

Food, the nutritional product that fuels the passing of time: How time
and nutrition transformed eating into refuelling

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"I breakfast always on air, on rock, on coal, on iron"~Rimbaud

Abstract

Food is available almost everywhere in society; marketed and ready to eat. The easier it is to consume food 'on the go' (as opposed to a set meal) the more socially accepted it becomes with much of the private elements of food consumption having become the public elements of food consumption. Food and drink are "highly charged symbolic media" (Dietler, 1996, p.89), not only because we must consume them in order to survive. But why do we crave transparency, uniqueness and *terroir* from our food yet continue to "eat on the hoof", anywhere and at anytime? (Murcott 1997, p.32).

Humans first discovered their food through a process of trial and (often fatal) error; what was safe and good to eat and what was not. In the modern era the scientific breakdown of food has opened a vast world of nutritional components and elements. The dichotomy of ill health and poor nutrition on one hand and the anxious landscape of so called health food on the other can be daunting and is often symbolic of how others view us. But how can we be healthy when we have made the food system so complicated and eating has become a process we squeeze into our busy transient existence? In essence perhaps what humans crave more than the associated symbolism of certain foods is to have the time to be healthy.

Introduction

In this paper, I will argue that science's unravelling of food into its specific nutritional components and the subsequent crusade in search of the El Dorado of human health, has in fact led to the division of foods into reductively broad categories, namely "healthy" food (eating) and "unhealthy" food (eating). This phenomenon has spawned both the diet industry and cemented the uneasy supremacy of convenience food. I will also introduce the idea that the complex exogenic nature of time (Adam 1990) and the "reflexive character" of modernity (Giddens 1990, p.177; Germov, Williams, p.21-22) coupled with the endogenic influence of status, knowledge and choice have split the masses (Germov, Williams 2004). To put it simply we have too much choice and not enough time. Furthermore I will highlight how incessant tinkering within the food chain systematically cultivated food into 'fuel' through the "social constructions" (Germov, Williams, 2004, p.4) associated with modern eating. My approach also demands a brief critical discussion (Giddens 1990) of the political and scientific nature of food today, as a mitigating agitator in the evolution from eating to re-fuelling.

Cracking a Political and Nutritional Eggshell

“Nutritional adaptations” (Stinson 1992) in recent history are subtle and akin to specific dietary anomalies in the human condition, yet Stinson (1992, p.143) underlines the “major role” nutrition plays in human adaptation, noting that it acts as an “independent stressor”, when food is scarce, and as a “modifier” by limiting the effects of diseases, when food is plentiful. With the vast majority of food now produced and distributed for consumers, the necessity to survive through food reconnaissance has disappeared. Indeed we are interested in much more than just mere survival.

By the stage in 1961, that an American physiologist named Ancel Keys (aka “Mr Cholesterol”) made the cover of Time magazine, the vocabulary of nutrition science had entered the vernacular of the USA. Known for his 1958 ‘seven countries study’ (loosely based around the countries of the Northern Mediterranean and Japan), Keys’ empirical evidence appeared to demonstrate strong links between low rates of cardiovascular disease and a diet low in serum cholesterol (Taubes 2001). This benefit, Keys maintained, was the result of consuming minimal amounts of saturated animal fats and plentiful amounts of fruit and vegetables. What Keys had discovered carved out the new concept that people living in the general regions of his seven countries study, and consuming, what he termed a “Mediterranean diet”, enjoyed greater longevity of life compared to their American counterparts (Buettner, 2012). Although the concept of healthy nutrition was not new, what Ancel Keys had discovered *was* both new and startling and furthermore changed the way many Americans approached health-related nutrition (Taubes, 2001).

Earlier studies had identified the separate components of food (namely fats, carbohydrates, proteins, vitamins, minerals and water) and this canon of knowledge had been building since the end of the 1700's (Cannon 2005;Lupton 1996). As with much of medical science, the discoveries were administered to the public by state-recommended additions to the diet, to prevent or cure ailments and improve all round health.

“Half the economic growth in the UK and other Western European countries between 1790 and 1980 is attributed to improvements in population nutrition, together with other public health measures such as proper sanitation” – Cannon 2005, p.702

Food was no longer simply food, it had become something to engage with not just on a culinary or cultural level but now also had a basis in emerging science and industry. Industrial progress removed simplicity from food and replaced it once again with the complex questions of what is good to eat and what is not. As a consequence of this elements of uncertainty had entered the food chain and undone much of our traditional knowledge about food. The clear focus with most of the initial studies relating to health and nutrition was on combating *under-nutrition* in certain sections of societies throughout the developed and developing worlds. Stinson (1992) and Taubes (2001) give detailed accounts of this and the correlation between specific ailments and the lack of specific nutrients within selected communities' diets. The data that Ancel Keys' studies provided prompted the American Heart Foundation to release new health messages (Taubes 2001). Their attention shifted to an emerging concept, that of *over-nutrition* (Taubes 2001; Mead, 1997, p.14.).

Even though general health had improved (though that was debatable, Taubes 2001) diseases such as Cardiovascular Disease were now being dubbed “diseases of

civilisation” (Fischler 1999, p.532). What Keys had demonstrated (i.e. the apparent health benefits of the so-called Mediterranean diet) ran contrary to much of the previous generally accepted nutritional advice. This was really the first time that nutritional advice had highlighted the idea that certain foods could actually have negative ill-effects on the human condition (Taubes 2001). His findings were not popular with certain sections of the growing food sector, especially the meat and dairy industry within the United States, who “vigorously opposed” (2001, p.2539) any new guidelines as the focus shifted towards the new enemy; *fat* (Taubes 2001).

Now that Americans and the world beyond were aware that