ourselves regarding the ways in which research ethics are shaped and staged around the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes that form our own lives. We must question ourselves, to, regarding how those binaries and paradoxes shaped not only the identities called forth in the field and later in the discovery process of writing, but also our interactions with respondents, in whom we become to then in the process of becoming to ourselves.”*

There is of course a broad tradition of reflection in the study of philosophy, as Anthony Grayling (Bragg 2009) said in a BBC broadcast, which examined *The Consolations of Philosophy* by Boethius,

*“The word philosophy and its etymological origins meant something much more general than what we understand by philosophy now. It meant enquiry. It meant thinking about things. It meant reflecting on the world, on one’s experience of the world and one’s own life. So it had a much more embracing, a much more inclusive sense than it has now.”*

In addition Plato (Madison Cooper and Hutchinson 1997) in his *Apology* is said to have quoted Socrates when he claimed that,

*“An unexamined life is not worth living.”*

Therefore I undertook a series of personal reflections prior to and during the research process. The aim of this was to embrace my subjectivity in a reflexive manner, and as Finlay (2011, p. 23) indicates, to bring my subjective self “into the research along with preconceptions, which bring both blinker and enable insight”. The point is to do this in a self-critical manner that not only represents a hermeneutic approach to knowledge and understanding, but also to method. This took the form of a structured initial personal reflection and a deep reflection after Romanyshyn (2007) along with specific reflective phases after events, such as a focus group and as an on-going process through data analysis.

#### 4.4.3 Initial personal reflection

In order to undertake an initial reflection I developed my own framework based on examining my background, experience and aspirations from personal, academic and subject-based perspectives. As such I have a two-dimensional table of interaction (Table 4.5) based on three columns and three rows, as illustrated below:

**Table 4.5: Structure for initial reflection**

		Area		
		Background	Experience	Aspiration
Perspective	Personal			
	Academic			
	Subject			

In part this structure is based on Heidegger’s (2007) idea of *Dasein* (see later discussion). This need for order in thought would, in part, seem to be a product of

my dyslexia. Although I think in a very general, roving way, I do need to seek structure. This may also be a reaction to an academic world with which, from early pre-school experience, I have struggled to come to terms with. This is partially a result of the way I think. In addition it may be as a result of my tendency to see the world and my existence holistically as a system that sub-divides into multiple sub systems and is itself part of a larger system. Thus for me the process of formal reflection begins with a need to develop a structure within which to reflect. I circulated an initial draft of the reflection to a number of academic colleagues for their comments and or challenges. This material is presented in appendix 4.1.

Examining this initial reflection further I am inclined to think that the analysis was, in many ways, overly simplistic in that elements of the rows and columns may well interact amongst themselves. I did, however, wish to re-frame these reflections from a number of different perspectives and I intend to do so from a position which combines some of the thinking of Taggart and Wilson (1988) and Van Manen (1977), by looking at technical rationality (doing), context and dialectical perspectives (ethical, socio-political or moral issues), as I think this may provide an alternative framework.

### **Technical rationality (doing)**

In terms of undertaking this research there are a range of aspects to my own particular situation that could give rise to looking for things or viewing things from a specific perspective. I have significant demographic influences, being white, male, western, heterosexual and from a rural background. I have very strong feelings about family and faith. There is a well-established tension between my feelings of nonconformity and conformity with regard to family, society and the church. I have had a very specific educational development characterized by my scientific background and my dyslexia. Also in many ways I have been immersed in the subject I am examining. When undertaking analysis there will be a need to pay reflective attention to large amounts of my knowledge, and values and attitudes. As a result, there is the potential for a significant amount of background noise to the analysis. I will need to be mindful. Given this, there is also the potential for considerable richness in terms of overall understanding that can give a depth and breadth to the interpretation. I am also very open to developing new academic skills, forms of evaluation, synthesis and analysis, and to new ideas in the broadest sense.

This study is about the nature of authenticity, specifically relating to food and specifically as experienced by the people who are going to work with me. I am not looking for a particular outcome. I am not looking to support my own perspective. Conversely, my aim is to explore the perspectives of others. Interpretation has to take place within a worldview. Human beings live in a world with other human beings. At the same time they exist as individuals and as members of groups of individuals (society). This is a view that underpins a multitude of perspectives on cultural theory. These include Structuralism, Post-structuralism, Postmodernism, Feminism, Marxism, Historicism, and Post-colonialism along with Lesbian/gay and Ecological perspectives. The idea of the individual and society, and the dynamics of their relationships in terms of defining something such as authenticity, is something that I believe will underpin my work. It is not so much a theoretical lens or perspective as discussed by Creswell (2009), but more a point of departure or basis upon which to conduct the research. Whether people's definition of authenticity is independent of society, dependent on society, or to what degree it is or is not, is potentially something that I will reflect on in this study.

### **Context**

In terms of context, my considerable experience of the food industry, with regard to almost all aspects of the supply chain, means that I am immersed in the subject. As previously indicated, care will need to be taken with regard to setting this aside in order to gain openness with regard to the experiences of the participants. At the same time this experience will contribute to richness in terms of interpretation. My own experience and the particular context of my undertaking this study will help with regard to personal motivation. I would be the first to gain a doctorate in my family, a family that has a drive for education. I was the second graduate. I am motivated to develop my career, to overcome the limitations of my dyslexia and to prove to be a successful academic. Obtaining a doctorate is central to this. In addition I have, as indicated above, the genuine thirst for knowledge, and ambition to make a positive and original contribution to knowledge.

### **Dialectical perspectives (ethical, socio-political or moral issues)**

Underpinning my own dialectic perspective is a thought through and well-rehearsed ethical/moral foundation. This is borne out of my family, my upbringing and my own personal religious beliefs. I hope that this is characterized by openness and honesty, something that I view as being central to any form of qualitative research and analysis. I can be very self-critical. I have a desire to do things correctly and

therefore to be open to, and to use, rigorous method. In part, this is a throwback to my positivist roots.

I would now like to discuss a second reflective process with which I engaged in terms of a deep reflection based on the work of Romanyshyn (2007).

#### **4.4.4 Deep reflection after Romanyshyn**

For a while I have been interested in the ideas of individuals such as Freud (2003; 1962) and Jung (1990; 1967) particularly with regard to the role of the unconscious mind. If we consider that there is such a thing as the unconscious and that it can have an effect on us, then, potentially, this is something that qualitative researchers should consider. Romanyshyn's work, brought together in his 2007 book *The Wounded Researcher*, does this. As a result, I was keen to follow this up within my own research practice. Romanyshyn maintains that researchers are research tools who are agents in service rather than authors. Recalling the work of Roland Barthes (1993) in his essay *The Death of the Author*, Romanyshyn discusses the death of ego, the death of the author, the birth of the reader. He maintains that true objectivity comes from deep subjectivity and in order to develop this we need to engage in deep reflection. This involves asking questions such as: What are your background stories? What myths guide you? What has called and drafted you into service? For whom/what is your work being done? The specific method involves:

- Phase One: The ritual space of reverie  
Creating a space and opportunity in which to reflect by cultivating the ritual, time and space of Reverie (After Bachelard 1992). This gives rise to feelings of relaxation designed to bring forth thoughts that might be consciously repressed.
- Phase Two: Transference Dialogues  
Preparing the structure for the reflection; the 'transfer dialogues', setting the scene, sending out the invitations. The invitations are focusing questions such as:  
  
"Who is it from my family that has something to say about my work?"  
"Who is it from a different economic class/gender/historical period that has something to say about my work?"  
"For whom is this work being done, who sponsors this work?"

“Who is there amongst other creatures in creation that share an interest in this work?”

The researcher then needs to wait (in anticipation) for thoughts to come to the fore and engage with them, the ‘others’ in the work. This involves two moments; giving form and being to the ideas and giving them critical regard before using the reflection to ‘engage in scholarly amplification’ by returning to the work.

For someone from a natural science background/culture, this approach is challenging on many levels, in addition to being very different. It was, however, an approach, which resonated with me and represented a way of addressing issues of subjectivity that are largely ignored by researchers. If it is a good thing to reflect on our conscious attitudes to the work, what might be the effects of our unconscious? This presupposes that there is such a thing as the unconscious. Given these considerations I was keen to follow up on this approach. I attended a workshop that Robert Romanyshyn presented at Bournemouth University in 2009 where I first engaged with the method, producing a piece of art work (see appendix 4.2), which I discussed with Robert. The art work showed columns of people coming up into the mountains from a plain and walking past me and represented members of my family going back through the generations. This reinforced some aspects of my initial reflection in terms of the importance of family. This was not something which I really understood before reflecting in this way. It represented a specific element of self-discovery. Subsequently I did a further deep reflection, the results of which can be seen in Appendix 4.3. The primary results of this were again feelings for my family and also for people from my cultural and ethnic roots as well as a concern for nature and the environment.

#### **4.4.5 Conclusion to the ideas on reflection and reflexivity**

In this section I have outlined how I have use reflection and reflexivity in my work. This personal reflection is designed to ground myself in the research process. It represents an acknowledgement of my subjectivity in a way that will allow me to bracket out bias and influence when needed. In this context, it is possible to embrace experience in a way that will aid analysis and interpretation. I commenced with a review of my background, experience and aspirations and showed how these relate to the personal, academic and subject context of my research. This highlighted a number of unique characteristics that I bring to this work. Subsequently this was further analyzed by looking at the potential influence of this

body of personal experience in terms of technical rationality, context and dialectical perspective. In each case potential sources of bias and influence were acknowledged as were aspects that will aid the research process. On an on-going basis I will continue to be reflexive; in many ways; I have no other choice. The hermeneutic approach is reflexive. This reflexivity will relate to specific events such as focus groups. It will also be involved when I look at individual ideas involved in analysis. As such it will be integrated within the text.

#### **4.5 Conclusions to and reflections on Methodology and method**

In this chapter, I have outlined the way that I developed the methodology and method for this piece of work. This methodology is built on the foundations that I set out in Chapter 3 when I looked at the philosophical underpinning of the research. Given my central subjective role in the process, I started the chapter by looking at the role of reflection in my work. This moved on to how the research process was designed and implemented in terms of data collection and analysis. I finished the chapter with a process of self-evaluation.

It has surprised me that I have grown to like the study of methodology and the related philosophical underpinning to research work. I find it fascinating how human beings construct knowledge and also how they agree and disagree about this process. In particular the world of phenomenology can be perceived, at times, as being a fairly dysfunctional family (Beer 2011). Internecine strife relating to what phenomenological research is, is commonplace. In the prologue, I reflected on the instability of meaning and what makes some meanings the ones that are taken as accepted whilst others are not. This often has little to do with truth (whatever that is) or democracy. To adequately consider this notion, one must consider the argument from the perspective of who is master depends on power. It would be naive to suggest that it is not about power and herein lies a dilemma; if I am to be a voice for my participants and true to myself, I must listen and speak. As Dr Martin Luther King said,

*“In the end, we will remember not the words of our enemies, but the silence of our friends.”(Halligan 2013, p. 116).*

Therefore if we believe in something such as advocacy or alternative academic perspectives to the established hegemony, we should be prepared to speak out and be judged on what we set out to do. The degree to which I am successful in doing this will become apparent as I discuss the findings in the following four chapters and

subsequently draw conclusions. When I asked my focus group participants about their perspectives on the nature of the authenticity of food they described understandings that were vested in four key areas: Family and friends; Saucing: cooking and flavour; Sourcing: where does it come from? and; Interaction with the distinctly other (people that were not friends and family). I will now discuss these themes in the following findings chapters.

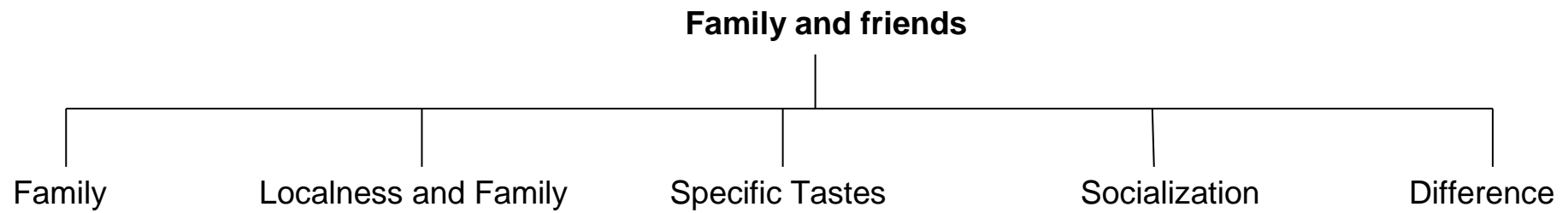


## **Chapter 5: Family and friends**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I will discuss the importance of family and friends with respect to the participants' discussions on the authenticity of food. In terms of locating their ideas of authentic food, firstly my participants focused on their families' home cooked food. Much of this is related to their childhoods and relationships with parents and grandparents. For some participants, the idea of localness comes strongly to the fore. When this idea was unravelled it was often based on networks of family and friends. In terms of the family, recollections were often very vivid returning to specific dishes, places, people and ways of cooking within which they positioned their ideas of authenticity. Having considered various aspects of the family's influence on perception of the authenticity of food, it is important to reflect that these references were often highly nuanced and not simply recollections of food preparation, tastes or smell. They also seem to represent reflections on socialization. Finally I will briefly discuss difference, however, I will deal with it in more detail when looking at the distinctly Other. Differences within and between homes and places emerge, as do ideas of acceptance. Figure 5.1 illustrates the structure of this part of the phenomenon.

**Figure 5.1: The first part of the structure of perceptions of the authenticity of food.**



## 5.2 Family

In terms of locating their ideas of authentic food, firstly, the participants focused on the food of their family and also their friends and experiences they associated with them. Much of this is related to their childhoods and relationships with parents and grandparents.

Natalie, from early on in the first School group, recalls memories of her grandmother's garden, blackberries, rhubarb and the Sunday roast,

**Natalie:** *"I think, thinking about authenticity in this country I would kind of think about things that maybe had a history. So like when I think of rhubarb I think about it growing in my Nan's garden, we're going blackberry picking or that kind of thing. So maybe traditional things that go back a long way I would think that was authentic to this country, and for me that goes back to memories of my childhood, I would say."*

**Sean:** *"So what specific things in your childhood might you think about?"*

**Natalie:** *"Well, just things like going blackberry picking and family and, yeah the rhubarb and I suppose I think of my Nan's garden a lot and what would be growing there, and then the sort of food that she would do would have been very, she came from the East End and it was a very poor background, so it would have been um quite simple. Yes, but yes childhood memories I suppose."*

**Sean:** *"Fine."*

**Natalie:** *"I think that it's in your family, that is where you learn, because on a Sunday in my family this is what my mother cooked, every Sunday."*

**Various around the table:** *"Um."* [indicating agreement].

**Natalie:** *"Roast."*

**Various around the table:** *"Um."* [Indicating agreement, but also a fondness for the roast Sunday lunch].  
(School group1, analysis page 3)

The reference to family is very specific and to the mother and grandmother. As Berzok (2011, p.1) asks, *"Is there some umbilical force pulling us back?"* While an individual might consider that they are separated from their mother when their umbilical cords are cut, there are other unseen cords that connect and pull them back to their family. Also, note the reference to *"in our country"*; there had been some discussion about authenticity and place and I will pick that up in following chapters. In another of the school focus groups there had been some general chatter about family and childhood when Sue focussed in more on her family,

**Sue:** *"My mother used to bake, she used to bake every day. Cook everything from scratch every day."*

**Sean:** *"So would that be your idea of authentic then, experiences from childhood?"*

**Philippa:** *"I think that if I compare that experience with my own children it will be very different, but that is where my understanding comes from."*

**Richard:** *"My dad came from Eastern Europe so we used to have things like taramasalata and artichokes and avocados. I remember when I met Val I went to get some artichokes from Melksham [local town], I think it was, and not a single shop sold it, there was just nowhere that sold it. She had never tried it, they hadn't even heard of it. So we have always had these sort of pickled roll mops and salami and that was what we sort of grew up with."*

**Sue:** *"We grew all our own vegetables and things like that, and my mum used to bottle fruit,"*

**Various around the table:** *"Wow."* [indicating that it was very different to their experience and very good]

**Sue:** *"Made jam,"*

**Various around the table:** *"Made jam,"* [again as if this was something unusual]

**Sue:** *"But I suppose what I think is authentic, it's interesting when I was a child I didn't, I wanted what other people had, what you could get in the shops. But now I do what my mum did. I do much more, I don't bake bread so much, jam and chutney, I cook from scratch more or less every day."*

(S 2, 3/4)

Again understandings are based on childhood and memories of mothers. In the final school group the discussion again focussed on the family,

**Roger:** *"That green tomato chutney, looks like, my grandmother used to make, green tomato chutney, and there is something really nice about home-made as opposed to buy it off the market in a market stall. I suppose authentic could be not processed."*

**Kate:** *"But everyone's idea of authentic is different isn't it? What for you is authentic is maybe what your parents did, which is different to what I did. What you are used to having."*

**Generally from around the table:** *"Yes."*

**Mike:** *"Yes. When I was a kid, whatever my mum cooked that was authentic. So if you go into some people's houses, friend's houses I realized that, you know that, what we ate was very particular."*

**Roger:** *"I think that it is different when I was growing up it was, what we got, I would say was authentic because it was made. Like there wasn't anything in particular that wasn't home-made. Mum never even bought cakes and things, Mr Kipling never existed back then at all we didn't get it. We had what they made, whereas now, I guess what I think authentic is what is home-made as opposed to bought."*  
(S3, 2/3)

These quotations indicate the importance of memories of family life to understandings of authenticity. Families have histories and traditions which are learnt as children. Natalie's reference to history reminded me of Arthur Potts Dawson (2012), *"you can't have authenticity without the history behind it."* Sometimes these memories are vested in particular foods and in cooking; authentic food has to be cooked. I will discuss this further in the next chapter. It tends to be the female family members cooking. As Berzok (2011, p. xvii) points out,

*"In our mothers' kitchens, we don't simply combine eggs, flour, and milk. We also hear tales, and participate in an oral ritual. Otherwise, recipes would be little more than a list of ingredients. But when we wrap them in narratives, they are magically transformed."*

There was also an understanding that each person will have a different specific view of what is authentic or not because of the circumstances of their upbringing. In the village groups there were similar discussions,

**Clare:** *"This is it, a lot of it is your heritage isn't it."*

**Pete:** *"Yeah."*

**Clare:** *"It's whatever you've learnt,"*

**Pete:** *"And what you've been exposed to, what you've been exposed to,"*

**Clare:** *"I mean I could say my grandmother, cause she came from the fens, and we always, well I always thought she was quite a Romany, but as to whether she was or not I have no idea, mother was a bit coy on that subject. One of the things that I remember her cooking was what she called a pig's fry, which in fact, isn't a fry but a casserole that uses all the parts of a pig. So like it has all of the heart and the liver and everything and then you spread what they call the skirt on top. Which is, and so that all crisps up. Now I've never had that anywhere else apart from like in the fens and I doubt very much whether you would even buy those bits now a 'days. So to me in a way that is quite like in my memory, that's being something I could associate with again, being what you would call real food."*

[During this lots of Ums in agreement, particularly from Pete.]

**Sean:** *"And was that your mother or your grandmother did you say?"*

**Clare:** *"My grandmother."*

**Sean:** *"Can you remember her cooking that then?"*

**Clare:** *"Yeah."*

**Jenny:** *"Um and was it in a pot, one big pot on the fire."*

**Clare:** *"No, no, it went into the Aga sort of thing and it had, like I say, it went in with all the bits. And I don't really know how she prepared it because she was quite an elderly grandmother for me. Um and as I say all I remember is this bit, this bit went on the top that she used to stretch out that was like frilly and she called it its skirt, so it was obviously um the stomach lining."*

(Village group 2, analysis pages 11/12)

And with a perspective from Northern Ireland,

**Jeff:** *"So I wasn't quite sure what all this was going to be about, so when Samantha was saying, I was giving it some thought I thought it was something like eating habits and stuff and what we had when we were growing up. And I originate from Northern Ireland and I was trying to think what my favourite meal was when I was younger, and I used to love stew, Irish stew especially when my granny made it. And I've had stew over here in my adult life and I couldn't work out why, and their stew wasn't as nice as my granny stew. And it was only the other day that I actually twigged what it was. The stew I have over here has got beef in it."*

**Sean:** *"Was it lamb?"*

**Jeff:** *"Lamb. I, I never even twigged. And it was only the, the fact that I was coming out here,"*

**Sean:** *"that you started thinking about it?"*

**Jeff:** *"Yeah and that's exactly what it was. I loved her stew."*

**Sean:** *"Do you remember her making it?"*

**Jeff:** *"Oh you, the house used to stink of stew,"* [general laughter].

**Sean:** *"But it was a nice stink?"*

**Jeff:** *"Oh yes beautiful, and the other one was, um, she always made soup. And it was always vegetable soup but it was made with, like the bones and all that sort of stuff from the Christmas meal and, it was more of a broth really. Oohh it was lovely and nothing has ever, apart from Samantha's cooking of course [general laughter] nothing is ever come close to what my granny's stew tasted like. And that's thanks to you now that I have realised what the missing ingredient was."*

(V3, 2/3)

Here are further ideas of family and heritage; specifically, heritage with regard to specific dishes produced by specific matriarchal figures. The dish 'pigs fry' that Clare mentions was very specific to her family, but also the fens (a marshland area in the east of England based on Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and a small area of Suffolk), with a version of the dish (containing scraps of pork meat such as pork belly, kidney, liver, heart, lights (lungs) and sweetbreads) still being popular in Lincolnshire. I will discuss ideas of heritage and tradition at the end of the chapter, but I will focus here briefly on the family. One of the first points of reference is the family, but what is it about the family? What does family mean? Certainly it is where they started to learn and develop. There are ties, ties of blood, a heritage, a history, but also there is artifice. Walcott (2000) maintains that,

*“Every collection of human beings gathered for a long time in one place codifies itself, arranges rules of conduct, and makes a calendar of its celebrations of harvest, of the shapes of the moon, with tribal memories, and preserves its fables and its history in the archives of the shaman and the girot and the bard’s memory.” (Ibid, p. 57)*

What of the family and its food? Food is cooked by people, predominantly women they know it is not produced in an anonymous factory. The importance of food, the family and family eating has been the subject of many commentators, including Anderson (2014),

*“Families traditionally unite around the table, and this remains deeply important in most of the world.” (Ibid, p.172).*

Counihan (1999, 2004) has discussed the intricacies of family food in Italy. Ashley et al. (2004) explore the dynamics of the nature of 'The proper meal' and 'The family meal' and how proper extends beyond ideas of nutrition to emotional and spiritual health based on human interaction. This interaction is complex. Research by Johnston and Bauman (2015) explored some of the nuances of the role of feeding the family from the perspectives of people with a specific interest in food; so called 'foodies.' This work illustrated a need from parents (particularly mothers) to socialize children not only in terms of social behaviour, but also to “*socialize them into healthy eating habits*” (Ibid. p. 190). At the same time there was also a perception of a decline in family eating which saddened them. Belasco (2008) challenges this, maintaining that possibly families eating together is a myth or a 19<sup>th</sup> century invention and at the same time possibly the decline in family eating is not a decline at all; it has moved from being around the table to in front of the television.

For the participants, the idea of family food was very strong in their ideas of authenticity and therefore it is important to reflect on what processes might have been involved in establishing these thoughts and feelings. Francis Galton (2012) developed the early ideas of how we develop in terms of our genetics and our environment or nature and nurture, although Shakespeare (1994) seemed to have had similar ideas 250 years earlier. Prospero thought that no amount of nurture could help Caliban,

*A devil, a born devil on whose nature  
Nurture can never stick, on whom my pains,  
Humanely taken, all, all lost, quite lost.*  
(The Tempest Act 4 Scene 1)

The theoretical perspective is that who we are is dependent on our genetic makeup, but that our environment shapes the way that these genes are expressed. Thus our early life is particularly important as this shapes behaviour. Waddell (2002) quotes T.S. Eliot, "*Time Present and time past are both perhaps in time future.*" There are a range of theories that seek to explain this process. Attachment theory in the young (Bowlby 1979) looks at how infants develop basic trust in those who look after them; how they develop the fundamental ties that bind. Behavioural approaches to learning such as operant conditioning (Sudbery 2010) show how humans shape others' behaviour through the use of positive and negative conditioning; the use of rewards and punishments, a process that underpins society. More cognitive approaches (Child 2007) focus on the learning processes of the mind whilst Social Learning Theory (Bandura 1977) focuses on the cognitive processes that take place in social situations where learning comes from observation and instruction. The arguments about processes are complex, however, the importance of early family learning is not to be underestimated and there is much in the Jesuit maxim, "Give me a child for his first seven years and I'll give you the man." Memory is also very important: participants' recollections are often very vivid, invoking memories of particular people, activities, foods and smells.

Having talked about Family I would now like to focus on Localness.

### **5.3 Localness and the family**

For some participants, the idea of localness comes strongly to the fore. When this idea is unravelled it is often based on networks of family and friends. Having met so strongly the ideas of family it was interesting that one group in particular did not start



with the family , but with the idea of localness, as can be seen in the following discussion,

**Sean:** *"If you are thinking about authentic food then what would that spring to mind?"*

**Brian:** *"Basically local."*

**Sean:** *"Local?"*

**Brian:** *"Yeah."*

**Michael:** *"Yes I would have thought that."*

**Kate:** *"Fresh."*

**John:** *"Yes I know where things like tea and coffee are concerned you can get authentic coffee and tea in a place like, what we were saying the speciality teas and all the rest because you know, well yes because it's not a local thing is it. It's not a local thing."*

**Sean:** *"Because we don't grow it and produce it?"*

**John:** *"That's it, um, um."*

Sounds of eating

**Sean:** *"So the, the authentic, Brian, if it means local could you say a bit more about that, what do you mean by local?"*

**Brian:** *"Well like the meat produced on our local farms, quite close to where you are."*

**Sean:** *"Okay."*

**Brian:** *"Of course there is a limit you can't, particularly in the vegetable line, you can't get too much really local there can you but like beef, lamb, pork you know, you can get it within a few miles of where you live, really can't you?"*

(V1, 10/11)

Members of the other groups do talk about local food and this emerges strongly in Chapter 7, which looks at sourcing food, but they had always moved from the family to the local. This group decided to go from the local, and then to the family. They made references to and told stories that indicated how grounded they were in the local community. Brian remembers his uncle, just up the road, killing a pig and Kate's daughter's father-in-law is a butcher,

**Brian:** *"Yes I remember my uncle up Duntish Road doing a pig once. Never again."*

**Kate:** *“The trouble is that you can get friendly with them can’t you. Pet pig.”*

**Brian:** *“That’s the trouble.”*

**Kate:** *“Yes I know because my daughter’s father-in-law is a butcher, and over in New Zealand, it’s in New Zealand, and he can slaughter them on, I think they go out and pick the animals and slaughter them in the field, that’s what they do.”*

(V1, 16)

This indicates a strong family connection and this time an association to a very specific family food event. The slaughtering of a pig was an important occasion. Before refrigeration and improved transport networks meat was not easy to come by in the winter, and for those without much money it was never easy to come by. The slaughtering of an animal was also an important family and social occasion, as illustrated by Scott (2014) and Dickson Wright (2011) who describe family and community gatherings for the slaughter of a pig, the processing of the carcass and the distribution of parts of the animal that could not be easily preserved to family and friends. Brian remembers having the meat in the house salted for preservation and processing the meat in the same large bowls or coppers that they did their washing in,

**Brian:** *“I remember as a kid we used to have a, it was one of those you remember the old coppers were used to boil your water and do your washing. And it, well had one of them up in one of the spare bedrooms, and that was full of like salted pork all through the winter when dad used to keep pigs. That was before I was, we left up Bilston Road when I was seven so I was, umm, well that was rather a long time ago.”* [laughter].

(V1, 18)

He also remembered helping local fishermen, who were family,

**Brian:** *“I know as kids we used to go down Sunday night, you know our Dad and Uncle Pete and them and we used to help pull, pull the nets in.”*

(V1, 43)

And a very intimate journey with some ducks,

**Brian:** *“But I remember one morning before I went to school Tim and them killed some ducks, hung them on my handlebar and the bike comes sailing down Duntish Road,”*

(V1, 20)

I will explain later what happened to Brian and his ducks as they came sailing down, the very steep, Duntish Road. There was a real interest in family and connectedness as this exchange shows,

**Kate:** *"Because your family had cows, milking cows?"*

**Brian:** *"Pardon?"*

**Kate:** *"Your family had milking cows?"*

**Brian:** *"My uncle did."*

**Kate:** *"Was that your father's side?"*

**Brian:** *"Mother's side."*

**Kate:** *"Mother's side. Because was your mum a Thomas?"*

**Brian:** *"No. She was a Clayton."*

**Kate:** *"Oh."*

**Brian:** *"And her sister married a Thomas, that's why that works out."*

**Kate:** *"Oh right, right."*

**Brian:** *"Because they used to live in Ram House. You remember that?"*

**David:** *"We used to go there to get the milk."*

**Brian:** *"Yeah, so Aunt Grace come down Duntish Road when I was a kid with a pram and a churn of milk in it. Good job it wasn't the other way wasn't it because she would never have got it up there."*

General laughter.

**Brian:** *"And half the village would buy their milk look. I remember I did, we lived up the Tadcaster Road then I'd need to go down and get the milk and then you swing the can around just to get."*

(V1, 53)

This represents an intertwining of food, family and locality. The relationship that people like Brian have had/continue to have with their food is intimate. This notion represents a degree of intimacy that many people in this 'post rural' world cannot understand. Our industrialized food system delivers anonymized pork in a bap or on a polystyrene tray wrapped in cling film (not squealing!). This is important as some seek to find authenticity in the pre-industrial, as did Rousseau writing in the *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts*, *Discourse on the Origins and Bases of Inequality* and *Confessions* the pre-cultural, in nature (Wokler 2001). Rousseau considers that there is a time before the modern, before human kind was despoiled

by civilization when humans lived in a genuine more authentic way, something that MacCannell (1989) alluded to in the context of authenticity and tourism. Having said this, Derrida's (1997) deconstruction of these ideas in *Of Grammatology* adds an instability to Rousseau's arguments; after all how can nature be viewed in this way except from the point of civilization? I will now move on to examine specific dishes, places and people.

#### **5.4 Specific dishes, places, people**

In terms of the family, recollections were often very vivid in terms of returning to specific dishes, places, people and ways of cooking within which participants positioned their ideas of authenticity. Jenny and Pete, from the second Village group, recall Pete's Mother making clotted cream and steak and kidney pie,

**Jenny:** *"She did, into her 90s she made her own clotted cream and her steak and kidney pie you would not believe, in her 90s."*

**Sean:** [To Pete] *"You remember her making those?"*

**Pete:** *"Yes she used to put the meat in the pressure cooker and um,"*

**Jenny:** *"What was the cut of meat?"*

**Pete:** *"Brisket, everything was brisket, ah she was well off, but ay she was very um shall we say used everything and everything was good cuts of meat but cooked in a pressure cooker,"*

**Jenny:** *"A pressure cooker,"*

**Pete:** *"She would make her own pastry ah and she'd do a, instead of butter pastry should make it with lard, healthy eating I suppose, or if it was a suet pudding she'd use proper suet."*

**Jenny:** *"It was suet that she made for me."*

**Pete:** *"Yes it was a suet pudding, and that was in the pressure cooker as well."*

**Jenny:** *"Suet pudding in her 90s,"*

**Pete:** *"Um ,"*

**Jenny:** *"Made from scratch."*

**Pete:** *"She only had a fridge at the age of 88."*

**Jenny:** *"It was her first fridge."*

**Pete:** *"And that was in the 90s."*

**Jenny:** *“Incredible.”*

**Pete:** *“And she went at 92 so she only had a fridge for four years.”*

**Fred:** *“But houses had larders and everything.”*

**Pete:** *“She had a large, marble shelves, right up to the 90s.”*  
(V2, 18/19)

These quotations highlight specific connections between memories of a family member and specific dishes, as well as aspects of food preparation. Other authors such as Berzok (2011) and Pollan (2013) have produced accounts that contain similarly nuanced reflections. In this case, the use of pressure cookers and larders was prominent in the participants’ memories. Traditionally, larders or dairies had marble or slate floors and shelves to keep food cool. Pearce (2000 p. 34) recalls Margaret Bate describing her farm house, *“the floor and shelves of the dairy are of blue stone which keeps it cool.”* There was much tenderness and admiration in this recollection both from the grandson (Pete) and his wife (Jenny). After all, who would do this work now, until that age, in such primitive conditions, producing great food in a way that involved so much work? There was emotion in their voices; I believe that they really loved this woman. Pete also said a little more about the clotted cream,

**Pete:** *“yes oh yeah, yeah. Making clotted cream she just used to get the pint of milk on the doorstep and boil it up, skim it off, have skimmed milk in her tea and everything else and clotted cream in the larder.”*  
(V2, 20)

Fred also recalled his aunt making clotted cream.

**Fred:** *“that's what my uncle and auntie used to do. They had a farm, Upway Farm. I used to drink gallons of skimmed milk because it, because the cream was taken off. Skimmed milk was fed to the pigs basically.”*  
(V2, 20)

In *Death of a Naturalist*, Seamus Heaney (2006, p. 9) writes about his mother making butter in a poem entitled *Churning day*,

“A thick crust, coarse-grained as limestone rough-cast,  
hardened gradually on top of the four crocks  
that stood, large pottery bombs, in the small pantry.  
After the hot brewery of gland, cud and udder. “

Again there is a family association with a specific dish. Clotted cream is the thick crust that forms on creamy milk when set in a water bath (a bowl of milk, with the

cream risen to the surface, sitting in a bowl of simmering water), a classic dish of the West Country in England, particularly Devon and Cornwall (Raffael 1997; Pearce2000). Pete's grandmother lived near Exeter in Devon, Heaney's mother in Ireland,

"My mother took first turn, set up rhythms  
that slugged and thumped for hours. Arms ached.  
Hands blistered. Cheeks and clothes were spattered."  
(Ibid, p. 9)

There is much more work involved in churning butter than in making clotted cream. Niall (1990 p 69) explains how the industrialization of butter making has removed this work and also, "*some people still insist, the real taste out of country butter!*", but the connection to the person and the food is tangible for Pete, Fred and Heaney. For Heaney there is also a visceral quality to this connection, "*the hot brewery of gland, cud and udder*" (cows have a fermentation based digestive system). This viscosity is something that I want to talk more about later, but Samantha certainly makes this connection,

**Samantha:** "*I don't know my mum wasn't a very good cook anyway. Obviously didn't have a lot of money working on the farm and so dad would go rabbiting and bring home a couple of rabbits and that's what we would have. Rabbit stew. Potato and carrot and it was quite revolting. And I can always remember they used to cook the head as well, so my brother had the head with a little teeth sat on his plate. That was, his treat was to have the head and my mum or my dad stood in the kitchen paunching the rabbit and they would stink. And the very thought of eating rabbit now just makes me want to heave [vomit]. And yet people they really love it don't they, but to me oh God rabbit stew.*"  
(V3, 27)

This shows a strong connection between family and a dish which is undoubtedly considered authentic, but also appalling; with the head and the teeth sitting on the side of the plate. This conjures up an image of gothic horror from a story by M.R. James such as *Canon Alberic's Scrap-book*,

"*The lower jaw was thin—what can I call it?—shallow, like a breast's; teeth showed behind the black lips, there was no nose.*"  
(James 2011, p. 12)

The transformation of an item of innocence, a child's toy (or a rabbit) into one of horror is particularly shocking as it seems to represent innocence taken over and defiled (Stewart 1982).

Tracy's experience also represented a connection to family and a specific type of food; game (hunted wild animals),

**Tracy:** *"For me this is really interesting because all I ever lived on is game and I cannot bear it now because my father was an estate manager for a large farm that was all that we had, what he shot. So it could have been venison or pheasant, which sounds really lovely, I can't bear that now. I would never choose to have that on the menu if I went into a restaurant, never. Never have game."*

**Sean:** *"So when that wasn't in season, what would you have in the summer months?"*

**Tracy:** *"I can remember. Mum making, everything was made from scratch we're even talking about, and nothing was ever, you know what we call bought, it was all made from scratch quiches and all that. You know we never had spaghetti Bolognese, and I don't even make it now."*

**Mandy:** *"It's very stressful isn't it?"*

**Tracy:** *"Yes I know, but well you know, we used to live on meat, vegetables and potatoes rhubarb pie and that sort of thing and I don't think it was until I got married really I started exploring different things. I never had prawns or anything like that until I got married. We didn't have anything like that in our house."*  
(S1, 7/8)

From this it can be seen that the connections between ideas of authenticity are strong to people and food, even if the memories of the food were not good. This is something that I will develop further when I look at flavour, but again it needs to be mentioned that although they might consider the food to be authentic, it was not necessarily pleasant. It is possible that it is not the food per se, but that the food acts as a symbol of difficult times. Greg recalls elements of his Jewish upbringing,

**Greg:** *"I remember going in a restaurant in Golders Green and it was like being served by the Marx Brothers."*

Lots of laughter.

**Greg:** *"It was just like that. And there was no vegetables, and that's something I really, my mum never had peas, we had frozen peas. We had potatoes, stodgy potatoes, but no real green vegetables. I went to this Jewish restaurant and they didn't have any vegetables either. It was just like, Salt beef, potato, and' er potato cakes, that was about it really. Oh gherkins, fantastic."*

**Around the table:** Laughter.

**Katie:** *"Did it remind you of home cooking?"*

**Greg:** *“Well absolutely, absolutely. But now, well my mum is now long gone, and I'm not sure now, she used to come visit us later on in life and she used to say oh you remember what I used to make, well here it is and I'll bring it down and it didn't taste as good as when was a kid, and I used to love it when I was a kid.”* (S3, 24)

This illustrates how food can be a reminder/symbol of an individual's roots, but this is not necessarily a simple process. Previously I have shown how food from childhood is considered to be authentic and remembered fondly or not. Greg remembers the food of his youth as being good, but when his mother reproduced the dishes they did not live up to expectations. This is, perhaps because it was not the same, or because time had changed how he remembered it. Had he remembered the good and suppressed the bad in terms of taste? He had liked it as a child, but now things had changed. Possibly he associated those foods with nostalgia and the security of his childhood. Lupton (1996) maintains that feelings of nostalgia could account for renewed interest in 'nursery food' such as steamed puddings and cottage pie in up-market restaurants. Many of the comments are about grandparents; this may be about depth of memory (the oldest point of reference in living memory) or a different relationship that exists between some grandparents and grandchildren, as opposed to children and parents. These underlying factors did not really come out in the discussion.

Throughout these exchanges there was an undercurrent, an emphasis on cooking from scratch. There is admiration for this particular skill set, but also incredulity; producing this sort of food takes so much time. The question arises: what time is there to do that today? In the past (and still) people will often substitute their own time for money. Thus they might cook from scratch because historically the food was not available ready prepared, or more recently people could not afford pre-prepared meals. Certainly some of the participants came from poor backgrounds, as Clare indicates,

**Clare:** *“See I'm one of five children, so there was obviously seven in my family and grandmother as well when she was there and being my, my father only being a train driver and mother not working at that time way, um obviously didn't have a lot of stuff. So things used to, things used to come from things like donations from other people like farms and things. So we were quite used to having the cheap cuts, although I didn't know it at the time you know like cheap meat if you know what I mean. And when I married Fred he was quite used to having things like, like pork chops and lamb chops for his dinner every night and I thought well, something like that to, to us was an absolute treat. You know and we would like mass our meals out with veg, which my dad would grow. Um,*



*but it was quite interesting, like some of the things that I would like minced beef was something that your mum never really used.”*

**Fred:** *“But we always had junket on a Sunday.”*  
(V2, 23/24)

Presumably junket (a milk pudding made by setting milk with the enzyme rennet originally from calves' stomachs) was considered by Fred to be a fairly cheap pudding. Or maybe it was an indication of his roots in Devon; they may have had more money, but they were still not wealthy, they were an 'ordinary' Devon family. Out of limited means parents fed their children with simple food, which those children now consider to be authentic, even if they did not think it was very good then, or now, in retrospect. There is now a perception that many poor families consume significant amounts of processed foods and ready meals, possibly because they think there is less waste, or because the consumption of pre-prepared food is something that they aspire to, though the situation is very complicated (see Capps et al. 1985; Carrigan et al. 2006; Harris and Shiptsova 2007; Jekanowski, et al. 2001; and Riches and Silvasti 2014) and worthy of further research. Maybe it is now considered by some more affluent to cook from scratch because it indicates that they have time (Jabs and Devine 2006) and are interested in cooking and ingredients. Also there seems to be an interest in the simple food of the past, of the "peasant". This may well be represented in the rise of the artisan and restaurants such as St John in London, famous for the 'nose to tail eating" inspired by its chef Fergus Henderson. On the Arts Show Wayne Hemingway (2004), the fashion designer and cultural pundit, described how generations of his family, who came from a poor background, had worked to escape eating food like this; could he say to his wife *“we must go out to the butcher, ask for his dog bones and we will cook them this weekend?”* In the programme he was eating roast bone marrow, one of the St John's signature dishes. He went on to say,

*“How is it that something, that, that my family, that we all worked really hard to get away from is the height of fashion, is that not irony?”*  
(Hemingway 2004).

It may well be ironic in a number of ways. Wealthy people appear to be choosing to eat food of the poor, though it probably is not really what the poor once ate. Many of these fashionable dishes are stylized renditions of simpler poor people's food; they do not represent the daily monotony of the *'teddies and greens'* (potatoes and brassicas like kale) and *'basin of broth'* (hot water with lumps of fat and stale bread served for breakfast) that was the diet of my young father as the son of farm workers in the south west of England in the 1940's. Certainly they do not want that.

Therefore what are they looking for? Could it be taste? Could it be a connection to a simpler more authentic time? Could it be food snobbery? Could it be to shock? Could it simply be fashion and the ability to tell a good story? Could it be all these things? Certainly the gourmand and the traveller appear to be selective in what they eat and the time they spend immersed in that authentic culture. Socialisation is central to this discussion and I will talk about it further in the following section.

## 5.5 Socialization

Having discussed various aspects of the family's influence on perception of the authenticity of food, it is important to reflect that these references were often highly nuanced and not simply recollections of food preparation, tastes or smell. They also seem to represent reflections on socialization, how they were encouraged and or pressured into conforming to their family norms and values with regard to food and other issues and how, to a greater or lesser extent, power was deployed within the family to achieve this. As such this indicates some insight into the way that individuals constructed their ideas of authenticity. Rebecca explains how the family was brought together for the evening meal,

**Rebecca:** *"It's a tradition of the family the evening meal everyone was present at the evening meal, no question and you get together, do you not think so? It's all focused on family for me, family meetings, what you are eating on certain days."*

**Sean:** *"So you almost learnt from your parent's different ways of preparing food, or ways of making dishes, you have a feeling about the things they made, that you eat, or the sitting down that is important together?"*

**Rebecca:** *"I think it went hand-in-hand really, I think the enjoyment of the food and being together."*  
(S1, 4)

This shows that it was both the food and the sitting down as a family that shaped authenticity. There is a discipline to it, with everyone attending. Being together bonds the family and the symbol of this bonding is the meal and the food. Through this the food gains an authentic status. These values have gone through periods of parody as being out of date and not fashionable. Stella Gibbons' comic novel *Cold Comfort Farm* (2006) with the 'counting', where members of the family have to gather together to be counted in case they have run away, being an example (though possibly this is a parody of a parody). Currently opinion has shifted with

research suggesting significant social and health benefits associated with families eating together (Eisenburg et al. 2004; Fulkerson et al. 2008; Hammons and Fiese 2011; Neumark-Sztainer et al. 2010; Russel et al. 1987). The pattern of meals served during the week was also important alluding to the structure of family life, possibly something that was missed. For Matt and Jeff it was very clear,

**Matt:** *“Yes I guess so, well I suppose it’s, huh, we always say, you are in a supermarket and people are asking their kids what do you want to eat? Whereas when we were kids it got put in front of you, if you didn’t eat it you went without.”*

Gen agreement round the table.

**Jeff:** *“Or you got it the next night.”*  
(V3, 39)

This is a harsh form of social control. This is partly about obedience; you will do what I tell you and you will eat what and when I tell you to eat. This exchange opens up broader issues of what we do in order to control the behaviour of others and gets to the root of our ideas about the process of socialization; the process by which experience in social situations shapes individual behaviour in terms of the values, norms and beliefs of a given society (O’Donnell 1992). This argument also brings to mind the previous discussion, in section 1.1, of processes such as operant conditioning, where in order to get an individual to behave in the way that others want him to rewards and punishments are used. The processes described might vary depending on the context of the group (the family, the place of work, the country). Society does, however, change and what was acceptable at one time may not be now. Michel Foucault’s work in areas such as madness and crime and punishment, using his archaeological approach, is one example of how accepted norms have been unravelled (Gutting 2005). In this work Foucault examined how societies’ attitudes towards mental illness (or what society might have defined as mental illness, such as homosexuality or having a baby out of wedlock) have changed and need to continue to change; or at least humanity needs to understand how it constructs these ideas. He similarly examined ideas of criminality. At one stage, a child might have been beaten for refusing to drink their milk. Now they might be recognized as being lactose intolerant and if anyone beat them the perpetrator might be arrested and imprisoned. When Samantha went against her father’s wishes by straining vegetables to which he had added too much salt, her father ostracized her, refusing to talk to her, as did Bill’s mother,

**Samantha:** *“but he wouldn't talk to me because I'd strained it, because I couldn't bear all the salt in there. “*  
(V3, 29)

**Bill:** *“I remember you know one morning, you say my mother had nothing else so she gave me a bowl of pieces of [bread] with boiled milk on top, you know, and that's the first time I had it. I said to her, I said that tastes good. Do you know I had that every single day for the next month. I said to her, I said to her eventually, mother give me, is this something else I could have for breakfast. Don't you like my breakfast she said? She wouldn't speak to me for two days.”*

**Jenny:** *“Oh.”*

**Clare:** *“Bless him.”*  
(V2, 43-44)

This quotation highlights the role of food in socialization and control resulting in food manifesting as a point and tool of tension and conflict. There is some evidence that authoritative 'feeding styles' can have benefits (Patrick et al. 2005). In this study authoritative feeding was positively associated with attempts to get the child to eat dairy, fruit, and vegetables. Unfortunately, at the same time, it was negatively associated with child's actual vegetable consumption!

For Mike, as a Jew, it was not just admonishment from his earthly father that he feared; there was also his heavenly father,

**Mike:** *“As a kid I had this extra guilt of eating non-kosher food, because I was told I had, you must never touch this and never touch that, bacon and such. And I think that this is one of the reasons that I never went anywhere, because they were so worried that I would be contaminated, and that was it. It took me a long time to get over that and of course now, I'm completely reverse, and I will go out of my way to find bacon.”*  
(S3, 20)

Mike was the only participant to mention religious doctrine with regard to food. Jewish dietary laws, or the Kashrut, are based on the rules outlined in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. As it says in Leviticus 11:3-8 (NIV 1978, p. 101-102),

<sup>3</sup>You may eat any animal that has a divided hoof and that chews the cud.  
<sup>4</sup>There are some that only chew the cud or only have a divided hoof, but you must not eat them. The camel, though it chews the cud, does not have a divided hoof; it is ceremonially unclean for you. <sup>5</sup>The hyrax, though it chews the cud, does not have a divided hoof; it is unclean for you. <sup>6</sup>The rabbit, though it chews the cud, does not have a divided hoof; it is unclean for you. <sup>7</sup>And the pig, though it has a divided hoof, does not chew the cud; it is unclean for you. <sup>8</sup>You must not eat their meat or touch their carcasses; they are unclean for you.”

Depending on how observant Mike's family were, this would have a significant influence on his life. Food authenticity takes on a whole new dimension when considered in a religious context (Feeley-Hanik 1995). There is the spirit of the law, the law as it is written and the law as it is interpreted. Different religions have different traditions (see for example, Greenspoon and Simpkins 2005; Wirzba 2011, and the excellent children's book by Reuben and Pelham 2011). Mike was challenged about his Jewish upbringing,

**Roger:** *"It's funny that you talk about your Jewish background, but whenever I read, whenever I read stories that got this Jewish family in it's all about the food, the comfort food, chicken soup, are you saying it's a myth, what about the warm glow?"*

**Mike:** *"No it's not a myth, even though my mum's food wasn't up to what it was, when she got old and the rest of it. It sent you back to good times, happy times, comforting times. No I don't think it's a myth at all. I think it's really about knowing yourself. it's the same to do with anything isn't it when people are discussing aspects of creativity you have to know what you think about yourself to discuss that. It's more, if you're upset, then making a cake can be lovely can't it."*  
(S3, 35-36)

This shows that even if circumstances change early on, experiences are fundamental to ideas of self-image and authenticity, even given the ongoing processes of change espoused by Giddens (1991) whereby society is in a constant state of flux.

The passing on of information is closely linked with other behaviours. Sandra was influenced as to what months of the year she might eat pork, the views of her grandfather governing the situation,

**Sandra:** *"I think a meat of some kind and, it was always meat that was in season from what I can remember. I can remember my grandfather saying I couldn't have pork unless there was an r in the month and that really governed what we had."*  
(S1, 5)

This represents a different understanding of seasonality possibly relating to the difficulty in keeping meat fresh before refrigeration and worries about pork being a 'dangerous' meat; something that may go back to the previous discussion of religion. People learn from watching others (and as Kate is just about to point out from other things like books), but the personal connection is important, and as Caraher et al. pointed out in 1999, mothers bear the brunt of the responsibility for

developing cooking skills. David's granddaughter is learning from David's wife how to cook, but this is not happening in society in general as often as it did and cooking skills are declining (Caraher and Lang 1999; Furey et al. 2000). In addition, those skills that are acquired are not necessarily very good (Byrd-Bredbenner 2005), however, cooking skills are important in a whole range of ways (Engler-Stringer 2010). Brian highlights elements of these changes in the way that he thinks women are behaving,

**Kate:** *"I think it's passed down through families really, and I think you ask, you ask people if they do something really well. Now my ex-mother-in-law was a brilliant cook and I learnt a lot, and other things. I learnt, well not a lot, but I learnt nearly everything I knew from her and watching what she did and books."*

**David:** *"And yes, because Vicky makes Christmas puddins and Christmas cakes, they're all her mother's recipes that she carried down through. Karen wants to come down this year to learn, help Vicky make Christmas puddin and the Christmas cake, so she can carry on and make them when Vicky can't do it again."*

**Sean:** *"So does that make you feel good David?"*

**David:** *"Yes it did, because it's an old recipe carried through, carried through her lifetime. Yeah."*

**Brian:** *"But you're runnin out of people to ask nearly, like my family there's Jenifer up the road that you could still ask, Jane can't cook but um Jenifer would be about the only one left in our family that would know really."*

**Sean:** *"Who's Jenifer Brian?"*

**Brian:** *"She's my cousin."*

**Sean:** *"Right."*

**Brian:** *"and um,"*

**David:** *"I think some things are carried down the families."*

**Brian:** *"Yes that's how you used to do it wadn't, but the girls would learn from their mother wouldn't they, but how many girls, well how many mothers can cook today?"*

**Michael:** *"Well they don't, they will buy it."*

**David:** *"don't em."*

**Brian:** *"That's the snag today isn't it."*

**Michael:** *"They don't bake cakes do they."*  
(V1, 63)

For Michael and Brian these are statements of fact (not questions), though others might perceive them differently. Women's roles have changed and we are losing something important; the traditional roles of women are of considerable value. Possibly we are losing something because we are failing to adapt. David is surprized at how things have worked out in his family,

**David:** *"One thing with our family you would have thought that the girl would have done the cooking but Andrew he's the cook. He'll cook any meal you want. He's brilliant, he does most all our cooking. If you asked Jane she wouldn't know."*  
(V1, 66)

This indicates that perhaps it is not the change in gender roles that is causing angst for these participants, but a failure of society to adapt in other ways. Regardless, we are losing something that is valuable, that is important, that perpetuates the authenticity of food. There is also a need to recognize that the process of cooking is complicated, not always done by women and not always a pleasant nurturing experience (Lang and Caraher 2001). Having said this Lang and Caraher (2001, p. 2) maintain that cooking is a skill closely associated with images of "*motherhood and the female nurturing role*", so much so that it affects government interventions in developing cooking skills, and others such as Berzok (2011) position family cooking very firmly in the female domain. For her it is about "*Our foremothers*" (ibid, p. 1). She goes on to cite Marion Bishop,

*"For me to remember a recipe is to remember the woman it came from, how it was passed on to her, and where I situate myself within my culinary female family."* (Bishop 1997, p. 103)

Christensen (2001) sees the kitchen as a repository for memories with a strong connection to the female line. Similarly, Meyers (2001) sees these memories as food heritage, a gift between females in each generation to those that follow (also see Berzok 2001). I think that there is a sensitivity here, particularly for a male academic such as myself. I have two daughters. I want them to be able and comfortable to do what they want to do irrespective of their gender (colour, disability, sexual orientation, whatever) this is about a fundamental respect for the Other. At the same time I recognize that within 'society' there are still gendered roles and I consider that we would be foolish to ignore this. Some see this as a bad thing; some do not. Some, such as Brunsdon (2005) become very animated about

it, particularly when the women are in our homes, on the television. Brunsdon asks of these female presenters and their programmes,

*“Where is feminism on television? What relationship is there between being told what to do in your house and kitchen by these women and feminism? Is this postfeminism, when women on television are just so very much more authoritative about what they have always been assumed to have known best?” (ibid, p. 111)*

I think that L’Orange Furst (1997, p. 441) contextualizes this situation well,

*“Everyday cooking in the home is still women's work. This should not be understood merely from the perspective of female subjugation. Food is an important expression of identity, and the giving of food seems to be closely related to femininity and the subjective experience of being a woman. Cooking may also be understood as an expression of what t term "a rationality of the gift," which stems from a specific kind of work; production of use-values in the home. This rationality contrasts with "the rationality of the commodity," which stems from production in the market. Women's present situation of double work points to an ambiguous position, as they are commuting between different realms of society.”*

When considering the relationship between women, cooking and society the dynamics are not simple nor are they for men. Charles and Kerr (1990) have produced an excellent nuanced account. As I have discussed above, the roles of women have changed, leading to serious reflection; but what of the roles of men? How do men fit in to these new expectations? Particularly if it is not clear what these new expectations might be. This has been explored by a number of commentators including Gough (2007) and Hollows (2003) who looked at the portrayal of men and cooking in the media, Lupton who (2000) looked at cooking roles in rural Australia, and Newcombe et al. (2012) and Sobal (2005) who explored ideas of food and masculinity, without coming to a consensus. Gender roles and stereotypes were in the participants’ thoughts as indicated by these exchanges,

**Philippa:** *“Food shopping is for women, anyway.”*

**Richard:** *“I quite liked doing it.”*

**Maureen:** *“I just do it I can't get excited about it.”*

**Richard:** *“I love to food shop, delis are great.”*

**Sue:** *“Yes and markets.”*  
(S2, 18)



**Tina:** *"I know what I like and I buy the same you know. But I don't like to do the food shopping, but my husband can't be trusted to do it."*

General laughter

**Richard:** *"My wife can't be trusted, it's her that picks up all sorts of things off the shelves and she won't look at them. So I never let Kath go shopping. She never gets the stuff that we need she gets all the stuff we don't need. We've got them, we've got three of them."*  
(S2, 19-20)

Looking from a different perspective does not simplify the situation. In a fascinating account entitled *Feeding Lesbige Families*, Carrington (2008) describes another layer of complexity,

*"Because feeding work is complex, laborious, and highly gendered, it is problematic in lesbige families because a full accounting of it would destroy illusions of equality and call into question masculinity of gay men who do it and the femininity of lesbians who do not."* (Ibid, vii)

Family relationships and gender are areas ripe for further research as it is through these connections that ideas of authenticity are nurtured. The process of socialization is complicated; in that what parents 'taught' was not always correct,

**Juliet:** *"Well, I end up with all of us having different meals, as I'm such a fussy eater I had to have something completely different to my parents, and my brother had to have something different and my sister had to have something different. So I am making a real conscious effort to give them all exactly the same. And to do more home baking because my parents got into the habit of just having ready-made meals, so the whole lasagne in the oven and there it is."*

**Mike:** *"Was it all the hours she was working?"*

**Juliet:** *"No I think it was just convenience and the pizzas and the jacket potatoes anything that was quite simple and quick to do. I do remember having lovely home-made quiche and a home-made stir fry, but these were very rare and when we got them it was more of a treat. And again it was just the other things that you, but the other times it was just the things that you tip out on a plate and again that's not what I'm trying to do with Ian, I am trying to ensure that he has home-made food most of the time, we even make home-made lasagne. I don't think we've got anything in our freezer that you just turn out onto a plate, the only thing that we probably have got is pizzas and that's it."*  
(S3, 9)

This quotation shows that the food of childhood is not necessarily the food that children want to consume in adulthood, though where we might expect a rebellion in favour of convenience food, here it is the reverse. Possibly, homemade food was

also a symbol of time and attention. Helen knows a mother whose son is looking back to her for advice now that he has left home for university; this extends not only to cooking, but also to frugality,

**Helen:** *“A woman at my exercise class the other day, her son’s just gone up to London, eh Uni and eh, he’s one of the only, he’s the only guy in his, wherever he is living, he’s the only one that can cook. The others can’t, they don’t have to cook anything, they can’t do it and he’s also bit of a cook and eh he’s, his mother said look if you want to get the good buys you go to the supermarket, you go down to Sainsbury’s at nine o’clock at night and you get all the stuff that they’ve put the stickers on and you get that and you can most probably use that the next day. Buy a chicken and you can get lots of meals out of that. And so he’s doing all this so he’s really enjoying it.”* (V2, 65)

This illustrates that the process of socialization does not end when the child leaves home, however, that process may no longer be under the control of the family, as Anderson (2014) maintains,

*“Whoever gets the teenager just breaking out of the family’s tight grip – be it school, military, gang or national service – tends to win a lifelong allegiance.”* (Ibid, p. 18-19).

Given this competition, families seemed to have done well to imbibe the sense of connection that they had with the participants. Richard sees his wife and children admonish him in an attempt to control his behaviour when he is on holiday,

**Richard:** *“I tend to look for a little backstreet. Because I like little backstreet places, (general laughter around the table). Because, because if you go to the square, say you are, I don’t know in France, and there is a big square there the food is never as good as the little place round the corner. So I tend to go to those.”*

**Sean:** *“Do other people hunt out little places?”*

No response and Richard is quickly back in.

**Richard:** *“Yes, I get told off for it.”*

**Sean:** *“You get told off for it?”*

**Richard:** *“Yes.”*

**Sean:** *“By whom?”*

**Richard:** *“By everyone else, by the family. They say, oh you have to go down the backstreet for a place don’t you. And they don’t want to go there, but sometimes they do.”*

(S2, 22)

Richard gets “*told off*” for being a little adventurous; I doubt that it affects his behaviour. I think that he likes the notoriety (remember the laughter). There are dynamics in the process of socialization. It is not only parents socializing children, but children socializing parents and alliances being formed between generations to socialize a family member, be it parent or child or grandparent or whoever. Clare and Fred are concerned at the behaviour of another adult, Fred’s sister-in-law who is American. He thinks that the way she is guiding her family is bizarre,

**Clare:** *“But we used to have like, food issues with her. Um, like she had, she’s got two girls and obviously we’ve got two children and are slightly older than, but not a lot different and, and Fred’s mum would insist that we had these family holidays in England in these cottages. And the,”*

**Fred:** *“Just a chance to get together.”*

**Clare:** *“It was quite good to get together. These two, the two girls um, were not allowed to eat what we ate. So like Fred’s mum, particularly on a Sunday, would have, have taken with, because it usually started on Saturday, would take with her all fresh veg you know, beans and whatever that she got from the garden. And we would sit down to our Sunday, and, and, these two girls weren’t allowed to have these, and she would actually open tins of,”*

**Fred:** *“Green Giant sweetcorn,”*

**Clare:** *“And would actually give these to the girls. They would have half a tin of this sweetcorn on their plate, or the green beans from a tin, and she said no that’s what they, they’re going to have to eat, they couldn’t have like these fresh vegetables,”*

**Fred:** *“They’d have processed meats all the time.”*

**Bill:** *“She’s weird that one,”*

**Fred:** *“She’s off the top,”*

**Sean:** *“I thought you were going to say that, you came back and it was all macrobiotic food.”*

**Clare:** *“No, no, no. She would, but herself, the sort of thing that she would eat, she would not eat with us at the meal time she would sit there, but what she would have would be like, like, half a Cos lettuce,”*

**Fred:** *“A great big bowl of,”*

**Clare:** *“Or nothing else.”*

**Fred:** *“A grapefruit.”*

**Clare:** *"I have seen her eat four grapefruits for a meal. And so you, so you would think that these two children are going to grow up to be complete um freaks on food,"*

**Fred:** *"They're quite rebellious as well."*

**Clare:** *"Well that's not surprising,"*

**Jenny:** *"They'll live off McDonald's, or things that are for her the antithesis."*  
(V2, 87-89)

There is much going on in this exchange that illustrates the interplay of socialization between the generations and family members. There is pressure to conform and not to behave 'strangely'. In addition, these issues are important; the participants were upset and concerned.

When we consider the broad range of the exchanges discussed in this section, there is a feeling that something important is happening as part of the process of socialization. There is transference of understandings and values from generation to generation. Clare laments the loss of the traditional 'farm food' that she was brought up on,

**Clare:** *"But things always seem to taste better just straight from the farm. (Gen agreement). Because although we didn't have a farm, the farm next door to us when I was a child my mother said I lived on the farm because I used to just stay round there. And I just remember the, the farmer's wife just used to like, like make me fresh um like egg custard tarts and things like those. It don't taste anything like the ones you get in the supermarkets um so I must admit I was brought up on very, sort of traditional farm food."*  
(V2, 22)

Food is important, the role of passing this knowledge on is important and if this is not possible it is something to be lamented. However, food represents more than this and this helps to embed the memories and understandings. Food and its consumption are used as a tool for socialization. Family rituals around food form part of this process. Food is used as punishment and reward and failing to conform to norms of food consumption is seen as rebellious behaviour. The various processes of socialization give rise to family differences which I will now explore.

## 5.6 Family differences

I will talk here briefly about difference, though I will deal with it in more detail when looking at the distinctly Other, those people who are not kith or kin. Differences in the data within and between homes and places emerge, as do ideas of acceptance, adaptation and assimilation. There are also references to the interaction of different cultures and therefore, potentially, to the process of acculturation. Specifically with regard to the family, Mike recalled that it was strange for him as a Jew to visit non-Jewish households,

**Mike:** *“Yes. When I was a kid, whatever my mum cooked that was authentic. So if you go into some people’s houses, friend’s houses I realized that, you know that, what we ate was very particular.”*  
(S3, 2)

Individuals gain an understanding as children of their own culture within the home in terms of values, behaviour and food for example, however, they are also very quick to spot differences. Kate recalled other families that lived very different lives and had a very different relationship with food,

**Kate:** *“My school friends, well one of them’s got a smallholding and they had a house cow, Rosy, who’s milked at all times of the day and umm sometimes we used to milk her, but they were always in the kitchen those big pans that people use with the thick yellow cream on top and when I used to go on a Sunday, go home, they used to say “mother want any cream?” And my mother always did, she loved it fresh and frothy straight from the cow she used to go, go down to the dairy in the village, and um, and I used to take this jar of yellow thick yellow cream,”*

(Some intermittent discussion)

**Kate:** *“But I don’t know why I loved Rosy, I loved her and I loved, I loved, they had a pig called Edith.”*

**Brian:** *“Laughter.”*

**Kate:** *“Everything was,”*

**David:** *laughter, “Yeah.”*

**Kate:** *“But I loved Rosy she was, she was just, I just remember her, she must have been quite old really, but they used to calve every year and keep the milk going. They either had too much or none at all, but um and Edith was lovely, because one day I went, I used to go up there a lot to stay and they said oh we’ve got a surprize for you and Edith had had piglets. They were just, they’re just gorgeous aren’t they you pick them up and they squeal like mad.”*

**Brian:** *“Yeah, yeah.”*

**Kate:** *“But she let us pick them all up cause she was a pet you see. And they had geese, and ducks and hens.”*

**Brian:** *“I bet they lived well?”*

**Kate:** *“They did, they did really it was a big old farmhouse in Warwickshire, but my other friends they were sort of um just a small holding, but I was the townie because most of the other girls were actually farmer’s daughters.”*  
(V1, 27-30)

Again, this shows that other family situations can be very different, but also, potentially, very attractive. Individuals can recognize the authenticity of their own home life and food, even if they do not like the food, but see that others have an equally or possibly better lifestyle, where the food is differently authentic and therefore more desirable. It may be difficult to gain access to these situations, it is not their family. Kate used some very specific language, *“I was a townie and most of the other girls were actually farmer’s daughters.”* This expression is about more than simple geography: a townie is an outsider who does not understand or have sympathy with the countryside. The dynamics of urban migration to the countryside has attracted serious academic research (see Forsythe 1980; Jamieson 2000; and Schmied 2005 for example) and spawned its own genre of more popular literature from *A year in Provence* (Mayle 2000) to *The Exmoor Files* (Jones 2010) or *Once Upon a Time in the West Country* (Hawks 2015). These ‘townie’ comments could be Kate being self-effacing or it may be the memory of unkind words said to her as a child. After all *“most of the other girls were actually farmer’s daughters.”* This is not just about their parents’ occupation; it is a statement about their position in society. In rural communities farmers have a certain status. This status increases with the size of the farm and whether they own it or not. I can remember a friend referring to a farmer with a large farm by qualifying it with, “but he is only a tenant farmer.” He rented it. The use of the term in this way exaggerates the distance between the families as Kate saw it (and still sees it). In terms of her other friends, *“they were sort of um just a small holding.”* Their life, however, was something to be yearned for, as reflected in the description of the cream; unctuous. Was it a better and possibly more authentic life compared to hers; and did that authenticity revolve around food and the means to produce it, and/or did it revolve around other things? Note at the end that Brian thought that they would live well. For Brian the meaning was associated with the *“geese, and ducks and hens”, that is, with food;* for Kate it was more about the house. This segment has shown that there is a complex

process of inclusion and exclusion, acceptance and rejection of home and the homes and lives of others.

Mike could also see how change had affected his family, not the family that he was born into, but the family as a result of his first and second marriages. In this regard, he could see the changes within his own family life,

**Mike:** *“Well I have had two families as it were, always had fish fingers, beef burgers baked beans with curry powder on it all kinds of things, and I think that was to do with my age and the pressure of getting on being a young dad, parent and now there is much more about healthy eating, food programmes on TV. So we have a veg patch and in my first marriage we never did. All those kinds of things has had a huge effect and we want our kids to, to you know think very carefully about what they're eating.”* (S3, 3)

This represents a story of three families; the family of childhood, the first marriage and then the second marriage. Each is viewed differently; now and then. Through time we see changes, but also as a result of change in the individual, perception changes. Time is a dimension to authenticity. Thus someone could eat authentically in different ways at different times, but retrospectively make judgements about the authenticity of what was happening at that time.

## **5.7 Conclusions and reflections**

In this first chapter, looking at the results of the analysis, I have focussed on family and friends. This was one of the first things that the participants talked about. They looked back to their childhoods, but also reflected on what they did now as parents/adults compared to what their parents had done. Often the point of reference on which they based their ideas of authenticity was their grandparents, possibly because this was as far back as they could remember. Having mentioned grandparents, reflections mostly centred on the grandmother and this emphasis on the role of females in cooking is important. For some, particularly those from a rural background, the main focus was on local food, but the stories brought in a very highly developed network of family and friends based in the locality. These connections were important and involved food. Pigs were killed, ducks and bicycles careered down hills, there was a bodily engagement with the food. For all groups, family meant more than just a blood relationship. There was reference to specific dishes, tastes and smells, houses stank; though it was a lovely stink.

There was reference to meals and how food formed part of the structure of the family, how food was used to socialize and how failure to conform caused angst; there were emotional ties. This area of discussion starts to unpick the way that ideas of authentic food, in addition to other ideas and values, are constructed as the individual and society constructs 'themselves'. In processes such as conditioning society can be seen to shape the beliefs and behaviours of individuals. Social learning would seem less controlling than forms of conditioning, however, it is still a process that can be manipulated by controlling the examples and models to be copied. Having said that, it is here between the individual and the Other that we see the ideas of authenticity develop. Finally there were feelings of difference; although there might be similar points of reference, because of different contexts there were different specific understandings. Family and friends is not the only point of reference and in the next chapter I will go on to look at saucing, the process of cooking, before discussing the origin of food (sourcing), and relationships with the distinctly Other.

One theoretical lens that can be used to illuminate the participants' discussion is that of symbolic interactionism. This social psychological theory looks at how meaning emerges through interaction and is based on the ideas of George Herbert Mead and later Herbert Blumer (Blumer 1992; Charon 2009). Charon (2009) maintains that it has four main tenets: firstly human beings are social and it is in the social interaction with others that we find meaning. Secondly human beings are, at the same time, thinking individuals and refine their own ideas about meaning. Thirdly, we interpret our environment based on our own understandings and our interactions. In effect we have an hermeneutic understanding. Fourthly, human action is a result of what is happening in the present and finally humans are not passive; they are not controlled or conditioned. I have some difficulty with these last two elements as based on the participant's discussion the past seems very important to present understandings. Also it is apparent that people are controlled and conditioned. This said, the idea that meaning is forged in the space between the reflective individual and the other has considerable resonance.

Two words that underpinned some of the discussion of authenticity were tradition and heritage and I will say a little about those terms here. These terms have received a great deal of academic attention over a considerable period of time and it would be possible to cite a considerable number of relevant references. With regard to tradition Shils' 1981 book *Tradition* or Bronner's 1998 book *Following*



*Tradition. Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture* are, for me, highlights in the discussion of potentially an enormous subject. In terms of heritage, Ahmed (2006), Smith (2006), and Timothy and Boyd (2003) all provide insights into the nature of heritage from a range of perspectives. With specific regard to food, Brulotte and Giovine's (2014) excellent edited book, *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage* provides a fascinating insight into the diversity of perspectives of food as heritage. In this context, what I think is lacking is a simple approach to dealing with the terms, for there is not enough room here to engage in the sort of discussion that would do this subject justice. In Julian Baggini's book *The Virtues of the Table: How to Eat and Think* (ibid 2014) I did find an approach that I valued and that I have adopted in this instance. He maintains that tradition is something "essentially alive and dynamic" (ibid 2014, p. 111). Tradition is forever changing and adapting with the new generations, but is something that is true to previous generations. Heritage, on the other hand, is something that comes from a time; that is part of an historical heritage. Thus I could bake a traditional Christmas cake, which might be different from the cake that my grandparents would have baked, but it will be largely similar and in the spirit of that cake. I could also cook a Victorian Christmas cake using an appropriate recipe from the time, but this would really be a heritage cake (cf the heritage/heirloom vegetables Stickland 1998; de St Maurice 2014; Musgrave and Perry 2012). Traditions are living, heritage is not. Possibly in this I differ from my participants who use the words heritage and tradition interchangeably, but really they are using it in the context that I and Baggini use the word tradition.

I was struck by the focus of the groups on ideas of family. In terms of the process of phenomenological analysis this caused me to reflect. Within my own personal reflections the importance of family and previous generations had come much to the fore. In my personal reflections I had highlighted my strong family ties as "son, brother and father", the backgrounds of my parents and the aspiration to contribute to society and at the same time remain true unto "myself, my family and my God." In the deep reflection that I had undertaken, feelings for my family and also for people from my cultural and ethnic roots emerged, as well as a concern for nature and the environment. The artwork that I produced showed columns of people coming up into the mountains from a plain and walking past me. Robert Romanyshyn and I considered this artistic expression of my reflective experience to represent members of my family going back through the generations.

Within the process of phenomenological reduction I am called upon to set aside the natural attitude in order to see the phenomenon as my participants see it. Therefore there is a tension. I set these ideas of family aside and they (re)appear in the data. Is this the result of my own projection or is it actually in the data? Having looked at the data exhaustively there it sits; without doubt consistently. When I am not viewing the world from the position of the participants, but compare their views to mine, the conclusion that I draw is that we share elements of an understanding.

This is important; I did not know how important family connection was to me. It has been there, but I had not recognized it, looking instead for other authorities. Finlay (2011 p. 24) maintains that one of the characteristics of phenomenological research is that it represents a potentially “Transformative Relational Approach”,

*“As we engage in research (be it as participant, researcher or reader), we can be touched and moved. We can be made to cry. In gaining new understandings we are changed.”*

This is one of the ways that I have been changed.

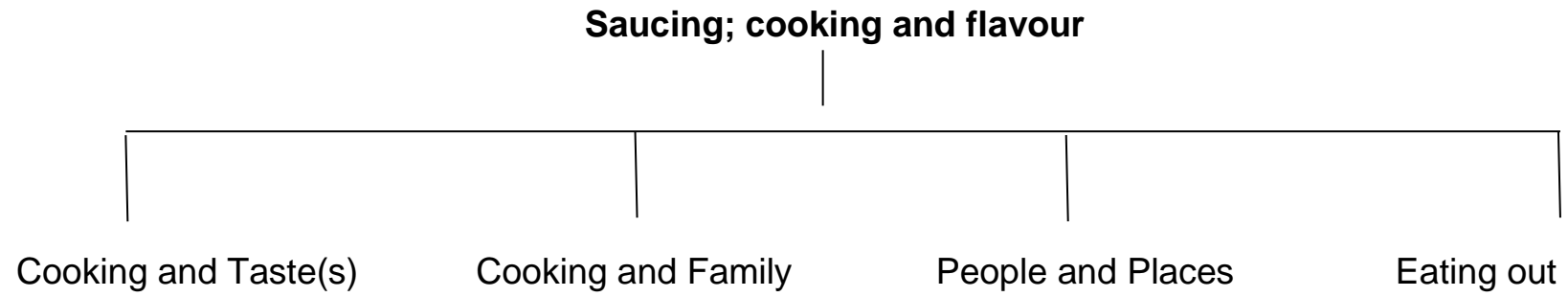
Having discussed Family and Friends I would now like to look at Saucing: cooking and flavour.

## **Chapter 6 Saucing: cooking and flavour**

### **6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I would like to look at how participant experiences of cooking help shape their understanding of authentic food, where ideas of authenticity are bound up in the actual process of cooking, taste, and sharing specific meals. Individuals had very specific memories of cooking food themselves, with others or having food cooked for them. Sometimes this related to the family, sometimes to friends or sometimes to a restaurant or café. The individual who was doing the cooking was important. In addition, where that cooking was taking place was also important. Perhaps the cook was a family member, or a member of a particular culture in a particular country. The level of importance depended largely on how the ideas of authenticity were being constructed. Alternatively, in some cases, it did not matter. There was much debate between and (seemingly) within people about this. With regard to taste there were indications that in some way ideas of authenticity could become embodied in taste, smell and the overall experience of food. The structure for this part of the phenomenon is outlined in Figure 6.1 below.

**Figure 6.1: The second part of the structure of perceptions of the authenticity of food.**



## 6.2 Cooking and taste(s)

In terms of looking at cooking and taste(s) I will first look at the individual and then the family. This will be followed by some specific examples; seaweed, custard, cream and puddings, before I discuss fusion.

### 6.2.1 Taste and cooking for the individual

As indicated in the previous chapter, for many people the idea of cooking was central to their ideas of authenticity. Since people cook, this might seem an obvious statement, however, by 'people' I mean identifiable people not just the faceless 'food processors' in the factories, which supply much of our food. Sometimes they were thinking about cooking for themselves, but not everyone cooks as this exchange in the second school focus group indicates,

**Sue:** "So do you cook every night?"

**Tina:** "Yes most nights."

**Maureen:** "I won't, I will open a tin or a jar."

**Tina:** "We did make our own special scallops."

**Philippa:** "I did sausage casserole last night."

**Sue:** "Do you think it will change when you have kids?"

**Philippa:** "No, you know what I got worse. I used to cook, I used to make amazing food. What changed was that the amount of time."

**Richard:** "Now you've got loads of time."

Lots of laughter.

**Richard:** "You can always make time."

**Sue:** "Well you could, but it depends on what is important doesn't it. It is clearly important to Richard and his wife,"

**Richard:** "We don't do it every single day."

**Sue:** "But Maureen it's not very important to you is it?"

**Maureen:** "No, you eat to live."

**Richard:** "You often need a biscuit, otherwise you get all jittery."

**Maureen:** "Yes, but I need the sugar."

**Richard:** "You don't want sugar."

**Maureen:** *"Yes you do when you don't have any breakfast."*

**Richard:** *"Well you should have breakfast then."*

**Maureen** *"I haven't got time."* (S2, 32-33)

This is a quick-fire exchange between the participants and uncovers several layers of meaning. Cooking is important to ideas of authenticity and it is important for people to cook for themselves though for some participants it is meaningless, as they cannot be bothered to cook. Available time is a limiting factor, but it is also a question of priorities. It is not only a question of having the time to cook 'authentically', for many it is about having the time to cook at all (Larson and Story 2009; Zick and Stevens 2010). I have discussed previously, the effect this can have on other elements of life, such as family cohesion and health (Kolodinsky, and Goldstein, 2011; McIntosh et al. 2010).

For some participants, their relationship with food, cooking and taste was very important. This long extract captures a multitude of different thoughts and reflections, but focuses initially on seasoning, in particular salt,

**Mike:** *"Well what about salt and pepper, what's the salt and pepper. Lots of salt and pepper in your cooking?"*

**Juliet:** *"Lots of."*

**Mike:** *"What in your cooking?"*

**Juliet:** *"Not in my cooking, I don't put salt in my spuds when they're cooking but on the food after."*

**Kate:** *"I've always put salt on roast potatoes; I think it is rather bizarre. Ben has got gravy, but he won't have the gravy on his potatoes, he'll have it on everything else and then just put salt on the potatoes."*

**Roger:** *"My dad, used to, I don't know if he still does, used to put vinegar on his greens. I don't put anything on anything. I've got this little idea that we don't need it. That actually we've got enough of it."*

**Mike:** *"There's enough of it in there anyway."*

**Juliet:** *"You just get used to it. I don't do it for the boys, but on my food I just. Why do all these programs, why do all these celebrity chefs and they are all good chefs, say not enough seasoning? Why are they obsessed by it? When they know,"*

General laughter.

**Nina:** *"Their palates are different obviously aren't they."*

**Kate:** *"I think it is though, my cousin's boyfriend worked in one of G----s restaurants in London, he was is going on about it yeah, yeah, yeah. And we went there and it tasted so different, and I asked why is it so different and he said it's important that you season it. I went there and had a lovely meal, it didn't taste bland, and I bought into that. I wouldn't do it at home because I'd probably put on too much or something but it did taste fantastic and they do say it's because of that."*

**Mike:** *"I think there's a real, once you get over this having to have salt, which I must have had all through my life, and then you stop, well my taste buds aren't that great, and my sense of smell is rubbish and I still think that I enjoy my food, but there is no way of testing it out, or maybe there is I don't know. I like, we get this chicken from the market, free range chicken, and you know, in my head I can taste it, I can taste, but it's been fed on you know, and it tastes fantastic, nothing added, it is really amazing."*

**Deborah:** *"Herbs they go with things,"*

**Mike:** *"Yes Herbs are amazing. We use lots of herbs."*

**Deborah:** *"At the moment we've got mint with new potatoes,"*

**Roger:** *"Yes."*

**Mike** *"Chives."*

**Deborah:** *"Both of them go together don't they. Herbs are really, we've just been talking about salt but not pepper, I love it."*

**Mike** *"We had a friend round from Costa Rica and she made a little dressing for this salad, and what she said is I just squeeze the lemon and pour the salt from the salt cellar. That's what we do and just dip our cucumber and tomato straight into the salt lemon mix. So I had a go and it was fantastic!"*

General laughter.

**Mike:** *"She said, 'I know it's bad but that's what we do', and her dad is a chef."  
(S3, 25-28)*

Sometimes it is difficult to separate out the participants' ideas of what they like and what they think is authentic. Given that I had asked them to look at authenticity, I considered their comments in this light. I think that the above exchange vindicates this in that, although initially it looks as if they are commenting on likes and dislikes, there is a process at work in terms of finding out what is 'right', what is authentic. The detail of the processes involved in cooking such as seasoning is important, however, opinions, can be changed through experience even if they are counter intuitive with regard to health, for example with regard to the consumption of salt (He and MacGregor 2008) . Here there are three forces of authority working towards authenticating this use of seasoning (even if they consider that the use of

salt in this way is wrong). Firstly, there is the authority of the expert, the chef (celebrity or otherwise). Secondly *“this is what we do,”* the authority of practice. And thirdly *“So I had a go and it was fantastic!”* the authority of taste. On the one hand the participants know that it is wrong, in terms of their health, to consume large amounts of salt. On the other hand, there are countervailing pressures that can override their concerns. This discussion of seasoning reminds me of two quotes from Nigel Slater (2007), *“It is the deep, salty stickiness of food that intrigues me more than any other quality.”* (ibid, p. 38), and, *“Almost anything is edible with a dab of French mustard on it.”* Seasoning is important. (ibid, p. 271)

Pete has a strong background in the catering industry and has seen behind the scenes in ‘industrial’ catering. He knows the ‘tricks of the trade’ and also considers that for something to be truly authentic an individual needs to go from *“the raw product to the end,”*

**Pete:** *“I come from a slightly different way as the, the product has to be authentic and it's very difficult, even in, you can have a chicken stew or something and it can be reconstituted chicken, and you would never know. The only way you would ever know is the cut of the chicken, you know, and it's been dried and water is been added to it and it's been reconstituted and you would never know, it could be added to a pie or a sauce and for example you can have boil in the bags which will last for six months without fridging or freezing and you could just drop it into boiling water and you get three portions of vegetables. So authenticity, authenticity today, is very difficult to define unless you absolutely make the raw product, from the raw product to the end. You know that's,”*

**Jenny:** *“So it's really very few people being involved in that?”*

**Pete:** *“Well you have to look at the process. You have to look at what the dish is and the products, the constituents of that dish or whatever you're doing.”*

**Clare:** *“So would you say because we've just had a beef casserole, would you say that's got to be authentic in its original like recipe.”*

**Pete:** *“No.”*

**Clare:** *“The beef casserole is a bit different because it's a bit, but say like you are having a beef stroganoff or something that that the to be authentic it would have to have the original, um,”*

**Fred:** *“The right cuts of meat,”*

**Clare:** *“Yeah, for whatever that original recipe was.”*

**Pete:** *“Well, for example porkpie invariably would be hand raised pastry and if it's Melton Mowbray, should be made in Melton Mowbray.”*



**Clare:** “Um.”

**Pete:** “The issue is the Brussel sprout, it’s an anomaly of the English language.”

Laughter from around the table.  
(V2, 5-7)

This extract stresses the importance of intimacy and process. It emphasizes the idea that some recipes are very specific and can have claims to authenticity, however, other examples, such as a generic casserole, do not. There is a focus on specific language and there are socially constructed meanings to these words, which vary in their veracity. Therefore there can be a need to understand what is actually going into the dish, in order for it to cook authentically. There is deference attached to dishes with a specific name and therefore a specific, in this case Russian, provenance. If an individual wants to prepare (or consume) something different without knowing and acknowledging this, that is up to them, however, this may call into question the authenticity of that dish. With this argument in mind: who are the custodians of the recipes? Who says what is authentic and what is not? In France, Nicole (2006) highlights The Label Rouge, Confréries and Syndicats Interprofessionnels (professional organizations), the Sites Remarquable du Goût and the Musees du Goût (museums of taste), the Guides Gourmand and L’Inventaire du Patrimoine Culinaire (guides and inventories) and Lindholm (2008) again discusses the construction of national identity and authentic cuisine in France, Belize, India and Italy. In Britain, we have our own inventory of Traditional Foods of Britain (Mason and Brown 1999), but the overt and organized construction and maintenance of authentic cuisine does not seem to be as evident. These organizations and initiatives are about groups of people agreeing on the nature of something at a time and place. This argument, according to Baggini’s (2014) definition in the last chapter, is about heritage as opposed to tradition, however, there are many ways to prepare beef stroganoff/Stroganov, and it seems that authenticity may involve heritage and tradition. Here ideas of objective authenticity may also come into mind (Reisinger and Steiner 2006; Cohen 2002), however, in the literature review I discussed the slightly confused nature of some of these ideas. In some ways there is the implication that they provide an understanding of authenticity somehow transcendental to social construction, and given the paradigms that I am employing in this research, I think that lens falls outside this study. Alternatively, object authenticity may be based on universal consensus or the opinions of “*experts and professionals*” (Cohen 2002, p. 270). If so, then an

argument can be made to suggest this way of authenticating something as being objectively authentic is a social construction.

### 6.2.2 Taste and the family

In chapter 5 on the family, I illustrated the way that many participants located ideas of authenticity within the experience of family life. Here are a few more illustrations. Bill's description of his grandmother cooking harkens back to a long tradition of one pot cooking, where things are added on a rolling basis as food is taken out of the pot to eat, something practiced since mediaeval times (Brears 2012),

**Bill:** *"My grandmother used to always, the fire was going summer or winter and she had a pot on a trivet there, you would swing it out and swing it in and she had made the most delicious stew or soup really out of that."*

**Clare:** "Yeah."

**Bill:** *"Everything, she was cutting up vegetables and throw a few in there, and that would go day and night you know it never really went off and it was delicious. Well today they would be horror-struck, the health and safety would come down on them like a ton of bricks you know. Yeah. But it was good. That's in Devon again you see."*  
(V2, 15-16)

Here authenticity is ascribed to a very old, if not ancient (Graff and Rodriguez-Alegria, 2012; Pearce 2000) method of food preparation. There is also a great sense of warmth for the grandmother and the area that she came from, indicating ties to cooking, person and place. Mandy recalls her mother making what she considered to be traditional British food and Deborah expresses reservations with regard to pandering to what children might like to eat, some of which she doesn't even consider to be food,

**Mandy:** *"But as I said it was all home-cooked she would make the pie, she would make the gravy she would make her own pastry, so it was all like made from scratch, it was quite traditional British food I suppose."*  
(S1, 8-9)

**Deborah:** *"And like children's smiley faces I sometimes give those to my children and feel awful, because that's not real food, but it's what they like."*  
(S3, 3)

Again we see that authenticity is linked to family and cooking and that a failure to live up to this is considered inauthentic. I will now look at some specific examples.

### 6.2.3 Seaweed

Fred recalls collecting laver, a form of seaweed picked off the beach. In order to eat it, much preparation is involved, including multiple washings to get rid of the sand and a final lengthy period of cooking. Laver is a type of food that people tend to love or hate. It is eaten around the world in many different forms. For example, in Japan it is known as *nori*, in Korea as *gim* and in China as *zicai*. I have lived in Devon, my father's family come from Devon and I must admit that fried bacon and laver is a very special dish to me, and I was surprized that it was mentioned. I was also surprized that Claire mentioned samphire, cooked and pickled by her aunt. Samphire is the name given to a number of coastal plants. In the UK it mainly refers to *Crithmum maritimum* (Rock Samphire) or *Salicornia europaea* (Marsh Samphire) also known as 'sampha' in parts of Norfolk, 'sampkin' in North Wales and more generally, sea asparagus, or *sea pickle* and even *glasswort*,

**Fred:** *"But I also, we also used to eat laver, as well, off the beach, seaweed."*

**Jenny:** *"Oh did you. Yes, yes."*

**Fred:** *"Again we would go and collect it, boil it up get all the sand out of it, again it was lovely, fried, fried bacon and laver."*

**Clare:** *"You see we didn't have laver because again that isn't not really, you don't get that so much in Norfolk but we would get Samphire. So I would go out with my aunt which was my dad's eldest sister and, and we would just take a sack and we'd go round like Holkham and collect up the laver, sorry the samphire and we'd go back and, we'd cook that and we'd have some fresh and then the rest of it she'd pickle in vinegar."*  
(V2, 25)

Fred is in good company, William Shakespeare (1994) mentions samphire in King Lear, though it is probably Rock Samphire,

**Edgar:** The crows and choughs that wing the midway air  
Show scarce so gross as beetles: half way down  
Hangs one that gathers samphire, dreadful trade!  
(King Lear Act 4 Scene 6)

The idea of going out into the wild and foraging for food is one that has become increasingly popular and is seen as a way of connecting with nature and possibly living in a more authentic and sustainable way. This idea of connecting with a preindustrial past is particularly borne out in the work of Ray Mears on television and also in books such as *Wild Food*, which he wrote with Gordon Hillman (Mears and Hillman 2007). It draws on his work with groups such as the Hadza (a tribal group living in north-central Tanzania, around Lake Eyasi in the central Rift Valley

and in the nearby Serengeti Plateau) and the Kalahari Bushmen. There have also been a television series and book by Grieve and Miers (2007), *The Wild Gourmets*, and *A Cook on the Wild Side* by Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall (1997), who went on through his *River Cottage* television series to create a substantial brand and business by the same name. This searching for wild food also links back to the discussion of Rousseau in the previous chapter.

#### 6.2.4 Custard

From seaweed we move to custard. This time Kate recalls Sunday lunch at a pub with her mother and father,

**Kate:** *“Do you know, we used to take mum and dad to the Sunday lunch, at the Oak in Calsdon. The Sunday lunch it was a set lunch, but pudding was there with something like apple pie with custard. I was used to think how wonderful the custard was. I used to say if only I could make it like that, and then I looked in, round the side one day and there'd had a delivery of tinned Ambrosia custard and you can't beat it.”*

**Brian:** *“I must admit I love that custard.”*

**Kate:** *“You can't beat it though can you.”*

**Brian:** *“The best custard I ever had was what Aunt Fran used to make when they scooped the milk out the bulk tank and made it like that.”*

**John:** *“Yeah.”*

**Brian:** *“Never, I have had custard like it since at that place over at, the Home Lodge ain't it. You ever been over there?”*  
(V1, 49)

There was a sense of astonishment that it was Ambrosia Custard (a commercial brand from a can) which cannot be authentic, but tastes good. There is a tension here, possibly a little guilt; it should not taste this good as it is not real custard. These participants consider that authentic custard is made from milk straight from the cow (a bulk tank is the storage tank in a dairy attached to a milking parlour). Similarly food that tastes as good as homemade and is therefore as good as homemade should not be available in a restaurant. Unless there is a secret, it is milk straight from the cow. Classic British custard is made with egg yolks, sugar and milk and/or cream. Ambrosia custard is made by Premier Foods (an industrial, multi brand food manufacturer) and contains, skimmed milk, buttermilk, sugar,

modified starch, vegetable oil, whey, flavouring, colours (curcumin, annatto), but it does taste good (30 years ago I milked cows whose milk went into the Ambrosia factory in Lifton in Devon).

### 6.2.5 Cream

From custard we move to cream. These next two examples are quite long, but it is the rhythm of the exchanges and the way that they work together that adds to the recollections of these dishes that tasted supreme, but were 'naughty'; the protagonists were young then, and could possibly cope with the richness of the food because they were so active and lived in a less calorie and fat conscious age. The segment is evocative in language used; it is almost possible to taste the unctuous richness,

**Pete:** *"My grandmother used to do a dish which was baked eggs in clotted cream did you ever have that?"*

**Bill:** *"No, no."*

**Pete:** *"She would put meat or mackerel, always, fresh mackerel. She would poach some mackerel off very quickly, shred it up and put it in the bottom of, er in the bottom of a cot type dish. Crack an egg on top, bit of seasoning, clotted cream and bake it for about eight or ten minutes."*

**Fred:** *"It's a waste of clotted cream,"*

**Jenny:** *"Sounds exotic, Ahh."*

**Pete:** *"No it's lovely soft egg with the fish and, and the clotted cream on top. Yes, I mean you've never had that then. And she used to do a chocolate, um which was awful really."*

**Jenny:** *"Chocolate with an egg?"*

**Pete:** *"Yea and clotted cream. And did you ever come across thunder and lightning, that is a Devonian dish, thunder and lightning, and it is um, it is, it is, bread, dried bread, old bread with golden syrup on top and then clotted cream spread over the top of that and cut into soldiers or into quarters."*

**Fred:** *"I've never known it is thunder and lightning."*

**Jenny:** *"What did you know it as?"*

**Pete:** *"Thunder and lightning, T and L was Tate and Lyle,"*

Lots of Ahs, and OKs in recognition of the link

**Pete:** *"And when my grandmother died she had two five gallon cans of Tate & Lyle golden syrup from the war still in the wardrobe, solid, rusted, but and we always knew it is thunder and lightning, the whole road always knew it is*

*thunder and lightning. So whenever you had thunder and lightning it was always golden syrup with clotted cream, but,*

**Jenny:** *"Yes Pete has tried to emulate that at home [lots of laughter] yes every once in a while."*

**Bill:** *"You're not a flavour, a fan of that are you?"*

**Jenny:** *"No it's too sweet, I haven't got a great sweet tooth."*

**Bill:** *"Almost so sweet it burns your mouth."*

**Jenny:** *"Clotted cream is very nice,"*

**Pete:** *"You've had it before?" [To Bill].*

**Bill:** *"I've had it before, yeah, I've not, I didn't know it is thunder and lightning.  
Fred, no."*

**Pete:** *"That's what I was brought up with, yeah and the Martins next door."*

**Jenny:** *"Well for boys that makes it sound much more exciting doesn't it, it's good psychology sort of thing."  
(V2, 45-48)*

For some, Thunder and Lightning is a variation on the Devon cream tea (Salmans 1982). This extract illustrates that authentic can be 'good', but at the same time 'bad'. The participants could go back to that world, but they cannot return because the world has changed and so have they. Some explanation is needed here. When Pete's mother died she had stores of old food. The period of their youth was the 1940s and 1950s, considered by most to be times of deprivation during and after World War II. This post war high calorie, high fat, high carbohydrate diet was an antidote to the pain. It was a way to lift the spirits and recharge the batteries, both mental and physical. Dishes such as Thunder and Lightning were comfort foods. Post war food and farming policy In the UK (Agriculture Act 1947) and in Europe (Treaty of Rome 1958) was geared up to ensure that people would not starve. Some say we should return to that wartime diet for the health of the nation (Rohrer 2010), but it was not enjoyable. My father maintained that it was only cod liver oil that kept him from the symptoms of starvation. Pete's mother was not going to let her family be hungry in the way that they had been. Possibly this is governed by a voice in our primitive pasts encouraging us to lay down fat in a time of plenty to carry us through times of shortage (Gluckman and Hanson 2004). Certainly this theme did not stop here as we move onto puddings.

### 6.2.6 Pudding

The following is a long exchange in which the participants respond, carry and develop the thread. The focus is still on carbohydrate and fat and something very primeval; feeling full, feeling comforted,

**Jeff:** *"Potato bread is another thing or, soda bread,"*

**Matt:** *"Soda bread, yeah."*

**Sean:** *"That was soda bread you had with the, Waitrose soda bread so whether that's really."*

**Jeff:** *"That's another thing my mum used to cook soda bread."*

**Matt:** *"Yeah a good friend of mine at work he is Irish through and through, and he's was on about that."*

**Jeff:** *"We used to love getting, it was a, a big bit of soda bread folded in half with minced apple and that was a treat for us. I used to walk home from school and go and get one of them, about 5p."*

**Sean:** *"Oh you could buy that from a shop?"*

**Jeff:** *"Oh yeah, you would have bought it from a local bakery yeah."*

**Matt:** *"And talking about that, because I've never heard of that, but as kids when you had your Sunday roast, Yorkshire pud. Have that with it, with your gravy on? I met some people, up, obviously during your time in the Army, I met some people from Yorkshire,"*

**Samantha:** *"They'd have that first?"*

**Matt:** *"Or there'd have it with jam afterwards, because it was just batter, it was just like a pancake, but it had been put in the oven. I looked at them, and see what you say, and they said no when you think about what it is, it's just flour and water, blah blah, blah,"*

**Jeff:** *"Wasn't the idea about Yorkshire pudding to bloat you? [General agreement] So that,"*

**Matt:** *"Oh right, before the meal,"*

**Samantha:** *"They had that, did they have it with the gravy?"*

**Jeff:** *"Yeah our friend, it was probably the size of the plate,"*

**Samantha:** *"Yes she's huge,"*

**Jeff:** *"Just filled with gravy, that was like a starter almost,"*

**Caroline:** *"I suppose then you wouldn't have to have so much meat,"*

**Jeff:** *"Yes that's right,"*

**Caroline:** *"On your plate, and that's probably more expensive,"*

**Samantha:** *"Yeah."*

**Caroline:** *"It up on the Yorkshire pudding,"*

**Samantha:** *"Or bread, we always used to have bread with our meals."*

**Jeff:** *"Yes my granddad always used to have a slice of bread under his stew, lashings of butter on it."*

**Samantha:** *"I had a slice of bread-and-butter under my porridge."*

**Matt:** *"Really!"*

**Samantha:** *"Oh it's delicious, yeah."*

**Caroline:** *"I can't imagine that."*

**Samantha:** *"Try it, try it. In the winter we was had porridge and a slice of bread-and-butter under,"*

**Caroline:** *"Bread-and-butter,"*

**Samantha:** *"Yeah bread-and-butter and you put the porridge on top and your sugar."*

**Matt:** *"You just say that I thought, well I've never actually had proper porridge till I've been with you because it used to be Ready Brek when I was a kid, which I don't really class as porridge, cause it's just all that, to me it's like the stuff they swept up off the floor afterwards."*

**Samantha:** *"And you never had porridge, as a child?"*

**Matt:** *"No I do it now, but it was just Ready Brek when I was a child so it wasn't porridge, no."  
(V3, 34-39)*

If discussions of custard and cream are largely about fat, this discussion of puddings seems to be largely about carbohydrate. The participants are again thinking back. These forms of carbohydrate were comparatively cheap, filling, and carbohydrates and fats are energy dense and so provide fuel. There is a tension here as with the consumption of fat. This sort of carbohydrate loading is not considered healthy, with our more sedate lifestyle and growing obesity. Times have changed; average incomes are generally higher and many of the participants live in better circumstances than their parents and grandparents, they might be able to afford a bit more meat. But those sorts of carbohydrates and fat 'fillers' were and are "*delicious*" and there is an air of nostalgia as they look back; a sense of warmth, comfort and safety, that is, as long as it is the genuine article; authentic.



### 6.2.7 Fusion

One final comment on the nature of flavour came from Pete. He comments on the changes that have come, new foods, new flavours,

**Pete:** *“So the problem of authenticity of food or traditional recipes is becoming globalized as I said earlier, in the 70s when we were living, in your day you would not have seen kiwi fruits.”*  
(V2, 26)

**Pete:** *“Because authentic recipes are actually, a lot of them are derived regionally, internationally and globalized. If you are talking authentic food then you have to look at regional, globalisation and also Western against, you know Third World countries, you know their productivity. Um, so authenticity, um if you buy a steak and kidney pie today, everybody's version of steak and kidney pie would be different.”*  
(V2, 10)

This shows that there is the authenticity of the individual, but for things to be known and to gain social acceptance this involves a larger social group. As more people become involved and ideas spread to larger and larger groups change occurs. Even though it may carry the same name (steak and kidney pie) it will all be different in different situations. This represents a dynamic of change through space and time, and for Pete an acceptance of change. Such change represents a complex set of interactions and tensions between (the) individual(s) and (the) other(s). It may take place over a long period of time or quickly. Anderson (2014) describes both slow and quick change with parts of the Mediterranean eating as they did 2,000 years ago and “explosive” (ibid, p. 201) changes in the USA. Similarly Panayi (2008) has described revolution in terms of the development of the multicultural mix of food in the UK during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In part the ‘media’ and so called ‘celebrity chefs’ can be seen as part of this process (Ashley et al. 2004; Johnston and Baumann 2015). Their influence is pervasive and at times almost instantaneous, as in the so called ‘Delia effect’ (Beer et al. 2009). At the same time, as there is an injection of new ideas, there is also a gradual move to ‘sameness’, an extension of the process of McDonaldsization that Ritzer (1993) warned us about. I am not sure that I agree with Ashley et al. (2004) who, on balance, are more optimistic than pessimistic with regard to this effect of the standardization of authenticity. This is particularly the case when I see the commodification of ‘authenticity’ as described by Sutton (2001) and York (2014); particularly when it is profitable. Though there is an irony here in that the ‘commodities’ of one social group, a local pie perhaps, can become the ‘special’ or ‘authentic’ dish for others,

and then can be commodified by commercial interests to exploit a price premium. Such was the fate of the Melton Mowbray Pork Pie until it gained Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) status in 2009. I will now look at specific cases of family cooking.

### 6.3 Cooking with family

If there are associations between family and taste then there are also associations between family and simply cooking regardless of the flavour. I touched on this in the last chapter, but it bears some further examination, initially, from the perspective of parent, husband and granddaughter. I will then look at some specific examples relating to a mother who could not cook, macabre rabbits and eyes.

#### 6.3.1 Parent

For Sue it is the idea of cooking that crystallizes authenticity and this is something that is centred on her family,

**Sue:** *"We always cook from scratch at home. Really, yes every day."*

**Richard:** *"The kids cook as well, they come home with their cookery."*

**Sean:** *"Is it the cooking from scratch or the ingredients or the actual dishes that you prepare, do you think, that crystallizes the idea of authenticity?"*

**Sue:** *"I think it is all of that."*  
(S2, 4)

Authenticity involves cooking and ingredients, and cooking is something that is done with the family. This is the way that ideas are assimilated and opportunity for learning materializes.

#### 6.3.3 Husband

For Jeff, in this rather entertaining exchange, authenticity is about family and outside the family it involves recognizing the authenticity of the food produced by specific people in specific situations,

**Jeff:** *"But you say dumplings, I didn't have dumplings until I met Samantha [general laughter] in stew. [Still more laughter and some humorous comments about Samantha's dumplings], but that was unheard of in, I didn't know what they were, I thought what's this" [Still more stifled laughter].*

**Samantha:** *"It's degenerated now hasn't it."*

**Sean:** *"It's all right it will go where it wants to go, don't worry."*

**Jeff:** *"I was trying to make intellectual conversation [still more laughter particularly from Samantha] and you've just blown out the window."* [Said with humour].

**Samantha:** *"Anyhow back to my dumplings. They're the best."*

**Jeff:** *"They are very nice, yes."*

**Samantha:** *"They're not, neither of you appreciate them."* [Laughter from Samantha].

**Matt:** *"You're going to keep that little nugget tucked away now for future reference,"*

**Samantha:** *"Oh dear."* [More laughter].

**Sean:** *"So there's sort of the authentic food of your family, and you're exposed to other types of authentic food because you consider that they are authentic because they are produced by certain people, in certain places, and so you recognize that as being authentic?"*

**Matt:** *"Yeah, yeah."*  
(V2, 16-17)

I debated with myself for a long time about whether to include this or not, but thought that it was an example of how the participants used humour. Also, stepping back, there is a strong image of the wife and mother as a provider and nurturer, an image of the earth mother. This also points to some of the ideas of engendered roles that I mentioned in the last chapter, although discussion of the nurturing mother and the earth mother can be fraught with the controversy of gender politics (Goodsell and Meldrum 2010; Leach 2007; Mowery 1993; Phoenix and Woollett 1991).

#### **6.3.4. Grand parent**

To a certain extent the nurturing image continues here,

**Lucie:** *"To think when I was growing up, a bit like what Mandy was saying, my mum was really busy with work all the time so there was convenience food and everything. But when I went to my grandmas at the weekend, she would say what do you want and we would say oh we will have to go to the shop and get a lasagne and she would say I'll make it. And every time we wanted anything she would literally just make it, though there are some things that you can't, and I would think this is just a different world, you know when we went to grandmas it was just always home-made all the time."*

**Cath:** *"What likes scones?"*

**Lucie:** *“Well all sorts of things, scones, toffees you know it was everything, you know everything she made, and that was the way that I remembered it. And I kept thinking right I’m going to do that, I’m going to do that with my children, but do you know what I don’t, because while I can’t afford it half the time.”*  
(S3, 11-12)

This illustrates how the role of the mother can be taken on or supplemented by the grandmother, and how the grandmother therefore shapes the ideas of authenticity. This nurturing is valued, but can it be replicated with the current generation directly from mother to child? Cooking authentically is considered expensive; cooking from scratch is more expensive than buying pre-prepared food. This is an interesting perspective that seems to be shared by many people and one that is worth reflecting on. The implication is that pre-prepared meals are cheaper than cooking from scratch. This has to be qualified by asking what type of pre-prepared meals? There is great variation in the raw ingredients and cost of different types of pre-prepared food comparing basic and premium ranges. This is an area worthy of further research, however, it is complicated and depending on how the variables are selected and valued, it is possible to get almost any answer. One study, which has looked at the difference in cooking from scratch and using pre-prepared food in a school setting is Woodward-Lopez et al. (2014) who found no real difference in costs.

### 6.3.5 My mother can’t cook

There is another perspective to the idea of cooking and the family, which I touched on in the previous chapter. Whilst participants might look back to their families for their ideas of authenticity, sometimes that family food was not good, as Kate indicates when recalling some geese that her family had reared,

**Kate:** *“And of course mother couldn’t cook anyway and they were ooooooh they were horrible, they were greasy, they were disgusting and it was just a really bad experience altogether,”*  
(V1, 19)

**Kate:** *“Yes, my mother she always used to say stay out of the kitchen I’ve got the pressure cooker on, but it was only her that could do, everything was sort of done within, I, I, perhaps she just felt it wasn’t for her, I don’t know, I don’t know why, but to her cooking was notoriously bad. I was teased at school because everybody said don’t, don’t go there because, you know and it was in, some of it was entirely inedible and, and, yes, well you didn’t realize [aside to Michael] you thought we were teasing you before, you’d never come across anything like that.”* [Throughout this sounds of nervous laughter from people at times].

**Michael:** *"It was appalling I never tasted anything like it."*

**Kate:** *"It was."*  
(V1, 67)

Sometimes it wasn't just her mother,

**Kate:** *"Because I was, the other thing I always remember about, my mother couldn't cook, but she, they'd had a housekeeper called Maranda Marsh that Henry always used to quote as a child, Maranda Marsh used to do this and that. And for some reason, when I lived down in Pinkton in Dartmouth, she used to go to the butcher. So we used to go down to the butchers and she used to buy suet, well with the kidneys and big lumps of suet and render it down! And I never know why, and leave me with this stink, the kitchen used to stink, and, and there was always a pan of rendered up, presumably from the war because I suppose that fat was very, I think that you had to strain it to get all the,"*

**Sean:** *"Produced her own lard then."*

**Michael:** *"Yea."*

**Kate:** *"Yes I suppose it was, ooh."*

**Michael:** *"Yes I suppose it was."*

**Kate:** *"Yeah, and I remember it hanging, whichever bits were left over on the line with a piece of string for the birds."*

General laughter

**Kate:** *"Oh but it just, oh the smell."*

**Sean:** *"Sorry Kate but, it was hanging on the line?"*

**Kate:** *"The rest of the suet, you know, the bits that, stringy sort of bits with the membranes on."*

**Sean:** *"She used to put those out on the line for the birds?"*

**Kate:** *"Yeah, yes on a piece of string. It used to hang off the line."*

General laughter

**Kate:** *"Um, yes, um nice memories!"*  
(V1, 36-37)

This illustrates that authentic food may not necessarily be 'good' food and the memories may be 'bad', borne out of the poor food and social ridicule. As indicated in the last chapter, this can result in the individual looking elsewhere, for something better. This does not mean that what was experienced in the family was inauthentic or that what they looked to escape to is more authentic, it could just be different.

These experiences may be visceral, with memories of repulsion lasting into adulthood. There is language that conjures up images of gothic horror, mentioned earlier with regard to rabbits (and more is to come). At the same time there is a tension because some of these practices (rearing geese and eating them, rendering down spare fat to make lard and then feeding the waste to the birds) are considered to represent an authentic engagement with food. It represents truly cooking from scratch, particularly when this involves poultry scratching around in the back garden. I would like to follow this with two further examples of elements of horror with regard to consumption of the authentic.

### 6.3.6 Rabbits rear their ugly heads

In the previous chapter I mentioned the experiences of one participant in a school group with regard to the consumption of rabbit heads. Here participants in the first village focus group are discussing eating rabbits' heads,

**Brian:** *"I remember when we lived up Bloxford Hill there an old lady, and she was old, and I'm going back, we left up there when I was seven so, so it's bloody nie 60 years ago and she, mum wouldn't skin a rabbit's head, they cut the rabbits head off. This woman would skin the whole rabbit and she would bring the head in for me, and I can see, remembered now putting me little finger in and hooking the brains out. It was tasty."*

**David:** *"Didn't you eat the eyes?"*

**Brian:** *"Um, no, no I don't think that we did."*

**David:** *"We used to have them all."*

**Kate:** *"I would think they would be quite nice, wouldn't they?"*

**Brian:** *"Never helped my brainpower."*

**David:** *"No. There was a downfall somewhere."*

**Brian:** *"No it didn't work."  
(V1, 146-147)*

This extract made me think of a number of things. Firstly as a child I can remember eating calves' brains which were tasty. Secondly there is a potential onlooker examining this sentence with disgust. Breaking open the skull and eating the brains is for many people disgusting, it is a step too far and the second step too far is that they could possibly be tasty. There is the added horror of the child using his little finger. Potentially, for some, this represents a subverting of the innocence of the child. It is not just the involvement of the child that causes angst, but the fact that

his mother would do this for him and that the neighbour would bring him presents of skinned rabbits' heads.

Some might consider that eating the brain of an animal is not a problem, but that brains could not be tasty. Others might consider that eating the brain of an animal is a real problem, however, they understand that brains could be tasty; some nice things are not necessarily good for you. These comments have to be viewed within a specific cultural context that has a complex relationship with the severed head (Larson 2012). They should also be considered within the context of time. This occurred a long time ago (60 years) and within a rural population. Things have changed. The mad cow disease (Bovine spongiform encephalopathy -BSE) outbreak of the 1990s and its association with the human disease New Variant Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease (vCJD or nvCJD, Diak et al. 1997; Prusiner 1997) has potentially left people with a fear of consuming brain. In addition, it also has to be set alongside a decline in the eating of offal in general, possibly because it is seen as being strange, dirty, or the food of poor people. Having said this, it features highly in 'retro-menus' such as the 'head to toe' eating found in St John in London.

There are many tensions and contradictions here and this has implications for our understandings of authenticity. I would like to illustrate these tensions with an extract from a section of screenplay from the film *Hannibal* (2001), but first some background. Hannibal Lecter, serial killer and cannibal, is sitting on a plane having just escaped the forces of the Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI). He has rejected the in-flight meal and is dining on food from a box that he has put together. A child takes an interest in him and his box of food.

**Lecter:** "Hi"

**Child:** "Hi, What's that?" (Pointing to food in a box on Lecter's lap).

**Lecter:** "Well that's caviar."

**Child:** "What of those?"

**Lecter:** "These are figs."

**Child:** "And that?" (Pointing to a small container of cooked human brain from one of Lecter's victims)

Pause

**Lecter:** "This? That I don't think you would like."

**Child:** "It looks good."

**Lecter:** "Oh it is good."

**Child:** "Can I have some?"

**Lecter:** "You are a very unusual boy aren't you."

**Child:** "I couldn't eat what they gave me."

**Lecter:** "Nor should you. It isn't even food as I understand the definition. That's why I always bring my own, mm."

**Child:** "Mm"

**Lecter:** *“So which would you like to try?”*

**Child:** *(Child points to the brain.)*

**Lecter:** *“Ah, I suppose that it is all right. After all as your mother told you, and my mother told me, it is important, she always used to say, always to try new things. Now.....” (Lecter passes a piece of the brain into the child's mouth)*

This extract complements the extracts from the groups, indicating that ultimately authenticity is a question for the individual. Was the second extract horrifying? Was it as horrifying as the participant Brian discussing when he was a boy hooking the brains out of a rabbit's skull and eating them? In the present day and historically for some people it would be, and for some people it would not. In this case we are looking at cannibalism something that was practiced historically (Fernández-Jalvo et al. 1999), possibly widely (Stoneking 2003) and has been practiced recently (McClain et al. 1986). Practicing cannibalism is generally considered taboo, however, the situation may be more complicated (Lindenbaum 2004) in that western associations of cannibalism with the primitive may be misplaced. Also what is the difference between eating a human being and an animal? Many would argue that animals are sentient and have rights (Singer 1995, Foer 2009), therefore there is no difference. I will look at this again in the next chapter. This discussion is an example of the rich diversity of human experience. Something that, even if we neither support nor have empathy for, we should try to understand. The study of what and why we eat can give insights; in some cases food is a window on the soul. It also has implications for those looking to try to experience the authentic food and culture of others, which I will discuss in chapter 8.

### **6.3.7 Eyes on you**

Some people have a problem eating food that looks up at them from the plate. In the exchange above, David asks Brian whether he actually ate the eyes. Did David eat eyes, after all they are commonly consumed in some cultures; had he heard of somebody who did like eating rabbits' eyes or was this a step too far for David? Here Mo discusses how she cannot eat fish because the taste is so horrible, and then moves onto the idea of eating eyes,

**Mo:** *“I can't eat fish.”*

**Maureen:** *“Don't you like salmon, not even cod?”*

**Mo:** *“I can't even eat tuna, shellfish, anything.”*

**Maureen:** *“Why?”*



**Mo:** *"I don't know, they taste horrible."*

**Maureen:** *"What even prawns?"*

**Mo:** *"Yes."*

**Maureen:** *"Have you ever tasted them?"*

**Mo:** *"Yes I have, and then I tried again in Turkey because my mum thought I might like them. And they looked really appetising so I thought I might try some, and they were really not nice. I didn't like it, but I love it now. My mum doesn't like it but my dad loves it. She had to put a lettuce leaf over the eyes."*

**Maureen:** *"When I have whitebait I have to chop the heads off first before I can eat the rest."*

**Richard:** *"You can't see them in the batter."*

**Maureen:** *"Oh yes you can. You would know where the heads are."*

**Richard:** *"True."*  
(S2, 9/10)

This extract indicates another horror at the back of some participants' minds when they consume authentic meat or fish; they are eating another animal. Meat is delivered on polystyrene trays wrapped in cling film; it bears little resemblance to the animal itself. Few people actually kill animals and then eat them, few people grow vegetables and eat them and few people cook from raw ingredients. Though this is where the participants often looked back to when they were searching for somewhere to base their ideas of authenticity; to a place that they may not have experienced and that they find quite alien; to a primitive pre-civilized place. Sometimes participants recalled specific places as I will now discuss.

## 6.4 People and places

Many participants recognized that the idea of geographic space was important, when thinking about the authenticity of food and in particular the ideas of taste. When we move from one location to another we may also move from the influences of one culture to those of another. Sometimes the distance travelled can be very large; from one country to another. Sometimes it is smaller; from one part of the country to another. Sometimes it may involve the simple journey from one home to another, something that Mike alluded to in the previous chapter. Sometimes the journey may be very short, for example in a family where one person, from a distinct cultural group, marries another person from a different cultural group. The space

may be very small, but the cultural differences and the way that these are viewed by people outside the relationship might be large. These sorts of considerations form the basis for current debate on ideas relating to assimilation (taking on the cultural mantle of a culture that an individual is living in, cf acculturation), multiculturalism (different cultures living in tandem), interculturalism (adopting elements of a different culture) and parallel cultures (practicing a culture publically, but engaging in a different culture privately) (Barker 2011; Willis 2009). These processes are important because they represent the social milieu within which authenticity is established; with which the individual must interact.

This focus on the individual is important because in order to consume authentic food from a specific cultural context it is not necessary to visit that particular country or area as that authenticity may be carried in the person and skills of an individual. Clare has never been to India but recalls being entertained by an Indian family in the UK,

**Clare:** *“I’ve never been to India but we have like Indian food here that you can buy in supermarkets and whatever, but I have experienced authentic Indian food from, from actually being entertained at an Indian family’s house and it was totally different. Um it was, it was really nice food and having experience that, the stuff that you buy as Indian food is nothing like it. I will still eat it, because I still quite like that, but it’s difficult.”*

**Bill:** *“If Indian food has been adjusted for English tastes, that’s the problem.”*

**Clare:** *“Yes.”*

[Gen agreement]  
(V2 78-79)

This shows how authenticity is linked, again, to the individual as a frame of reference, not to a retail outlet. This was borne out in a more distinctive flavour, giving rise to ideas of the Anglicization of food: the changing of flavour to suit British palates. This was a fairly consistent view expressed by a number of people, which I will develop further later. It is disconcerting for Richard having travelled widely in India to find that the only authentic curry he has been able to find back home was cooked by someone who was not Indian, there is something very specific about the taste that sets it apart,

**Richard:** *“But nothing is the same, you have a curry here and it’s not the same as in India.”*

General from around the table: Yes.

**Richard:** *"I once had a curry here and it was like the ones in India and it was cooked by a white bloke in a place in Brighton, and it was the only authentic curry that I've ever had."*

**Sean:** *"When you say it was the only authentic curry that you've ever had."*

**Richard:** *"Well it's the only one that is tasted anything like the curry in India or, it's totally different."*  
(S2, 11)

This extract indicates the dissonance that can arise when thinking about authenticity if elements (in this case taste and the ethnic background of the cook) are not aligned. Thinking more of place, Philippa and Sue consider that they can find authentic curries in small restaurants in certain parts of London,

**Philippa:** *"I must say that if I had a preference when I lived in London I would never go to one of the big curry houses. We always went to a little backstreet place in Brick Lane, or something like that. But even that has changed now."*

Generally around the table: *"Yeah."*

**Sue:** *"There are still places that, I haven't got a lot of experience of London, but if I find a really good curry house I will go back to it."*

**Philippa:** *"A lot of them are now in Southall."*

**Sue:** *"There is one in Tooting Broadway that I would go back to."*

**Philippa:** *"Yeah, yeah there are some very special spots."*

**Sue:** *"Near where I used to live there was a family owned brasserie, and that was Creolean curry and that was fantastic and that had got really good reviews from the Evening Standard and things like that so it was always a well-recognized restaurant. But its reviews were really good, if we were back in London I would go there for a takeaway or a meal because I know that it would be really good."*

**Philippa:** *"We're a bit short of choice in the country really aren't we?"*  
(S2, 26-27)

These places are special and represent an island of cultural authenticity (Indian) within a different culture (East London). Ashley et al. (2004) contrast the view of Hardyment (1995) with that of Narayan (1995) as to whether this is an example of the success or failure of multiculturalism in the UK, as though the restaurants may be flourishing the interactions between the cultures in those restaurants may not be so harmonious. (As an aside, there was a very funny parody of the English attitude towards foreign food, and Indian restaurants in particular, on the Goodness

Gracious Me (2014) comedy programme). For the participants, having this knowledge of the best place to get a curry in London sets them apart, shows specialist knowledge and forms part of their identity. The final statement about there being few ethnic restaurants in the country refers to the lack of choice in provincial Dorset. It also lays down a marker as to their breadth of experience, there were some in the group who had always lived in Dorset and had limited experience of other communities.

Going back to thinking about seaweed, Caroline has a very specific understanding of place,

**Matt:** *"But that's made easier now isn't it, because I'm sure that I've seen samphire in Waitrose [general agreement], I'm sure on the fish counter and the fish shop, the fish stall in Dorchester High Street, the van, has it yeah."*

**Samantha:** *"I'm sure he'll have clover heads and,"*

**Matt:** *"Laver in Wales and we've had that in Devon as well,"*

**Caroline:** *"You see that's not right."*

**Sean:** *"What Laver in North Devon?"*

**Caroline:** *"Yeah, that's not right [Lots of laughter] that's Welsh."  
(V3, 34)*

I have talked about eating seaweed before and Laver in particular. Laver is found in the food traditions of South Wales and North Devon but for Caroline who was Welsh, there was only one place where it was authentic, anywhere else must be copying Wales and therefore inauthentic. Matt made some interesting observations with regard to the perception of what is right,

**Matt:** *"It's certainly, it's got to be something to do with perception because I wasn't actually on the trip, but some friends of mine took some vehicles across the Atlantic in a ship and it was an Italian crew. One of the guys, London born and bred, pretty much a meat and two veg man sat there one night and said I'm not eating any of this Italian rubbish I want proper English food like my Mrs cooks like lasagne [laughter] because to him lasagne was English, because she cooked it for. So for him that was it you know everyone sort of looked at their man and couldn't quite sort of understand what he was on, lasagne is Italian and he was absolutely flummoxed at that, that didn't ring true. So because it's on the telly and you grow up with it eventually you just take everything for granted as being your authentic food."  
(V3, 18-19)*

This extract reinforces the idea that authentic food is the food of the family, even if an individual does not understand the origins of that food. Then again 'origins' are not as simple as they might appear. Whilst lasagne might be considered to be an Italian dish, the origin of pasta is complicated; as Alexander (2000) discusses, did it come from China thanks to Marco Polo (probably not); from Sicily; from the Ostrogoths (who came from the Black Sea area); or the Etruscans (who lived in an area roughly equivalent to Tuscany, western Umbria, and northern Lazio)? The tomato is an iconic ingredient in Italian gastronomy, but did not arrive in Italy from the new world (via Spain) until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore where do we get our ideas of authentic Italian cuisine?

This gets to the centre of many of the arguments about the authenticity of food. An individual may make decisions about what they consider to be authentic or not, however, different groups of individuals may come together and make a joint decision, and other groups of groups may come together making a different decision resulting in a competition between various socially constructed understandings of what is authentic. As to which becomes the dominant paradigm this will depend on power; the power of the idea, the power of presence (promotion), the power of law, and financial power.

In terms of place there were some specific examples when the participants were eating out as I will show in the next section.

## 6.5 Eating out

I would now like to look in a little more detail at some very specific ideas of place in terms of eating out. I will develop this further when looking at the Other in Chapter 8. Here I am focusing on taste, whilst understanding that the whole experience of eating out is complex and nuanced (Ashley et al. 2004). Matt is thinking about his experience of eating out in Indian restaurants in the UK and he picks up on the ideas that I briefly discussed above in terms of the way that dishes have been changed to accommodate 'local' tastes,

**Matt:** *"But don't you think perceptions have changed because we look, curries then and curries now are, we've made curries British. The tandoori thing where we've made them that mellow colour and stuff like that so and really spicy, because we were talking about it at work today. People said what's the really, really strong curry, and it's the hot one and I said the Fahl. Apparently they wouldn't eat anything like that in India it would be a real no-no,"*

**Jeff:** *"Really?"*

**Matt:** *"And vindaloos,"*

**Samantha:** *"Totally different curry,"*

**Matt:** *"We've done that. So to me curry may have been authentic, but not in this country it ain't anymore."*

**Caroline:** *"The food you're getting in Chinese takeaways is not authentic because the Chinese don't eat that,"*

**Jeff:** *"It is tailored to us,"*

**Caroline:** *"It's completely different."*

**Matt:** *"And which oh, Chop Suey that's actually American isn't it, one of them isn't it Chop Suey,"*

**Samantha:** *"Chow Mein?"*

**Matt:** *"Chow Mein it's one of those isn't, isn't Chinese at all."*

**Sean:** *"So how would you know if it's authentic, do you, what's your point of reference? So you wouldn't be able to buy an authentic, so if we go to Dorchester and have a curry that's not going to be an authentic curry?"*

**Jeff:** *"Not really authentic, it's been adjusted to suit where the environment of the climate that it's in,"*

**Matt:** *"Um,"*

**Caroline:** *"Yes, to be authentic you have to be in India or somewhere where they make curries,"*

**Matt:** *"What about Italian food then? I know that's not as far east, but surely Italian food has got to be pretty close to what you would actually eat in Italy. I mean, used to live above that Italian restaurant (to Caroline) in Berlin,"*

**Caroline:** *"Yeah, yeah but that was run by Germans!"*

**Matt:** *"Yeah, yeah."*

**Caroline:** *"How authentic is that!"* [General laughter]. (V3, 10-12)

This extract refers again to the Anglicization of food mentioned previously. Some research has been done on this (James 1997, Panayi 2012; Warde 1994). Ono et al. (2012) showed that Italian football players considered the anglicized Italian food that they were served in Britain to be inauthentic. The dynamics of this phenomenon is charted by Panayi (2008) in the book *Spicing up Britain*. Participants often had very set ideas on the purity of authenticity. There is some

room for discussion about what is or is not authentic Chinese food. Chop suey was developed within the Chinese American community and is probably based on a nineteenth century dish *tsap seui* from Taishan, a county in Guangdong Province (Anderson and Anderson 1977; Andersdon 2003). It may be possible to replicate the authenticity of a particular national cuisine if it is closer to the UK geographically and therefore possibly culturally. The example used here is Italian cuisine.

In the third of the school focus groups there was a discussion about some of the anomalies of pursuing authentic cuisine in a potentially inauthentic setting,

**Juliet:** *"It's the same when they offer chips and sausages in a curry house,"*

General agreement around the table

**Juliet:** *"You go and someone orders that, oh no steak that it isn't it, steak and chips when you are in a curry house."*

**Roger:** *"When we lived in Manchester, they were fantastic Indian restaurants in Birmingham, really, really what I would think were excellent, and there were members of staff that would not go because they only ate English food."*

**Kate:** *"I have a friend who likes curry, but it has to be curry from the Chinese takeaway and not from the Indian takeaway and it's a yellowy thing and for me it isn't really an authentic curry at all."*

**Nina:** *"So that's a bit like my daughter, she loves her chips and unless I go to the chip shop, or make them at home, if I say we're going to the Chinese and I say like I will get you some chips from the Chinese as opposed to going anywhere else, she can't have those she won't eat the chips from the Chinese because they're not chips. But if she goes to the chip shop she will eat them."*

General laughter

**Juliet:** *"Actually I will order my chips from the Chinese."*  
(S3, 5-6)

This extract illustrates another example of conflicting elements causing dissonance. Here it is about obtaining the food of one culture in the restaurant of another. There is something about this that suggests that ideas of authenticity cannot be realized.

Just as some of the participants considered that their understandings of authentic food came from their families, sometimes this family food was not very tasty. Pete had an experience of food that for him was undoubtedly authentic, but certainly was not the best dining experience he had ever had in a restaurant in terms of a number of things,

**Pete:** *"It was quite interesting I went to Cyprus working and um in the military and we were up in the hills and three of us decided to go into this little cafe right up in the hills. There are only about five or six houses there and it was advertized you know, cafe taverna. So we went in for a meal and I think it was, the grandmother brought out some local red wine and it was a stopper in the top. And um this brigade commander, and the Brigadier, the chief of staff and myself, and this wine came out and all I'll say is the top half an inch was full of flies [lots of laughter] and we looked at this and, we'll always give something could go you know, but she opened it and she put the bottle on the table and we all looked at who's going to pour this wine first and obviously I was of the lowest rank,"*

**Jenny:** *"Did you get the short straw?"*

**Pete:** *"At the time, so it was all aiming towards me. And I looked at this old lady, and, and um I tried to ask for a filter of some description to get there. So I thought right okay I'll try and pour the flies out first, which invariably they don't come out,"*

**Jenny:** *"They're hanging in there."*

**Bill:** *"They slide to the bottom,"*

**Pete:** *"Yeah so there was no, is one or two of the top and as I was pouring the wine if somebody had the flies that was passed to me and then, you know, it was going on,"*

**Jenny:** *"Pass the flies,"*

**Pete:** *"The spillings were coming out, but that was authentic, [lots of laughter] and then they, um, I asked for a chicken, a local chicken kind of, I don't know, dish and we saw the young son run down the street. And I think that the chicken was killed there and then. Was brought up and out came this chicken and we were all debating how, you know, how long ago this chicken was still alive you know and just minutes you know and we thought this is right up in the hills. They never expected anybody to go to this restaurant cafe we turn up out of the blue and they are so thrilled they were killing everything, anything we asked for they would do."*

(Lots of laughter)

**Jenny:** *"It was so fresh you don't get much fresher than that."*

**Pete:** *"We didn't want to ask for anything else [more laughter] we didn't ask for pudding or anything like that we just didn't want to know what would be coming out next."*

(V2, 84-86)

Sometimes when confronted with the reality of authentic hospitality and food, the effects can be overwhelming. Herein lies a very important point; when individuals go in search of the authentic they may do so with a romanticized view, which is very much out of kilter with their own lives and potentially takes them on a journey that is



further than they want to go. This may make them uncomfortable. For some, it may be possible to dip in and out, thus minimising the shock. As Mura (2015, p. 225) explains in the context of Malaysian homestay holidays,

*“..... ‘authenticity-triggering’ experiences should not last for long periods of time as guests seem to be keen to compromise their comforts only for short periods of time.”*

This process of resting and travelling reminds me of the work of Todres and Galvin (2010) and their understanding of dwelling and mobility. They have applied their ideas to the health and social care sector, however, it is easy to see how being able to dwell in a particular situation and then move in order to be able to experience the opening horizon, with all its opportunities, and then to dwell in another situation, characterizes not only our life journeys, but the more specific journeys of someone such as a tourist. There is a second point here. Can the mere presence of outsiders change the nature of the experience to something else that it might not have been if it had just involved local people? What effect does this have on the nature of authenticity? This is akin to the observer effect in physics, where the presence of an observer affects the measurement of a phenomenon or the Hawthorne effect in sociology when individuals modify their behaviour in response to being aware that they are under observation (McCarney et al. 2007; O’Donnell 1992). This raises three questions. Does this happen? Secondly even if the experience is changed, is this still not an authentic experience in terms of an interaction between two groups of people and how is this accommodated? Finally, to what degree does it actually matter to the host and the guest? I will discuss this further in chapter 8.

## **6.6 Conclusions and reflections**

For some of the participants, cooking mattered, for some of them it did not; though overall it seemed to be a matter of priorities. Taste is a powerful thing. Something as simple as salt can create tensions; salt consumption is wrong, it is unhealthy, but when used by those who know, then it can become so good. Therefore what is the authentic way to proceed; as Heidegger (2007, p. 311) asks in *Being and Time*, how do we live an authentic life “in an impassioned freedom towards death.”? In a similar vein: how is this decision encapsulated in something as small as a grain of salt, or sand? (Blake 2000).

In order to make decisions, we need to understand what goes into our food and how these ingredients are combined to produce the end result. For some, this is the key to the very nature of authenticity: understanding the ingredients and understanding how these are combined in a particular dish. Underpinning this, the participants were still keen to look to their families as a point of reference for authenticity. These experiences tended to relate to mothers and grandmothers when thinking about food and cooking and there were particular memories of taste. For many this seemed to be where authenticity comes from. They talked about specific dishes; seaweed, custard, cream and puddings. There were references to taste and to feelings of comfort and security. Now some of these reflections need to be set against ideas of calories and weight gain. There is possibly a longing for the security of childhood in these puddings and also when they think back to grandparents and gathering seaweed from the beach, for simpler times before the industrialisation of the food chain. This idea of authenticity is all contained within a mouthful of laver or clotted cream. Having said this, things change. There are new ideas and new pressures and tastes are changing as we move from nuclear families and communities to a globalized world of fusion. With this there seems to be a loss of innocence; the innocence that is perceived to be lost when a child hooks the brains out of a rabbit's skull and eats them because they are tasty. There are new ideas about health. There are new ideas about what is good to eat, and what is right to eat. There are new tastes, though some of the tastes of the authentic past were not necessarily good and some of the food was awful and embarrassing.

When asking people about their experiences I was, in effect, asking them for their memories. Often these memories were of childhood, and memory is a complex phenomenon. It can be viewed in many different ways. Firstly there is the science of memory, how do humans encode, store, retrieve and manipulate information, which is within the realms of neuroscience (Bear et al. 2006). Then there is a more psychological/social view of memory that looks at how we construct our memories within the context of our lives. This mirrors the ideas of constructivism and social construction in that there are so called individual components that are labelled autobiographical and are made up of specific experiences (episodic) and more semantic, or general, memories of the world (Williams et al. 2008). Then there are collective memories that represent the shared memories of a group, a concept originally developed by Halbwachs (1992). Collective memory can be viewed in a number of ways (public, cultural, social), but this seems to be more about how the subject is approached rather than a fundamental difference of meaning (Scwartz

2010; French 1995). These two areas (the individual and the collective) come together to create memories, something that, upon reflection is seemingly simple, but at the same time the actual act of remembering is seemingly impossible, as Muller-Funk (2003, 207) maintains,

*“... all forms of memory are explicitly or implicitly based on retrospective narratives that seek to cross the unbridgeable gap between the time of narrating and the time of the events that will be narrated. If memory and reminding are key issues for understanding the concept of the self, every identity produces the impossible: bridging the gap between the act of reminding and the reminded events, feelings and impressions.”*

The participants had vivid memories, and other authors have found similarly vibrant connections between food and memory. Mintz and Du Bois (2002) highlight the importance of food studies in illuminating the broader social construction of memory. Lupton (1994) showed the importance of memory in developing food habits and health in later life. Holtzman (2006) and Sutton (2000, 2001) highlighted the importance of food memories in sustaining ethnic identity and the identity of expatriate communities. They both highlighted the sensuous and embodied nature of food and memory, which emerged in this study. Holtzman (2006) considered that this paralleled ideas such as Connerton's (1989) understandings of bodily memory, Stoller's (1995) embodied memories, and Bourdieu's (1977) habitus. Bourdieu's ideas of habitus and field (Grenfell 2012) could be extended to take into consideration ideas of constructivism and constructionism, the individual and society, the inside and the outside. Concerning food and memory, the most complete and authoritative academic account was *Remembrance of Repasts* by Sutton (2001). Sutton approaches food and memory from ritual and everyday, gift and commodity, sense and construction of worlds, meals and the process of cooking. The participants' accounts resonate, but at times are entangled and it would be good to unpick such terms as nostalgia, tradition and authenticity further.

In literature there are classic invocations of the memory of food. In an article focusing on *Toast*, the autobiography of Nigel Slater, Fort (2003) highlights the work of Apuleius, Arcestratus, Trilling, Leibling, Reichl, and Fisher, though possibly the most evocative example is Proust (1927, p. 48) and the effect of tea and madeleines,

*“Many years had elapsed during which nothing of Combray, save what was comprised in the theatre and the drama of my going to bed there, had any existence for me, when one day in winter, on my return home, my mother,*

*seeing that I was cold, offered me some tea, a thing I did not ordinarily take. I declined at first, and then, for no particular reason, changed my mind. She sent for one of those squat, plump little cakes called "petites madeleines," which look as though they had been moulded in the fluted valve of a scallop shell. And soon, mechanically, dispirited after a dreary day with the prospect of a depressing morrow, I raised to my lips a spoonful of the tea in which I had soaked a morsel of the cake. No sooner had the warm liquid mixed with the crumbs touched my palate than a shudder ran through me and I stopped, intent upon the extraordinary thing that was happening to me. An exquisite pleasure had invaded my senses, something isolated, detached, with no suggestion of its origin. And at once the vicissitudes of life had become indifferent to me, its disasters innocuous, its brevity illusory - this new sensation having had on me the effect which love has of filling me with a precious essence; or rather this essence was not in me it was me."*

Proust does not say that it was the taste or the smell that caused a bodily rush of memory. It is the sense of smell that actually forms much of our sense of taste and smell is particularly evocative in terms of memory (FERNYHOUGH 2013; TOFFOLOA ET AL. 2012; SUTTON 2014). Possibly, it is so evocative because of the close proximity of the olfactory centres and the amygdala and the hippocampus brain regions that control emotion and memory (TOFFOLOA ET AL. 2012). The bodily reaction that Proust describes is something that fits in well with the philosophical understanding of the world put forward by Gendlin (1992), where experience of life is a bodily experience. In terms of understanding the nature of authenticity, then potentially, this part of the structure that relates to cooking has a particular resonance that is reflected in a bodily understanding of what is authentic food; something based on a bodily connection to time, place, food and people.

Having discussed Saucing: cooking and flavour I would now like to look at Sourcing: where does the food come from?

## Chapter 7 Sourcing: where does the food come from?

### 7.1 Introduction

**Clare:** *“The most important bit of authentic food is the raw ingredients; it's not what you make out of it.”*  
(S1, 7)

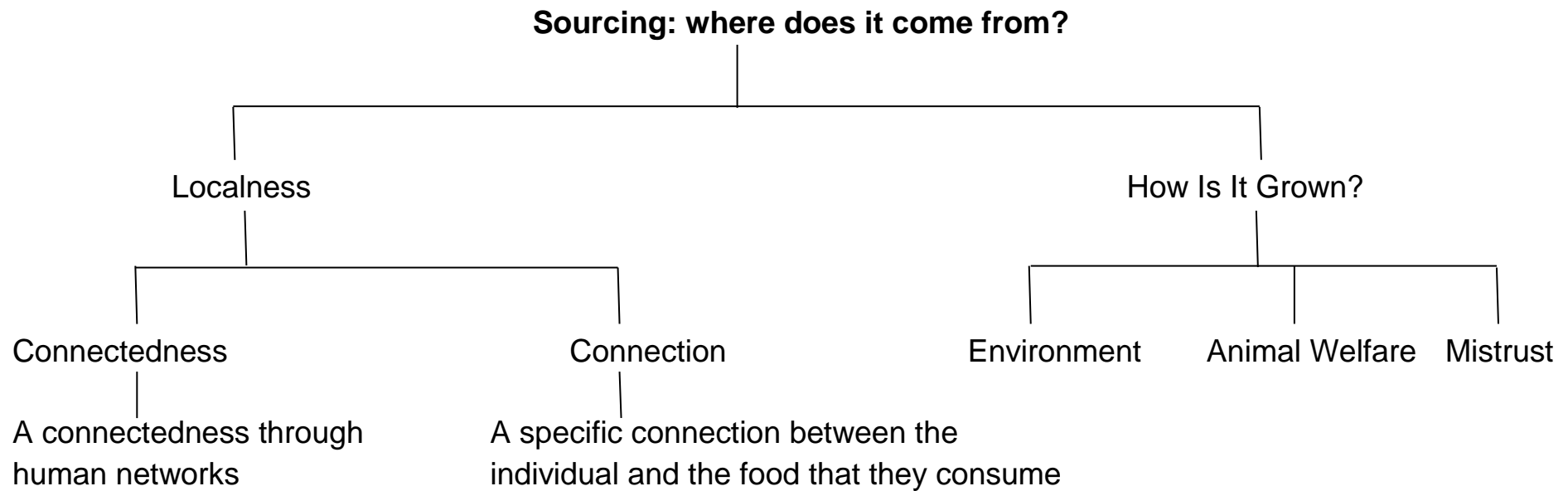
The participants were keen to talk about how ingredients were obtained for meals. Whilst this was consistently important for many, varying aspects were stressed. For some participants, localness was very important and this was often tied up with ideas of connectedness to friends and family and other networks as well as a direct connection to the food itself. For others, ideas of the actual way in which food was produced, in terms of animal welfare or the environment, were important.

The idea of localness had two specific dimensions. The first related to levels of *connectedness*: by this I mean interpersonal networks. This was particularly the case for people from rural areas who seemed to have quite highly developed networks and were also interested in finding out how other participants might fit into them, thus also providing a context for the others round the table. The starting point for this might be obtaining lamb, but the end point might be a detailed discussion of family, butchers shops or markets. Aspects of the authenticity of food were embedded in this network. At times, naming the link added to the validity, ‘it was my cousin’s boy’s lamb therefore it was good’. I call the second dimension *connection*, which concerns the specific connection of the individual to the food that they consume. The primary example of this is when people produce their own food; grow their own vegetables, rear and kill their own livestock. Health was another example in that the diet that we consume directly affects our health. The cost of food was also an important consideration; could they buy authenticity, were people of certain classes (though the participants were talking primarily about wealth) able to buy authentic food because of wealth?

The way in which food was/is grown/produced was one of the concerns discussed. Much of this related to the environment and animal welfare. Food production that compromised these could be considered inauthentic; although some participants were not concerned, either because they simply did not care or were not aware. Many were aware and it was a concern, but they had conflicting priorities.

Underlying all this were worries about trust. There was an underlying suspicion that potentially all was not what it seemed. The following figure (6.1) sets out this structure.

**Figure 7.1: The third part of the structure of perceptions of authenticity:**



## 7.2. Localness

In this discussion of localness I will be referring to two ideas: *connectedness* and *connection*. Connectedness refers to the interpersonal networks that connect people to the food they eat. I have looked at this under three headings: milk, butchers and meat, and markets. I am using the word connection to indicate ways in which participants indicated a close link to the food itself, in this case, through growing it themselves, or ideas of seasonality, health and cost. It is important here to make a distinction in the literature review I discussed aspects of localness. In this discussion localness is to do with a personal connection to those who produce the food or the food itself, not the fact that the food was produced locally (which was the main thrust of the discussion in the literature review), but a direct connection to the food in terms of its production. This was not a strong theme in the literature. Groves (2001) mentions extrinsic attributes, Robinson and Clifford (2012) talk about provenance and personal connection citing a number of authors, but for the participants in the focus groups it was important. In many ways reflects some of the discussion of tourism researchers such as Smith (1977) and Cohen (1988a, 1989, 2001, 2007) about the relationship between the tourist and the host, except in this instance, the relationship is specifically mediated by food. Firstly I would like to look at connectedness.

### 7.2.1 Connectedness

Ideas of connectedness are summarized within this quotation from Deborah in the third school focus group,

**Deborah:** *I think that there is also a healthy element to the feel good element. We get an organic veg bag from Salting St Margaret. There is a small holding up there that a couple run, and because we don't have the time or the inclination to have an allotment though I grow tomatoes. And we just find it really depressing getting stuff from Tesco's, which is all wrapped up from anywhere in the world. So we have made a financial commitment to get a bag from this couple and so after school, from now on we get the bag, and I feel it's very local and it's something we can do. It's not quite growing my own, but it is supporting a local couple who are trying to do the right thing.*  
(S3, 7)

Connectedness refers to links to the food via interpersonal networks and this is illustrated in the extract above. Authenticity comes from the connectedness of the participant to the supplier. By committing herself, Deborah gains two things: firstly



the tangible benefit of organic vegetables in terms of a perception that they are better for health and secondly she supports a small local business, something that contributes to her ideas of self-image and self-worth. Such benefits are far less tangible, but are still important. As discussed in chapter 1, organic production involves producing food with minimal artificial inputs, in terms of fertilizers, for example. This represents authenticity in regard to the food and also to the relationship with those who produce the food; things which many people think are lacking in our modern food supply chains/systems. When looking at the broader literature, it is often the production of organic food and the local food movement where research on personal connection is most important (See Jarosz, 2000; Lockie and Kitto 2000; Selfa and Qazi 2005; Seyfang, 2006, and Qazi and Selfa 2005 for example). Other participants discussed this sort of connection for different types of food that was not organic, however, it is interesting that broader discussion of organic food was minimal. I will now examine the specific example of milk.

### **Local milk**

Brian, Michael and Kate discuss milk,

**Brian:** *“When they moved up there they had two Jersey house cows and for some reason they both calved down together.”*

**Michael:** *“Really.”*

**Kate:** *“I don’t remember those.”*

**Brian:** *“Of course they couldn’t sort of sell the milk they weren’t allowed to do that. And they used to come down with ice cream cartons full of this really thick creamy milk. Remember, you pour it on your cornflakes and you could pick up one sort of cornflake and they were that sticky that they would all come up.”*

**Kate:** *“Oohh.”*

**Brian:** *“And we used to have two or three helpings of that.”*  
(V1, 28-29)

This extract indicates how authenticity is vested in the memories of this product in terms of how it was produced, the nature of the product and the personal connection to the product and the producers. Again there is the historical reference, to a better time. The Jersey is a specific breed of cow famed for its rich milk (5.18% butterfat as opposed to 3.75% butterfat in milk from a Holstein cow, which is the commonly seen black-and-white breed: Halley 1982). Jersey cows and small-scale farmers are not seen as much as they were (Defra 2015e). Having said this, there

were problems a few years later when supermarkets were selling this particular type of milk as a speciality and Brian tried it,

**Brian:** *“And I know I tried some, a couple of years ago, I don't know whether it was Tesco, Asda whenever they were at they were actually selling bottled Jersey milk.”*

**John:** *“That's right.”*

**Brian:** *“I thought I'll try some of that it's years since I had any. I tell you what within half an hour I was in the toilet.”*

**Michael:** *“Were you?”*

**Brian:** *“Yeah.”*

**Kate:** *“Yeah.”*

**Brian:** *“And Bill up there he bought some, and he had Guernseys all his life for 60 years some more. And he, I said to know about it, and he said “it's funny you say that” he had tried some and e couldn't get on with it anymore.”*

**John:** *“You see the point is, is it laced with antibiotics and things like that?”*

**Brian:** *“Very true, you don't know that do you.”*

**David:** *“You don't know.”*

**John:** *“I mean to say, they stuff this stuff into cows or in cattle all the lot.”*

**Kate:** *“Um, um.”*

**John:** *“So it's not authentic food by any means is it.”  
(V1, 31-32)*

This extract illustrates changes over time; the supermarket milk is not the milk they remember and lacks authenticity. It may well be that both Brian and Bill had changed during this time, becoming less tolerant to dairy products. It may also be that the milk has changed. This was milk from Guernsey not Jersey cows. The Guernsey is a breed originating in the Channel Islands along with the Jersey and produces similar, though not quite as rich – 4.63% butterfat – milk as the Jersey (Halley 1982). Certainly the milk from the supermarket would have been pasteurized, their home produced milk would not have been. It is also standard practice in modern dairies to skim the milk and then add back milk solids such as butterfat and protein. This may affect the milk and its digestibility (although with this branded channel island milk I do not think that it goes through this process). John's assertion that it might be different because it is contaminated with antibiotics or other chemicals is possibly correct, though there are strict controls with regards to

their use and withdrawal periods before the milk can be used for human consumption. With organic production these withdrawal periods are longer though this varies depending on the certifying body, from twice as long (Organic Farmers and Growers 2014) to two or three times as long (Soil Association 2014b). When Brian and John were young, there would not have been widespread use of antibiotics and John considers that milk produced using antibiotics cannot be authentic; the natural product of the past is contaminated by modern practices. Finally milk, that is consumed now, is purchased in cartons from faceless supermarkets. There is no longer the connectedness. When David and his now wife Vicky were young, they used to go to pick the milk up direct from the farm. This is a statement that reflects a very strong connection with the product and its producers,

**David:** *"I used to go down with Vicky, Sundays when we were courting and get the milk, Sunday afternoon, walked down there with the can."*

**Brian:** *"So you go back there in them days, what would they have had, 40 acres they would have made a good living off of that. They sold their eggs there and everything you know, but Will sort of reach retirement age when it wodn't worth milking 35 cows you know, and he said, I'm lucky he said that I've just reached the age where I can retire, because there wasn't any money in it anymore."*

**Kate:** *"So Peter, Tom's brother, that was your cousin?"*

**Brian:** *"Yes that's Steve's sister's boy."*

**Kate:** *"Right, because she lives there."*

**Brian:** *"Yes that's right."*

**Kate:** *"Yes I remember because I've got a friend that used to play with her, but I don't know what her surname was I can't remember I just knew is Julie. Julie Ford surely, you've met Julie."*

(V1, 54-55)

This illustrates the importance of connectedness to the producer of the food and connectedness in general for the participants. Historically there were many small dairy farms. Rising costs and falling prices have meant that enterprises such as these have largely gone out of business and more and more milk is produced by large herds of cattle that are part of an increasingly industrialized food chain where costs are externalized and power consolidated (Lang 2005). This development is not new (Beer 2001a) and has implications for animal welfare, human health, food security, the environment, the economy and broader society, both urban and rural. The retail industry seems to view this process of consolidation as a positive way of

restructuring the industry (Rowe 2015). Brian laments the loss of the small farms and the rise of faceless industrial agriculture, indicating a longing for a time past that can never be re-captured. At the end of this exchange, the discussion moves to very specific information about various networks of friends and family associated with farming. This exemplifies not only the embedded nature of this experience, but the importance of demonstrating where an individual fits in and understanding the place of others. There was also interest in meat.

### **Local butchers and local meat**

The tendency of looking backwards and looking forwards, which emerged from across the focus groups, also appeared with regard to the subject of butchers and meat. It was interesting that the participants tended to talk about meat more than vegetables and certainly more than fruit. I am not sure why meat seemed to resonate more; possibly because it was more symbolic or more expensive. The participants in one of the village groups had very particular ideas about butchers, butchers that knew what they were doing,

**Brian:** *".....and if you ask for a couple of pork chops he will bring half pig out and ask how you want them?.. Even a load of sawdust on the floor."*  
(V1, 3 4)

Brian asks for something small and his expectations are overwhelmed in terms of the amount of meat, personal service, the skill of the butcher, which are all signs of authenticity. In addition, there are physical signs (the sawdust on the floor is to absorb any blood or water), which are in marked contrast to the modern industrial approach where meat is no longer recognizable as being part of an animal. For many, meat comes on an anonymous plastic tray in a supermarket with no real butchers. These comments hark back again to a time in the past that is lost, or only available in certain places from certain people. Brian and David had strong connections with where their meat came from,

**Brian:** *"I'd just like to think that it come from just up the road not that it makes any difference. I think the lamb, the last one I had, come from, no it didn't it come from um Trevor's boy, you know what's his name,"*

**David:** *"John."*

**Brian:** *"Where he worked, tis very tasty. The tastiest lamb that I ever had was from The Farm Shop, and that come from Hill Lamb, down the other side of Bridport Way."*

**Sean:** *"Ah yes, Hill Lamb, Peter Gordon."*

**Brian:** *"And I have to admit that was by far the best that I had ever had. Mind you that was shocking, the price. When I was paying about £40 for a whole lamb, laughter, that was £50 for half a lamb."*

**Kate:** *"Mmm."*

**David:** *"About double the price then."*

**Brian:** *"I did have a bit of a shock with it."*

**Kate:** *"I mean they've got sheep down the farm at Hall's now, haven't they. So I wonder whether, where all that goes?"*

**Brian:** *"Sorry?"*

**Kate:** *"The sheep that now they've got up at Hall's, the Home Farm."*

**Brian:** *"Yeah I don't know what,"*

**Kate:** *"What they do with those."*

**David:** *"They go to market I think don't they."*

**Michael:** *"Yeah."*

**Brian:** *"The thing is it's too much hassle for a lot of them to do that."*

**Michael:** *"Butcher your own?"*

**Kate:** *"Mmm."*

**Michael:** *"Yeah it would be wouldn't it. Can you imagine him down there butchering lamb? [Laughter] oh dear."*

**Brian:** *"A friend of mine used to do beef like that. And we always had beef off of him, but he stopped doing it now. He said the trouble is most of the people who buy it off of him are sort of a friend, he had to deliver it, he didn't like to charge really what he,"*

**Kate:** *"No."*

**Brian:** *"And he said in the end there he just stopped doing it. Which is a shame because I don't know where to get beef from now."*

**David:** *"I know when Fred Thomas used to buy them at market and that he had to have them slaughtered, it was dearer to have them slaughtered than it was the rest of it. It was a colossal price to slaughter it, and cutting up."*

**Brian:** *"Yea that is expensive."*

**David:** *"Yes, it's a lot of the trouble. Used to take it to Yetminster and get it slaughtered and."*

**Kate:** *"Yes and we haven't got as many slaughterhouses now have we."*

**David:** *"No, no."*

**Kate:** *"Where's the nearest one round here then?"*

**David:** *"Bridport I expect."  
(V1, 15)*

This extract shows that the participants want to consume food that they are connected to, that is local, that is produced by people they know. For them this is authentic. There is, however, a problem, and that is cost. It will cost up to twice as much compared with buying meat in the supermarket. This is important, as I will discuss later in this chapter. In some ways this higher cost is counter intuitive. If food is bought direct from the producer, it should cost less, as the middleman is removed. Unfortunately this is not necessarily the case as supermarket supply chains are built on economies of scale, through a process of consolidation (Beer 2001a). Local supply chains involve small numbers of animals, which cannot dilute the fixed costs in the way that large numbers do. One of the founding principles of local food systems is adding value (Hinrichs 2000; Morris and Buller 2003). My observation is that, particularly in British local food systems compared to systems in the United States, the short chain is less about cutting out middlemen and more about the intangible added value of the local product. An example of this intangible added value is connectedness. Also there was at least one person whom the participants knew, that they did not feel would be capable of doing a decent job in terms of butchering and retailing his own meat. Or possibly they just did not want him handling their food? So the relationship has to be the right type of relationship; they must like and trust the person. At one time this intimacy with food production was very intimate. Kate was sure that one of the houses in her village had once been a slaughterhouse,

**Kate:** *"I know what I was going to say, you know you said about the butchers, Jennie Pinkum's could've been a butcher's years ago, because you know it's called The Shambles."*

**Brian:** *"Yeah."*

**Kate:** *"And that's a play on words, because dambles were butchers shops, weren't they so, but that's why she used that word, because it was a play on words, because it was in a shambles, but it was a butchers previously. So whether they slaughtered them there? I think she said there were lots of bones and things in the garden."  
(V1, 93)*

Most people are very distant from the slaughter of their animals, though having a slaughter house next door did not seem to upset Kate, however, it was the collective memory of a slaughterhouse, and not a personal memory. Actually having a

slaughter house next door would have been different, given Kate's reaction to the fat on the clothes line, as well as her reaction to killing animals, as will be seen later. Buying food through markets gave rise to feelings of connectedness and I will discuss these in the next section.

### **Markets: super and farmers**

As indicated above, participants' ideas of authenticity were closely linked to personal connectedness to those who supplied their food. There is a general suspicion of supermarkets, which are perceived as being an entity in themselves, but faceless. Obtaining food from the supermarket can be fraught with difficulty as Caroline says,

**Caroline:** *"I certainly don't trust the supermarkets,"*

**Matt:** *"No,"*

**Samantha:** *"No,"*  
(V3, 19)

**Sean:** *"Why don't you trust the supermarkets Caroline?"*

**Caroline:** *"Um because they're, they're selling you an idea sort of saying, you know this was grown in the countryside or something and leading you to believe that something is being grown in this country when it possibly hasn't. Um I'm just trying to think of an example,"*

**Matt:** *"All right when they give, this is a farmhouse cottage loaf,"*

**Caroline:** *"And you know darn well that it hasn't been baked in a farmhouse cottage, it's been baked in some factory somewhere,"*

**Matt:** *"And people go if it's made in a farmhouse, it's good enough,"*

**Caroline:** *"Therefore it must be natural and healthy, good for you."*  
(V3, 19-20)

This discussion illustrates that participants did not believe claims to authenticity that were made by large retailers. They considered that they misused symbols of authenticity to generate false ideas of provenance. In this Caroline and Matt are supported by the celebrity chef Heston Blumenthal who maintained that,

*"It's dishonest sticking a beautiful image of a country house on a packet of meat when animals were produced in a battery farm. That's just wrong. A lot of people have a very remote relationship with how the food they eat is produced." (Connan 2015, 32).*

In this same article (ibid, 32), he maintained that “*organic is a con*” and that “*there is a big transparency issue with supermarkets.*” These comments are particularly interesting given that Blumenthal is a famous supermarket consultant with a line of branded products. Pete was also concerned about provenance,

**Pete:** “*These olives, looks like coffee grounds and it's all on the cement floor and if you could imagine used coffee granules that is as high as this (pointing to the ceiling). And it's picked up by a dumper truck, you know with a bucket, a big bucket picked up and then put into this vat, and then, and then that's the oil that we get in the supermarkets.*”  
(V2, 57)

This shows a lack of trust based on the experience of seeing food produced. Overall there is a distrust based on the messages they are using to sell their produce, the way in which some of this produce is produced, the taste of the food and the way that supermarkets have changed the marketplace and affected small businesses. This shows that the participants were, at best, suspicious of their authenticity and the authenticity of their food. These would represent some of the broad range of criticisms that have been levied at the supermarkets over the years (Richards et al. 2011) particularly when compared to family retailers (Orth and Green 2009), though it is not only the retailers that create suspicion, but the food supply chain as a whole. Developments in e-commerce are not likely to create more trust (Roussos and Moussouri, 2004). Richards et al. (2011) highlight three ways in which supermarkets seek to construct trust through,

(i) reputational enhancement, though the institution of “behind the scenes,” business-to-business private standards;

(ii) direct quality claims via private standard certification badges on food products;

(iii) discursive claims made through symbolic representations of “authenticity” and “tradition.” Drawing upon the food governance literature and a “visual sociology” of supermarkets and supermarket produce.

Caroline and Matt’s comments would seem to recognize these techniques for what they are and far from engendering trust they do the opposite.



Some of this criticism is unfair as consumers have taken the benefits associated with the consolidation of the food supply chain, such as reduced prices, without complaint. They have, in effect, moved their demand from small businesses to the supermarkets. Most of the food they consume is from the supermarket. So what does this say about them? I think that supermarkets have realized that consumers are sceptical about their authenticity and are therefore taking steps to address this through marketing. The 2014/2015 Lidl television marketing campaign (Lidl 2015) featured a farmers' market setting selling Lidl products with sub titles indicating *"Just real people, telling it like it really is."* Food processors are involved in similar marketing approaches such as the Heinz Farmers' Market Soup range (Heinz 2015). Possibly there is also a sneaking suspicion, on the part of participants, that some of it is quite good,

**Brian:** *"But I know Caroline was saying that, she was in Blandford the supermarket, she said she would quite happily buy any meat from in there she said it looked very good and tasted very good. You know, that's probably one of the snags today it's nearly just as good."* (V1, 12-13)

This observation indicates that some experts (Caroline runs a farm shop) consider that some of the food is actually quite good (though is not necessarily authentic) and this poses a threat to the small retailer. In fact Sue, who likes to cook *"everything from scratch"*, can't praise one supermarket enough,

**Sue:** *"I don't think that's true, I went to Turnmill, to meet somebody and I went to Tesco's believe it or not, and bought a korma and it was amazing, an amazing korma. They have a whole section of local food."*

**Richard:** *"With basmati Rice?"*

**Sue:** *"They had some really good stuff and I was really impressed. It's a big Tesco's, not massive, but in the corner was Polish, Chinese and Indian you could buy gram flour all sorts of things that you would find really difficult to get round and about."*  
(S2, 27-28)

Supermarkets can produce food that tastes good, but there are still lingering doubts going back to earlier comments from Caroline on marketing, leading on to ideas of provenance,

**Clare:** *"Start with raw materials."*

**Pete:** *"The raw materials. You were using mushrooms, chinos all the old traditional way of catering, but for me the authenticity of food originates really from its source because today you can get British pork which is*

*actually, grown in Rumania, yeah, transported over here killed and slaughtered and packaged and it will be British pork.”*  
(V2, 4-5)

Again we end up in a dynamic tension. Provenance (knowing where the food comes from and how it is produced) is important for some people. It seems to become particularly important when things go wrong. A very good example of this is the UK horsemeat scandal of 2013 where beef products sold in UK supermarkets were found to be contaminated with horsemeat. A review of this is to be found in the Elliot Report (Elliot 2014) as well as the government response to it (Defra 2014). The immediate reaction was for consumers to look for beef with a strong provenance, and for the supermarkets to look to supply this with home produced beef. This commitment is, however, more expensive and 12 months later when ‘horsegate’ was long forgotten, in consumer’s minds, they had gravitated back to cheaper products sourced by UK supermarkets from outside the UK. This led to, but was not the only cause of, a catastrophic slump in the home beef market (Beer 2014). Pete considers that supermarkets offer extensive choice. Also as far as Pete is concerned the consolidation of the food chain will continue to evolve; we have no choice,

**Pete:** *“And we go to supermarkets and we have to accept the number of supermarkets in a town, you know it's something that, it's a creep. It's a creeping thing that, ah comes upon you, um and you're aware of it, but actually sometimes you feel that you can't do much about it.”*

**Clare:** *“So you think if people are just getting food that um looks and tastes good that they're not particularly bothered how it's achieved? Or worried about it?”*

**Pete:** *“I think there are two parties to it. I think if you, you have to look at it from the corporate point of view and say that um managing the customer's expectations in advertising, so your advertising a ready meal. If you have a student and he can buy two ready meals for five pounds and actually goes to McDonald's and buys that burger for five pounds, as he's getting two meals, he perceives it to be, I don't know like shepherd's pie or something and it's a wholesome meal because his mother used to make shepherd's pie. But is there anyone actually to contradict that, that meal is not full of the goodness that he or they are perceiving it to be.”*

**Fred:** *“Don't we come from this green and pleasant land I mean it's,”*

**Sean:** *“Is it authentic?”*

**Pete:** *“No it's not. It's authentic it's perception, it's managing customer's expectations. There is a market for ready meals, there is a market for unadulterated meals.”*  
(V2, 68-69)

So there is a tension. On the one hand, the participants do not seem to like, or are suspicious of, the food supplied by supermarkets and in theory prefer other ways of getting their ingredients, however, they are increasingly using supermarkets and consuming their products. Even the ready-made meals are sometimes good and at the back of this is an economic demand that responds in a classical way to price. The food that is sold through supermarkets is not authentic, though there is a market for authentic food. As far as Pete is concerned, food retailing is all about managing customers' perceptions.

If supermarkets are not looked on favourably, in terms of authenticity, farmers' markets may be seen in a better light,

**Natalie:** *"Yes we are. I think that it [authenticity] is both those for me. I think that tradition for me is locked into it, but it is about, yes, local produce as well."*

**Sean:** *"And who tells you what's local produce?"*

Laughter

**Natalie:** *"Good question."*

**Mary:** *"We know the local people that sell cheese, and its produced locally. I also think it's the farmer's markets."*

**Mandy:** *"Yes the farmer's markets. They are local aren't they?"*

**Tracy:** *"Farmer's markets yes."*

**Sean:** *"What would you define as local then at the farmer's markets, how far, how many miles do you think the guys travel?"*

**Tracy:** *"Those guys?"*

**Natalie:** *"20?"*

**Tracy:** *"Though we are very close to some borders here aren't we? Somerset, that's not local."*

**Natalie:** *"Yes, exactly."*

*General agreement.*

**Clare:** *"There is a farmers market on Wednesday, but it's so tiny though. They make takeaway meals there as well."*

**Tracy:** *"Do they? My gosh."*

(S1, 19-21)

As discussed in Beer et al. (2012), farmers' markets in the UK developed in the late 1980s, as a form of direct supply (Festing 1998). In theory this supply arose from local farmers facing poor prices and local consumers looking for a greater connection with their food and how it is produced. Indeed farmers' markets should be able to provide a range of the elements that I expected might come into play when the participants considered authentic food (Joseph et al. 2013; Smithers and Joseph 2010). However, their discussion of farmers' markets was minimal. Whilst authenticity might be the idea behind the farmers market, the 'reality' of their operation is much more complicated. As illustrated above, there are problems of definition in terms of what is local and in addition what food they should be selling. What is initially a seemingly simple idea is a complicated social construction, one that carries a certain level of authority because of the farmers' market system, but one that is open to challenge. Joseph et al. (2013) highlight some of these concerns about local provenance and attribute them to the later success of the markets and a temptation to overstate things at times. As someone who was involved in these markets early on, these problems were always there. Having discussed ideas of connectedness I would like to move on to connection.

### **7.2.2 Connection**

If connectedness involves human networks related to food, then connection is something more intimate/direct and concerns the specific connection of the individual to the food they consume. I have already talked about connection through cooking and taste, but this is different. This relates to ideas about things that connect the food itself directly to the consumer, and I will look at this by focussing on ideas of individuals growing their own food, health, and cost, in terms of money and time.

#### **'Growing your own'**

From the third school group Mike had led two lives,

**Mike:** *"So we have a veg patch and in my first marriage we never did. All those kinds of things has had a huge effect and we want our kids to, do you know, think very carefully about what they're eating."*  
(S3, 3)

Food that individuals grow is authentic. This link to authenticity relates to values, which can change over time and in different circumstances. However, having an allotment is not necessarily simple,

**Pete:** [directed at Fred] *“Do you still have one [an allotment]?”*

**Fred:** *“Before we moved here we had one. We used to grow some really good stuff with it, but like everything else it's time.”*

**Clare:** *“Yes, but you say that I mean my dad would used to work long shifts on, I mean he worked shifts of the railway. I mean yeah, your dad did as well, he still managed to maintain an allotment and the garden that we had at home.”*

**Bill:** *“He didn't have a TV,”*

**Fred:** *“He didn't also have to drive 100 miles to work,”*

**Clare:** *“No he used to have to get on the bike. Having said that he did used to bike quite a long way every day, but I don't know.”*  
(V2, 33)

There are two arguments here. The first is that growing food is a positive thing to do, but time is needed. The second –and there is a little tension here- is that the world today is very different now compared to how it was in the past. How we embrace that difference depends on our priorities. The topic of individuals growing their own food would seem to be a rich area for research, however, I would tend to agree with Church et al. (2015, p.71) in that,

*“Growing food for personal and family consumption is a significant global activity, but one that has received insufficient academic attention, particularly in developed countries.”*

There is a little more research relating to community gardening, but much of this relates to the social dynamics, rather than the food itself. However, there is interest in food security and health benefits (Austin et al. 2006; Church et al. 2015; Okyat and Zautra 2011; Troy et al. 2005; Twiss et al. 2003; Wakefield et al. 2007) and Okyat and Zautra (2011) discuss Berry (1988) and the concept of *Earth community* where connections are made with other species and the earth itself.

Keeping animals is a little different as there is a different relationship with an animal than a vegetable. In the western world, fed by a largely industrialized food chain, people have fairly limited interaction with the food they consume; certainly few people kill the animals that they eat. Our relationship with animals is complicated as these extracts show,

**Kate:** *“Well we had geese, I can remember, we were townies, and well my mother was brought up in the country really. She saw these goslings for sale and thought that would be a nice idea, but we lived right in Leamington Spa, and they were disgusting. They were noisy, they were vicious, they were in the garden, you slipped on the step every time you went out at the back [general laughter] and then it came, and when it came to Christmas my father can't even cut the head off a kipper, he just can't do anything like that, and so we had to go out while somebody else came in, a friend of his, from work kill them. We came back and plucked them, and of course mother couldn't cook anyway.”*  
(V1, 18-19)

If an individual produces their own meat, this results in authentic meat, but this is very different from growing a vegetable. Animals are alive in a way that a vegetable is not. They move, they react, they defecate and they will fight to preserve their life. It has to be born in mind that some pigs had a very intimate relationship with the family. In Victorian England some pigs slept under their owners beds (Freeman 1989). This has to be overcome. They have to be subdued and killed. They have to bleed in order to be eaten. Brian also has concerns,

**Brian:** *“Bill had a calf up there, I think he had to bottle-feed it for a bit”*

**Kate:** *“Ahh”*

**Brian:** *“And it got a bit like that, if he was pushing a wheelbarrow it would come up behind him and give him a push and the plan was they would kill that, but how can you? The worst thing that you can do is give them a name isn't it. Once they've got a name you can't eat them.”*  
(V1, 17)

Giving an animal a name changes the relationship between the animal and the human. Naming something implies definition, a relationship, humanization. Removing a name does the opposite. This was one of the first things that the Nazis did to people as they entered the Concentration Camps. As Primo Levy (1991, p.1) says in *If this is a man*,

***If This Is a Man***

You who live safe  
In your warm houses,  
You who find, returning in the evening,  
Hot food and friendly faces:  
    Consider if this is a man  
    Who works in the mud,  
    Who does not know peace,  
    Who fights for a scrap of bread,  
    Who dies because of a yes or a no.  
Consider if this is a woman  
Without hair and without name,

With no more strength to remember,  
Her eyes empty and her womb cold  
Like a frog in winter.  
Meditate that this came about:  
I commend these words to you.  
Carve them in your hearts  
At home, in the street,  
Going to bed, rising;  
Repeat them to your children.  
Or may your house fall apart,  
May illness impede you,  
May your children turn their faces from you.

Levy was writing about the treatment of people as *Untermenschen* or "sub-human", removing their names was one of the things done to remove their humanity, returning a name helps restore it. Giving an animal a name humanizes it. There are those who associate animal slaughter with the Holocaust, for example Coetzee (2007), Kupfer-Koberwitz (2015), and Patterson (2002). Such views are controversial. There must also be questions of equivalence; what right have we to kill animals and eat them? There is good evidence to suggest, from simple dentition for example, that human beings evolved to eat meat. There is also an argument in that as we evolved and became more 'civilized', we were in the position to develop a new understanding of other living things around us and were able to recognize the sentience (the ability to subjectively feel, perceive or experience) of animals. This is not a new debate; the Jainist sage Mahavira called for vegetarianism 2,500 years ago (Jaini 2013). More recently Singer (1995) and Regan (2004) have articulated the need to liberate animals from human oppression and to recognize their rights as sentient beings. Others such as Scruton (2000) and Frey (1980) disagree and maintain, for a variety of reasons, that the idea of rights does not extend outside our species, or in the case of Frey possibly not even within our species. Interestingly, the participants did not raise any of these issues. For some, such as Samantha's father, there would not have been a second thought,

**Samantha:** *"We used to have a pig which was sent off to market. Yes my friend Das Carter he does the same he has pigs grows them right up, off to the market you go, then sell the stuff onto the lads at work,"*

**Jeff:** *"So I don't think I could do it, I think I would become too attached to them,"*

**Samantha:** *"Well you get used to it I suppose, dad wouldn't have thought anything of killing something and eating."*

[general agreement]  
(V3, 48)

In the first chapter Brian had been hurtling down a steep road with some dead ducks that his uncle had given him attached to his handlebars,

**Brian:** *".....hung them on my handlebar and the bike comes sailing down Duntish Road, a bloody head caught in the wheel [lots of laughter] I fell off. Anyway untangled all that, and it was wet. Actually we were living up Barum Hill then and dad was working home, in this shed up there cause it was wet, hung it up in the shed, and I don't know what time he stopped for his cup of tea, whatever it is, 10 o'clock, he come back out and the duck was going quack, quack, quack. The wa'dent killed properly. Well mind you they do say, will I've never done one, that they take a bit of pullin."*

**Kate:** *"They do actually."*

**Brian:** *"He was still alive, poor thing he had his head round my bicycle wheel and everything really."*  
(V1, 20-21)

This is quite a dark story and I am sensitive that some who read this, as well as some other accounts that I have reproduced, may find the extent of connection to food unsettling. Without doubt Brian considers that animals are food, but there is also room for compassion even for those that deal with their life and death on a regular basis and this is what Brian is exhibiting here. David recalls a live eel in the kitchen, but it was not in the kitchen for long,

**David:** *"It wasn't as big as that though, but mother was doing an eel, but the thing seemed to come alive, he wriggled and he went, I was gone."*

**Brian:** *"No I never had much to do with it."*

**David:** *"No theyme, goh, theyme still alive, gone all over the table."*

**Brian:** *"I am betting they're tasty, but I've never."*

**David:** *"They are, they are."*

**Brian:** *"I've never had anything to."*

**John:** *"They've got them up at Wareham, you know that river up there."*

**David:** *"They used to have them down here and there in this river. Pete Baker used to have a lot out of it."*

**Brian:** *"Did he, did he."*

**John:** *"Well I'm blowned."*

**David:** *"In the mud."*



**John:** *"They were tasty, I presume they are today cause they can't feed them full of eh."*

**David:** *"The last ones I saw they were catching them in the trap, up there at Merton Grange, they were down this end. They've got a place where the water runs through and the crate was big enough for the eels to go through, they was selling them obviously, they picked the big ones out and took em up and that's how they caught them a lot."*

**Brian:** *"I expect they'd complain today if you took an eel out of the river."*

**Kate:** *"Do they?"*

**Brian:** *"I expect so yeah, they complain about most things today.  
(V1, 21-23)"*

Again we have a situation where a live animal is being killed for food, but this time it makes a bid for freedom. Although this shocked David, the participants go on to look back at the rather esoteric world of eel fishing and lament its passing. Eels now have a greater level of protection and a licence is needed to fish for them (UK Gov. 2014), partly because they have been in decline (Decker 2003; Friedland et al. 20070). There is a certain wariness with which they discuss the eel because it is something with which they are not familiar. Also the eel is a creature of folklore, possibly because it does not seem to behave as other animals and has inspired stories such as *The Lair of the White Worm* (Bram Stoker 1911) and Ian Watson's 1988 novel, *The Fire Worm*. Of course there are more innocent ways of consuming the products of animals. David and Brian recall the joy of drinking milk straight from the cow,

**David:** *"I think there's something in the milk missing isn't there."*

**Brian:** *"The goodness idn't it."*

**David:** *"The goodness. We used to drink it straight from the cooler and drink it straight away [laughter] beautiful."*

**John:** *"Yeah, yeah" [with joyous laughter].*

**David:** *"In the summer when we was down there we were haulin bales or something, milk, we would go and get the measure and cold milk, beautiful."*

**Kate:** *It's squirted by the, they used to squirt the milk."*

**David:** *"Yes."*

**Kate:** *"We used to go into the dairy and often used to be squirted as a bit of a laugh."*

**David:** *"When we, when we."*

Kate: *"In the face."*

**David:** *"When we were down Bridport with the Jerseys down there, we were allowed a bowl of milk. We used to pick up the bowl of milk at night, take it in and then in the morning scoop that, often that was on my cereal and it was beautiful, you could do all sorts with that."*  
(V1, 26-27)

This is authentic food. They recall with exuberant joy consuming real milk, not pasteurized or homogenized but straight from the cow. What closer connection could there be? At the same time without the cow giving birth there would be no milk and many calves go on to be beef animals as do the cows when they have reached the end of their 'useful' lives.

### **Links to health**

For some health was associated with the food they eat. This was very specific for John when thinking about eating liver,

**John:** *"But I never eat it because the liver takes all the poisons."*

**Kate:** *"Yes."*  
(V1, 32)

Authentic food cannot be food that is toxic. Caroline saw things in a similar way,

**Caroline:** *"Why did I become a non-meat eater? Um, I was thinking about this the other day part of it was when I, um, it was that mad cow disease scare with beef burgers back in the late 80s wasn't it. So I stopped eating beef burgers and went on to vegetarian burgers. And then I discovered I had a very high cholesterol level, which if I ate meat which would be even worse than it is now I'll have to take medication to control it. Um so I am it's partly that and partly for the animal thing as well, I don't feel comfortable killing things although I could probably become a cannibal (general laughter) I could do that, I don't have a great high regard for people, humans."*  
(V3, 54-53)

These quotations show how some participants clearly link the idea of the food they consume to their health and some foods are bad for health. There is significant evidence to show the health benefits of a vegetarian, vegan or low meat diet (Hart 2009; Key et al. 1999; Le and Sabaté 2014; Marsh et al. 2012; McEvoy et al. 2012). There are also environmental benefits (Beer and Lemmer 2011) and potential downsides to some environments. Having said this, Clare thought that her association with animals might have had benefits though it was not clear as to whether it was her early life on the farm, in terms of its environment, or the food that

she had consumed at that time, or both, that had given rise to her high levels of immunity,

**Clare:** *“Yeah and I spent an awful lot of time messing around on the farm and I am the one of us who didn't go down with any illnesses,”*

**Bill:** *“Oh.”*

**Clare:** *“I was, mother always has said that I never caught anything that went round you know like the others went down with sort of heavy colds, flu and everything, and, and I don't think I ever had any time off school which is quite interesting for me (lots of agreement) some people say that bit of muck don't hurt anything.”*

**Jenny:** *“They say don't they that the children who grew up on farms have got much better immunity.”*  
(V2, 34)

The term “field to fork” or “plough to plate” is often used to describe the flow of food along the food supply chain. I prefer to use the term “seed to soul”, a term that goes back to the very genetics of the food that we eat and flows all the way through to our very being physically and spiritually. Here the participants are making a connection that possibly does not go that far, but certainly goes beyond the fork in their mouths to their personal health. This link is very explicit. Less explicit is the link to the soul, however, there is much evidence in the other sections discussed to show how food contributes to an individual's being and identity.

### **The cost of food: money and time**

There is also an economic dimension to authenticity in that consuming authentic food is seen to imply additional cost either in terms of the cost of the food or the additional time spent in producing and preparing the food. Mandy likes to buy food that has specific characteristics for her, that is more authentic,

**Mandy:** *“I think, I don't know why, I always look at, I love buying chickens or anything that has not been reared under, like free range or free eggs. But I will buy veg that is organic, because like you say a bunch of bananas that is like that I would properly go for the cheaper one but I just got this thing about, with animals.”*  
(S1, 25)

**Clare:** *“I often wonder in a supermarket with regard to the organic thing, I always read where the countries have come from as it might be less organic if it's come from a South American country, than France. Why should I think that?”*

**Natalie:** *“Well you're not trusting those countries.”*

**Clare:** *"Well I don't know."*

**Mandy:** *"I will buy a British label."*

*"Oh yes."* General agreement.

**Sean:** *"Why will you do that?"*

**Linda:** *"Why? It's only because being British, why, I think I'm going to give the money to the people from my own country I have nothing against anyone else but it's just a loyalty thing you know in a way. And I actually trust."*  
(S1, 26-27)

For the participants questions of provenance are not simple because of issues of trust. They are paying additional money for authenticity, in terms of food being organic for example, but many of the characteristics of what makes something authentic are not immediately obvious in the food offered in the shops. I discussed issues of trust earlier with regard to supermarkets. Issues of trust permeate all levels of supply chains from primary producer/manufacturer to retailer (Doney et al. 1997; Lindgreen 2003) and, many of these issues will take on a new dimension as online sales develop (Masuda et al. 2012). The participants considered that they needed to trust the supplier and it was easier for them to trust people from their own culture, or those with whom they share a similar cultural background rather than those who are more culturally or geographically distant; intercultural trust is complicated (Hofstede 2009). I will discuss this further in the next chapter. For a broad understanding of some of the complexities of trust, Giddens' (1990) book *The consequences of modernity* is an authoritative text that explains how trust develops and is influenced by childhood and how it manifests itself (or does not) in different situations. For some people, paying more for food with characteristics that make it more authentic is important. For others it is irrelevant,

**Maureen:** *"Well I think that for me it's because of the amount of time to go out round, Shopping around. I just go in and look at the label."*

**Philippa:** *"And an apple's an apple."*

**Maureen:** *"Yeah. And I look at the price you know."*

**Philippa:** *"I need some apple so I get some apples."*

**Maureen:** *"Yea. So you don't look at what sort they are?"*

**Philippa:** *"No."*

**Richard:** *"But they all taste different."*

**Philippa:** *"Yeah, but I know what I like, and I choose them on cost."*

**Maureen:** *"But I wouldn't have a clue, I wouldn't have any idea what apple cost."*

**Philippa:** *"Would you?"*

**Maureen:** *"No I wouldn't."*

**Richard:** *"You must do."*

**Maureen:** *"No, no, you pick it up and put it in the trolley."*

**Richard:** *"But if one loaf of bread is £1.40,"*

**Maureen:** *"No, it's only food."*

**Richard:** *"Well what would you go for?"*

General chatter across each other

**Maureen:** *"I buy my bread for £1.39 in Tesco's."*

**Richard:** *"I buy mine in Waitrose since £1.40 £1.50."*

Gen chatter and discussion/argument across each other about the price of food and where they buy it from.

**Richard:** *"I can't understand people who do that, looking to compare, my mum does that. She takes ages to decide, I say no you just go and go."*

**Philippa:** *"I go in the shop then I get out as fast as I can."  
(S2, 16-18)*

Cost is important or it may not be important at all; for some participants food is expensive and the cheapest options are chosen; for others it is not considered expensive. For many of the participants there are other priorities and time may be one of them. Some participants have other, better, things to do with their time; an indication of conflicting priorities at a basic level. This discussion has to be put into context a little. In 2013 O'Dowd (2013a) reported that half a million people in the UK were using food banks as a result of food poverty (also see Taylor-Robinson 2013). In 2014/2015 1,084,604 people in the UK were given three days emergency food and support (Trussell Trust 2015). On the same page, in a separate article (2013b) O'Dowd reported that on a global basis it had been estimated that a quarter of children had literacy problems from malnutrition. The issues of global food poverty have not gone away (Bne-Saad 2013).

Returning to the participants, for Roger, consuming authentic food would appear to be about class,

**Roger:** *“But that’s also terribly middle-class because you’ve got to have the money to be able to do it, you’ve got to be able to afford. Because they are more expensive.”*  
(S3, 30)

It is interesting that Roger equates being middle class with income (rightly or wrongly) rather than other class indicators such as shared values, mobility, or education. So he is really referring to economic class rather than social class. This aside, his focus is on the ability to be able to afford to buy authentic food. He considers that in order to eat authentically, people have to be wealthy, he does not see it as a question of priorities; that an individual could sacrifice something else in their life in order to eat authentically. Possibly this could be a result of the way that he compartmentalizes his life. Mike indicates that they now eat more authentically (in this case growing their own food) as a result of his wife working less. He then goes on to say that,

**Mike:** *“There’s no two ways about it, how authentic you get is how much you can afford to spend,”*  
(S3, 31)

In both cases he is, in effect, talking about the same thing. If he and his family pay more money for a product they decide to prioritize this in terms of expenditure. If his wife decides to go to work part time in order to grow the family’s own food, the cost of this is in effect the opportunity cost of her labour on the vegetable plot, the income forgone; which could be substantial. From an economic perspective it would seem to be a case of the deployment of a scarce resource (money) and the marginal utility this yields (Lipsey and Chrystal 2011). Classically, economists consider that consumers seek to maximize total utility (total benefit, satisfaction or happiness). Consumers may purchase additional utility by consuming authentic experiences such as food. Theoretically they will continue to do this until they no longer think that the additional (marginal utility) per unit of expenditure, is worth what they paid for it. This is a movement from positive marginal utility to negative marginal utility when the consumption of an additional item decreases the total utility. Each individual will have a different set of personal dispositions/values, which influences how much they will spend on what. Many people underestimate the value of their time, thus in Mike’s situation, those authentically produced vegetables may be more expensive than he thinks, however, this is a very

reductionist argument given the other benefits that might come from this activity. There is also an argument that for many people there is no spare time,

**Brian:** *“People haven't got the time to do things like that today have they, that's the problem. Time is the enemy today isn't it really.”*  
(V1, 39)

This means that a gift that involves time spent is particularly valuable,

**Brian:** *“We do a bit for a fisherman down at the coast and occasionally he'll bring me out a dressed crab, once in a while.”*

**Kate:** *“It's nice if he's done it all isn't it.”*

**Michael:** *“Yes, it's all right isn't it.”*

**Brian:** *“I wouldn't like to have to do one myself. When it comes out already dressed and that I don't mind it at all.”*  
(V1, 46)

This quote shows that the gift represents more than the simple plate of food. For Brian and the others, the time invested in the preparation and care has a value in terms of money and also in terms of authenticity. The specific area of the coast to which Brian is referring is famous for its brown crabs (*Cancer pagurus*); the gift of a prepared crab from that area is quite special and also ties Brian to the fisherman, an association he values. Gifts are special, particularly when they represent time. They have an aura of authenticity that has always been valued (Mauss 2011).

### 7.3 How is it grown?

Irrespective of the connectedness of the participants to the people who produce their food, or the connection between the participants and the food itself, there were elements of how the food was produced, or grown, that were important to ideas of authenticity. These related to the environment, animal welfare and a feeling that all was not as it should be.

#### 7.3.1 The environment

Anthea's mother has an allotment and grows her own vegetables without using chemicals. When she was asked whether this was important she thought that it was, as did others,

**Anthea:** *“Yes for me it does, because the flavours do change. I know that my mum grows vegetables on an allotment and when you go and eat her's*

*they do taste substantially different than what I buy in the supermarket. But she carries out pesticide free and all the rest of it. So yes I would say that if you are going for absolutely authentic then it does matter."*

**Natalie:** *"Do you think that's to do with freshness as well?"*

**Rebecca:** *"It might well be. I think it's a bit of both."*

General chatter

**Sean:** *"Do people eat much organic food?"*

**Natalie:** *"Less now the children are getting older. I always brought organic stuff for the children when they were younger."*

**Sean:** *"Why was that?"*

**Natalie:** *"Because I felt that was being a good mum."*

General laughter

**Tracy:** *"The cost put me off, I couldn't afford it. Though I might have done. I used to cook everything from scratch; I didn't use organic stuff unless I was feeling guilty."*

**Natalie:** *"No, I went through a phase when I did get, all the vegetables for them, were organic. And then I went through anything that I just left the skins on so the apples would have been organic, but I wouldn't have bothered getting the bananas organic and now it's just gone to whatever."  
(S1, 23-25)*

This discussion has a number of facets, primarily focussed on the perception that food, produced without chemicals, is better for an individual in terms of health and taste. Proving that organic food might taste better is very difficult as there are many factors that contribute to taste and that confound experimental approaches to assessing this. Laurence and Stacey (2002) concluded that organic orange juice did taste better than nonorganic, but that there was no difference between organic and inorganic milk. Their overall conclusion was that individual foods needed to be assessed individually and even on this basis I would not be confident about the generalizability of any conclusions because of the multiple variables involved. Repeatedly, taste is raised as a differentiating factor for those buying organic produce, (Denver and Dejgaard Jensen 2014. Hjelmar 2011; Hughner et al. 2007; Kihlberg and Risvik 2007; Stobbelaar et al. 2007; Thøgersen 2007), though what accounts for these differences is not clear. Claims that the consumption of organic food is better for an individual's health are equally disputed. The scientific evidence is controversial. The multiple negative responses to Smith-Spangler et al.'s (2012) meta-analysis indicated that there were limited benefits in the consumption of



organic food (for example Brandt 2013), highlighting the controversy. Many consumers of organic food believe that improved health is a benefit (Gracia and de Magistris 2007; Hjelmar 2011; Justin and Jyoti 2012; Midmore et al. 2005; Stobbelaar et al. 2007). Could it be that those who eat organic food have, as Eisinger-Watzl et al. (2015) indicated, a healthier lifestyle in general and that this might account for observations such as higher sperm counts (Chiu et al. 2015).

Some of the participants, however, had the perception that organic food tasted better and was healthier and considered that food produced without chemicals was more authentic. Food produced without chemicals was also equated with organic food. Again this is not entirely correct, though organic production does try to limit the use of chemicals in its production. These perceptions appeared to be very strong and were caught up by some in a web of guilt relating to how they had nurtured their children. There is some evidence that mothers and particularly mothers from higher income families are more likely to buy organic produce (Davies et al. 1995), though the market is complex (Hughner et al. 2007). In the following exchange, mothers were buying the food for their children and occasionally buying it in some way to assuage guilt. Tina made all her own baby food and then felt guilty when she fed her child processed food even though it was the most expensive. There was a belief that if it was expensive it must be good,

**Tina:** *“Yes, but I’m vegetarian, and I think I eat very authentic food, all organic stuff, and I cook everything from scratch and it’s the same with our baby food, you know, I feel awful, if I ever give Ted, one of those jars, I felt like I had contaminated him.”*

*“Yes.”*

*“Yes.”*

**Tina:** *“I hid them in the cupboard behind a tin. Yes that was just awful and then Tim, poor Tim, well, but that was just money I thought that the more expensive the baby food I bought definitely the better. I found he didn’t actually like the baby jars, he didn’t take to them.”*  
(S3, 31-32)

Her son’s rejection of the processed food, in effect, fuelled her mistrust of it and helped to reinforce the values that led her to prepare everything fresh. The relationship with a baby is complicated. Parents hold their new born children in their hands and wonder, what am I supposed to do? How do I look after this child? How do I feed this child?

For other participants, there was a combination of cynicism and a realization of a need to use chemicals,

**Pete:** *"It's when you go to a farm these days and they open up the chemical locker."*

**Clare:** *"Um so even on farms you do?"*

**Pete:** *"And then you think even on farm shops and that, you know and we a, years ago a, a, fruit farm I was shown it and my goodness fruit is, unadulterated you think, but they need so much to have a good crop,"*

**Bill:** *"Yeah."*

**Clare:** *"It's not only just to get a good crop, but it's also to preserve it so that it lasts longer isn't it, ah um,"*

**Jenny:** *"To get to the shops and supermarkets."*

**Clare:** *"Um, well it's quite nice when you grow your own isn't it, at least when you grow your own you do actually know what's been on it."*

**Sean:** *"Yes sometimes when I grow my own, I wish I had put something on it to sort of,"*

**Jenny:** *"To keep the snails away and the slugs,"*

**Fred:** *"And the bloody caterpillars,"*

General laughter and agreement.

**Pete:** *"This year's been awful,"*

**Fred:** *"We went away on holiday at the beginning of the summer, the middle of the summer and had a lovely crop of, um Brussel sprouts and broccoli growing. Came back a week later and they were shreds,"*

**Clare:** *"They were skeletons weren't they, there was no Green left, [general empathy/sympathy] so that's when you do start using the chemicals to actually sort of get rid of them."*

**Fred:** *"I must admit they've come back again,"*

**Jenny:** *"Have they?"*

**Fred:** *"They're picking up yes, we've got loads of little tiny baby Brussel sprouts."*

**Jenny:** *"Lovely."*

**Sean:** *"But that's when you thank God that you don't have to grow all your own food."*

**Clare:** *“But I am not, I am not a good enough gardener to provide enough veg for us to live on. Whereas you see my dad, my mother never bought veg my dad used to grow.”*  
(V2, 29-31)

This is an excellent example of the way the discussion developed ideas and understandings. Initially chemicals are seen as a tool of modern industrial agriculture, controlled by the supermarkets for the benefit of the supermarkets, but there is also a realization that they can have their uses. Crop failure is an inconvenience for hobby gardeners, but what if an individual relied on that food to live? The final comment also indicates a worry that we have lost the skills necessary to produce food in a chemical-free way, although it is possible that Clare’s father made extensive use of chemicals and she just does not remember it, as many could have been available at the time. This debate about the benefits and harm of the use of technology continues (Essex et al. 2005; Lichtfouse et al. 2009; Warren et al. 2007). Victorian and Edwardian gardeners seem to have looked forward to scientific innovations, which removed them from the drudgery of growing food and defending it from weeds, pests and diseases (Davies 1987). Possibly, it is only with hindsight that we can see some of the environmental cost of using chemicals, and also from the comfortable position of having a plentiful food supply underpinned by the use of chemicals and modern agriculture. The comparable new technology that we are now faced with is genetic modification and it is a development that is looked at with horror by some people, but with hope by others,

**Pete:** *“I think food of the future with these programmes will be entirely different because, um if you look at GM and nanotechnology it will, um change food as we know it perhaps over a long time, but it will be readily available and very quickly so in a way,”*

**Jenny:** *“What the growing process?”*

**Pete:** *“Yes the growing process, the availability of foodstuffs.”*

**Fred:** *“Do you think that GM will be accepted then?”*

**Pete:** *“Yes I think so, I think so because, um, if it comes into the medical science, you know, um the Institute in Japan just developed this nano gene which will identify specific cells in what they call nano destroyers, destroy the cells and make the thing live longer. They're doing it for food now which is fascinating.”*

**Fred:** *“But the animal side has gone as well and that's not really accepted,”*

**Pete:** *“No.”*  
(V2, 65-66)

**Pete:** *“With, with nanotechnology you’re not actually changing the genes you’re limiting their operation which will increase another gene to do more. So you increase the muscle, or the meat content of the animal at no additional cost.”*

**Jenny:** *“So you’re messing with the genes.”*

**Sean:** *“Is it exciting for you Pete or a worry for you?”*

**Pete:** *“Oh exciting, absolutely exciting because there are no boundaries, there are no boundaries. So if you look at process food,”*

**Jenny:** *“Well the boundary will be that people won’t accept it,”*

**Fred:** *“Won’t accept it,”*

**Pete:** *“Yeah, but as the generations go on you know,”*

**Fred:** *“They will probably have to. They will ultimately.”  
(V2, 67-68)*

Pete’s comments mirror the eagerness with which the Victorian farmers looked forward to new developments in agriculture. Fred is more wary. As indicated above, the Victorians did not really understand the environmental implications of the new developments in agriculture. They had also known the effects of crop failures. The Irish Potato Famine (1845-1849) that killed one million people was within living memory. Similarly we do not understand the potential environmental effects of genetic engineering, although the benefits could be substantial. There was some discussion of animal welfare and I will move on to that next.

### **7.3.2 Animal welfare**

Previously, I have discussed how rearing animals for food had given rise to specific feelings among participants. These feelings were reflected in some concerns that participants had expressed about the ‘industrialization’ of the food supply chain. This excerpt is quite long, but it exemplifies not only the range of views, but also the dynamics of the discussion,

**Fred:** *“I think in this country we’re shrinking in that we’ve got much, we used so much land and it used to be farms everything else, but now it’s all housing and it’s, its changing the face of,”*

**Bill:** *“Well the populations exploding isn’t it,”*

**Fred:** *“Yeah and, and we have to adapt to meet that change, but whether we accept GM or nano whatever it, it is probably a step far too far for me to think about,”*

**Pete:** *"Yes, yes it would be for me."*

**Fred:** *"Yes but we do have to develop and we somehow need to make the most of what we've got, which is an ever shrinking, um, everything, like coal any resources shrinking all the time and, and, and farming and everything else is a resource ultimately."*

**Pete:** *"There is that farm that, where, I think either in Yorkshire or in Lincolnshire that's having so many cattle per square metre,"*

**Jenny:** *"Oh he's gone like the Americans he's got one of those,"*

**Pete:** *"Absolutely huge and he's been given permission, which is not the Friesian cattle that you will see in the field today, they're in big compounds and, and, and do we say that's actually just evolution, you know he's meeting a need? I, I quite like seeing the sheep in the fields and the Friesians in the fields and it's, it's the British view isn't it, and actually,"*

**Fred:** *"It's the green and pleasant land."*

**Clare:** *"It's the same that we went through with the chickens isn't it, we've taken the chickens away from the battery farming, I know we've still got them, but the reality is if we had all our chickens as free range chickens we wouldn't produce enough, um for the demands. So therefore does it really matter, how they're coming, because at the end of the day they're part of the food chain? Should we be such softies about how they're actually being kept?"*

**Fred:** *"But then there are the animal rights people, correct or not?"*

**Jenny:** *"I like to buy a chicken that had a good life. I look at it and I think have you had a good life?"*

**Clare:** *"Are you a happy chicken?"*

**Jenny:** *"Were you a happy chicken?"*

**Clare:** *"That you've made even sadder by killing it, the other ones didn't mind it all because they were having a bad life."*

Lots of laughter

**Clare:** *"It was sweet relief. So you like a chicken with a smile on its face?"*

**Jenny:** *"I like, I like to think that the chicken I eat has had a good time."*

**Pete:** *"We do buy good chickens."*

**Jenny:** *"I'm happy to buy less."*

**Pete:** *"It's because if Clare,"*

**Jenny:** *"I'm happy to buy less."*

**Pete:** *"A friend of ours gave us a brochure and it was Jamie Oliver and, who's the other guy, the one that swears a lot?"*

**Sean:** *"Johnny?"*

**Pete:** *"No the chef,"*

**Clare:** *"Gordon Ramsay."*

**Fred:** *"Gordon Ramsay."*

**Pete:** *"This particular chicken producer's raved about. You know these two chefs have raved about it and it's won awards,"*

**Jenny:** *"It's ethics, it's an Essex bird,"*

**Pete:** *"It's an Essex bird so we ordered one and, we, we are particular in our chickens we couldn't find the difference, in fact we, we thought the ones that we had bought were just as good if not better, but we didn't have the heart to tell him. We didn't know, whether it's er. But it's part, you get the brochure and the brochure is very good, very,"*

**Fred:** *"They look after them,"*

**Pete:** *"Yes, yes you would buy one."*

**Jenny:** *"Happy chickens."*

**Pete:** *"You would say this is a happy chicken and I'm having this special deal here but actually, for us, we get as good chickens locally."*

**Jenny:** *"Um."*

**Bill:** *"I'm with you, I can't tell the difference,"*

**Fred:** *"But you can between free range eggs and ordinary eggs,"*

**Jenny:** *"Yes."*

**Fred:** *"Mass-produced eggs,"*

**Pete:** *"Yes, yes."  
(V2, 69-73)*

Many things come out in this discussion which illustrates the depth of thought that some participants had engaged in. We need food, resources are declining and our population is growing, so we should not be squeamish about the way our food is produced; it is just food. Then there is a wonderful exploration of the idea of happiness. The word is used in an anthropomorphic way, but then reflected back in a way that gently challenges that anthropomorphism and then re-contextualizes the idea of happiness as escape from misery; the chickens may be better off dead and eaten. The word play around ethics and Essex is interesting; could this be a

conscious, or unconscious, challenge to the ethical position of celebrity chefs and their multimillion pound business empires? Finally it comes down to taste for Fred and Pete; they can taste the difference.

The first quotation in this section mentioned slaughter and this was picked up by others,

**Kate:** *"I always wonder if an animal is kept really well, and then going to the slaughterhouse, it's not too long the journey, and it's not, well they must know they must get that fear. If it's done as quickly, as quickly as they can do, will that taste better than something that had a miserable existence like some of those pigs."*

**Brian:** *"I think it would."*

**Kate:** *"I think it would, I feel that the, I think that the fear and the misery comes out in the flavour. I, I don't know I may be wrong."*  
(V1, 32)

Kate and Brian consider that fear in the animal may be transferred to the flavour of the meat. There is some scientific evidence for this in the work of Warriss et al. (1993), Terlouw (2005) and Ferguson and Warnerb (2008), though perhaps there is more here. How can the suffering of an animal in slaughter not be passed on to those who eat it? How can something so cruel and violent taste so good? There are parallels to the story of Adam and Eve's consumption of the Apple in the Bible, particularly as portrayed by Milton in *Paradise Lost*,

*"...suddenly into Serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise; then, deluded with a shew of the Forbidden Tree springing up before them, they, greedily reaching to take of the Fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes." (Milton 2008, 240).*

Here the sin of eating the apple results in it turning into ashes in their mouths.

In many of these discussions there was an underlying feeling of unease.

### **7.3.3 Potentially all is not what it seems**

There is a deep underlying suspicion of the supply chain from which we get food,

**Brian:** *"But a lot of people don't know where to get it to do they, that is the thing. And when you go, they're called farmers' markets, not that I go to them everyone tells me just how expensive they are and they shouldn't be really. They cut the middleman out don't they, but I think the snag is with the like of Tesco's and whatever they actually own the middleman don't they."*

**David:** “Yep.”

**Michael:** “Mmm.”

**Brian:** “That’s the problem, you know that.”

**Michael:** “They do with these milk producers don’t they.”  
(V1, 11-12)

As this shows, suspicion is not just about the supermarkets, but also the farmers’ markets that sell overly expensive food. The reference to milk is particularly poignant, given the falling milk prices that are so much in the news at the time of writing this (Rowe 2015). Some of this uncertainty about the integrity of the food supply chain is fuelled by television,

**Jeff:** “Chicken is the one that I saw, they jet wash them and pump them up, filled them full of, it’s incredible they, they go round,”  
(V3, 60)

Can a foodstuff be authentic or even worthy of consumption when produced in such an industrial way? Here Jeff is describing the long standing process whereby chicken is taken and tumbled for up to two hours in ‘marinades’ of salt, phosphates and protein slurries to plump up the breasts (Kim et al. 2012; Froning, G.W. and Sackett, B. 1985. Xiong, Y.L. and Kupski, D.R., 1999). Other foods have also been outed,

**Matt:** “It’s like Kraft Dairylea, or Kraft cheese squares, they’re pretty revolting, but I love them, I absolutely love them.”

**Jeff:** “Well it’s a trace of cheese [general laughter], there isn’t any cheese in it.”

**Matt:** “At least we haven’t gone as far as the Americans yet, when you can get cheese in a tin that you can spray. I mean, that’s just phenomenal that is,”

**Sean:** “Have you not seen cheesy string?”

**Matt:** “Oh well I know that,”

**Caroline:** “Is that that strandy stuff?”

**Matt:** “That’s horrible, I brought it once just to see what it was like and it doesn’t even taste like cheese and I can understand why my friend gives it to his dog as a treat, horrible stuff.”  
(V3, 61-62)



These discussions indicate a hierarchy. There may well be discussions of what is authentic and what is not, but some foods are just not food at all and not worthy of consideration. Television and the media are important in terms of expanding our understanding of the world, but even that may not be all it seems. With regard to one television presenter, Jeff was a little cynical about some filming,

*Jeff: "I can tell you a little story about him. He come out on a boat trip, he was going out, he was going to go out and catch fish that everyone and he, he went out on the boat and he sent his minions along the beach to pick seaweed, grass, whelks, mussels. It was fantastic what they collected, and he was going to do a big barbecue at the end. He actually went out on the boat and caught a sprat that must've been about, not even 2 inches long. He was livid that he didn't catch anything. And he actually went up to the fishmongers in Tissy Bay and bought a load of fish from there. Made up this big, made a barbecue."*  
(V3, 34)

If we cannot trust the media, those who are promoting a better way of eating, who are supposed to be exposing deception, whom can we trust? (*Quis custodiet ipsos custodes? Who will guard the guards themselves? Juvenal 1998, p. 345*). In recounting the story, Jeff was also able to demonstrate not only the fallibility of the media, but his insiders understanding. I will discuss the importance of the media in the next chapter.

#### **7.4 Conclusions and reflections**

In this third discussion and analysis chapter, I have looked at what the participants said about the third element that structured their understanding of the authenticity of food, factors relating to the origin of the food they consumed, the sourcing of their food. For some this was not important at all. For others it was very important. Part of this related to feelings and understandings of localness, which were not defined in terms of proximity, meaning distance, but in terms of connectedness and connection. Connectedness refers to a personal connection to the people that supply the food. This connection could be very intimate and it was the higher levels of intimacy that seemed to relate to the higher levels of authenticity. As the consumer moved further away from the people that produce the food, by buying in a supermarket for example, authenticity waned.

There were also ideas of connection. These were based on an intimate personal connection with the food itself. In terms of participants producing their own food, some of these connections were visceral. For those who have not raised their own

animals and killed them for meat or hunted and killed animals in the wild some of these accounts might come across as cruel. I think it is important to reflect on those feelings as within our modern industrialized food chain, the innate cruelty that is associated with killing and eating another living thing has been delegated to others. In most cases meat now arrives in the kitchen on polystyrene dishes wrapped in cling film.

Our industrialized food chain has also removed our connections with the seasons. I wonder whether the machine living ideas of the modernist movement of the last century, such as those espoused by Charles-Édouard Jeanneret-Gris also known as Le Corbusier (2008) will ultimately overwhelm our food chain as we expunge all connections with the viscerality of our biological origins. After all food is delivered ready to consume, in many ways no longer recognizable as being linked to the animal or plant from which it came. Children can be conceived in petri dishes, carried by surrogate mothers, breastfed from a bottle and reared by a nanny. In moving away from our biological roots, is humanity really becoming more civilized? There have been many reactions to this pursuit of the modernist ideals of machine living, most recently by Carr (2015). In the *Civilising Process* Norbert Elias (2000) defined the process of civilization as a move from a position of external restraints on human behaviour to one where behaviour is governed by internal moral regulation. This is not necessarily a move from a connection with our natural state, though it could be argued that if we do not need to eat meat, because we have developed other ways of feeding ourselves, we might choose not to do so for moral reasons. He also saw civilization as a process rather than an end state; something that was based on social relationships that were continually in a state of flux.

For civilization to continue it must be sustainable. It can be argued that, for a variety of reasons, no civilization is sustainable and that what is observed through history is the rise and fall of civilizations in different contexts. Edward Gibbons' (1998) great work *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is a case in point. We can accept the process of rise and fall or we can choose to follow George Santayana's (1905, 284) maxim, "*Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it*" and address ideas of sustainability. As I discussed in the literature review there are many approaches to this, however, the triple bottom line (Elkington 1994 and 1998), which considers social, economic and environmental sustainability is a widely accepted way forward. It is a strategy that I found resonated with the broad ideas of authenticity expressed by the participants in this

(and other) chapters. The participants discussed the environment, but also their relationship with the Other, and ideas of the sustainability of business and cost in terms of money and time. The final element of connection related to money and time and did not necessarily sit easily within the idea of localness, however, it was intimate, in that what greater intimacy do we have than to dedicate time to something. Wealth could be considered to be merely a system of credits that represents time.

There were also concerns about how food was produced specifically in terms of the environment and animal welfare. Again, for some these were very important and for others they were not important at all. Part of this reflection involved a process of looking back to some pre-industrial period in time when things were better, more innocent, and more natural. As I mentioned in chapter five, looking back to a pre-industrial, pre-civilized past appears as a long standing yearning described by Rousseau in the *Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts, Discourse on the Origins and Bases of Inequality and Confessions* (Wokler 2001) and is evident in the writing of others such as Dryden (1672, p. 40) in *The conquest of Grenada* where he introduces the idea of the noble savage,

*“I am as free as nature first made man,  
Ere the base laws of servitude began,  
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.”*

It is also evident, in some ideas relating to authenticity, that authenticity is to be found in times past, before humans were corrupted by modernity, civilization or industrialization. This also comes out in some of the early discussions of authenticity by tourism scholars, such as MacCannell (1989), though as indicated in the literature review, many authors have contradictory views (Scarpato and Daniele 2003; Urry 1990). Some commentators, such as Miller (1995), might be seen to be looking back to a time before the *“encroachment of global capitalism”* for their ideas of authenticity (Prat 2007, p. 295). Others such as Derrida (1997) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (1986) have challenged this idea of a better primitive past from post-structuralist and structuralist perspectives respectively, though it is something that the participants alluded to with their backward gaze. This referring back is also something that is, in a way, part of discussions concerning heritage and tradition by authors such as Bronner (1998), Shils (2006) and Mauss (2011). Even Baggini’s (2014) idea of tradition as being living and ongoing reflects back to the past. Reflection back to a better past can also be found in the romantic writing of authors

such as Henry Williamson (1932) or the photography of James Ravilious (1998) where Williamson was looking to a time before the first world war and his experiences in the trenches and Ravilious before the gentrification of parts of the south west of England. The industrialization of our food supply chain has created systems that are unrecognizable compared to those of 100 years ago. To a certain extent the systems have themselves been dehumanized. I can go four miles down the road from where I live and see robots milk cows, the job that I did when I left school. 100 years ago new technologies were eagerly anticipated and potential problems such as pollution and declining biodiversity not foreseen by many. With hindsight we can make many judgements, but currently we are in a similar position with regard to genetic modification and the use of nanotechnology. After all,

*“Progress, far from consisting in change, depends on retentiveness. When change is absolute there remains no being to improve and no direction is set for possible improvement: and when experience is not retained, as among savages, infancy is perpetual. Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.”*

Santayana (1906 p. 284).

So potentially our civilization is actually a perpetuation of savagery because we do not learn. And what of the animals that are involved in our food chain? As human beings we make arbitrary decisions about what constitutes sentience and the pain of the other. I can remember lying in hospital, having undergone orthopaedic surgery, in what I considered to be considerable pain only to be lambasted by a nurse who accused me of not knowing what pain was. How did she know what my pain was like? How can I know what pain or suffering another creature endures? Ultimately there would appear to be a need to reconnect to the past historically, particularly in terms of our socio-biological origins. This is not an entreaty to engage in sentimentality for sentiment's sake, nor tradition for tradition's sake, but we must learn from the mistakes of the past and not live them over and over again.

Having discussed Sourcing: where does the food come from? I would now like to look at Interacting with the distinctly other.

## Chapter 8: Interacting with the distinctly Other

### 8.1 Introduction

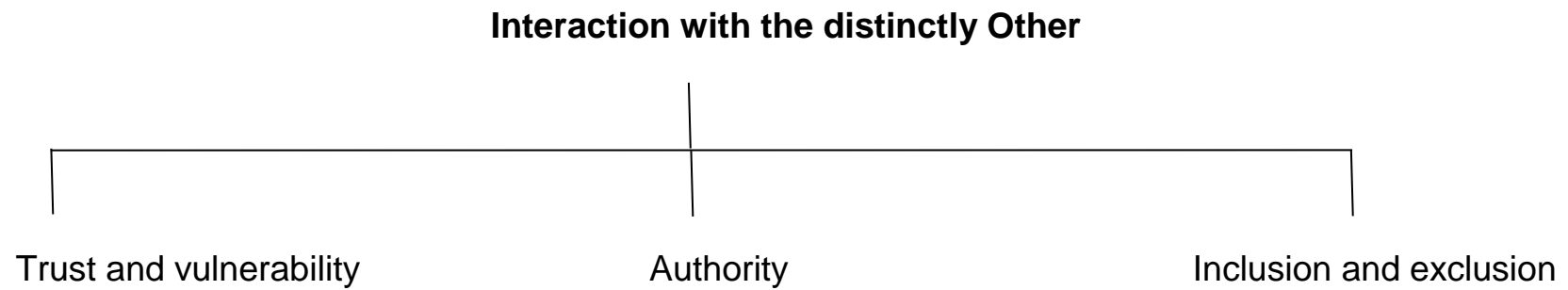
The fourth part of the phenomenon described by the participants related to their interactions with other people, above and beyond friends and family. In this chapter I will develop these ideas by looking at trust, authority, inclusion and exclusion. In chapter five, I discussed ideas relating to the family. When an individual is born, it is normally his or her family (whatever form that takes; see Sahlins 2011a and 2011b for authoritative discussion), which are their initial focus for development; their kin. This can be extended to friends; kith as well as kin. The individual, or the *self*, interacts with *others* in order to construct self-image and group image, self-understandings and group understandings. I have previously discussed how the processes of constructivism and social constructionism may be involved in this. From that primary position of social isolation in the womb (unless of course there is a multiple pregnancy), the individual develops initially within the 'family' and close friends and then through interaction with other groups, all of which will appear different to a greater or lesser degree. This forms the bases of Social Identity Theory as developed initially by Taifel (1979; 1982) and Taifel and Turner (1979; 1986). All people are the other to the individual, but some are distinctly Other. In this chapter I will be focussing on the interactions of the participants with the distinctly Other who shaped their perceptions of the authenticity of food.

There seemed to be a dynamic tension between ideas of trust and vulnerability, authority and independence, urban and rural, inclusion and exclusion. This has parallels to Derrida's (2000) book *Of Hospitality* in which he explores the multiple dimensions of being hospitable to multiple and not just physical other(s). This was not only important at 'home', but also when the participants were engaging with distinctly different cultures whilst on holiday for example, and when they were engaging with an increasingly globalized existence. The idea of authenticity is in part based on the relationship that surrounds the production and consumption of food. This in turn is based on trust and with that comes a potential vulnerability; what happens if our trust is betrayed? This dynamic leads to a questioning of motives and observations of trickery, pomposity and feeling lost. On the micro scale this might relate to being given a vegetarian meal that was not. On a macro scale there are many examples to be considered, from mad cow disease through to horse meat being sold as beef. Given these circumstances, and also given the desire to

get advice, participants utilize authorities that can provide guidance. At the same time, the dynamics of power are in play, as those with power and in power seek to assert their view over those without and outside. Thus there were many references to television, celebrities, books, food producers, retailers and branders as objects/people of power. This was tied in with ideas of personal development as a dual process of conforming to authority in order to be accepted and striving for independence and freedom.

The dance that is played with authority has much to do with Inclusion and exclusion. We can seek to gain access to something like authentic food, but can find this blocked by a lack of knowledge, money or conflicting priorities and desires. At the same time we may be obstructed or deterred. On holiday, participants found that their quest to eat authentically with local people ('real' people) was obstructed by fear for their safety (physical and from food poisoning), a lack of language skills, fear that they would not like the food, and general discomfort as they were often going 'off the beaten track'. Thus they gravitate from the back street café in the docks to the burger restaurant in the centre of town. Perception of cultural difference can be profound, exciting and frightening. Expectation is important. Will the experience be what they think it will be, will it be exceeded? This can involve confrontation with the unknown. The structure of this part of the phenomenon is laid out in Figure 8.1 below.

**Figure 8.1: The fourth part of the structure of perceptions of authenticity:**



## 8.2 Trust and vulnerability

As previously discussed, part of the participants' understanding of authenticity was based on the relationship that surrounds the production and consumption of food. This relationship is based on trust: trust that the person producing the food will produce something that is good, as it is claimed to be, and if the participants were searching for it, that is considered authentic. There is a tension between trust and vulnerability. Humans are all vulnerable; in trusting people we potentially expose our vulnerabilities further. This tension was very apparent when participants were immersed in a strange environment, such as when they were on holiday. For many people to encounter things that are different is one of the purposes of going on holiday, and to encounter new experiences, in terms of food and drink, is often a specific purpose,

**Richard:** *"I can never see any point in going anywhere on a holiday, people go halfway round the world and they don't really see any of the culture or the places that they go to any more, they just stay in the same spa. I want to go somewhere local, if you're going to you might as well see a bit of what, you know, do a bit of sightseeing, go to the sites and part of the sights that you go to see is food. It's part of the local culture."*  
(S2, 22-23)

This shows that part of going on holiday involves engaging with other cultures and part of this cultural engagement involves food. Brian agrees,

**Brian:** *"I must admit that when we used to go to Portugal you try and eat their food all the time don't you, that's the point of going."*

**Kate:** *"Yes, yes it is."*

**Brian:** *"If you want fish and chips you can go to Weymouth."*  
(V1, 85)

Going on holiday involves eating the food of other cultures, as it does for Sue, though Maureen felt very differently.

**Sean:** *"If you go out on holiday and you are a tourist do you try, what do you try and eat when you are on holiday?"*

**Sue:** *"Local food, food from the market."*

Yes.

Yes.



**Maureen:** *"I don't when I'm on holiday. No, that's the whole point of going on holiday."*

*General laughter.*

**Sue:** *"The point of going on holiday is going to the market and buying local food."*

**Maureen:** *"Oh no, oh no, the last holiday that I was on was an all-inclusive. All-inclusive, and you never go out."*

**Richard:** *"You never go out?"*  
(S2, 20-21)

Maureen did not want to be involved in finding food, exploring markets or cooking. She wanted a meal placed in front of her. This is in marked contrast to Pete and Sue; however it does reflect Maureen's previous comments. Apparently, Maureen was not alone,

**Bill:** *"There are some people, I don't understand, I met a guy he was going to Italy, France, somewhere. So I said you'll be enjoying all that food. I'm not eating that foreign muck he says, wah."*

**Clare:** *"That's like your dad."*

**Bill:** *"And he said, I want some of that good old English food, so why are you going then? Well he said the wife wants to go and that was the only, he wouldn't try anything. We had to find somewhere where you can get fish and chips, bacon and eggs."*  
(V2, 82)

This situation does appear to be a little different from Maureen's in that the person Bill met was interested in food, just not the food of other cultures. He considered it to be 'muck'. This could have related to taste, hygiene or other 'cultural differences'. It is Bill's reaction that is interesting; he cannot understand this position. Tourists' motivation to travel is complex. Pearce (2005) reports 14 travel motivation factors: novelty, escape/relax, relationship (strengthen), autonomy, nature, self-development (host-site involvement), stimulation, self-development (personal development), relationship (security), self-actualisation, isolation, nostalgia, romance, and recognition. Many of these factors relate to encountering new and different things, though some do not and travellers may well be able to travel without necessarily encountering the other.

I will now discuss two aspects of trust; trust in being with the other and how trust makes people vulnerable.

### 8.2.1 Trust in being with the other

Louisa had a very clear idea about what was authentic when she was away from home,

**Louisa:** *"I was going to say, from my point of view probably travel abroad I think that, however, naive it might be when you are eating in a restaurant abroad you assume that you are eating the food of that country. I would presume that if the people serving me came from that country, and they told me it was an authentic local menu, I would presume that this is what people there would eat."*

**Sean:** *"Can you remember eating in a restaurant like that."*

**Louisa:** *"Yes I am not widely travelled, but say Greece for instance I have eaten Lamb Stifado, so when I see that I now think that is a Greek dish because that is what I had when I was there. Whether the Greek families sit down and have what I had I don't know, but I think that because I was in Greece, in a Greek restaurant being served something that wasn't what I think is an English meal, that it was authentic. I think that is right, yes, that would colour my opinion."*

(S1, 2)

In a situation, with which she was not familiar, Louisa trusted people who were familiar or part of that situation, who were in this case local, to produce something that was authentic. Her 'sense check', with regard to what was authentic, was very simple: if it was different from what she had at home and local people produced it, then it would be authentic. Mandy had a similar emphasis,

**Mandy:** *"I tend to go where locals go."*

*Yeah (Broad agreement).*

**Jo:** *"And you look around and you see where the menu is not in English."*

**Mandy:** *"Where you go, where it looks really dodgy and small."*

(S3, 14)

Therefore authentic food is to be found where local people eat. The question then arises as to how the participants would recognize local people, or an establishment which local people frequented. Some participants looked for environmental clues relating to language and ambiance. Authentic establishments are not dressed up for tourists; experiences of the distinctly Other is 'other'. Kate also looked for environmental clues,

**Kate:** *"The environment is quite important, if you go somewhere and there are plastic tables with checked mats on the top wherever you go, that's something you see in a lot of places. If you see something that is a little bit different and in*

*keeping with where you are, I think that that might be right and I will buy into that.”*  
(S3, 14)

Kate considered that stage dressing for tourists involved plastic chairs and checked mats. Even if this was different from her normal home environment, it indicated something that was set up for tourists, which was inauthentic and to be avoided. As this shows, there are environmental indicators. There are also indicators based on people, the ‘Others’ themselves, and I will discuss this in more detail when looking at authority. Interestingly, researchers vary in their consideration of the importance of the atmosphere or environment. With regard to restaurants, for example, Zhong and Ryu (2012) did not consider the environment to be important. Sukalakamala and Boyce (2007) argued that food was more important than environment. Tsai ChenTsang and PeiHsun (2012) suggested that both food and environment are important and Jang et al. (2011) argued that atmosphere is very important. Ideas of existential authenticity (the authenticity of the moment defined from within the individual) suggested by Wang (1999) and others (such as Brown 1994; Hughes 1995; Crang 1996; Daniel 1996; Lugosi 2008; 2009; McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Steiner and Reisinger 2006a; Wang 1997, 1999; Taylor 2001) also have resonance. However, I disagree with Cohen (2002) that ideas of existential authenticity completely severs the link between sense and any referent of authenticity though Cohen seems to contradict this argument later in the paper. I also do not think that this represents society transitioning in any way between modernity and post modernity. Feelings of existential authenticity have always existed, even if we have not had the language to express them as such. How do the various components of an experience, environment, company and food come together to make it authentic? This would seem to be an area ripe for further research, but also one fraught with danger, if, as suggested by York (2014), commercial interests use that information to fabricate authenticity. This is something, he suggests Gilmore and Pine (2007) propose, pushing us further into Baudrillard’s (1994) postmodern worlds of Simulacra and Simulation, where all experiences become a fabrication. In all this there is an element of vulnerability, which I will now discuss.

### **8.2.1 How trust makes people vulnerable**

As indicated before there is a tension between trust and vulnerability. Thus individuals can trust people, but feelings of vulnerability can lead to heightened feelings of mistrust, or if not mistrust, a difficulty in trusting,

**Kate:** *"There was a policeman and he used to help out at somewhere called Station Meats down in Oldbay. I think they were fined actually quite heavily, but he used to say that if you want any, do you want me to bring you anything back. And I used to say what is there? And he used to say I can get you this, that and the other, and he used to get me all this mince. And it was a bit sort of sweet tasting, with all this yellow, with yellow fat, and I reckon that was horsemeat."*

**Brian:** *"We had horsemeat in, in Belgium one night."*

**David:** *"We were down in France one year and we had steaks and when the steaks claim they had a little sticker there with a piece of card on; this is not horsemeat. Because I wouldn't have had it."*

**Kate:** *"But would that have been it, with yellow fat and it tasted sweet? Anyway they were done for."*

**David:** *"It's more coarse, it's a more stringy meat."*

**Kate:** *"But this was mince. So I couldn't. I think it was the way they got away with it."*

**David:** *"They eat a lot of horsemeat over there don't they?"*

**Brian:** *"We'd gone to a hotel quite late at night, and a funny sort of meal I remember it was like hot meat, gravy and a salad. And the two don't go together. It was quite hot this meat. And next morning when we get up we went for a walk to see what it was like, and only about three doors down from the Hotel was a big horses head outside a butcher shop."*

*(Lots of laughter)*

**Michael:** *"Oh my God."*

**Kate:** *"Oh yes that's it,"*

**Brian:** *"And we said to them was that horsemeat we had last night? And they said yes. Oh I'd eat it if you could buy it over here. I wouldn't want to have eaten Coleen [a horse he had owned] or anything like that, but I would, yes I would buy it."*

*(V1, 91-93)*

If someone does someone a favour, they are in their debt and that can be a form of vulnerability. In addition, an individual can be vulnerable as a result of being in a strange environment. Both scenarios can draw people into consuming things that they would not like to, resulting in feelings of weakness and regret, which we see here. Possibly these are easier to assuage if the individual does not feel that they are in some way complicit. The example of problems with horsemeat could also be found closer to home,

**Brian:** *"When I was down the shop I had a phone call one morning. Chap said, if I bring a chainsaw up can you service it during the day? He said I'm visiting my sister, I think in Bridgetown, somewhere down the West Country he come from, and could e pick it up in the afternoon? And I said yes if you want. Um he dropped it in one morning, took the side cover off and it was full of flesh."*

**Michael:** *"Urggh."*

**Brian:** *"Ugh, anyway washed it all off, serviced and cleaned it up. When he come in to pick it up I said, what the hell have you been doing with that tool? Oh he said I use that for cutting horses up."*

**Michael:** *"Oh all right."*

**Kate:** *"Ughh."*

**Brian:** *"We supply a lot of hotels with that he said. Cause it's not illegal to eat is it? Or sell it over here? It's just that people don't like it."*

**Michael:** *"Don't eat it."*

**David:** *"No don't eat it."*

**Brian:** *"He said they supplied a lot of hotels in Triptown."*

**Michael:** *"Yeah?"*

**David:** *"Well they reckon, a lot of them horses they went to France didn't um. Well they'll buy it."*

**Kate:** *"Whatever you are used to really, and how your um, I've had kangaroo and that's quite nice, in Australia."*

**Brian:** *"I can imagine it would be. I'd quite happily eat that."*

**Kate:** *"Very nice, yeah."  
(V1, 96-97)*

There is a genuine revulsion rather than guilt on behalf of some participants that they might be consuming horsemeat without knowing that it was horsemeat. The horsemeat substitution scandal that hit the UK in 2013 caused much consternation at the time (O'Mahony, 2013a, 2013b). I would agree with Abbots and Coles (2013) when they suggest that it is a far more complex situation than it at first appears and that there has been much un-contextualized moral handwringing, however, there is a danger that this slips into relativism and I would disagree with Verbeke (2013) who maintained that it was not a crisis. Possibly not a crisis *per se*, but a symptom of the crises that is the long-term unsustainability, and short-term vulnerability, of our global food supply chains (see for example Beer and Lemmer 2011). There is something very specific about the relationship with the horse for some people, as Kate was quite happy to consume

kangaroo, a very alien species to someone brought up in the United Kingdom, then why not horse. Therefore it is more than the animal is one that is not normally consumed, it is about the relationship of the consumers to that animal. Possibly if the animal can be seen to be similar to one that is normally consumed (kangaroo compared to deer for example), then the transference is easier. Possibly the consumption of kangaroo meat was something that contributed to Kate's image as a well-travelled person.

Examples of feeling vulnerable to food that was not what it was claimed to be did not only relate to horsemeat,

**David:** *"No, no, we were travelling down across one year, in a hotel and we asked for a meal and he said yes, so we ordered three Coq au Vins. So they all came and we were sat eating away, and I picked up a bone with a fork and said, "this ain't chicken". Tony said yes it is. I said no it isn't that's a rabbit leg. Tony said, better not be or I shan't eat it. I said perhaps it isn't. After we finished we went up the stairs to the landin. Like our bedroom is there and his is on the other side. And when we got up in the mornin he came down for a little breakfast, and he said I've just looked out the window at the back, and I said oh yeah, and he said there's a lot of rabbits out there."*

*Much general laughter*

**David:** *"We knew very well it was, cause of the shape of the leg you see."*

*More general laughter*

**David:** *"We didn't have coq au vin that night."  
(V1, 93-94)*

Here the deception is laughed off. It is dealt with through self-deprecating humour, though there is still an edge to it. The experience will make David less likely to trust in the future. This may make him less susceptible, but he may feel more vulnerable. In this discussion there is a problem in that as Wuthnow (2002, p. 166) indicates, trust is,

*"one of the most complex, multidimensional, and misunderstood concepts in the social sciences."*

In an authoritative review, Misztal (2011) examines trust and vulnerability, maintaining that,

*"Trust is usually defined as confidence that partners will not exploit each others' vulnerability." (ibid, p. 358).*

Just as trust is complex, vulnerability is multidimensional. Her conclusion is summarized in the title of her paper and resonates strongly with what the participants had to say, in that trust is the acceptance of, precaution against and cause of vulnerability. Without trust, however, how could societies function because as she maintains (whilst also citing the work of Fukuyama 1995; Putnam 1993 and her own book of 1996), trust is the glue that “holds families, societies, organizations and companies together” (ibid, p. 359). Trust and vulnerability are factors of life. There was a general fear that contextualizes this,

**Caroline:** *“See as a meat eater that’s what I would be worried about if I, I was overseas, because I wouldn’t, you’re never quite sure what the meat is, is it dog, horse or what.”*

**Matt:** *“Which is, which is what my sister said when she came back from Tunisia didn’t she.”*  
(V3, 58)

Where the difference between the normal experience of the individual and the situation that they are in is greater, the fear seems to be greater, which seems to be borne out in research by Larsen et al. (2007), but even when the situation is familiar, there is still the potential for a lack of trust and a feeling of vulnerability,

**John:** *“Yeah. I was only thinking that I met, I am at a disadvantage where food is concerned eating out, for the simple reason of what I’ve seen goes on in the back.”*

**Kate:** *“Yes,”*

*General laughter*

**John:** *“I’ve seen some of the finest restaurants in the country serve, but the……”*

**Kate:** *“And what happens if you complain and take it back I’ve heard stories about that.” (V1, 94-95).*

Even in familiar circumstances, there is a risk. Again, I am not sure if John and Kate’s knowledge makes him less susceptible to being deceived, but it may make him feel more vulnerable; *“where ignorance is bliss, ’Tis folly to be wise”* (Gray 2012). Certainly Kate’s experience might make her less likely to complain because of fears of retribution. There was a feeling that some strangers were less of a stranger than others,

**Clare:** *“Probably as I've got older I've got a bit more cynical on food, um, who do I trust. Things like if I get a potato that's all mucky and everything I'm quite happy to wash that because that actually seems more real than the one that you get in a bag that's all.”*

**Fred:** *“I much rather go to a butcher than Tesco's or wherever, and you get a, you get a better, you, its perception anyway, a better quality meat.”*  
(V2, 29)

Supermarkets have, in the past, de-staffed their counters in order to make savings, this leads to a loss of connection with customers. They have also produced increasingly sanitized food that has lost its connection with the land from which it comes; the dirt in which it was grown. In the past some suppliers have added soil to bags of potatoes, to de-sanitize them and make them seem more authentic and one celebrity chef is leading a campaign to buy miss-shaped, ugly vegetables that would normally be rejected (Smithers 2015). A butcher can provide that personal connection; something that promotes trust. I indicated in the previous chapter how supermarkets might develop their customers' trust, as highlighted in the work of Richards et al. (2011) and how this had been reflected in comments from the participants. Interestingly many British supermarkets have tried to reintroduce butchers to their stores in order to provide better customer service, or at least a semblance of customer service and also possibly to generate a more authentic environment. York (2014) thinks they are being encouraged to do so by the likes of Gilmore and Pine (2007). Jenny and Pete had spent an extended period of time in Italy and they found this connection, with the butcher, to be even more apparent,

**Jenny:** *“Going back, in a butcher's over there you could buy, um, a slab of beef and then get them to mince it for you, they'll mince it for you.”*

**Pete:** *“You choose your beef and then they will mince it in front of you.”*

**Jenny:** *“You choose your piece of meat.”*

**Clare:** *“Certainly when you buy mince, when you are buying minced beef in England, you don't know what it really is do you.”*

**Bill:** *“You don't know what it is, don't know where it's come from or anything do you?”*

**Pete:** *“No.”*

**Clare:** *“It's the same thing with sausages and things like that. You don't really, really know do you?”*

**Pete:** *“But it's still, but the food shops over there [Italy] tend to be still quite traditional, still have the carcasses hanging up. You, I don't know you ask for a pound of mince or something and you choose the beast, and they would mince*



*in front of you and ask you if it's acceptable. Where over here you would buy it in a packet or something."*

**Fred:** *"And it would have been packed full of goodness knows what."*

**Jenny:** *"You can of course buy over there in the supermarkets, packaged can't you like that."*

**Pete:** *"Yeah."*

**Jenny:** *"But a lot more, but a lot of people go to a lot of, so many of the towns, small towns have their own butcher. Some have two small little things and they sell the meat, bits and pieces, cheeses."*

(V2, 36-38)

Pete and Jenny are in another country, yet find a closer personal connection with people from a different culture than they do with their own. This connection is part of what fuels their view of authentic food. They have a connection to the person who sells them the food. That person is open in what they do; they trust that what they are going to be sold is more honest, more wholesome, more authentic.

The feeling of vulnerability to the inauthentic seems to be heightened when it connects with a participant's children,

**Samantha:** *"I watched the one the other day about the reformed ham,"*

**Matt:** *"You see I won't watch them,"*

**Samantha:** *"You need to watch them,"*

**Matt:** *"Because it does exactly that,"*

**Samantha:** *"You need to watch it,"*

**Matt:** *"No, I know, you know reformed ham and um the stuff that's been taken off a chicken bone. And they've got the last of it and reformed it, and I know it's horrible the way they do it, but sometimes it tastes okay."*

**Matt:** *"Whereas I know ham pretty well, I know I like my ham off the bone that's what I rather go for. So it's a bit like your mum, you know if you see something it puts you off and I just think don't do it, just be ignorant."*

**Samantha:** *"No I like to know [some laughter]. Well I was always buying this reformed ham for Kelly, because she would say Mum I love that ham, and I used to see Kelly even before I knew how it was made. And then I watched this program and I said you've just got to watch this you'll never eat it again in your life. Oh."*

(V3, 61-62)

Some participants saw television as an authoritative source of information. I will discuss this further in the next section. Some programmes heightened their concerns about specific products. This quotation illustrates how individuals try to manage these thoughts and also the dissonance this new knowledge creates. They may have concerns about the way the food is produced, something that they just didn't understand until they watched the television because they are separated from the people who produce their food, but it is possible to alleviate these concerns based on the perception that the food tastes good. Their concerns are further heightened when they reflect that they are feeding this food to their children. The easiest way to cope with these thoughts is to simply ignore them, but sometimes the evidence and the worry are too overwhelming.

If vulnerability means that we are open to the possibility of being harmed, either physically or emotionally, then trust, in this context, means that we make ourselves potentially more vulnerable. Greater experience means that we can mitigate against being harmed, but at the same time it may make us feel more vulnerable. Therefore it is important that those on whom we rely for information are considered trustworthy and authoritative. It is this idea of authority that I would now like to examine.

### **8.3 The importance of authority in determining authenticity**

In this section I will look at aspects of authority with specific reference to celebrity chefs and other television presenters, others that might be cultural authority figures and others who might really know about authentic food. Consuming food and drink invariably involves interacting with other people who are not necessarily known to the consumer; after all there are few people who actually 'grow it, cook it and eat it.' This will lead to situations where people are potentially limited in their knowledge, understanding and experience and therefore will result in a search for information and authority to help bridge gaps and to potentially allay feelings of vulnerability. At the same time, the dynamics of power are in play, as those with power and in power seek to assert their view over those without and outside. Thus there were many references to potential sources of information including television and celebrity chefs, farmers markets, guidebooks, government, supermarkets and others considered to be 'in the know'. I have already discussed the role of family and close friends in shaping ideas, but I think that it is important to remember that many participants noted these as a primary source of their understandings; the family may therefore be considered as a

source of authority. I do not intend to go over this ground again, but would like to start by looking at celebrity chefs and television.

### 8.3.1 The Influence of celebrity chefs and television

The influence of television and its associated food presenters and chefs should not be underestimated. The early history of the celebrity chef is charted in Christina Hardyment's excellent (1995) book *Slice of Life*, from 1950s' presenters such as Marguerite Patten, through to individuals such as Fanny Craddock, Graham Kerr and onto Keith Floyd; though whether Floyd would want to be known as a celebrity chef is debatable. He was once quoted as saying that he would like to "*napalm the lot of them*" (Pritchard 2015). Many of the participants recognized the contribution that presenters had made,

**Mike:** *"I think that they, all these foodie programmes and the kind of general, what's it called, Hugh Fearnley Whittingstall, that is where they are really saying 'do you know what you are eating?' has had a huge effect on us, huge. I don't know if I'm past it really so it won't make any difference to me, but I have had a very bad diet I should imagine most of my life really, or too much of my life, but then you can make up for it. But for the girls, for me it is a legacy, it really is a mission. It's like a little mission in our heads, those girls will think that, and they will go through their junk food if they go to university I can't believe that they won't suddenly want a beef burger or whatever you know, but it's a legacy for when they're parents. It's really powerful some of this foodie stuff to watch it, I watch it with the family generally."*

**Juliet:** *"I watch it, I watched that Jamie Oliver programme about meat and what's in meat. So we now tend to go for the more expensive meat rather than the cheapest."*  
(S3, 10-11)

This shows how some celebrity chiefs are considered valuable authorities with regard to food. Matt had similar thoughts,

**Matt:** *"So because it's on the telly and you grow up with it eventually you just take everything as granted as being your authentic food."*

**Sean:** *"Who do we trust then Matt? Because, do we sort of trust the telly?"*

**Matt:** *"I suppose, unless you don't have a television or you're cynical perhaps and you don't trust it, people do everything that is on the telly, people believe."*  
(V3, 18)

These interactions indicate the influence presenters have had and in many ways possibly underplay their influence. The influence of the celebrity chef Delia Smith gave rise to a new phrase, "*The Delia Effect*", where a chef mentions an ingredient on

television, which causes a run on that ingredient in the supermarkets (Barker et al. 2015). Matt's comments indicate a fundamental worry about broader society; people sit in front of their television sets and uncritically absorb and believe what they see and hear. Jeff thinks that there have been some significant changes as the result of television coverage of food,

**Jeff:** *“But again that is how old-fashioned people put all that in, people used to cook like that, it was like you say, meat and two veg and a big dollop of salt on there, the big wedge of butter on there, and away you go. But we seem to have evolved, moved away again from that and were becoming more sort of, a lot of it I think today is because of the TV, like you were saying earlier it's to do with cooking programmes. A classic one is, years ago if you went into a restaurant and you had a bad meal you wouldn't say nothing about it, you'd think that meal was horrible, I'm not coming back there again. Nowadays because people are all top chefs in their own mind if you go to a restaurant and you don't like it you complain.”*

**Samantha:** *“Yes, but years ago you wouldn't have gone into a restaurant.”*

**Jeff:** *“No, but you know when you go in, before when we went out you wouldn't complain nowadays, you watch all these Masterchef programs and you think, if this just isn't to your liking, you, you complain about it. But, you would never have done that, and it's how we've moved, progressed, evolved into more, just different meals.”*

(V3, 29-30)

The implication, expressed here, is that the transformation of attitudes in society is a result of exposure to television. It is not only about access to food, but also about the basic relationships between people that surrounds food. British people have become potentially more knowledgeable, but also less inclined to suffer in silence, or even know that they were suffering. Conversely, British people are now more inclined to speak up. At the same time society has changed. In the past, some people would not have gone to a restaurant for a meal. Above I indicated that possibly the comments underestimated the influence of television. Caraher et al. (2000) consider that their influence is significantly overestimated in some key issues such as healthy eating and that for such important messages other channels should be used. Lane and Fisher (2015), working with students, found that they had no impact at all. Jones et al. (2013) go further. Based on an analysis of celebrity chef recipes they maintain that,

*“Celebrity Chefs are a likely hidden contributing factor to Britain's obesity epidemic and its associated public health issues.” (ibid, p. 100)*

Some, such as Byrne et al. (2003) and Henderson (2011), see the commercial value of the association of celebrity chefs with retailers for the retailer. Signe (2008) also

recognizes the commercial relationships, but draws two interesting conclusions. Firstly celebrity chefs have an arbitrary relationship with food; they are media products and secondly the real product of the programmes is,

*“..a base of consumers whose appetites are literally and figuratively kept wanting; this is the new business of food.” (ibid 49)*

Possibly this is why Brian is overwhelmed by all the television programmes,

**Brian:** *“I must admit that I do watch a few occasionally, but as they said there's something like 50 something different cooking programmes on telly.”*

**Michael:** *“It's a lot isn't it?”*

**Brian:** *“And they never sold so many ready-made meals have they, so that the two don't go together do they.”*

**Kate:** *“I liked Nigel Slater, but I don't like any, they all bore me the other ones.”*

**Michael:** *“It's just all right watching someone else do it I think.”*

**Kate:** *“Nigel Slater have you seen, he just makes everything.”*

**David:** *“Nigella's all right you can just watch can't you.”*  
(V1, 59-60)

Brian acknowledges the significant amount of time devoted to television cookery programmes, however, his comments demonstrate a cynicism; given the airtime that is being devoted to cooking; why do we cook so little? Despite the fact that Kate stands up for one individual chef, in Brian's view this is just considered entertainment. David's comment further develops the feelings of cynicism and there is potentially an added twist here in that David's comments indicate that, possibly, the major attraction of one celebrity chef is not the food, but their looks and personality. Kate takes this further,

**Kate:** *“And often these programs, people are just looking at them because they enjoy looking at people cooking with everything all laid out. And they think, oh I want this, I'll have that, that food processor and I'll have this and that, but probably knowing that, probably they just enjoy looking at it and the idea, they don't want to do it.”*

**Brian:** *“To impress someone else isn't it.”*

**Michael:** *“Yeah.”*

**Kate:** *“Possibly. My kitchen wouldn't impress anyone would it?”*

*General laughter.* (V1, 71)

Kate's comments indicate that she considers that people are not really watching these programs to develop their understanding of food, but rather viewing them as a piece of theatre. They enjoy watching. The parallels between this and some contemporary attitudes towards sex were probably first alluded to by the feminist writer Rosalind Coward in the 1980s when she introduced the term food pornography,

*“Cooking food and presenting it beautifully is an act of servitude. It is a way of expressing affection through a gift. That we should aspire to produce perfectly finished and presented food is a symbol of a willing and enjoyable participation in servicing others. Food pornography exactly sustains these meanings relating to the preparation of food. The kinds of picture used always repress the process of production of a meal. They are always beautifully lit, often touched up.” (Coward 1984, p.103)*

The connection to other writers such as Anthony Bourdain (2004) who have illustrated the juxtaposition of food and sex also springs to mind as do films such as *Babette's Feast* (1987), *Tampopo* (1985) and *La Grande Bouffe* that similarly bring together ideas of food and sex.

Some participants considered that celebrity chefs' contribution to authentic food was limited,

**Maria:** *“Yes, I have their books, but not for the authenticity of it, they tend to put their own slant on it.”*

**Sandra:** *“I think that the celebrity chefs are made for fun, they give you good ideas and it's a social thing, like you get your friends round. I know that we have, with a group of our friends, done a *Come Dine with Me*, just for the fun of it. So it's a social thing.”*

**Louisa:** *“It's social and fun. But you wouldn't turn to them for authentic meals would you? These are fun, interesting you know, yes.”*  
(S1, 12-13)

Celebrity chefs are not producing authentic food; they are providing entertainment. Matt has similar views,

**Matt:** *“Certainly I don't think half of that stuff that they do now that you see on those, is authentic food. They just tried to make something up that will go over well. Foam, who has foam on their dinner? I mean that's just unbelievable that is. Or jus, gravy, but they won't call it that. They're just trying to make us, they're trying to suck us into something that it isn't really anything special.”*

**Jeff:** *“Because, because you call it a jus you can add a fiver on the menu, or onto the bill that's the. What's the other one I like there, the potatoes, what do they call the potatoes?”*

**Matt:** *“Rosti, rosti?”*  
(V3, 30)

This extract shows a sense that celebrity chefs are entertaining, possibly in it for other, more commercial, reasons. However they are not really an authority for those seeking insights into authenticity. I will now look at other television presenters.

### 8.3.2 Other television presenters

Others on television did not come across well either. Kate reserves some ire for specific academics on television,

**Kate:** *“But they get all these experts, you know they have got big hats haven't they and long flashy coats and they, and they're professors of this, that and the other and they've, don't, you know you think they haven't even been near a farm.”*  
(V1, 77)

The parody of the academic's theatrical attire could be seen as relating to academic dress, but actually it refers to the costume that one academic wears when presenting a particular programme. In Kate's eyes, this undermines what he has to say, as does the dress of another presenter called Beth,

**Kate:** *“And then Beth is annoying isn't she? We wanted to grab her and tie that scarf up on her head, because she didn't get that one right. And then she made that, that meal didn't she and she said something about it looked like cat's sick or something and it did and it was. But she hadn't got an ounce of, I don't know whether you have ever heard there's a, oh there's the diaries of Nella Last which are her war diaries. And there is, there's three books altogether, but they take you into the 50s, but they used to ask for people to write in, but I can't remember what the name was, to the something of mass something or other. I don't know. I can't remember what it was, some government department.”*

**David:** *“It wadn't, it wadn't a true example of what happened in the war years was it.”* [Referring to the television programme].

**Kate:** *“No, and she used to, but she gives you, it's her diaries. She's just an ordinary woman and the way she cooked and made things interesting and cope with the rationing and she would help with the Red Cross and used to help meals and, and she was amazing. And I thought that she would have made that look better, you know. So I think presentation makes all the difference as well.”*  
(V1, 77-78)

Compared to the war diarist Nella Last (2012), Beth has limited credibility. Kate can relate to Last, as an “*ordinary woman.*” Last was also known as ‘Housewife 49’ who wrote a diary from 1939 to 1966 for the Mass Observation Archive (Hinton 2015). Last was an ordinary woman and Beth is an academic and a television presenter. For Kate the ordinary is more credible, more real, and more authentic. This criticism of television reconstruction is not isolated. At the time of writing, the BBC is running a series of programmes on the way that British people used to eat called, “*Back in time for dinner.*” The following observation appeared in the Times (2015, 57) about the programme on Tuesday 17 Mar 2015 at 20:00 on BBC Two,

*“The scene is a family cooking and eating meals in the 1950s. What a load of rubbish. The woman chosen has no idea how to cook - could she not have been given The Good Housekeeping Cookery Book, which was full of delicious recipes? No one in the 1950s used powdered eggs to make a cake and surely she knew how to ice a cake instead of pouring something resembling thin custard over it. We oldies didn't need a fridge to set a jelly and didn't have to wait until rationing had finished to serve bacon and eggs. Everything she attempted was burnt or undercooked; she was hopeless. I could go on! Perhaps the director asked her to be so inept.” Brenda Rickinson.*

The comments are very similar to Kate’s. For Michael it was the food they produced that came across as inauthentic,

**Michael:** *“What was that stuff? It was all off, and they turned it into cottage cheese or something? It was horrible wasn't it?”*

**Kate:** *“Oh, that was the milk gone off and she made it, this great big thing of cottage cheese and you could see that John who likes his food doesn't he and he sort of,”*

**Michael:** *“Baulked at that I think he did.”*

**Kate:** *“All that went in the bin.”*  
(V1, 79)

Initially this might indicate a concern relating to a lack of accuracy in the way that the presenters were portraying this method of preparing food. However, above and beyond this, I feel that there are also concerns relating to appropriation and cultural identity. The comments above relate to a series of programmes where the presenters tried to reconstruct life on farms at different times in the past. They did this by living and working for an extended period of time in the way people in those locations would have lived and worked, though how much was television production and how much actually represented their day-to-day lives is difficult to work out. This process has



parallels to the practice of experimental archaeology (See for example Milson 2010). For someone who had first-hand experience of living and working in the situations portrayed in the programmes it can be very frustrating when presenters put together these types of programs and get things wrong. It can also be frustrating when they get things right and declare this as an insight into the way people used to live their lives when all they had to do was actually ask someone who had lived that life. There is also, potentially, a process of appropriation as presenters from a distinctly different cultural background seem to come in and take over to become the expert in these programmes. There are parallels here to the idea of the incomer, which has been well documented by a number of authors particularly rural incomers (see for example the Forsythe 1980; Burnett 1998; Schmied 2005 and McKinlay and McVittie 2007). There has been research with regard to the nature of the television expert/viewer relationship, for example Smith (2010) and Simon-Vandenberg (2007), however I think that there is an opportunity for further research in this area. If, from the participants' perspectives, television personalities might lack true authority there are other people and organizations that might. I will look at these in the next section.

### **8.3.3 Who else might be authoritative?**

Participants highlighted a number of other organisations or individuals who might be able to provide information and insights into what was authentic. One potential source was the farmers' markets,

**Sean:** *"And who tells you what's local produce?"*

*Laughter*

**Natalie:** *"Good question."*

**Mary:** *"We know the local people that sell cheese, and it's produced locally. I also think it's the farmers' markets."*

**Mandy:** *"Yes the farmers' markets. They are local aren't they?"*

**Tracy:** *"Farmers' markets yes."  
(S1, 19)*

Farmers' markets are seen as authoritative sources with regard to what is local because they sell local products. There is a slight underlying scepticism with regard to Mandy's questioning of credibility. They gained credibility by selling local products, but what if some of those products are not local? I discussed elements of this in the last chapter and mention it again because for some participants they were important, or at

least they wanted them to be important even if they did not buy local products. Personal observation of and involvement with farmers' markets over a number of years lead me to believe that a lifecycle analysis of the food and drink on sale would prove interesting and that much might not be as local as people think and certainly may not be as sustainable as people think (Beer 2015a). Again this is an area that warrants further research.

Guidebooks and the Internet were also mentioned as sources of information,

**Deborah:** *"We went to Sicily during half term, um in February, and I'm a guidebook person so I would look in the food section to see where the seafood is, yeah, like you normally, we just asked us the receptionist to recommend a really good place, but it is quite touristy anyway, but it was delicious."*  
(S3, 16)

Guidebooks can be an authoritative source, as can recipe books,

**Sean:** *"And how would you find out how to cook a traditional, foreign dish, where would you look?"*

**Mandy:** *"I would look in the recipe book."*

**Natalie:** *"The Internet."*  
(S1, 13)

The participants did not mention books and the Internet very much, particularly compared to their interest in television and preferred human 'contact'. Whilst I understand that analysis of this type is not about the times that something is mentioned this could further indicate the impact that television had on participants. When at home and there were no authoritative people to ask, they tended to be more reliant on books and other sources. However, what they were really after were people, either directly or vicariously via the television. As indicated by Natalie, possibly the Internet could increasingly become a source of information.

When mentioned, the 'government' was viewed with suspicion,

**Fred:** *"Why are we so regulated in everything that we do?"*

**Clare:** *"But even though we are regulated those foods are still treated before we get them."*

**Bill:** *"Yeah."*

**Pete:** “Yes.”

**Jenny:** *“Oh it's regulated because it keeps all these people in expensive jobs in Brussels.”*

**Clare:** *“But then, but then we eat things like yoghurt, which would naturally go off in, in a very short period of time, like a month after they've been produced, you know, so they've got to have been treated to keep.”*

**Jenny:** *“But suppose, suppose they are obviously treated to keep with whatever is supposed to be, ah not to cause any, too much damage, she said digging into the cheese.”*

**Clare:** *“But it's, I suppose it's.”*

**Bill:** *“Their using it to adulterate stuff just to preserve it aren't they.”*

**Clare:** *“Yeah.”*

**Jenny:** *“Yeah.”*  
(V2, 60-61)

This exchange indicates a deep suspicion on a number of levels. There is suspicion of motivation in that regulation is seen as a way of creating and protecting well-paid government jobs as opposed to protecting consumers. There is the implication that regulation fails to protect consumers and may well contribute to risk through facilitating aspects of technology for example. Unfortunately there is much evidence in the UK that this may be the case. One only had to look back to the horse meat scandal, mentioned earlier where regulation was perceived, on the one hand, to have failed to prevent contamination of beef with horsemeat, and on the other to have facilitated it through legislation, to promote the free movement of goods and services within the European Union and greater ‘free trade’ of food around the world. Poortinga and Pidgeon (2005) see these problems stemming back in the UK to the BSE crises (Anderson et al. 1996), but as Drummond and Wilbraham (1991) show food adulteration has been practiced for centuries and often governments have been unable to prevent it.

Although within one of the groups there was some discussion about the appellation d'origine contrôlée (AOC) system, with specific reference to champagne, there was no real acknowledgement of other systems of government recognition of authenticity relating to geographical indications and traditional specialities in the European Union (Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) and Traditional Specialities Guaranteed (TSG)), apart from due homage being paid to the Melton Mowbray pork pie. This could be for a number of reasons, such as a general

lack of recognition of these labels as a result of poor promotion, a mistrust of the system or a consideration that labels are really meaningless. I was surprised by this. I thought that this sort of certification might be important. It certainly seems to be important in other parts of Europe, as shown by Chamorro et al. (2015); Dimara and Skuras (2003); McCluskey and Loureiro (2003); Superkova et al. (2008). Possibly this is to do with the nature of the participants in this study and it is a topic worthy of further exploration, something supported by Tonkin et al. (2015) regarding food labelling in general, particularly from an empirical basis and specifically food assurance schemes within the UK (Eden et al. 2008). There were other authorities and signs that might indicate authenticity and these are the subject of the following section.

#### **8.3.4 Authenticity from those who know**

Sometimes when participants had not received specific advice, they needed to look for signs of where they might find authentic food,

**Jenny:** *“Local, traditional, and eat the way that they do it,*

**Pete:** *“The culinary culture as much as we can.”*

**Bill:** *“I do exactly the same, I love Italy, I've been there three or four times there and back. I do exactly that. I go to a, you're kind of forced into a town or somewhere like that because I don't know enough about it. But I go outside of that town in the small places where the locals eat.”*

**Pete:** *“Um.”*

**Bill:** *“That's what I do, that's where I go.”*

**Clare:** *“It's always a good clue if the locals are eating there isn't it.”*

**Bill:** *“Yeah.”*

**Sean:** *“How would you recognize those places?”*

**Bill:** *“If you can find a place where there's a policeman eating or some servicemen you know, that's a good place generally, they know what they're doing. We used to do that in the States. I'd travel out, I've travelled all over the States that's part of my job, and I'd try to stop for lunch whatever and I'd look for where you would find a couple of cop cars stopped outside a diner because they don't, you would get good local food in there. They'd sorted it out. Because, because that's the only way that I could, I always had, I never got disappointed that way. I've got a friend in Belgium where I go, when I go over to see him and we don't eat in the local, in the tourist place, we eat locally. And that's what the holiday I think is about anyway.”*  
(V2, 74-75)

They are all keen to eat local, authentic food and Bill likes to find small places where local people go to eat. Possibly the small places are less commercial and exist on some other basis than a commercial relationship, a relationship that is based on hospitality, service and friendship above and beyond the simple economic transaction. Lugosi (2008) highlights the commercial dimensions of hospitality, the social and political dimensions and,

*“...meta-hospitality – temporary states of being that are different from the rational manifestations of hospitality. It is argued that meta-hospitality is tied to communitasque moments – short-lived emotional bonds that may be built or experienced through hospitality transactions.” (ibid, p. 139)*

Possibly this is what Bill is looking for; the social and the communitasque. I think that this is linked to ideas of existential authenticity mentioned previously. In order to spot these places he looks out for police cars or other evidence that people from the military may be eating there. Police officers often have good local knowledge and the military provides an extended network of contacts who would be able to pass on information about the best places to eat. Also in the military, despite what some people might say, food is very important and from personal experience often very good.

Caroline also likes to find authentic places to eat when on holiday,

**Caroline:** *“We try and find somewhere where the locals are eating, and usually, usually if you find somewhere where the locals are eating then you know that it’s pretty genuine.”*

**Sean:** *“How do you spot a local?”*

**Caroline:** *“They’re usually in a backstreet up some little alley, some little bodega [Spanish term for a small wine bar], some little alley that is actually full of crusty old men who were smoking and drinking. That’s pretty authentic, to me that is, I suppose, that’s just my vision of it.”*

**Matt:** *“That’s, yeah that’s what you just said then, I was in Combray (north-west France) and we were walking around the main square and there was plenty of places to eat, but there didn’t seem to be much going on. So we walked down a backstreet and I looked in this place, and it was packed and I said we’d better go in there, because, you know, if they’re in there eating it must be good. And we did, and we had a fantastic meal, and I think if we’d stayed in the square we would have been disappointed.”*  
(V3, 24-25)

Caroline goes looking for small places that are often out of the way and based on their clientele places that might not, at first, seem particularly desirable or welcoming. Again there is an emphasis on the small, the intimate as opposed to the large, commercial

and perfunctory. There is also an idea that the authentic is something that at first may appear undesirable, but the seeker must persevere and get around barriers in order to discover something special. This is part of the cost. This also sets apart those who go looking for the authentic from those who are not interested. It forms part of the individual's identity. It indicates that they have a focus, that they are prepared to take risks and have a certain additional level of courage in order to obtain their goals.

Pete has a more ethereal perspective,

**Pete:** *"Where the priests go is always good. And you go in a place, the proprietor can't speak English, the only thing you get is the local language, you know you're pretty authentic."*

(V2, 77)

The local priests are embedded members of society, normally individuals who have a good understanding of the local community and what is happening. Also within some cultures they have a reputation for living well and so there might be a slight irony here. For example, think of the way the church is portrayed in the *Canterbury Tales* (Chaucer 2012). Comments on language are important; it is a barrier that needs to be overcome in order to gain access to authenticity, but at the same time it is a symbol of authenticity. Consumption of the authentic has to be earned. In some ways this goes back to previous comments about the cost of eating authentically; either the cost in terms of money required to buy the food, or the cost in terms of the time required to produce it. Bill's ideas about how to recognize somewhere authentic to eat take on a more theatrical turn,

**Bill:** *"I'll tell you another way of recognising a local, traditional restaurant, whatever, if you open the door and walk in and there's somebody, and everything goes silent you know you're in a local place."*

(V2, 86)

This invokes a clichéd scene from the 1981 film *American Werewolf in London*, where two young American tourists enter a rural pub in England called *The Slaughtered Lamb* and everyone turns towards them and all goes quiet. Bill indicates that strangers may well not get the friendliest reception in some restaurants. A natural suspicion means that strangers are recognised as the Other. Human beings are wary of difference; potentially this is a survival trait. At the same time as being wary, there is also an excitement that results from the possibility that a new experience might await. Depending on the individual they will seek or avoid such experiences. For many

people, in general and tourists in particular, this thrill-seeking, to a greater or lesser extent, is part of the experiences they look for. Associated with this may be a desire to become accepted members of a community, even for a brief time. In such circumstances, overcoming initial wariness is central to developing relationships where acceptance will be realized. This situation is often further complicated by experiences of inclusion and exclusion and I will discuss these in the next section.

## **8.4 Inclusion and exclusion**

It is possible to further develop the idea of barriers, discussed in the previous section, to one that looks at inclusion and exclusion. I would like to discuss these in terms of courage and language, taste, cost, the worry of food poisoning and the need for compromise. There is a dance that is played with authority that has much to do with inclusion and exclusion. We can seek to gain access to something like authentic food, but can find our effort blocked by a lack of knowledge, money or conflicting priorities and desires. As indicated above, this may be part of the cost. At the same time we may be obstructed or deterred. On holiday, participants found their quest to eat authentically obstructed and they potentially gravitated from the back street café in the docks, to that burger restaurant in the centre of town. Or alternatively they were eating there because that is where they wanted to eat. These observations are not new. Cohen and Avieli (2004) discuss hygiene, health, communication gaps and the knowledge of tourists concerning local food in a paper that looks at attraction and impediment. Mak et al. (2012) identify cultural and religious influences, socio-demographic factors, food-related personality traits, past experience and motivational factors, but have little to say on language. Kim et al. (2009) highlight motivational factors including authentic experience; demographic factors, and physiological factors, food neophilia and food neophobia, again they did not mention language. Therefore the observations reported here are not new, but do form part of the structure of the phenomenon. Initially I will talk about the need to be brave and the barrier of language.

### **8.4.1 The need to be brave and the barrier of language**

The situation is complicated, whenever someone enters a new and different situation; there will be feelings of excitement and fear, as this extract shows,

**Natalie:** *“You might yes, but do you actually get access a lot of the time when you go on holiday with the people that live there. I don't know, I think you have to be quite brave to.”*

**Sean:** *“So you have to hunt out real people?”*

*Um [general agreement]*

**Natalie:** *“Which you probably, which you wouldn't really do. So for access I suppose it would be books and Internet.”*

**Sean:** *“But when you go hunting for these real people what stops you finding them?”*

**Natalie:** *“Um, language maybe. Being brave enough to go off the beaten track when you don't know where you're going.”*

**Tracey** *“You go around the corner and then you find a restaurant where the locals were.”*

**Rebecca:** *“But again would you really sit in a restaurant or a cafe or whatever and say this is lovely can you tell me how you made it. Because as you said the language is going to get in the way it might be ingredients that they don't know the English name of even if they can speak English it kind of all gets lost in the difficulties.”*  
(S1, 14-15)

There is an underlying fear in accessing the other. This fear, even if the participants wanted to access authentic establishments, means that they cannot make the kind of contact with local people that they would like to, and consequently in order to get the information they need they have to go to impersonal sources such as virtual sources. Part of this fear relates to the idea, previously discussed, of small out of the way places, which are considered authentic but at the same time intimidating. It is possible that this is why some of the participants looked out for the presence of the police, or a priest at a strange restaurant; the unknown coupled with symbols of security, depending on the cultural and historical context. As we know Richard likes to go to these places,

**Richard:** *“I tend to look for a little backstreet. Because I like little backstreet places.”*

*General laughter.*

**Richard:** *“Because, because if you go to the square, say you are I don't know in France and there is a big square, there the food is never as good as the little place round the corner.”*  
(S2, 22)

It is here, away from the centre of town, that the most authentic experiences can be had. In the centre of town, the rents tend to be higher, the premises larger and there is a drive to maximize economic returns. The other significant barrier for Rebecca was language. Whilst not having menus written in English can be a sign of authenticity, it



also means that unless an individual speaks the foreign language it is difficult to engage. It is important to note the emphasis that Rebecca places on language; it relates to the Other. It is the inability of other people to speak English or for the menu to be translated into English that is the problem. It is not about Rebecca's inability to speak their language. For many of my non-British friends this would be considered a typically British perspective. The language that is used on a menu may well have other implications,

**Matt:** *“My sister went to, I can't remember, she was in China and she said if you went into some restaurants it was purely Chinese writing so you got no idea what you are eating. If you then went in one had a menu, in English, you obviously knew what you are eating, but you pay twice the price as if you'd gone into another one. So um I expect, it was, did the one with the English menu change their menu to suit us, when you went in the one without the English menu you got what the Chinese were eating, that was authentic food.”*  
(V3, 23-24)

The fact that the menu is in English indicates that the establishment is targeting a non-Chinese audience and therefore will demand more money and will also change the meal to better suit foreign tastes. Therefore if someone is seeking an authentic experience, if they can negotiate the language they will end up with two benefits: firstly a more authentic meal and experience, and secondly a cheaper meal. Possibly there is a slight sense of injustice here, however, the classical marketing approach to business by commentators such as Friedman (2002) is to provide what the customer wants to maximize the return for shareholders. If proprietors have been told that, in this context, Western customers have certain expectations they may well aim to meet these. In doing a better job they may well consider that there is a right to a better reward. From the perspective of some of the participants, in writing the menu in English and adjusting the taste of the meal they may be overcoming two of the barriers to accessing local food for the tourist; language and taste. How can proprietors second-guess what the authenticity-seeking tourist might want, particularly when they may want different things? Then again possibly it is not about second guessing at all. At one time there was hospitality. Then in a move to improve and modernize services systems theory was applied (see for example Jones et al. 2003). Subsequently Pine and Gilmore (1999) called for a focus on experience. As a reaction to the engineering of experience, in 2007 Gilmore and Pine proposed authenticity but seem to offer more advice on how to make things look authentic rather than on what authentic experiences might be (York 2014). I think that we will move back to an idea of pure hospitality; from hospitality, to service, to experience, to authenticity to hospitality (Beer 2015b).

The inability of the British to speak foreign languages can cause embarrassment,

**Jeff:** *"We're the classic, I think you can get different answer there, I'm not very good at French, but I was trying to explain I wanted a table for this particular night and I got it wrong anyway, but I get my phrasebook out and the French girl turned out to be English, or spoke very good English, and when she saw as attempting to speak French she would sort of, was advising us what to have and this family came in."*

**Samantha:** *"That was so embarrassing."*

**Jeff:** *"Please, I'm not trying to upset anybody, but they were northerners [laughter] and they go, to the girl that we knew could speak good English, 'beer, big, beer.' And they were shouting at, 'chips, chips.' She was you know, 'we want chips.' You know it was just, it really was embarrassing wasn't it. And this girl she just completely, they were giving it this, and then they got a bottle of."*

**Samantha:** *"Heinz tomato ketchup."*

**Jeff:** *"They had brought in their bag, put on the table and smothered it."*

**Samantha:** *"And the food was lovely anyway wasn't it."*

**Jeff:** *"It was smothered, chips with tomato sauce. But that was just so, you talk about it, it was embarrassing really. And the more they shouted at the lass she would understand [general laughter] and she come, you know she came past us and she was smiling, you know because she knew we had, where attempting to ask for the food. And you know we had some lovely meals in there, but they just wanted to eat chips in France. Yes."*

(V3, 50-51)

There is little doubt that the British are not particularly strong at foreign languages (see Burge et al. 2013 for example). What I find interesting here is that Jeff and Samantha's frustration is not necessarily with the inability of the other English customers to speak French, but their refusal to try to speak French and also their rejection of French culture, as exemplified by their treatment of the food. Apart from being an amusing parody of the English abroad, (and there is much well-meant humour in this exchange), the rejection of French culture also indicates a position of bad faith with regard to the relationships that surround hospitality (see Brotherton 1999, 2005; Derrida 2000 and Lashley and Morrison 2001). Hospitality is offered and should be taken with good grace even if money changes hands. There will always be room for dispute, however, this was not the best way to engage with a different culture. By behaving in this way, other British tourists brought an element of shame onto Jeff and Samantha regardless of how much the waitress may have understood the situation. For the more adventurous, language need not be a barrier,

**Sean:** *“But if you were, what about language, does that cause a barrier for when you go?”*

**Richard:** *“You can point in any language.”*  
(S2, 26)

The implication is that it is not all about the spoken word and that there is more to creating understanding and acceptance than the ability to speak a language. This is true, but brings more into play than a simple gesture of the hand in that there are many dimensions to non-verbal communication, some of which may betray an individual's feelings without them actually knowing that they are communicating in this way (Hall and Knapp 2013). For someone who is confident, such as Richard, pointing may be easy. However, for someone who does not possess self-confidence, it may be as difficult as trying to master the language, potentially even more so. It is relatively easy to learn some simple phrases; it is far more difficult for an individual to change their character. I would now like to talk about taste.

#### **8.4.2 The barrier and excitement of taste**

There were also worries about the taste of the food,

**Mary:** *“I actually hold back a bit abroad I must say, because I'm not sure what I'm eating, or where it's sourced or I'm actually quite fussy when I go out. No I'm not saying that I would go abroad and I wouldn't eat. I would look out for the food that is here, but I do like to know what I'm eating, what is it, yes.”*

**Tracy:** *“No, I was going to say I went to stay in China some years ago, ten-years, their food is nothing like at all what we have here, and I went to China and I just didn't like it. I suppose your palate just isn't used to it is it? My friend and I ate in McDonald's because we knew that was safe and it is a familiar taste I suppose. Because it wasn't what we were expecting it to be, and it was very watery and there were horrible bits of skin floating around, and bones, it was just horrid.”*  
(S1, 15-16)

There are expectations and these may not be met, or they may be met or exceeded for a variety of reasons. What we have, in effect, is a hermeneutics of taste. Previously I have discussed the idea of hermeneutics with regard to interpretation, where understanding is dependent on the context of the text in its broadest context; that is everything (Derrida 1997) including the context of the individual and the way in which these change over time (Schmidt 2006). Hermeneutics can be directly applied to understandings of taste, as for Kate,

**Kate:** *“When I went to Mexico, in my mind it was going to be brilliant, fantastic trip because I was going to eat burritos and enchiladas like they do in Weymouth, in that restaurant, but we know it's not authentic because they're really bright coloured and is actually not very nice. I thought, you know, it will be just like this, but not all these bright colours. And what a shock. I got there, actually I really wanted to eat the authentic food, but I was so miserable for about a month eating re-fried beans that didn't look anything like. And they put them with everything, breakfast, lunch, tea they ate everything and they're not anything you, like what you think, you're in Mexico, and you have got to eat the local food. Not good.”*  
(S3, 21-22)

Obviously, neither Mary, nor Tracy nor Kate enjoyed these particular experiences of eating foods from a distinctly different culture. Mary makes the point that she is a fussy eater and therefore, regardless of being on holiday, will have recollections of meals, dishes and tastes with which she is comfortable. Experiencing anything other than this will cause her stress. Upon reflection, I think this would often be the situation for most people. It may well be that individuals have tried the food of distinctly different cultures, in certain circumstances (when tastes may have been adjusted to suit local palates) and found this to be acceptable. For these participants, problems arose when they were experiencing tastes that were distinctly representative of the other. That is not to do with tastes, which they accepted within their own cultural repertoire, nor tastes that they accepted from other cultural repertoires that had been presented to them at home. This was a significant hermeneutic challenge. I discussed this aspect of the phenomenon in a home setting in chapter 6 when looking at eating out. In a tourist context, Cohen and Avieli (2004) have made similar observations. There are also worries about expectations when consuming tastes that are not within an individual's own control; will the expectations match up to the 'reality'? When there have been cases of this not happening, a new expectation may develop where the individual will not like the food from other situations and cultures, potentially resulting in a self-fulfilling prophecy; the individual will not like new food experiences. This is further complicated by individual differences such as a tendency to neophili (a strong affinity for novelty) and the opposite, neophobia (Mak et al. 2012; Pliner and Hobden 1992). Having said that, the food may well be authentic, but not an authenticity that they find pleasing. Another thing that may cause concern is the subject of cost that I will now discuss.

### **8.4.3 The question of cost**

There were some concerns that authentic food might be expensive,

**Richard:** *“So if you say, right we will all go, it would end up costing a fortune. We couldn't afford to eat every evening out, but we would consider it a treat when we did. And of course we couldn't afford to eat out all the time.”*

**Maureen:** *“But that's why we've gone all-inclusive, you know, it's all there, it's all found.”*  
(S2, 24)

Maureen maintains that she goes 'all-inclusive' because of cost. Given other comments that Maureen made about her attitude to food, this is possibly a simple way of dealing with something that doesn't really interest her. Thinking back to previous comments about language, there may well be additional anxiety in that as a result of limited language skills, it may be difficult to know how much a dish costs. There is also the underlying anxiety mentioned previously that tourists will be charged more than local people. Economies are diverse and it may be that local food is cheap and even double the price it will still be cheaper compared to eating at home. Cheap prices at a tourism destination may have been one of the reasons why a particular tourist was attracted to a particular destination. Therefore they may well feel cheated if they cannot take advantage of these good prices. There are parallels to the process of haggling in markets where tourists may be negotiating over very small amounts, but engage in this activity for a variety of reasons, including personal enjoyment. Other local people may also have told them that it is necessary to limit price inflation for local consumers. The dynamics and ethics of this process, together with the economic engagement between tourists and the local population, are complicated (Duffy and Smith 2003; Mostafanezhad and Hannam 2014) and it is possible that tourists are surprised when people they might consider at a disadvantage assert themselves (Abbink 2000). One major concern for some participants was food poisoning and I will discuss this in the next section.

#### **8.4.4 The worry of food poisoning**

Many of the participants were concerned about potential food poisoning,

**Jeff:** *“You go to some other countries and the food you eat over there, within half an hour of eating it you're running to the toilet. [General laughter] that's a bad reputation and yet we still eat it.”*  
(V3, 23)

**Clare:** *“In Tunisia we tended to stick to what we would think of as things that wouldn't cause stomach problems as much. But yeah.”*  
(V2, 39)

**Nina:** *“Because we get safe meals, and meals that I know I’m going to eat. The chips, the lasagnes, the pizzas, I will go for all those things because that’s what I eat at home.”* [Laughter, but in a sympathetic way].  
(S3, 16)

It is possible to pick up food poisoning in many different ways; however, the participants tended to feel more vulnerable when they were away from home and engaging with cultures that were distinctly different from their own. The need to provide safe food for tourists is widely recognized (Henderson 2009; Howard 2009; Larsen et al. 2007, 2009). In tourist situations they will, as indicated by Nina’s comments, consume food that might be considered less authentic in order to avoid illness. Jeff is incredulous that despite knowing the risks, people still put themselves in danger. For many people this is important with regard to their encounters with the Other and this is particularly so within the context of tourism, dark tourism being an example (Sharpley and Stone 2009; Lennon and Folley 2010; Tezena and Lennon 2014; Willis 2014), where tourists visit *“both places with violent legacies and those at which violence is an ongoing reality”* (Robb 2009. p. 51). It may also reflect the risk taking behaviour of tourists with regard to sexual encounters when they are on holiday. (Downing et al. 2011; Monterrubio 2007; Ragsdale et al. 2006; Thomas 2005; and Clift and Forrest 1999). As Thomas (2005) maintains,

*“These data suggest that freedom from the constraints and realities of domestic life is a crucial aspect of the holiday experience. It is argued that holidays are a “liminoid period” in which norms of behaviour are temporarily abandoned. Furthermore, on holiday, time becomes “compressed”.”*

For some it may be that this is a liminoid period, (implying a transition from one state to another), which results in a suspension of the moderating internal voice (Freud’s superego, Freud 1991) with regard to food and sex and it certainly seems to be similar for alcohol (Briggs and Tutenges 2014; Jayne et al. 2012 and Hesse et al. 2008). Nina’s strategy is simple: withdraw from consuming authentic food; it is safer.

Mo considers that it is an ‘occupational’ hazard of traveling abroad. Richard thinks that people get used to it,

**Sean:** *“When you said that you were in India, and you said that you were frightened, what exactly were you frightened off?”*

**Mo:** *“Well Delhi belly.”*

**Sean:** *“Delhi belly.”*

**Mo:** "Yeah. You never know do you, I didn't really eat the meat. I was a bit scared."

**Richard:** "Do you ever look at the places and look if they are clean and think that you will eat there."

**Mo:** "It didn't really matter because wherever we went because we were in a group and you didn't really get to go off anywhere on your own anyway. So we did go to quite a lot of, I suppose, mainstream places where many people ate, but when we did have chance to go off it didn't matter where you went somebody would always be a bit ill for a couple of days."

**Richard:** "I think that, I think that if you go for a longer time you get used to it. I think your body gets used to it as well."

**Mo:** "Yeah."

**Richard:** "I think your body gets used to it, and so you tend to get a bit blasé about it, and think, well I can eat anything now I've been out here for four months and I can eat anything."  
(S2, 24-25)

It may be that food poisoning is difficult to avoid in certain circumstances, though I am not sure it is correct to say that travellers get acclimatized to food poisoning bugs in certain areas, as Pete suggests,

**Clare:** "Italy, certainly is a safe country to eat in isn't it because they do love their food, but when you are in, in say India,"

**Fred:** "Tunisia,"

**Clare:** "Tunisia was definitely an experience on food wise, if you like."

**Sean:** "Tell us more about Tunisia."

**Clare:** "Tunisia um definitely, um well, as I say, I think one of the few things I did find I liked was what they called, which was like a mashed potato with an egg cooked in the middle of it, it was like completely like that, but I, I wouldn't risk their meats just because I'd seen it hanging in the butchers. So the fact that there have like an open stall, like market stalls with meats all hanging in there that totally put me off."

**Fred:** "Turn off, like."

**Clare:** "It was like trying your meat before the meal. Basically if you're not used to that sort of thing then it's quite difficult to, to actually start eating it."

**Richard:** "You have to be used to it."  
(V2, 78)

I once mentioned to a doctor, who had spent a considerable amount of time in Asia, the argument about how people might become immune to food poisoning bugs. Her response was that, particularly with regard to young children, they did not become

immune they just died. Interestingly this is an area that lacks contemporary research (Newell et al. 2010), however, more popularist sources estimate that in developing countries almost two million children a year die as a result of contaminated food and water (Ackerman 2002).

There is a perception, exhibited by Claire, that all may not be what it seems,

**Clare:** *“It is a bit, the trouble with a very high spiced food is you don't, don't know what is underneath the spice I know”*

**Bill:** *“That's why the spices are there, to cover up really.”*

**Clare:** *“Yeah I know that, yeah I know.”*

**Jenny:** *“Just go vegetarian.”*

**Clare:** *“But even then.”*  
(V2, 79)

Clare's comments about the use of spice can have two meanings. The first relates to the use of spice: in some types of cooking for flavour can hide the underlying flavour of the ingredients and the second relates to the deliberate use of spice to cover up the taste of rotting meat that might be dangerous to health. The first line of thought relates to the taste of something different; the second implies deceit. Historically it is thought that spices have been used to cover up the taste of rotting meat (Dickson Wright 2011) and the adultery of food was common place (Drummond and Wilbraham 1994). Caroline thought that she had an advantage,

**Caroline:** *“As a vegetarian I've got a better chance of eating something that's not going to make me ill.”*  
(V3, 58)

In case of an omnivorous person deciding to be vegetarian to avoid food poisoning, this might be considered to be a step back from pursuing authentic food for the sake of safeguarding one's health. Since Caroline is a full time vegetarian this particular argument does not apply. Despite the fact that she is not evangelical about her approach to food, there is an air to this comment that indicates this may be another way in which the vegetarian approach to eating is better for a person and that this is part of her identity. With regard to all of these concerns there may be a need for compromise which is the subject of the next section.



#### **8.4.5 The need for compromise**

Roger has an approach that seems to represent the participant's diverse approaches to accessing the authentic food of the Other,

**Roger:** *"Don't you think that there is a balance that you can strike. We were in Gambia earlier in the year and we really wanted to go and have Gambian food, but we wanted to do it somewhere that was reasonably clean, so we reached a compromise on the authenticity."*

(S3, 14)

This quotation seems to sum up this particular section of the participants' discussions in that they are faced with a number of choices. They may or may not wish to pursue the consumption of authentic food and drink. In many situations, seeking out authentic food may involve an element of risk, particularly if it involves engagement with people and cultures with which they are not familiar. I consider these risks to represent potential barriers to engagement, and just as Roger indicates, compromises have to be made. Depending on an individual's disposition, they may frequent establishments where they do not understand the language, where they may even feel a certain element of physical danger. They may not know what tastes they are going to encounter or whether they will like them. They may not know whether the food they eat will make them ill or not. Depending on how risk averse they are and on their attitude towards consuming the authentic, they will gradually gravitate back from the small intimate but seedy restaurant in the dock area to the burger bar in the town square. Or they may be there already.

#### **8.5 Conclusions and Reflections**

In this chapter I set out to look at the participants' relationship with the distinctly Other; with other people, above and beyond friends and family and how this has shaped their understanding of authentic food. I have explored ideas of trust and vulnerability, authority, inclusion and exclusion. In many ways these ideas are set within a context of hospitality. I have mentioned this briefly in the discussion but I would like to come back to it again. There have been various academic discussions on the nature of hospitality such as by King (1995), Brotherton (1999, 2005), Derrida (2000, 2001), Derrida and Dufourmantelle (2000), Lashley and Morrison (2001), Dikeç, (2002), Germann Molz, and Gibson (2007), Hemmington (2007), Lashley et al. (2007), Morrison and O'Gorman (2008), Lynch et al. (2011), Candea, and Da Col (2012), and Lugosi (2014, 2009, 2008), however, ideas go back much further than our academic discourses. Much of our western understanding is based on the Bible,

*“You shall treat the stranger who sojourns with you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God.”*

*Leviticus 19:34, ESV (2012)*

*“Then the King will say to those on his right, ‘Come, you who are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me.’ Then the righteous will answer him, saying, ‘Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you drink? And when did we see you a stranger and welcome you, or naked and clothe you?’”*

*Matthew 25:34-46, ESV (2012)*

*“Do not neglect to show hospitality to strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.”*

*Hebrews 13:2 ESV (2012)*

Hospitality is also a cornerstone of Bedouin and Islamic culture in the form of Alms for the Poor (*zakāt sadaqah*), one of the five pillars of Islam, and *Ibnu Al-Sabīl*, extending a helping hand to the traveller (Granara 2010), which could be considered part of *zakāt sadaqah*. Medieval Arabic *adab*, which refers to etiquette, in terms of good manners, morals, decency and humaneness, extended these values to urban civility and the relationship between the host and guest (Granara 2010). All these exchanges centre round the giving and receiving of food, drink and shelter. In *Of Hospitality* Derrida (2000) deconstructs ideas of hospitality to show the importance of power in the relationship. It is only by giving access to something that is jealously protected, such as the home, that hospitality can be offered. There is also the common root of the Latin term *hostis* to the words host and hostility, highlighting the potential tension. Granara (2010) discusses the work of Mauss (1990) who asserted,

*“That a gift is part of a system of reciprocity in which the honor of giver and recipient is engaged, leading to a perpetual cycle of exchanges that engage persons in permanent commitments.” (Granara 2010 p. 124).*

Presumably we could now consider, within the context of commercial hospitality, that all debts are paid with the provision of services and payment as Lashley (2000, p. 73) maintains,

*“Commercial hospitality provision depends on a reciprocity based on money exchange.”*

This misses something far more fundamental. Hemmington's (2007) reworking of Pine and Gilmore (1999) picks this up. It is more than just an exchange of services for money; it is about experience. However, hospitality is more than experience, and further elements of this become apparent in terms of some very interesting theorizing by the authors mentioned above. Lashley (2000, p 75) goes on to say that,

*“A wider understanding of hospitality suggests firstly that hospitality is essentially a relationship based on host and guest.”*

The full title of Mauss's 1990 book is, *The gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*; thus there is potentially something far more primordial about hospitality that is *a priori* to any idea of financial reward, to the rules of men, even to the idea of a relationship. Maybe it is more than theorizing, but less than theorizing; maybe it is *being* with the other. As I approach the water fountain, so does another man. He stops, smiles and gestures me forward even though he would have got there first. This is hospitality; this is openness in being with the other. This is an openness that acknowledges the fear within the self and the tensions of power, but celebrates the unfathomable enormity (infinity) of the other (Levinas 1981; 1998).

At the same time we can look at the relationship between host and guest and the atmosphere that surrounds it, as one that might give rise to an encounter that allows the consumption of authentic food within an authentic context; physically, socially and emotionally. This has really been the focus of much of the work on authenticity in the tourism literature. For example; is it staged (am I being catered for?), is it commodified, is it authentic? What is the meaning behind the quest for authenticity, what is existential authenticity and how is authenticity constructed? With the accelerated process of globalisation, this is no longer an encounter with the Other, only in a different space, away, on holiday. Now the exotic is brought into an individual's home in real time via television, the internet and then into their mouth in food and up through their nose in terms of smell. This is no longer an isolated occurrence. It is not like someone from the seventeenth century smelling the exotic spice of cardamom or cloves at Christmas. It is continual, commonplace. Relationships with food are complex and changing at an ever increasing speed as the world globalizes and heads potentially towards the Hyper Reality and Simulacra of Baudrillard. This change in the relationship with the Other brings its own challenges of resentment, complacency, priorities, and understanding, even the relationship with the new Other, technology. Relationships with the other are changing in ways that were unimaginable previously.

So in one direction we have the idea of being with the other and in the opposite direction we have the theorized complexity of a world spinning ever faster on its metaphorical axis. The question is where do they meet? How can the simple be hospitable to the complex, the complex to the simple? How can the quiet be hospitable to the noise and the noise to the quiet?

In these four findings chapters I have looked at the four main themes of my findings that made up the structure of the phenomenon: perceptions of the authenticity of food. These were, Family and friends; Saucing: cooking and flavour; Sourcing: where does it come from? and; Interaction with the distinctly other (people that were not friends and family). I would now like to collect together the discussion and arguments outlined in this thesis in terms of presenting my conclusions.

## **Chapter 9: Conclusions**

### **9.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I will bring the various strands of this thesis together to provide an overview of the process and some more focussed conclusions. First, I will explain what I did in terms of the research process. I will then go on to describe the structure of the phenomenon and how this might be contextualized, particularly with regard to my conceptual framework. There are tensions here with a postmodern perspective and I would like to explore these briefly. Then, I will reiterate the contribution that I have made to knowledge and theory, and the implications for future research. Some of these implications relate to the non-generalizability of my conclusions. Therefore, I will discuss the implications for society (as previously defined) within that context before offering some final thoughts.

### **9.2 The research process**

In this thesis I have examined the perceptions of the authenticity of food for a sample of white, working and middle-class men and women, aged between 24 and 88 years who, at the time of the research for this thesis, were living in Dorset in the south-west of the UK.

The aim of my research was to:

Critically explore the relationship between authenticity, the individual, society and the food consumed within that society for a group of residents in Dorset in the United Kingdom.

In this context society refers to the aggregate of people living together in a more or less ordered community (OD 2015). To achieve this aim, the following objectives were identified:

1. To review and evaluate what is understood by authenticity in the academic literature.
2. To explore, using a phenomenological approach, the views, perceptions and understandings of authenticity as applicable to food, as discussed by residents in Dorset.

3. To develop this analysis in the context of the literature and my own experience.
4. To contribute to current knowledge as to how individuals perceive the authenticity of food and to indicate what the implications of this might be for society in general and a future academic research agenda.

In undertaking this work I have acted as a reflexive explorer. The theoretical paradigms that have guided my work are interpretive constructionism derived from the ideas of post-modernism and I have used a qualitative, phenomenological research strategy. Data were collected using focus groups and analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis. I have evaluated my work through a reflexive process. This recognizes my subjectivity and the way in which I have been involved in a process of co-construction to reach the point of drawing conclusions.

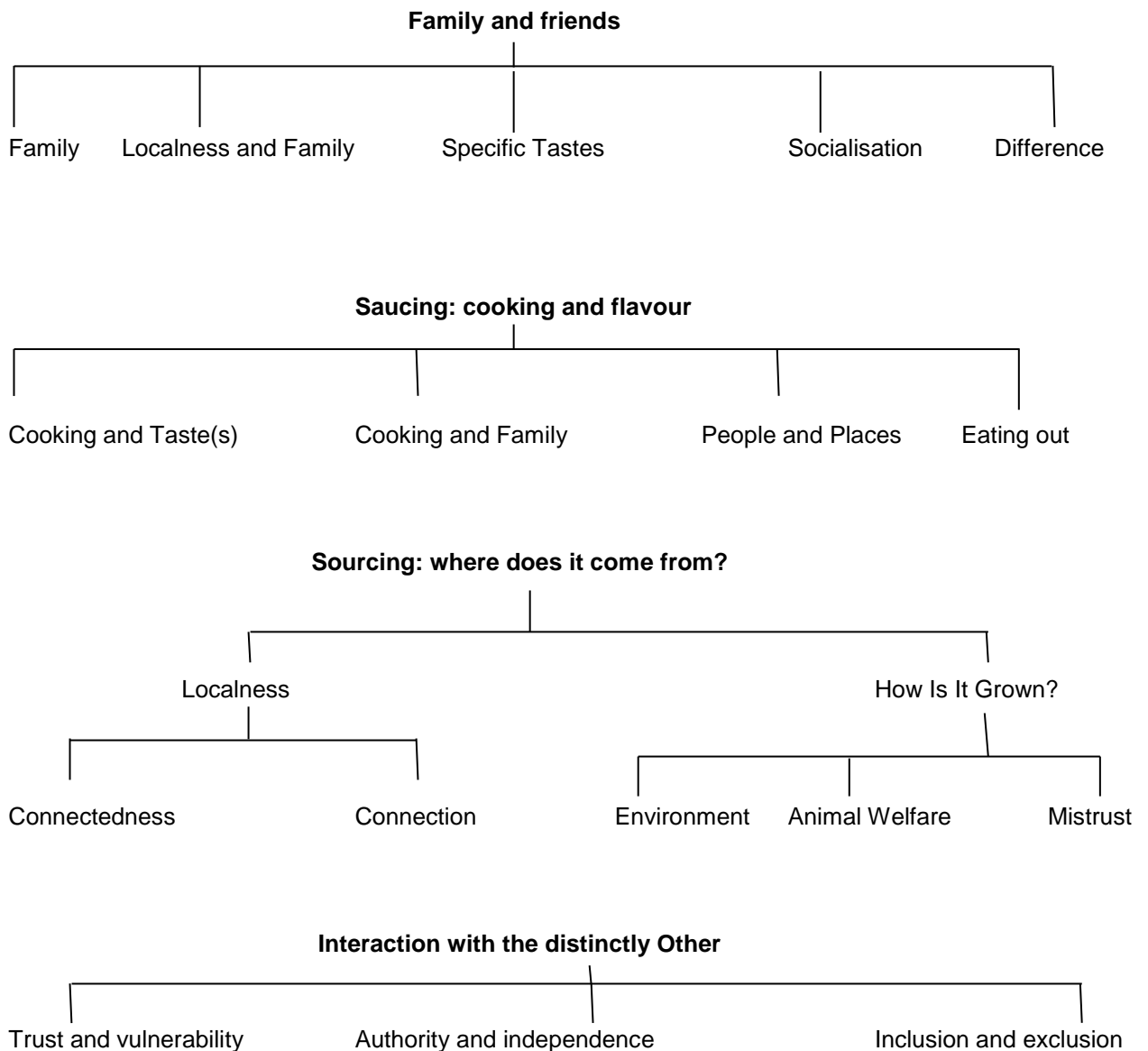
Initially I undertook a broad literature review that looked at methodology and method as well as the academic literature, which reflected the areas I thought my participants might discuss. Then I selected a series of participants, based on convenience and snowball sampling. I held eight focus groups; two pilot groups where I explored ideas and methods and six main groups. Each group took place as part of a meal. I analyzed the data using the approach of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis after Smith et al. (2009). This resulted in a structure and interpretation of the phenomenon, which I developed through a process of writing that gave primacy to the data, structure and interpretation to the phenomenon, and developed a dialogue between the data, the literature and myself, where the literature was used to illuminate the analysis of the data. In terms of the literature in the analysis and conclusions, I have extended my gaze to look at an engagement with 'texts' above and beyond the academic literature. This approach is in keeping with a postmodern approach. I wrote the thesis in the first person. I did this because it was appropriate given my influence on, and embodiment in, the process of research; I did not want a disembodied account (Geertz 1988; Wolcott 2009). It also represents a more engaging style for the reader (Holloway and Wheeler 2010; Holloway and Brown 2012).

As a result of this process, utilizing the data provided by the participants, a structure of the phenomenon of perceptions of the authenticity of food was developed and I will summarize this structure in the following section.

### 9.3 The structure of the phenomenon

When I asked my focus group participants about their understanding of the nature of the authenticity of food, they described understandings that were vested in four key areas: Family and friends, Saucing: cooking and flavour, Sourcing: where does it come from? And, Interaction with the distinctly Other, which refers to people that were not considered friends and family. These four major themes were further subdivided as shown below in Figure 9.1.

**Figure 9.1 Structure of the phenomenon, perceptions of the authenticity of food.**



I will now revisit this structure in a little more detail.

### **9.3.1 Family and friends**

In terms of locating their ideas of authentic food, this study showed that, firstly, the participants focused on the food of their family and friends and associated experiences. Much of this related to their childhoods and relationships with parents and grandparents. In this discussion ideas such as time, tradition and heritage were important. For some participants the concept of localness was also stressed, though it was based on networks of family and friends as necessarily geography and distance. Recollections were often very vivid, authenticity being reflected by engagements with specific dishes, places, people and ways of cooking. These references were often highly nuanced and not simply recollections of food preparation, tastes or smell. They also seem to represent reflections on socialization.

The focus on the family resulted in an interesting engagement with the literature. The family is the place where we start to learn, through a whole series of processes, the nature of which are disputed, but are touched by ideas such as attachment theory (Bowlby 1979), behavioural approaches to learning such as operant conditioning (Sudbery 2010), more cognitive approaches (Child 1986) and Social Learning Theory (Bandura 1977). This process of learning also enables individuals to engage with society, though again the processes involved represent a complex area where modern ideas have been undermined by postmodern thinkers such as Foucault (Gutting 2005). Having said this, Mead and then Blumer's ideas of symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1992; Charon 2009) can make a contribution to this discussion, given their focus on social and personal interaction and reflection resulting in an hermeneutic understanding of phenomena. However, this study showed the importance of time and the past, along with the way that people are controlled and conditioned all things that do not sit easily within symbolic interactionism.

This study showed the complexities of family and broader social lives and the relationship between this and the dynamics of food, wealth, social class and the potential benefits of families eating together. The work of other authors such as Carrigan et al. (2006); Harris and Shiptsova (2007); Neumark-Sztainera et al. (2010), Hammons and Fiese (2011), and Riches and Silvasti (2014) also reflect this. Within the family participants highlighted how the role of mothers and grandmothers comes to the fore and this, as summarized by L'Orange Furst (1997), raises issues not only of female subjugation, but also identity, femininity and the subjective experience of being



a woman, mother or grandmother. Much of the discussion around the family was focussed in the past and resonated with ideas of the past as a better time, and associated ideas of tradition and heritage. There has been extensive discussion of these ideas in the literature, including Shils (1981), Bronner (1998), Ahmed (2006) and Smith (2006), but from a personal perspective Baggini's (2014) *The Virtues of the Table How to Eat and Think* provides a good way forward. He considers *tradition* to be dynamic and alive and *heritage* more set in a time frame, however they are constructed.

### **9.3.2 Saucing: cooking and flavour**

The process of cooking, tasting and sharing specific meals are central to perceptions of authenticity for many people. Participants had specific memories of cooking food themselves, helping other people cook or having food cooked for them, in the family home, with friends or in a restaurant or café. The individual(s) involved were important and depending on how the ideas of authenticity were being constructed the specific location, country and cultural background were also central to the ideas of authenticity. Reflections were vivid and ideas of authenticity could become embodied in taste, smell and the overall experience of food. This process of recollection involved much discussion between individuals and at times deep introflection.

With regard to saucing, various ideas came into play, which contribute to theory. Time was again important in terms of remembered taste, but also in terms of having the time to cook at all (Larson and Story 2009; Zick and Stevens 2010). The authentication of taste was important and the participants saw authentication through the authority of the expert, through practice ("this is what we do") and through the authority of taste ("So I had a go and it was fantastic!"). Commentators such as Lindholm (2008) describe more overt and organized ways in which authentic national cuisines are constructed. The participants described their relationships to specific foods such as seaweed, custard, cream and puddings, but there was little academic literature to engage with here and potentially this represents a research opportunity in terms of examining peoples' relationships with specific foods and the authenticity of those foods.

Similarly when looking at the process of cooking, within the family, there was limited literature with which to engage with regard to ideas of authenticity, though there are some excellent accounts, such as in Anderson (2014) and Berzok (2011), which examine a broader context that illuminates the participants' discussions. Texts such as Brulotte and Giovine (2014), which looks at food as a form of cultural heritage, are very

interesting, but tend to focus on food producers, cuisine, the extraordinary rather than the family and cooking. Even when the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery looked at authenticity in the kitchen (Hosking 2006), the kitchens did not tend to be ordinary and everyday; the emphasis was focused elsewhere in special recipes and situations. It was in the less 'academic texts' such as Berzok (2011) where some connections could be made. In terms of place it was easier as there were insights into culture and place and the processes of assimilation, multiculturalism and interculturalism (Barker 2011; Willis 2009) that could provide touchstones. This continued when looking at eating out with regard to the Anglicization of food (James 1996, Panayi 2012; Warde 1994).

The overall themes that emerged from the participants' discussion, relating particularly to the family, were very interesting. Memory was important and came across in a sensuous and embodied way. Holtzman (2006) considered that ideas of food and memory paralleled those of Connerton's (1989) understandings of bodily memory, Stoller's (1995) embodied memories, and Bourdieu's (1977) habitus.

### **9.3.3 Sourcing: where does it come from?**

The third component of the phenomenon participants talked about was how ingredients were obtained for meals. This was important, and varying aspects were stressed. For some participants, localness was very important and this was often tied up with ideas of connectedness to friends and family and other networks as well as a direct connection to the food itself. For others, the way in which food was produced in terms of animal welfare or the environment was important.

The idea of localness had two specific dimensions. The first dimension related to levels of connectedness, to interpersonal networks. This was particularly the case for people from rural areas who seemed to have quite highly developed networks and were also interested in finding out how other participants might fit into them, thus also providing a context for the others around the table. The starting point for this might be obtaining lamb, but the end point might be a detailed discussion of family, butchers' shops or markets. Aspects of the authenticity of food were embedded in this network. At times, naming the link increased validity; 'it was my cousin's boy's lamb, therefore it was good'.

I call the second dimension of localness connection, which concerns the specific connection of the individual to the food they consume. Within the study, I consider that

the primary example of this is when people produce their own food; grow their own vegetables, rear and kill their own livestock. Health was another example of connection, in that the diet directly affects health. The link between food and health was discussed by the participants and is supported by the academic literature (see Anderson 2014 for example). The cost of food was also an important consideration; the participants discussed whether only certain classes of people (though probably they were referring to income) could buy authenticity. The way in which food was/is grown/produced was a concern. Food production that compromised animal welfare or the environment could be considered inauthentic. For some participants this was not an issue; possibly they did not care, were not aware or had conflicting priorities. There were also issues of trust; how could they be sure that they were being told the truth and all was as it seemed.

In terms of personal connectedness this dimension was different from many of the concepts of local food discussed in the literature review. This was a stronger, more intimate, connection that did not really come across in the literature. Groves (2001) mentions extrinsic attributes; Robinson and Clifford (2012) write about provenance and personal connection, however, for the participants, it was important. This reflects some of the discussion of the relationship between authenticity, the tourist and the host by researchers such as Smith (1977) and Cohen (1988a, 1989, 2001, 2007) except in this instance food is important. Attempts at generating the impression of connectedness by retailers (Richards et al. 2011) were seen as fairly transparent, particularly given the loss of faith in the food supply chain generated by situations such as the UK horse meat scandal (Elliot 2014).

Participants' ideas of connection were linked strongly to the food itself. Producing (growing and rearing) food on a domestic basis in the developed world is an under researched area (Church et al. 2015) and brings many concerns to the surface that are normally buried. This is particularly the case with regard to our relationship with animals. Discussions showed that human relationships with animals are complicated, reflecting the animal liberation arguments of Singer (1995) and Regan (2004), to the contrary arguments of those such as Scruton (2000) and Frey (1980). Producing food is expensive in terms of time and if this is delegated to others, eating authentically was considered to be expensive in terms of money, which conforms to classical economic market theory. In addition, purchasing food invokes complex relationships in terms of trust, though possibly this is just a symptom of modernity (Giddens 1990). In terms of how food was grown on a broader basis, the participants indicated links to taste both in

terms of the environment (Denver and Dejgaard Jensen 2014, and Hjelmar 2011 for example) and animal welfare (Warriss et al. 1993; Terlouw 2005; and Ferguson and Warner 2008).

Ultimately what we eat depends on the way that trust is realized and the way that the components of the food chain engage with Elkington's (1994 and 1998) triple bottom line of sustainability (social, economic and environmental). We may try to find authenticity in a time before the "encroachment of global capitalism" (Prat 2007, p. 295), though such Rousseauian yearnings are impossible to fulfil even if that is where we look, because we cannot return there..

#### **9.3.4 Interaction with the distinctly Other**

The interactions of the participants with other people, above and beyond friends and family constituted the fourth part of the phenomenon. When I discussed ideas relating to the family I outlined how it is an individual's kin who are their initial focus for development; however with time the number of people that influence an individual develops. As a result of interactions with the Other the self develops self-image and self-understandings. At the same time through multiple interactions between individuals and groups, group understandings and images evolve. This process is complex. There seemed to be a dynamic tension in this study, between ideas of trust and vulnerability, authority and independence, urban and rural, inclusion and exclusion. This was not only important at 'home', but also when the participants were engaging with distinctly different cultures whilst on holiday and when they were engaging with an increasingly globalized existence.

In terms of perceptions of the authenticity of food this is in part developed around relationships with the distinctly Other involving food production and consumption. Trust and vulnerability are important in this. When trust is in some way betrayed it may lead to a questioning of motives and a reticence to trust in the future. The participants' examples of betrayal varied from a vegetarian meal that was not vegetarian and chicken that was rabbit to bigger issues for society, such as mad cow disease and horse meat being sold as beef. There is a desire to get advice, from authorities that can provide guidance and knowledge. For the participants such authorities include television presenters, celebrities, authors (of books and on the internet), food producers, and retailers. These individuals had power and games seemed to be played with that power; those with power and in power seek to assert their view over those without and outside. Associated power was the development of the individual

within society. This was a dual process of striving for independence and freedom whilst at the same time conforming to authority, in order to be accepted. Potentially this was a dynamic of inclusion and exclusion.

Specifically when on holiday, in order for the participants to eat authentic food, they sought out local people; real people who were living as they always lived and not putting on a show for the tourists. They were, however, obstructed in this pursuit of the authentic by fear for their safety (physical and from food poisoning), a lack of language skills, fear that they would not like the food, and general discomfort as they were often going 'off the beaten track'. For some this quest for authentic food did not matter. For others, they would gravitate from the back street café in the docks to the burger restaurant in the centre of town depending on their desire to consume authentic food and their propensity for risk. Encounters with the Other can be, profound, exciting and frightening. Expectation is part of this; will expectations be realized, exceeded or will the experience be below what was expected?

It is the space between the self and the Other where the participants in this study constructed their lives. It is possible to place these ideas within various academic constructs such as constructivism (Burr 1995) and construction (Burr 1995 and Gergen 2009); Bourdieu's habitus and field (Grenfell 2012); social identity theory (Taifel 1982; and Taifel and Turner 1979, 1986); attachment theory in the young (Bowlby 1979); behavioural approaches to learning such as operant conditioning (Sudbery 2010); more cognitive approaches (Child 1986); Social Learning Theory (Bandura 1977) and as mentioned earlier symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1992; Charon 2009). This is more than just a list; it indicates the diversity of academic points of view. Though there is a more simple approach: as Gergen (2009, p. 2) puts it, "together we construct our own worlds" and central to this process is the ideas of trust. However badly understood trust might be (Wutthnow 2002), it is the glue that binds us (Misztal 2011) and it is something that makes us vulnerable. Therefore interactions with the Other are complicated and charged, particularly if some form of exchange is involved, such as authentic things for money, because there is the chance of being let down.

This is particularly the case if it is considered that the idea of authenticity is some form of confidence trick (York 2014). To inform choices we look to authorities, though some of these such as celebrity chefs may not have the influence that we imagine (Caraher et al. 2000). What the celebrities promote may all be, at best, entertainment, a form of pornography (Coward 1984), though possibly pornography with a message. When the

participants were looking to engage with other cultures, for example there were the barriers that I have mentioned above. This is not new, in terms of tourism (Cohen and Avieli 2004; Mak et al. 2012; Kim et al. 2009), but represents an interesting insight within the context of pursuing authentic food and can be seen as existing within an understanding of hospitality to the individual and to broader ideas of the Other that resonate with the work of; Derrida and Dufourmantelle (2000) for example.

### **9.3.5 A final reflection**

Although it is, at times, counterintuitive to do so from an interpretivist/postmodern perspective, I am drawn to an overall conclusion that sets the idea of perceptions of the authenticity of food as one that is constructed in the space between the individual and society and draws perspectives from, and changes with, time. For the participants this focused on four components; their core perceptions and memories were vested within their families and friends. This was accompanied by vivid recollections of food in terms of its taste, smell and preparation. At the same time there were concerns as to where this food had come from, the way that it had been produced and how this had affected other people, animals and the environment, and how this would affect them. Finally there was the importance of the distinctly Other in terms of providing a different view of authentic food that might be pursued, rejected or ignored. Having said this there is no objective authenticity; there are no absolutes, just a playfulness of meaning which constitutes our being, and our being with the Other and our being within time. Time, and experiences over time, are important. Not only was there, in effect, an hermeneutics of taste, but also a complex hermeneutics of authenticity with changes in perceptions and understandings happening over time. All these elements came together to articulate the participants' perceptions of what made food authentic.

I will now evaluate the research in terms of the criteria I discussed previously in the Methodology chapter.

## **9.4 An evaluation of the work**

In the methodology chapter, when I discuss evaluation (4.4.7), I reflected on rigour, resonance, reflexivity and relevance. These criteria were based on the thoughts of nine different authors who looked at qualitative research in general or at phenomenology in particular, but as a set of evaluative criteria they were developed by Finlay (2006, 2011) and Finlay and Evans (2009). I will now conclude this work using

these criteria, but splitting relevance into two sections. The first is relevance to the academic community, in terms of the implications for research and contributions to theory (9.5). The second is relevance to broader society, in terms of the implications for practice and for broader society (9.5).

#### **9.4.1 Rigour**

The theoretical basis laid out in the methodology and the resultant data collection, analysis and development, demonstrate that I have managed this research as a project and worked through it in a systematic way. The research was done using appropriate academic and philosophical underpinning to produce a coherent body of work. It would have been good to have done the work more quickly, but such are the vagaries of doing a PhD part-time with a young family. My analysis and subsequent description of the participants' perceptions of the authenticity of food have resulted in a structured account of the phenomenon. The evidence is marshalled well and open to external audit, even if all the material necessary to do this is not presented in this document. The analysis was plausible, justified and convincing. These results have been refined within the focus groups themselves and through discussion with my supervisors and other colleagues. I have also presented results of the research in terms of methods and findings at a number of conferences as indicated in Appendix 1.1 and the work has contributed to a number of publications. I would have liked to publish more as I wrote the thesis, however, time pressures meant that this was not possible.

#### **9.4.2 Resonance**

As Finlay (2011) indicates, resonance is a subjective measure that is in the mind of the individual who engages with the work in terms of its spiritual, artistic and emotional dimensions; phenomenological work should connect with the reader. Therefore evaluating resonance oneself is problematic. What I set out to do was to draw the reader into the world of my participants so that the reader could hear their stories and gain a perspective on their worldview. For some the authenticity of food was not important. For others it was very important, tapping into various areas of their life, their history and the lives and histories of those in the past, the future and around them. Discussion of authenticity was fuelled by memories of encounters with the Other and the effect this has had on them. It also seemed to carry a symbolism, which was important for concepts of their self-identity. Using the quotations, the intention was to draw the reader into the life world of the participants, in many different ways and on many different levels. I also used quotations from the literature to add texture to these

discussions. This may have resonated with the reader's own experience and understanding. Alternatively, it may have unsettled the reader's ideas of the taken for granted. That will be for the reader to decide. For me, the experience of listening to my participants, analyzing the data and writing about it resulted in feelings of resonance and dissonance, of familiarity and challenge.

### **9.4.3 Reflexivity**

Natural scientists maintain that they can be objective and in effect transcendental to the research process. Interpretivists do not. As a natural scientist this was something I did not appreciate. I was very limited in my worldview and, as indicated above, this research journey changed my worldview. When I initially became conscious of these alternative perspectives, I was determined to heighten my self-awareness and openness about and to my research; to be reflexive. I thus opened my mind to the need for reflexivity as a permanent dimension of my work as a researcher and also undertook specific actions to help me take into account my own subjectivity and positioning. In general, I have engaged with the analysis in a way that has created a three-way dialogue between my data, the literature and me. I recognize how the meanings that I have explored, through my writing, have been developed in an interpersonal and intersubjective context. More specifically I have undertaken specific reflections on my own position as an individual, as a researcher and also reflected on my ideas of authenticity prior to commencing the research and through it as an ongoing process. In addition I have been reflexive in terms of my approach to the process of phenomenological reduction and in the process of writing. With regard to reflexivity, my understanding of authenticity has changed, although I think it has changed into something that was already inside me, that I had not understood or articulated.

This reflexivity has also focused on my relationship with the Other. I have always had a love of other people, a social conscience and a hatred of injustice, however, through this work I have been able to develop skills of analysis and reflection that have enabled me to engage and understand individuals and society in a more mature way. I am deeply indebted to my participants, colleagues and supervisors for their willingness to share their thoughts with me. The results of this research reflect my interaction with and interpretation of those discussions. This involves a process of co-construction and whilst I consider that this offers a certain level of transferability of the research conclusions, what has been produced is uniquely based on my participants, me and the resultant interaction. I will now develop this further by looking at the Implications for research and contributions to theory.



## **9.5 Implications for research and contributions to theory**

With regard to the academic community there are a number of aspects of the methodology which make a contribution. Specifically the research contributes in terms of the use of phenomenology with focus groups, which is something that Jonathan Smith saw as a specific opportunity for research. In addition, Romanyshyn's ideas of reflecting on the unconscious were also utilized. In both cases, key researchers in the field were calling for further work to be undertaken looking at these aspects of methodology. I have done this and produced some very interesting outputs in terms of a resonant and rigorous phenomenological account and reflections on this process. On a more prosaic level there are interesting insights to running focus groups around a meal (including the use of paper plates and the positioning of microphones for example) and also in the use of technology for transcribing audio data.

The work presents a phenomenological study in the area of food, hospitality and tourism, something that in the past has been limited, and also as suggested by Szarycz (2009), may not have been done as well as it might. In particular, this study addresses some of his concerns with regard to philosophical underpinning in that I have been very clear about the philosophical basis for the work. In a way, this might answer some of Giorgi's (2011) concerns with regard to the use of IPA as a phenomenological method. I have also addressed issues of subjectivity and challenged ideas of objectivity, within positivist approaches and within the attitudes to interpretation within descriptive and interpretative phenomenology.

In terms of its specific contribution to the food, hospitality and tourism literature I have approached participants directly, to look at their perceptions of the authenticity of food using the approach of phenomenology, something that is quite possibly unique; certainly I have not been able to find a similar study. In addition to this, the discussion and conclusions that I have reached help to frame some of the previous discussions of authenticity in the literature from a different perspective, in that authenticity is founded within the family and experiences of the other, as opposed to, for example, the authority of organizations. As such this research adds to the body of knowledge relating to authenticity and food and at the same time enriches our understanding of the human condition. The research has also demonstrated the richness of the phenomenological approach in order to examine terms such as authenticity. The resultant description is founded in the lifeworld of the participants. As such it does not

rely on the substitution of words such as 'genuine' for 'authentic' in order to explain meaning. The meaning can be seen in the experiences of the participants.

### **9.5.1 Opportunities for further research**

All studies have limitations and given the approach to the study and the inductive nature of the work there are considerable opportunities for further research. I think that some of the original aspects of the work need to be developed further. In terms of the methodology, this study has shown that focus groups can be used effectively for phenomenological data collection, however, this needs to be developed and demonstrated further. I consider that it is important to improve our understanding of how knowledge is constructed as part of this process. I found reflecting on the unconscious to be very interesting. The area of the unconscious, as a factor for researchers and for participants, has potential value, though it will require some thought as to how elements of the subconscious might be explored in these circumstances.

It would be interesting to explore perceptions of authenticity with people from different cultural backgrounds. The sample used in this study was limited and involvement with different cultural groups and researchers from different cultures would be engaging in terms of the potential results, in addition to the dynamics of analysis involving people from different cultural backgrounds. Similar comments could be made in terms of social class. I am also aware that there were strong rural voices in the data; Dorset is a rural area. Given this contrasting urban and industrialized urban perspectives would be interesting. It would also be of value to follow people on a more personal basis, exploring what they actually do, particularly what they buy, cook and eat. Other aspects of cooking that might be of interest include the dynamics of gender, food and authenticity (male and female) and also the process of cooking from scratch, as opposed to buying pre-prepared meals.

When I asked my participants about authentic food, I thought that they might also talk about drink. This was not really the case, so there is an avenue there. There are a number of areas relating to the food supply chain that could be fruitful. The role of the family is important, particularly the dynamics of relationships, gender and change. The phenomenon of 'rich people eating the food of the poor and the degree to which people want to engage with the authentic and the degree to which they need to withdraw, in situations where authentic living is challenging, could be of interest. Other areas with significant research potential are consumer trust and the nature of authority with

particular reference to television; the authenticity and life cycle of food from farmers markets; growing food and rearing animals for personal consumption; localness and the sustainability of local food; waste and cost when comparing cooking from scratch and pre-prepared food; the authenticity story of specific foods (particularly the rabbit); authenticity and quality/provenance assurance schemes; and how the various components of a meal (environment, company and food) come together to create an authentic experience. All these represent threads that are worthy of further work and are components of a richer understanding of the authenticity of food.

Finally there is the question of generalizability. It would be useful to undertake a quantitative study, using the results of this work as a basis for the design of a questionnaire for example to elucidate whether the findings of this study are replicated in the broader population and to what degree demographic factors might affect the results. I would consider this a separate move underpinned by a pragmatic approach (James 2000 and Dewey 1938). This would be an intriguing research project in its own right and also would allow engagement with a broader 'socio/political' field that favours quantifiable data. Finally I would like to look at the implications for practice and for broader society.

## **9.6 Implications for practice and for broader society**

I recognize that the findings of this study are by their very nature transferable, but not generalizable. Having said this, when discussing the results with others, I have found that the stories and interpretations have resonated with people and encouraged them to think about their own personal circumstances.

There are, however, broader implications in that the idea of authenticity is one that is commercially important, carrying with it significant economic value. As I have previously discussed this can be seen from a commercial perspective with regard to the way that companies market their products and the use of imagery that connects the consumer to tradition or the producers that supply their food; farm fresh and straight from the kitchen table. Authenticity can also be seen from an academic perspective in the writings of Gilmore and Pine (2007). Their book *Authenticity What Consumers Really Want* which followed on from *The Experience Economy* (Pine and Gilmore 1999) sought to reframe business from a service perspective to one that focusses on experience. The 'new' perspective, based on authenticity, recognized many experiences as being staged, contrived and unreal, and they maintained that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century being in business is, "*all about being real. Original. Genuine. Sincere.*"

**Authentic**” (Gilmore and Pine 2007, p. 1). When considering the authenticity of food, the participants in this study focussed on family, friends, taste, where and how the food was produced, and the dynamics of their relationship with those who were not their kith and kin; those who were distinctly other. There was in many cases a deep suspicion of the commercial food industry. Thus members of the food supply chain might need to look at what they do that alienates people. If they were cynical they might simply deploy the imagery and messages that address these concerns; that play to consumers ideas of authenticity. Alternatively they might rethink the way they do business. This might be important for part of the market. Overall I am still convinced that unless there is a food chain crisis the consumer’s primary concern is price, and besides we all have very short memories of food related crises.

There are also touchstones for those who wield political power in that many of the flagship schemes to promote authenticity, such as geographical indications and traditional specialities, the Appellation d’Origine Controlee systems, the UK’s Assured Food Standards (Little Red Tractor) and more local quality assurance schemes, such as Direct from Dorset for example, were hardly mentioned. Is this because the participants thought that they were irrelevant, did not trust them, or had not heard of them? I originally thought that they might be more important than they were and this could have significant implications for those that promote such schemes.

Finally, this study has much to say with regard to how we understand ourselves, not only in terms of our relationships with food, but also our broader relationships with other people. When the participants looked at how they perceived authenticity, they described experiences from their lifeworld. They described interacting with others (not always human) and how this had affected their perceptions of authenticity. At the same time, these perceptions form part of a social group’s cultural memory. For me, this was enlightening. The study provided an opportunity to reflect on how the individual and those around them interact to develop the individual and to develop ‘society’. The analysis highlighted how groups try to influence the individuals within them and how the individual sees this, accepts it or rejects it, to become the person that they are.

## **9.7 Final thoughts and reflections**

I think that my participants enjoyed taking part in the focus groups. As indicated previously the school in which I ran the focus groups adopted this particular method of interaction (group discussion around a meal) for a major piece of staff development

within the school in 2009/2010. I think that they valued the process and valued being able to tell their stories. As I have said before, on a personal basis, I consider that the research process has been empowering and growth enhancing at an academic and personal level. The way that I view the world has changed. As Finlay (2011) maintains, phenomenological work should be potentially transformative. I have changed in terms of my understanding of research in its broadest context, and I have also developed a significant understanding of research philosophy and of the phenomenological approach. I hope that readers will be able to discern this from my writing. There have been moments of wonder and there have been longer term changes that have given me a new perspective on my life and existence.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1.1: Publications and presentations based on work from the thesis

Beer, S.C., 2007. *The authenticity of experience. Is it real? The case of local food specialities*. Extraordinary Experiences Conference, at Bournemouth University, September 2007.

Beer, S.C., 2008. Authenticity and food experience – commercial and academic perspectives. *Journal of foodservice*, 19, pp. 153–163.

Beer, S.C., 2008. Debunking the debunkers: developing a conceptual framework to explore the nature of authenticity. Proceedings of the 2008 PhD networking conference. Exploring tourism ii: issues in PhD research. International Centre for Tourism and Hospitality Research, Bournemouth University, 29-30 May 2008, p41.

Beer, S.C., 2008. Poster: Developing a conceptual framework to explore the nature of authenticity: the consumer's experience of food. Releasing Research and Enterprise Potential conference, Bournemouth University 2007/2008.

Beer, S.C., 2009. What is ethnic: reappraising ethnic food and multiculturalism among the white British. In Lindgreen, A. and Hingley, M. K. Eds. *The new cultures of food: marketing opportunities from ethnic, religious and cultural diversity* Farnham: Gower. p. 3-31.

Beer, S.C., 2009. The Doctoral Track: my experience over the last 12 months. Proceedings of the EREPP and Professional Practice Programme launch Feb 6 2009.

Beer, S.C., 2009. An heuristic viewpoint concerning the nature of authenticity. At the Emotion in Motion: The passions of tourism, travel and movement conference Leeds Metropolitan university, 4-7 July 2009.

Beer, S.C., 2010. An unfamiliar familiarity: reflecting on the subconscious. Paper given at the 8th Biennial International Qualitative Research Conference, Bournemouth 6-8 September 2010.

Beer, S.C., 2010. To see the world in a grain: the authenticity of food. Paper given at the International Conference on sustainable food in tourism and hospitality, 28-30 September 2010. Linnaeus University, School of Business and Economics Kalmar, Sweden.

Beer, S.C., 2010. Authenticity and Food. Paper given at the Tourism, Hospitality and Events e-conference. Bournemouth University and ITS Macau. 24 march 2010.

Beer, S.C., 2010. The inter-relationship between the aim(s), objectives and the paradigm of your PhD. SM Doctoral Workshop, 8 July 2010.

Beer, S.C., 1011. Aims, objectives and paradigms: discovering a new meaning to the word meaning. Abstracts of the 3rd Annual Postgraduate Research Conference Bournemouth University.

Beer, S.C., 2011. Authenticity and the evaluation of food and drink providers: reflecting on the experience of judging establishments for regional food awards. Seventh International Conference on Culinary Arts and Sciences ICCAS 2011. Bournemouth University, Executive Business Centre from Tuesday 12 to Thursday 14 April 2011. Unable to attend due to illness but paper in the proceedings.

Beer, S.C., 2011. Phenomenological focus groups: a dysfunctional child in a dysfunctional family? 30<sup>th</sup> International Human Sciences Research Conference, St. Catherine's College, Oxford, UK 27<sup>th</sup> – 30<sup>th</sup> July 2011.

Beer, S.C., 2012. Philosophical Perspectives on Authenticity. *In: Richards, G. and Smith, M. eds. A Handbook of Cultural Tourism.* Oxford: Routledge.

Beer, S.C., 2012. Ich bin, du bist, er, sie und es ist. Reflections on Food, Family, Dasein and Heidegger. 31<sup>st</sup> International Human Sciences Research Conference, Montreal Canada. June 2012.

Beer, S.C., 2015. From special qualities to special experiences. The Exmoor Society Spring Conference, Tourism on Exmoor, Dulverton 25 April 2015.

Beer, S.C. 2015. Does the pursuit of local food destroy our environment: questions of authenticity and sustainability? *In: Sloan, P. and Legrand, W. eds. The Routledge Handbook of Sustainable Food, Beverage and Gastronomy.* London: Routledge.

## Appendix 2.1: Defining local food

An analysis of the focus of a number of academic papers brought together by Feagan (2007) that he considered all contribute to the concept of “local food”. This analysis is based on ideas of place, purpose and process, as exhibited in the papers.

Term	Author(s)	Focus on Place	Focus on Purpose	Focus on process
Alternative food initiatives	Allen et al. (2003)	A wide range of initiatives but not all based on local production.	‘alternative and oppositional’ social movements and ‘militant particularism and global ambition’	Production but also, marketing, adding value, knowledge.
Alternative Agro-food networks and systems	Goodman (2003) A paper more about what researchers are doing rather than local food itself.	Place and embeddedness (social and ecological.) The Meaning of embeddedness taken as a given. Also focussed on the quality turn.	Quality as embeddedness, trust and place. North America: wrest control from corporate agribusiness and create a domestic, sustainable, and egalitarian food system. Europe: food safety, agricultural policy reform and contested trajectories of rural economy and society	Not really a focus of the paper.
	Watts et al. (2005)	Short v long chains, where length relates to distance or the number of links in the chain.	Ability to compete with global Food Supply chains	Food relocalization and the turn to ‘quality’ food production as week compared to chains that focus on the networks through which food passes.

Community food security	Anderson & Cook (1999)	Not necessarily 'local' though decentralized.	Decentralized, environmentally-sound over a long time-frame, supportive of collective rather than only individual needs, effective in assuring equitable food access, and created by democratic decision-making	Multifaceted depending on particular focus.
	Pelletier et al. (2000)	Not necessarily a focus but can be.	a) the Social Justice viewpoint, which is primarily concerned with hunger and the potential harm caused by welfare reform; b) the Pragmatist viewpoint, which values the contributions agriculture makes to local communities and is not concerned about environmental or social externalities of the dominant food system (most important) c) the Visionary viewpoint, which also values agriculture in the community but is very concerned about environmental and social externalities.	Various
	Bellows and Hamm (2003)	Relationship between local and global policy.	Public and economic health	More to do with policy than processes.

Civic and Democratic agriculture	<p>Bellows and Hamm (2001)</p> <p>DeLind (2002)</p> <p>Hassanein (2003)</p>	<p>At “home”, “home” region.</p> <p>Local not really defined but talks about regionally based agriculture in contrast to global, corporately-dominated food system.</p> <p>Local is differentiated from regional and national.</p>	<p>Local autonomy and sustainable development</p> <p>To promote economic benefits but also citizenship and environmentalism.</p> <p>Possibly to provide a nutritious and sufficient diet, however, the main thrust of the paper is the diversity of values and purpose.</p>	<p>“Import” substitution by whatever means.</p> <p>Various</p> <p>Various, but fundamentally it is seen as a political process that has to be based on democracy if any real changes to be made.</p>
Post- productivism	Whatmore et al. (2003)	Local is important but doesn't really define localness, though does talk about "local or regional" though it is not clear whether this means that local is the same as regional or that the two are different.	Many	Many
Alternative or shorten food chains	Renting et al. (2003)	Short or “short circuit” but defined as Face-to-face, Proximate or extended to could be geographically distant.	Restore consumer trust, boost farm incomes	Various; farm shops, farmers markets, roadside sales, pick your own, box schemes, home deliveries, mail order, e-commerce, farm shop groups, regional hallmarks, consumer cooperatives, community supported agriculture, somatic routes, special

Alternative or shorten food chains	Renting et al. (2003)	Short or "short circuit" but defined as Face-to-face, Proximate or extended to could be geographically distant.	Restore consumer trust, boost farm incomes	events, fairs, local shops, restaurants, tourist enterprises, dedicated retailers, catering for institutions, sales to emigrants, certification labels, production codes, reputation affects.
	Ilbery and Maye (2005)	Heterogeneity of structures/systems, producers dipping in and out	Boosting farm incomes but also issues of trust, regarding social embeddedness.	Specialist retailers, farmers markets, tourism outlets, mail-order, specialist butchers, caterers, direct delivery, but also export and wholesale.
The quality turn	Ilbery and Kneafsey (1998; 2000)	Regional	Constructing quality in order to satisfy consumer need for quality assurance and produce niche products to help with rural development.	Developing regional images through forms of quality assurance.
	Morris and Young (2000)	Not necessarily important though local can be a criteria for quality	The focus is on quality (which includes aspects of Method of production, Place of production, Traceability, Raw materials/content, Safety, Nutrition, Sensual attributes, Functional, Biological)	Many but was focusing on quality assurance.

The quality turn	Goodman (2003)	Local important but difficult to define	"movement from the 'industrial world', with its heavily standardized quality conventions and logic of mass commodity production, to the 'domestic world', where quality conventions embedded in trust, tradition and place support more differentiated, localized and 'ecological' products and forms of economic organization." (p1)	Many
Local food systems (LFS.)	Feenstra (1997)	Local community	Economy, ecology, social equity and democracy.	Various, focussed on rural urban linkages.
	Henderson (1998)	Local but with a view to the global	Environmental and political, Opposition to GATT and NAFTA, Decline of the family farm; Struggle of Black farmers	Various including, Organic farm movement; Farmer-community alliance
	Lacy (2000)	Undefined but ideas of localness were important particularly local and regional versus global. Also brought in the idea of food sheds from Kloppenburg et al. (1996) though the term originated from Hedden (1929).	Main emphasis was on empowering local communities.	various.
	Hinrichs (2003)	Local as opposed to global but also a nuanced understanding of local that is not simply described by distance.	Positive social and environmental outcomes although this is not necessarily the case.	Various



## **Appendix 4.1: Initial reflections**

Detail of my initial personal reflections referred to from Chapter 4 summarized in a table and then written out as a narrative.

**Table A4.1a: Summary of initial personal reflection.**

	Background	Experience	Aspiration
Personal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• White</li> <li>• Male</li> <li>• Western</li> <li>• Heterosexual</li> <li>• Socialist</li> <li>• Middle class</li> <li>• Very strong family ties</li> <li>• Maternal background Urban/ Welsh/ Shropshire</li> <li>• Paternal background Rural/ Devonian</li> <li>• Historic family poverty</li> <li>• Importance of tradition</li> <li>• Importance of the Christian Church Conformist and Non-Conformist</li> <li>• Importance of the countryside</li> <li>• Strong work ethic, sense of duty and sense of right and wrong</li> <li>• Food, love, shortage</li> <li>• Fighting injustice</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong family ties as son, brother and father</li> <li>• Christian upbringing and conviction</li> <li>• Farming and food production</li> <li>• Personal Education, Reading University, Massey University, Wolverhampton Polytechnic, Bournemouth University – strong scientific basis.</li> <li>• Teaching; Further Education (Lackham College Wiltshire and Newton Rigg College Cumbria), Higher Education (Bournemouth University), considerable community education particularly relating to food and farming.</li> <li>• Environment and food campaigner.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To contribute to society but to remain true unto myself, my family and my God</li> <li>• To help people realize their potential</li> <li>• To help develop what is good and improve what is not</li> <li>• To fight injustice</li> <li>• To be a loving and caring person</li> <li>• To be a “real” and successful academic, to think, create, communicate and share</li> </ul>

**Table A4.1a: Cont.**

	Background	Experience	Aspiration
Academic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second generation graduate on paternal side, first on maternal</li> <li>• Strong focus on/ drive for education within family, though neither parent was a University academic.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dyslexia, undiagnosed for 41 years meant that formal education was very frustrating and required an enormous amount of work to succeed within a system that did not recognize the disability</li> <li>• Good O &amp; A Levels, Good first Degree, Scholarship and offer of PhD but chose teaching.</li> <li>• FE teaching dominated, developed HE in FE, move to Bournemouth still strong teaching focus, research work not encouraged until recent institutional changes, which seem to be creating a more academic climate. Broad experience of publishing, though Journal Experience currently limited.</li> <li>• Strong connections with industry and community</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As above; To be a “real” and successful academic, to think and uncover and to communicate</li> <li>• Real and successful imply capturing new thinking, ideas and knowledge and communicating them to a broad audience including the best quality academic Journals and Books.</li> </ul>
Subject	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Historically Paternal family were Farmers, farm Workers, smallholders and market gardeners</li> <li>• Parents returned to farming in middle age and also ran two farm animal breed societies, large scale countryside events and promoted local food.</li> <li>• Family have a strong interest in food, married a chef.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Actively involved in Farming and Food industries as a campaigner and writer in popular, commercial and academic publications.</li> <li>• Campaigner for local and regional food from a broad sustainability perspective (Social, Economic, Environmental)</li> <li>• Numerous cooking demonstrations (on my own and with family), media appearances and requests to judge establishments and products.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To gain a greater understanding of the relationships between food, society and the individuals that make up society.</li> <li>• To be able to communicate that understanding in a rich, critical and rigorous way to the broadest audience and use this to develop more sustainable food production and consumption systems.</li> </ul>

## ***Personal Perspective***

### **Background**

In reflecting on my background a number of observations immediately come to mind. Firstly I am a western, white, heterosexual, middle class male. Many observers, particularly those from a feminist, lesbian/gay or a postcolonial criticism background might consider these to be significant "handicaps" in terms of research openness. I am aware of the ideas relating to bias, *Centres* and *Binary Opposites* (Derrida 1978). Thus my very maleness may mean that I have a bias towards accepting structures and ideas dependent on the existence of a patriarchal society, and that this may well influence the way in which I analyse phenomena. I can see binary opposites that I may well be caught within such as; Male/Female, Heterosexual/Homosexual, White/Black, West/East. I acknowledge these, and other, elements of my background. I am not sure as to their influence on the way that I behave. I have always tried to be very open with regard to the ways that I act and view the world, and view these, along with other aspects of me, as part of what I am and part of the resulting "research tool" that I constitute. In terms of managing the research process I intend to "bracket out/in" these aspects of my existence. Reflection will be an important part of this, as will consultation with colleagues from different backgrounds. I will try and use this approach consistently to address other areas as well as those highlighted above. The fact that I have a Western approach to philosophy and Philosophical interpretation is a case in point.

My family background is important. My maternal background is predominantly urban within the Welsh/Shropshire border. Whereas my paternal background is rural and based in the Southwest of England, predominantly in North Devon. My father's family were very intimately associated with the production of food; this will be discussed later. Both sets of families were financially insecure, particularly my paternal family, thus food, its provision and enjoyment, has always been valued within my family. My maternal family were involved in trade, hospitality and small-scale retail with a strong social emphasis stemming from my great-grandfather's work on the railways and within the Labour movement. These socialist leanings (Western Marxist at times), have a strong influence on my ideas of justice, and food justice in particular. Food and its means of production can be considered to be a component of the class struggle, a symbol and a tool. My paternal family were small-scale farmers, farm workers, smallholders, market gardeners and trades people. From this comes at a strong love

of the countryside. For both sides of the family the Christian church, conformist and nonconformist, was, and is very important, as is a great sense of tradition, a strong work ethic, a sense of duty, a sense of right and wrong and a drive to fight injustice, all particularly strong within the nonconformist tradition. In considering a subject such as authenticity, particularly of food, there are various aspects of my personal background that influence me. It may be that aspects of authenticity concern tradition, conformity, honesty and right and wrong.

### **And Experience**

My own personal experience is a product of, and reflects my family background. I have very strong family ties, initially as a son and brother and now additionally as a father of my own family. I had a strong Christian upbringing and maintain that conviction. Following a number of years working within the civil service my parents returned to their farming background in middle age and this has provided important focus for me. I worked on our own small family farm and in farming when I left school before going to university. Education has always been important within the family and I had a good mainstream education and then went to Reading University to study agriculture, won a scholarship to Massey University in New Zealand to study animal science, and upon returning to the United Kingdom taught in the county agricultural college system, firstly at Lackham College in Wiltshire and then at Newton Rigg College in Cumbria. The primary focus of my training and also for my teaching was science, from a strongly positivist background with a quantitative/experimental approach to research work. During my teaching in further education (FE) I took a year out to undertake a Certificate in Education at Wolverhampton Polytechnic. Having helped develop the teaching of higher education (HE) in Newton Rigg I secured a place at Bournemouth University in 1993. Initially this was to teach agriculture and related subjects, but following the closure of those courses and a period of secondment I returned to the university to teach subjects such as consumer behaviour and business strategy and gradually developed an interest in the social sciences, cultural theory, philosophy and qualitative research. During this period of time I have also been active as an environment and food campaigner working through education and the media, which I will refer to in greater detail later.

### **And Aspiration**

On a personal basis I aim to be a good person, that contributes to society, however, that depends on my relationship with society, in that I seek not to compromise my own personal beliefs particularly those relating to my love of my family and my religious

beliefs. As Atticus Finch says in Harper Lee's (2010) *To Kill a Mockingbird*, the first person that you see in the morning is yourself. Differences in perspective on issues such as integrity, honesty and justice have brought me into conflict with "society" in the past creating some tensions and probably will in the future, however, as a colleague once remarked coming from a non-conformist Christian background I have a family history of dissent. Coupled with this are aspirations for my career and life. I believe passionately in helping people realize their potential. This is one of the reasons why I went into education. At the same time I would like to become a "real" and successful academic. By this I mean an individual that uncovers and communicates knowledge. I develop this idea further in the following section.

### ***Academic Perspective***

#### **And Background**

Part of my academic background has already been alluded to in terms of my formal education. I am a second generation graduate on my paternal side, first on my maternal. There has always been a strong focus on/drive for education within my family, partly as an end in its own right, but also as a way to escape poverty. This was particularly the case in terms of my father who was the second person in his village to pass the Eleven Plus examination and the first to go to University. Having said this neither parent was a University academic. I am still fuelled by this drive, particularly a drive to be a successful publishing academic.

#### **And Experience**

My experience of education has been complicated by my Dyslexia, which was undiagnosed for 41 years. This meant that formal education was often very frustrating and required an enormous amount of work to succeed within a system that did not recognize the disability. I also was subjected to significant criticism of my written work which has left me sensitive to such criticism and reluctant to put my written work forward. Having said this I have been successful in education, obtaining good O & A Levels, a good first Degree, a Scholarship to undertake postgraduate study and the offer of PhD place, something I chose to put off at the time in favour of a career in teaching. Firstly this was in FE. Subsequently I developed HE provision in a FE setting and then completed this move to HE when I came to Bournemouth in 1993. Initially there was still a strong teaching focus to my work as research was not strongly supported until recent changes in the institutions focus. Research is something that I have developed based on a broad experience of publishing, though my experience of

publishing in journals has been limited. I retain strong connections with industry and the community.

### **And Aspiration**

As indicated above I aim to be a “real” and successful academic, to think, to uncover and to communicate. I consider that the publication and dissemination of findings is central to the process and that unpublished research is incomplete. The words “Real” and “successful” imply capturing new thinking, ideas and knowledge and communicating them to a broad audience, via teaching and writing in the more popular press as well as academic Journals and Books. In this a tension exists between my experiences of writing and my drive for learning. The diagnosis of dyslexia was cathartic, in that it explained limitations and frustrations and provided further strategies for addressing them whilst acknowledging my academic potential.

### ***Subject Perspective***

#### **And Background**

I have a series of close connections with the subject under consideration. Historically my paternal family were farmers, farm workers, smallholders and market gardeners. This innate connection to food and its production was fundamental to my upbringing, as were family stories of rural hardship. My parents returned to farming in middle age having saved the necessary capital through work in the civil service and through family. In addition to farming they also ran two farm animal breed societies, large scale countryside events and promoted local food. Concepts of family, kinship and community are very important to me, and familial influence is very strong, something that I recognize (it is there) and acknowledge (It does influence me).

These influences are born out within my own family situation. My immediate family have a strong interest in food. I married a chef. At times I have worked with her in the Hospitality and Catering industries. Our daughters have been brought up to cook and take an interest in food and the whole family have helped in food promotion work including cookery demonstrations, talks and tastings. The objective of this work was to promote healthy eating, local food, food from Britain, environmentally sustainable food, and traditional food culture.

## **And Experience**

As indicated above my background contains considerable experience that is directly related to the subject of my research. I have been actively involved in the Farming and Food industries. At the age of eighteen I left School and worked as a farm worker prior to studying Agriculture at Reading University, as my father had done. My work in FE was very practical and always closely linked to farming and other rural business. I have, and in many cases continue to be a member of; the National Farmers Union, The Royal Agricultural Society, Devon Cattle Breeders, The South West Rural Research Priorities Board, The advisory group for The South West Strategy for Sustainable Food and Farming, The Learning and Skills Group for The South West Strategy for Sustainable Food and Farming, The Exmoor Society, The Dorchester Agricultural Society, and the Wool and Bere Regis Farm discussion Group. I have been awarded a Winston Churchill Fellowship to look at co-operation and agricultural co-operatives and was awarded a Nuffield Farming Scholarship to examine the international trade in red meat.

Many of these organizations, as well as being collectives of individuals with similar interests, are considered to be touchstones of authority within their associated local, national and international communities. I have ceased to be a member of some of these organisations because I came into conflict with their position on certain issues. Thus in many ways I seek to join organizations, but also have difficulty in continuing membership if my views conflict with the organisations actions. Much of this activity has resulted in writing. I have been prominent as a food and environment campaigner and writer in popular, commercial and academic publications. As previously indicated much of the campaigning has been in support of local and regional food from a broad sustainability perspective (Social, Economic, Environmental). This has involved numerous cooking demonstrations, media appearances and requests to judge establishments and products for the speciality food group taste of the West.

## **And Aspiration**

The whole subject of food and its consumption fascinates me. I have a real and genuine aspiration to learn more, and to gain a greater understanding of, the relationships between food, society and the individuals that make up society. This interest is personal but also has elements that are related to my career, such knowledge would give a core of academic expertise on which to build. I am also very keen to be able to communicate that understanding in a rich, critical and rigorous way to the broadest audience possible. Thus I am keen to write about the subject, and



have done so for a long time. I am keen to develop this writing with a view to publishing in journals and books with a high academic standing. Other media such as radio and television are also of interest. Again I have been a contributor to these areas for a long time, though not so much recently. My research may well spur me on to more work in this area, certainly I hope I would have more to say. Ultimately it would be good to be able to use the knowledge that I uncover to develop more sustainable food production and consumption systems.

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**Appendix 4.2: Artwork inspired by first deep reflections using the method laid out in Romanyshyn (2007)**



### **Appendix 4.3: Deep reflection, 1/6/09 and following thoughts 26/6/09**

This reflection took place in the garden at my home following a long and fruitful days marking.

#### **Who is there from my family that has something to say about my work?**

I started off by thinking about the image that had come to me during the workshop that Robert had facilitated. My mind drifted to thinking about the garden, the gardening tools and the way that members of my family had fed their families by growing their food. This was not some sort of middle-class hobby but a necessity. Farm workers received so little pay that if they didn't grow their own food the family would have gone hungry and there would have been no cash for extras such as clothes for example. I thought on the life of my grandparents and their parents, particularly my paternal grandparents and their rural heritage. Much of this sort of life is chronicled by Henry Williamson in books such as *The Labouring Life* (Williamson 1932). There was also a strong feeling of tradition with regard to what they did, traditional values and ideas with regard to the countryside, Chapel and life in general. On my paternal side there is this strong feeling of conformity and dissent. My maternal ancestors were nonconformists, dissenters but lived very much in a society where people conformed to the expectations of the various societies in which they were members. My grandfather called the local doctor Sir and the doctor called my grandfather by his surname without any prefix; Beer. There was always a concern about what other people thought. They would say; what would such and such say? I remembered that a lady had commented after I attended chapel one Sunday, "You have a nice son Mr Beer that he doesn't close his eyes when he says his prayers."

From both from my maternal and paternal sides I had feelings of lineage, feelings of love and concern for a member of the family; for one of our own. The chance for scholarship and for opportunities and fulfilment that they did not have, for the love of the child, one of their children. Love and caring was always a feature of the extended families from which I came. The work of generations to produce a scholar, one of Vivian and Albert's children. There is also a strong feeling of my relationship to God and the feeling that as a child of God, God is also concerned for me and for my fulfilment as an individual. I also felt the thoughts of three of my main male role models Michael, Harry and Andrew all of which have died in the last few years. Undertaking

the PhD seems to be a process of fulfilment over generations not an end, but part of a process that will continue, of social and academic development and of love for individuals and the opportunity for them to fulfil themselves. It is also part symbol of the struggle between dissent and conformity. These factors contribute to a very strong motivational force and also a mental struggle in terms of conformity and dissent and an image of the world which is based on conformity and dissent underpinned by the experiences of previous generations and tradition.

**Who is they are from a different economic class/gender/historical period that has something to say about my work?**

In many ways my maternal and paternal families were from a different class, with farmworkers, Smallholders, carpenters, shopkeepers, train drivers and soldiers all looking at me from the past. I can see men in fields and I can see women in kitchens. What is there to value when you have so little; the food you eat. I perceive the bushmen of the Kalahari, the aborigines of Australia and the Maori in New Zealand and I can feel their connection to the land which they live on and provides for them. The connection that they have and the existence that is not based on collections of possessions, but an ability to live with nature. What is of genuine value? For what do we strive? I can see some of those people from around the world who do not have enough to eat, who starve. Why do we cheapen things, why do we take advantage, exploit and debase things like food simply for money? There is a cry of anguish from those who see what we have and also see Western societies lack of respect and the way that this lack of respect will ultimately destroy all that we have. I can feel the person who lived in the house that stood here before ours. He fed his whole family from his garden.

**So whom is this work being done? Who sponsors this work?**

For us, to undercover people's hearts and provide a context for justice.

**Who is there amongst other creatures in creation that shows an interest in this work?**

All nature cries out to be taken more seriously. I can hear the song of the birds and I realised in the garden, the interconnectedness of life that is gradually being destroyed. Society needs to think about its relation to so many things. The food that we consume is important and it represents an interaction with the natural world. This natural world has its own heritage just write what your humankind has done to it. Some of what we have done to it seems to have been good. There are three Apple trees in the garden

which will bring fruit in the autumn, but also there is so much decimation. In part to feed our growing population, but also to feed our greed; apples and strawberries every day of the year.

## **Appendix 4.4: Focus group 1 Initial Focus group held on the 11th of October 2007 at the Exmoor Society, Dunster, Somerset**

### **4.4.1. Introduction and overview**

The first pilot focus group was held on the 11th of October 2007 following a meeting of the Editorial Board for the Exmoor Review, the Journal of the Exmoor Society. The Exmoor Society is a conservation charity that was founded in 1958, initially to protest about the proposal to establish forestry on the Chains area of Exmoor. The organisation has subsequently developed into a pressure group that aims to maintain a socially, economically and environmentally sustainable Exmoor region. Every year the society publishes a journal and I have served on the editorial Board.

This particular group was selected to act as a pilot focus group, as I considered that given their interest in the countryside they might also have an interest in food and also some knowledge relating to food production and its provenance. It was a good opportunity to be able to approach a group of people who were gathered together for an alternative purpose but were very open to be subject and it was an opportunity to trial the format for the subsequent focus groups; the provision of a meal. Finally at that particular time I was considering basing the study in the Exmoor region.

Considering the discussion above and the overall Aim and Objectives of the study I developed three specific research objectives for this focus group:

#### **Research Objectives for Focus group 1:**

1. To explore some initial ideas and perceptions that individuals have about the nature of authentic food.
2. To trial the use of a set of focusing questions to help examine the area of food authenticity.
3. To trial the use of a focus group based round a meal as a method of data gathering.

#### **4.4.2 Menu**

Olives (Gerald David, local butcher and deli, Dunster)  
Steak and ale pie (Gerald David Dunster)  
Porkpie (Gerald David Dunster)  
Exmoor blue and broccoli quiche (Gerald David Dunster)  
Mixed salad (Co-op Dunster)  
Crusty bread (Co-op Dunster, French)  
Butter (Co-op Dunster, New Zealand)  
Dorset knob biscuits (Deli Dorchester)  
Dorset Blue Vinney (Deli Dorchester)  
Denhay Cheddar (Waitrose Dorchester)  
Wensleydale sheep's milk cheese (Waitrose Dorchester)  
Crab Apple Jelly (Sean Beer)

#### **4.4.3 Focusing Questions**

The specific questions that were asked to help facilitate discussion were:

1. What is authenticity?
2. What is authentic food?
3. What is organic?
4. What is local?
5. What do we mean by Aberdeen Angus beef?
6. Where do ideas of authenticity come from?
7. Are you familiar with European Union legislation on food authenticity?
8. Where do you get your information from on authenticity? Friends, government, yourself?

Questions 1 and 2 were asked in order to establish whether the participants had any existing personal definitions or understanding of the term is "authenticity" and

"authentic food". Questions 3, 4 and 5 were designed to encourage the participants to give their reflections on some products which may well be considered to have a specific stamp of authenticity from society. Question 6 was designed to take this a little further in terms of where their ideas on authenticity might have come from. Question 7 elaborated on this with a specific example and question 8 again built on trying to determine the origin of their understanding of authenticity in terms of being explicit with where information might come from. In all cases the questions were only used as a guide. The general approach was one of discovering and uncovering as I have not run this type of group before. Indeed I had not run any type of formal focus group before.



## **Appendix 4.5: Focus group 2. Second Focus group held with the Institute of hospitality on Thursday 16 October 2008 at Bournemouth University**

### **4.5.1 Introduction and overview**

This second pilot focus group was held on Thursday the 16th of October 2008 at Bournemouth University. The occasion was a meeting of the local branch of the Institute of Hospitality. This is a professional organisation consisting of members of the hospitality industry who meet together on a regular basis and is a former professional development.

This particular group was selected to act as a pilot focus group as I considered that, given their keen interest in food and hospitality in general, they might have a different perspective than the initial focus group; might know a little bit more about the technicalities of practical food and beverage provision; the relationship that this has with authenticity in general and the specific demands of legislation. I was interested to determine whether professionals have a better understanding than, what might be considered to be, the more general public that took part in the first focus group. Again it was a good opportunity to be able to approach a group of people who were actually gathered together for an alternative purpose, but were very open to the subject. I did not want to dismiss too early a more structured approach to manage the focus groups, even though I had concerns about the use of the questions in the first group. Therefore I adopted a slightly more structured approach this time in order to see how this felt to me as a researcher and also to see the type and quality of data that it produced.

Considering the discussion above and the overall Aim and Objectives of the study I developed three specific research objectives for this focus group, which followed on from the objectives of the first focus group:

#### **Research Objectives for Focus group 2:**

1. To continue to explore some initial ideas and perceptions that individuals have about the nature of authentic food.
2. To trial the use of a fairly structured approach to the group in order to help examine the area of food authenticity.

3. To trial the use of a focus group based round food tastings as a method of data gathering.

#### 4.5.2 Method for running the focus group

I decided to run the focus groups around the tasting of a series of products that had specific “claims” made about them with regard to their authenticity. These were:

- Wine with specific designations: Côtes du Rhône 2007<sup>1</sup> and Anjou 2007<sup>2</sup>
- Food with EU certification in terms of provenance: Parma Ham<sup>3</sup>, Stilton<sup>4</sup>, Dorset Blue Vinney<sup>5</sup>
- Food without EU certification, but very similar to that which has: Denhay Ham<sup>6</sup>
- A food stuff whose authenticity has been the subject of some debate: Olives, from Olives et al<sup>7</sup>

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1. Côtes du Rhône 2007, Côtes du Rhône refers to wine produced in the Côtes du Rhône Appellation d’Origine Contrôlée (AOC) area of France which stretches from Avignon in the South to Vienne in the North and from the Massif Central in the west through to the foothills of the Vaucluse and Luberon Mountains in the east. Production is controlled by the AOC system. (Ribéreau-Gayon 1990)

2. Anjou 2007, This was a Anjou AOC wine from grapes grown in the the general region of the Loire Valley near Angers in France.

3. Parma Ham, a type of air dried Prosciutto ham covered by a EU Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) (Regulation 510/2006, Implementing Regulation 1898/2006, Amending Regulations 417/2008 and 628/2008) EU (2010a).

4. Stilton, a Blue or White English cheese covered by a EU Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) (Regulation 510/2006, Implementing Regulation 1898/2006, Amending Regulations 417/2008 and 628/2008), EU (2010b).

5. Dorset Blue (Vinney), a Blue English cheese PGI covered by a EU Protected Geographical Indication (PGI) (Regulation 510/2006, Implementing Regulation 1898/2006, Amending Regulations 417/2008 and 628/2008), EU (2010c).

6. Denhay Ham, and a dried Prosciutto style ham produced in Dorset with no protected status.

7. Olives from Olives et al. olives imported into the UK and matured and processed in Dorset. There has been considerable debate as to whether this is local produce to Dorset or not, particularly with regard to qualification for *Direct from Dorset* accreditation.

The products were carefully chosen to create debate amongst the participants. This tasting was supplemented with an informal "guess the value of the bottle competition". The idea behind this was to ease the participants into discussion and to get them to think about wine and its value. The bottles presented were:

Croft Vintage Port, 1963.

Chateau Brannaire Appellation Saint-Julien Contrôlée, Bordeaux, 1982.

Chateau Cos D'Estournel Appellation Saint-Estèphe, Bordeaux, 1982.

Brown Brothers Australian Muscat, 2000.

Thatcher's Katy, single apple variety cider.

Gamers Devon cider.

Gamers Somerset cider.

The focus group was conducted as a form of interactive discussion and I tried leading in quite a structured way using questions. The tasting of food was used as a focus for similar reasons to the first focus group, that is,

- I considered that it was a way to relax people and generate an informal atmosphere that would be conducive to discussion.
- Secondly, given that the focus of the discussion was on food, I thought that the close proximity of food and the act of its consumption might help participants think about food and also create links in their mind between the discussion, the food that they were consuming and food that they had consumed on other occasions.
- Finally the potential dynamics of the discussion were uncertain. Therefore the food itself could actually have been used as a talking point, as specific "prop" to help facilitate discussion at any particular point if individuals were less than forthcoming.

The focus group was recorded on an Olympus DS 330 Digital voice recorder using my own microphone. The menu for the meal is indicated below in Section 2.1. All participants were briefed on the nature of the work and signed a consent form. A specific risk assessment had been conducted with regard to the provision of the tastings.

### 4.5.3 Focusing Questions

These tended to evolve and were in fact based on working through the different foods that were there to taste.

### 4.5.4 References

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## **Appendix 4.6: The school focus groups practicalities and reflections**

### **22 June 2009 school session 1**

#### **1.0 Menu**

Houmous (Waitrose Essential)

Taramasalata (Waitrose Essential)

Oak Smoked Ham (Waitrose Own)

British Wiltshire Cured oak Smoked Ham (Waitrose)

Tomatoes

English Butter

Waitrose Crisps

Waitrose Watercress

Green celery

Waitrose Continental Salad

Waitrose Rocket salad

Waitrose West Country Cheddar (Denhay)

Waitrose Grand Mange Blanc Bread

Spinnaker Herrings in Dill

Cawston's Apple and Rhubarb ,Apple and Black Currant, Apple and Elderflower drinks

Fair Trade bananas

Waitrose Stuffed Olives

Cucumber

Jazz Apples

Satsumas

Cornish Pasties (Celtic Kitchen)

Dorset Blue Vinney (The Fridge)

Fudges' Cheese Biscuits (The Fridge)

Toasted Nuts (S & A Beer)

Salad Dressing (S & A Beer)

Medlar Jelly (S & A Beer)

Green Tomato Chutney(S & A Beer)

## **2.0 Plates and Cutlery**

8 plates

8 Glasses

8 knives, forks and spoons (deserts and tea)

6 serving spoons, knives

2 chopping boards

2 sharp knives

6 serving dishes

2 Bowls

Tea towels

Plastic bags

Wiping up cloths

Serviettes

Cool boxes

Salt

Pepper

Group recorded using Olympus DS 330 and VN-2100PC Recorders. Files were transferred to a PC at earliest opportunity. DS 330 saves DSS files VN-2100PC Wav. Two recorders were used to provide back up and give better coverage.

## **23 June 2009 school session 2**

### **1.0 Menu**

Houmous (Waitrose Essential)

Taramasalata (Waitrose Essential)

Oak Smoked Ham (Waitrose Own)

British Wiltshire Cured oak Smoked Ham (Waitrose)

Tomatoes

English Butter

Waitrose Watercress

Green celery

Waitrose Continental Salad

Waitrose Rocket salad

Waitrose West Country Cheddar (Denhay)

Waitrose Grand Mange Blanc Bread

Spinnaker Herrings in Dill

Cawston's Apple and Rhubarb ,Apple and Ginger, Apple and Elderflower drinks

Fair Trade bananas

Waitrose Stuffed Olives

Cucumber

Jazz Apples

Satsumas

Cornish Pasties (Celtic Kitchen)

Dorset Blue Vinney (The Fridge)

Fudges' Cheese Biscuits (The Fridge)

Toasted Nuts (S & A Beer)

Salad Dressing (S & A Beer)

Medlar Jelly (S & A Beer)

Green Tomato Chutney(S & A Beer)

### **2.0 Plates and Cutlery**

8 plates

8 Glasses

8 knives, forks and spoons (deserts and tea)

6 serving spoons, knives

367

2 chopping boards

2 sharp knives

6 serving dishes

6 serving dishes

2 Bowls

Tea towels

Plastic bags

Wiping up cloths

Serviettes

Cool boxes

Salt

Pepper

Group recorded using Olympus DS 330 and VN-2100PC Recorders. Files were transferred to a PC at earliest opportunity. DS 330 saves DSS files VN-2100PC Wav.

Two recorders were used to provide back up and give better coverage.



## **25 June 2009 school session 3**

### **1.0 Menu**

Houmous (Waitrose Essential)

Taramasalata (Waitrose Essential)

Oak Smoked Ham (Waitrose Own)

British Wiltshire Cured oak Smoked Ham (Waitrose)

Tomatoes

English Butter

Waitrose Crisps

Waitrose Watercress

Green celery

Waitrose Continental Salad

Waitrose Rocket salad

Waitrose West Country Cheddar (Denhay)

Waitrose Grand Mange Blanc Bread

Spinnaker Herrings in Dill

Cawston's Apple and Rhubarb ,Apple and Black Currant, Apple and Elderflower drinks

Fair Trade bananas

Waitrose Stuffed Olives

Cucumber

Jazz Apples

Satsumas

Cornish Pasties (Celtic Kitchen)

Dorset Blue Vinney (The Fridge)

Fudges' Cheese Biscuits (The Fridge)

Toasted Nuts (S & A Beer)

Salad Dressing (S & A Beer)

Medlar Jelly (S & A Beer)

Green Tomato Chutney(S & A Beer)

### **2.0 Plates and Cutlery**

8 plates

8 Glasses

8 knives, forks and spoons (deserts and tea)

6 serving spoons, knives  
2 chopping boards  
2 sharp knives  
6 serving dishes  
2 Bowls  
Tea towels  
Plastic bags  
Wiping up cloths  
Serviettes  
Cool boxes  
Salt  
Pepper

Group recorded using Olympus DS 330 and VN-2100PC Recorders. Files were transferred to a PC at earliest opportunity. DS 330 saves DSS files VN-2100PC Wav. Two recorders were used to provide back up and give better coverage.

## **Appendix 4.7: Village focus groups**

### **8 August 2012 in a village in Dorset**

#### **1.0 Menus**

Cornish pasties (from the The Celtic Kitchen, Tutor Arcade)  
Wiltshire Oak Smoked Ham  
Smoked Mackerel  
Olives Et Al Classic Olives  
Large Hand Raised Porkpie  
Hot Smoked Mackerel  
cheese and onion quiche  
Baby New Potatoes  
Spring Onions  
Cellery  
Cucumber  
Mixed Lettuce  
Radishes  
Sweet Pepper Salad  
Home-Made Coleslaw (red cabbage, white cabbage, carrots, red onion, with and without Hellmann's mayonnaise)  
Avocado Pear  
Pickled Gherkins  
Hellmann's Mayonnaise  
English Mustard  
Home-Made Salad Dressing  
Strawberries  
Blackberries  
Ambrosia Devon Custard  
Apple pie  
Dorset Blue Vinny  
Denhay mature cheddar  
Carrs Cheese Biscuits  
Elderflower Cordial  
Greene King IPA  
Tea  
Coffee

In previous focus groups I had used ordinary plates and tended to find that the noise of the cutlery on the plates obscured the recordings. This time I used paper plates for the savoury food and some plastic plates with rims for desert. This seems to have worked well, though I don't like to use disposable items and interestingly felt the need to explain this to the participants.

## 26 October 2012 in a village in Dorset

### 1.0 Menus

Start:

Smoked salmon on granary baguette Waitrose

Salami

Prosciutto

Main:

Beef casserole

Carrots

Braised Red cabbage

Mashed Potato

Desert:

Lemon moose

Cream

Waitrose Essential Cheddar

Cropwell Blue Stilton

Somerset Brie

Drinks:

Tea

Coffee

House of Dorchester Chocolates

Stella Artois

Greene King IPA

Coogee Bay Australian Shiraz Cabernet

South African Chenin Blanc (ASDA)

Again I used paper and plastic plates which worked well. And this was the first evening meal as opposed to a lunchtime focus group so I produce something that was more of a "sit down meal" as opposed to a buffet. This seemed to work well. The menu was a little autumnal (casserole) to fit in with the season and the weather at the time.

## 23 November 2012 in a village in Dorset

### 1.0 Menus

Start:

Crisps

Cheese straws

Smoked salmon on Brown bread-and-butter

Main:

Home-made fish pie

Carrots

Broccoli

Desert:

Home-made pear meringue pie

Somerset Brie

Denhay Farmhouse Cheddar

Dorset Blue Vinny

Assorted cheese biscuits

Chocolate buttons

Dry Ginger

Californian Ruby Cabernet 2010

Sauvignon Blanc 2011 Chile.

Tea

Coffee

Again I used paper and plastic plates which worked well. And this was the second evening meal as opposed to a lunchtime focus group so I produce something that was more of a "sit down meal" as opposed to a buffet. This seemed to work well. The menu was again a little autumnal (fish pie) to fit in with the season and the weather at the time.

## Appendix 4.8: An example of the initial analysis of the transcripts

### Interpretative Phenomenological analysis of School Focus Group 1

#### Under exploratory comments:

Comments in plain text to descriptive, but see note below. *Comments in italics are linguistic, that is they refer specifically to the use of language both in terms of words and intonation, and associated meaning.* Concepts that are underlined relate to comments that might be considered conceptual.

#### Under emergent themes:

Themes are underlined relate to group interaction.

Emergent themes	Original transcript	Exploratory comments (many of the descriptive comments are also conceptual because they participants were asked to talk about the experiences that help them define what authentic food was.)
<u>General willingness to work together.</u>  <u>Confirmation and agreement.</u>  <u>Confirmation and agreement.</u>  Authenticity is Being served by local people. Authenticity is Eating what local people eat.	Rebecca: Shall I kick off?  Yes  Yes  Rebecca: I was going to say from my point of view probably travel abroad. I think that however, naive it might be when you are eating in a restaurant abroad you assume	<i>Willingness to cooperate.</i>  <i>Agreement.</i>  <i>Agreement.</i>  As a tourist I consider food is authentic if I'm being served by local people who tell me that it is. I also assume that this is the food that local people eat.

<p>Authenticity is built on A relationship of trust. Authenticity involves A certain vulnerability.</p> <p>See above.</p> <p>Authenticity is based on history, and tradition. Authenticity involves Focusing on specific products, and their production.</p>	<p>that you are eating the food of that country. I would presume that if the people serving me came from that country, and they told me it was authentic local menu, I would presume that this is what people there would eat.</p> <p>Sean: can you remember eating in a restaurant like that</p> <p>Rebecca: Yes I am not widely travelled but say Greece for instance, I have eaten lamb Stefada, so when I see that I now think that is a Greek dish because that is what I had when I was there. Whether the Greek families sit down and have what I have I don't know, but I think that because I was in Greece, in a Greek restaurant being served something that wasn't what I think is an English meal, that it was authentic. I think that is right yes, that would colour my opinion.</p> <p>Sean: Right yes</p> <p>(7.00)</p> <p>Natalie: I think, thinking about authenticity in this country I would kind of think about things that maybe had a history, so like when I think of rhubarb I think about it</p>	<p><u>Authenticity is based on a trust relationship</u></p> <p><i>The use of language is hesitant, "naive", "assume", "presume".</i></p> <p>An example of the above based on experience in Greece.</p> <p>Authenticity is to do with an established history, tradition. The idea of specific products such as rhubarb and blackberries, and in this case their production. Based in this case on family.</p>
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<p>The importance of family, grandparents. Memories of childhood to concepts of authenticity.</p> <p>Family history. The past as a tie-in to authenticity, a time which was not necessarily physically better but in some way represented a better quality of life, uncorrupted.</p> <p>Authenticity being learnt from your family. The importance of specific meals. The importance of Sunday lunch.</p>	<p>growing in my Nan's garden were going blackberry picking or that kind of thing. So maybe traditional things that go back a long way I would think that was authentic to this country, and for me that goes back to memories of my childhood. I would say.</p> <p>Sean: So what specific things in your childhood might you think about?</p> <p>Natalie: Well, just things like going Blackberry picking and family and ye the rhubarb and I suppose I think of my Nan's garden a lot and what would be growing there. And then the sort of food that she would do would have been very, she came from the East End and it was a very poor background so it would have been um quite simple. Yes but yes childhood memories I suppose.</p> <p>Sean: fine</p> <p>Natalie: I think that it's in your family, that is where you learn, because on a Sunday in my family this is what my mother cooked, every Sunday</p>	<p>Memories of childhood. Memories of a grandmother.</p> <p>Close association with family, particularly grandmother. The grandmothers family history and poverty.</p> <p><i>Focus on words such as very "poor background", "East End", "quite simple".</i></p> <p><u>Love of the family, times that were somehow very hard, but in some way better, possibly uncorrupted.</u></p> <p>The family is where your ideas of authenticity are nurtured as you learn from your parents. The importance of special meals such as Sunday lunch. <u>Authenticity is learnt</u></p>
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<p><u>Agreement/fellow feeling.</u></p> <p><u>Agreement/fellow feeling.</u></p> <p><u>Agreement/fellow feeling.</u></p> <p>The strong emotional tie in to authentic food, as defined as the food of the family. A physical tie-in.</p> <p>Learning from and copying parents.</p> <p>Changes over time.</p> <p>The discipline of family tradition.</p> <p>Family tradition.</p>	<p>Um (from round the table)</p> <p>Roast</p> <p>Um (from round the table)</p> <p>Rebecca: Roast dinner and so when I started out that is what I did, I don't now, but as a youngster, now it's different as my children have grown up. But and also with that its tradition of the family. The evening meal everyone was present at the evening meal, no question and you get together, do you not think so? It's all focused on family for me, family meetings, what you are eating on certain days.</p>	<p><u>Authenticity is learnt</u></p> <p><i>Non-verbal sounds vague agreement and also of yearning/savouring. Also strong sense of agreement.</i></p> <p>The importance of the roast meal. <i>(Also said with a yearning/savouring)</i></p> <p><i>As above</i></p> <p><u>Reflecting on this special type of food results in an emotional and physical response in terms of a savouring.</u></p> <p>As a younger person, copying what parents do, but now different as their own children have grown up. The change over time. <u>Authenticity changes with time</u> <i>The phrase roast dinner said with a yearning/savouring</i></p> <p>The discipline of family tradition. Family tradition.</p>
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**Appendix 4.9: Examples of tables super-ordinate themes, themes and sub themes**

School 1 2 & 3 (Comments in addition to School 1 & 2 in Red)

Super-ordinate themes	Theme	Sub-Theme
<b>Time</b>	Tradition	Nostalgia
	Past	Old methods
	Modernity	
	Fluidity: negotiation and re-negotiation	
<b>Family</b>	Simplicity	
	Culture	Sub divisions and homes – geography Cultural exclusivity, transfer, variation within, (social) acceptance
	Childhood	Safety
	Parents/children/grand parents	Dynamics, power, pressure to conform within and between families –social conformity.
	History	
	Custodianship	
<b>Production of food</b>	Specific meals	Celebration
	Sharing	
	Seasonality	
	People cooking	Home made
	Taste	
	Localness	At home Away from home: pursuing the local/culture
	Authority	Books, celebrities, TV, guides, locals, schools, religion, producers, retailers, branders.
	Popularity v authority	
	X factors: Environment, animal welfare, health	
	Definition of terms, language	Quality
	Cost	Purchasing authenticity, social class, waste
	Time available	
	Atmosphere, place of consumption	
<b>Existential</b>	Tension, collision of experience	Multiple dimensions/degrees
	Trust	
	Vulnerability	
	Emotion	Worry, joy, regret, sorrow, inadequacy, guilt, paralysis, frustration, disgust, disappointment.
	Restrictions/freedoms	
	Realness	
	Individuality	Multiple authenticities, negotiation, compromise, self knowledge.
	Importance	Parody
	Spiritual	
	Dissonance	
	Difference	
	Relationships	Change, understanding
	Pursuit/hunt of Authentic & local	
	Pressure/competition to consume A	
	Pride: badge of honour	
	Choice	
	Contamination of A by in-A	
<b>Exclusion</b>	Fear, safety, risk	Mitigation
	Language	
	Comfort zones	
	Cultural difference	
	Confronting the unknown	
	Expectation	Tension between expectation and reality.

## Subsequent reworking of themes on reflection

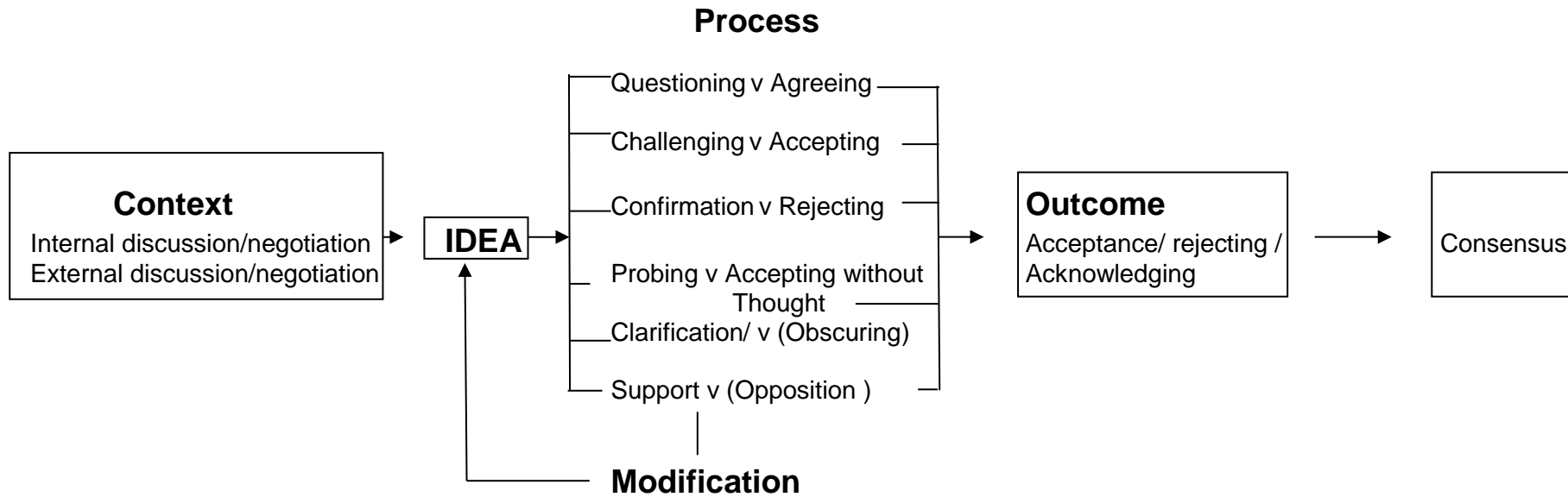
Super-ordinate theme	Theme	Sub-Theme
<b>Family and Friend</b>	Childhood	Safety
	Parents/children/grandparents	Dynamics, power, pressure to conform within and between families - social conformity
	Culture	Subdivisions and homes – geography
		Cultural exclusivity, transfer, variation within, social acceptance
Custodianship and history		
<b>Cooking of food</b>	Specific meals	Celebration
	Sharing	
	People cooking	Home made
	Taste	
<b>Sourcing of ingredients</b>	Seasonality	
	Localness	At home
		Away from home: pursuing the local/culture
	Environment	
	Animal welfare	
	Health	
	Definition of terms, language	Quality
Cost	Purchasing authenticity, social class, waste	
<b>Interacting with the other Others</b>	Authority (popularity)	Books, celebrities, TV, guides, locals, schools, religion, producers, retailers, branders
	Atmosphere, place of consumption	
	Inclusion and exclusion	Fear, safety and risk and their mitigation
		Language
		Comfort zones
		Cultural difference
		Confronting the unknown
	Expectation (in reality)	
Trust/vulnerability		
Relationships	Change and understanding	
<b>Dimensions and feelings (across themes)</b>	Time	Fluidity: negotiation and renegotiation
	Tradition	Nostalgia
	The past/modernity	Old methods/new methods Simplicity (and the past)
	Emotion	Worry, joy, regret, sorrow, inadequacy, guilt, paralysis, frustration, discussed, disappointment
	Restriction on freedom, pressure to consume authentic, choice	
	Realness	
	Individuality	Multiple authenticities, negotiation, compromise, self-knowledge, pride
	Importance	Parody
		Pursuit of authentic
	Spiritual	
	Dissonance	
Contamination of authentic by in authentic		

#### 4.9 C School + Village13 (Additions in red), 2 (blue) and 3 (green).

SO themes	Theme	Sub-Theme
Family and Friend	Childhood (or not)	Safety, memory, school
	Parents/children/grandparents/Age	Dynamics, power, pressure to conform within and between families - social conformity
	Culture	Subdivisions and homes – geography, place
		Cultural exclusivity, transfer, variation within, social acceptance, adaptation, assimilation, multiculturalism
	Custodianship and history	
Cooking of food	Specific meals, dishes, recipes	Celebration
	Sharing	
	People cooking	Home made
	Taste	
Sourcing of ingredients	Seasonality	
	Localness	At home
		Away from home: pursuing the local/culture
	Environment	
	Animal welfare	
	Health	
	Definition of terms, language	Quality, provenance
Cost	Purchasing authenticity, social class, waste	
Interacting with the other Others	Authority (popularity)	Books, celebrities, TV, guides, locals, schools, religion, producers, retailers, branders, birth and belonging, fashion, lifestyle, knowledge, conformity, experience, education, challenge to
	Atmosphere, place of consumption	Catering for the tourist,
	Hospitality, Inclusion and exclusion, values	Fear, safety and risk and their mitigation
		Language
		Comfort zones, off the beaten track
		Cultural difference
		Expectation (in reality), Confronting the unknown
	Trust/vulnerability/feeling lost, betrayal, Trickery, pomposity, questioning motives	
	Relationships	Change, resentment, complacency, priorities and understanding, relationship with technology
	Urban/rural	
Globalisation		
Dimensions and feelings (Across themes)	Time	Fluidity: negotiation and renegotiation, retro
	Tradition	Heritage, Nostalgia, Gender
	The past/modernity	Old methods/new methods Simplicity (and the past) the Artisan, complexity
	Emotion	Worry, joy, thrill, regret, sorrow, inadequacy, guilt, paralysis, frustration, discussed, disappointment
	Restriction on freedom, pressure to consume authentic, choice	
	Realness	
	Individuality	Multiple authenticities, negotiation, compromise, self-knowledge, pride
	Importance	Parody
		Pursuit of authentic
	Spiritual	
	Dissonance	
	Contamination of authentic by in authentic	
	The availability of time/ the nature of work	
	Connectedness and connection	Viscerality

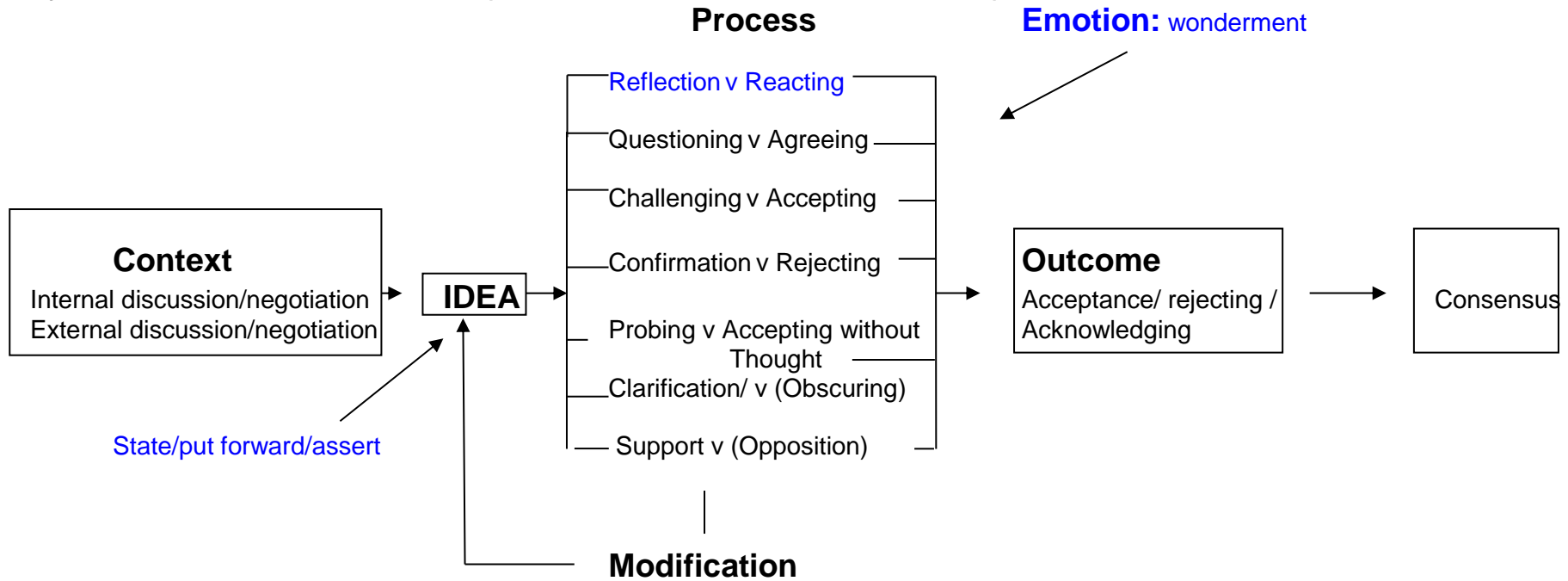
## **Appendix 4.10: The development of a model of focus group dynamics based on the School Groups**

## Dynamics of discussion: School 1



**Environment:** Willingness to cooperate v (Obstruction)  
Empathy v (Indifference, Antipathy)  
Openness (Secrecy)  
Constructiveness v (Destructiveness)  
Nervousness v Confidence

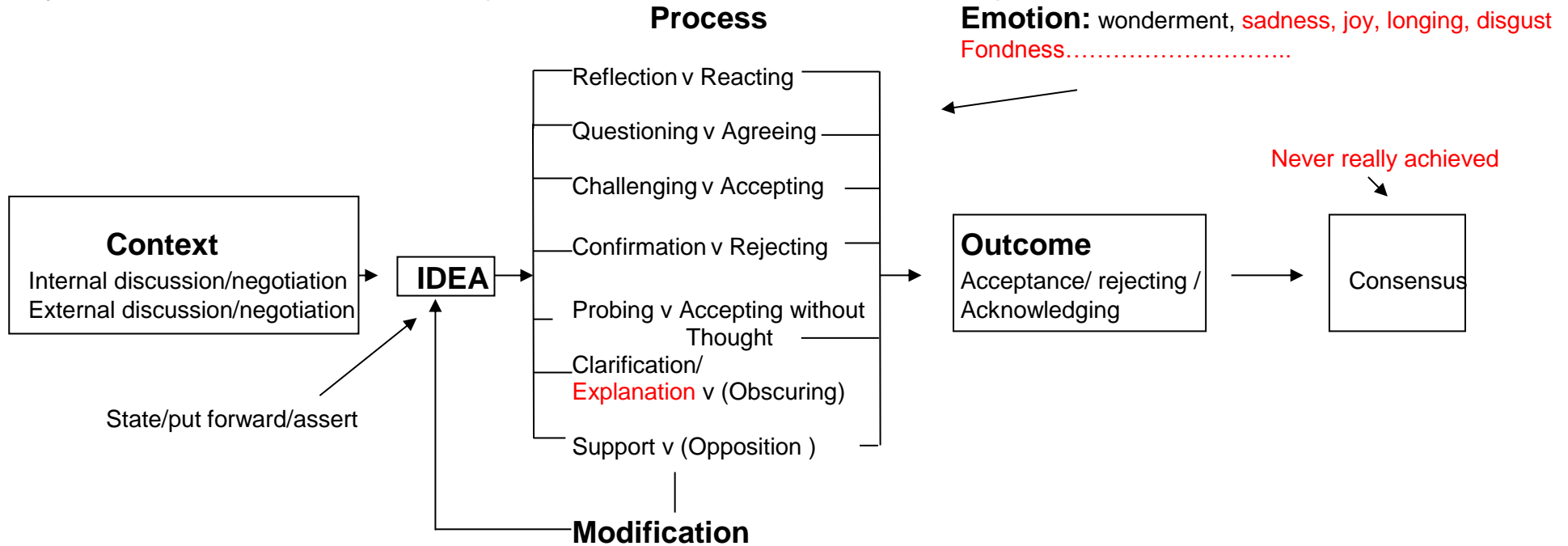
Dynamics of discussion School 1 & 2 (Comments in addition to School 1 in Blue)



**Environment:** Willingness to cooperate v (Obstruction)      Empathy v (Indifference, Antipathy)  
 Openness (Secrecy)      Constructiveness v (Destructiveness)  
 Nervousness v Confidence      Thanks v (Rejection)  
 Humour (in support and contradictory)/Banter/Irony v (dourness)



Dynamics of discussion School 1, 2& 3. (Comments in addition to School 1 & 2 in Red)



**Environment:**

Willingness to cooperate v (Obstruction)	Empathy v (Indifference, Antipathy)
Openness (Secrecy)	Constructiveness v (Destructiveness)
Nervousness <b>Sensitivity</b> v Confidence	Thanks v (Rejection)
Humour (in support and contradictory)/Banter/Irony/ <b>playfulness/teasing</b> v (dourness)	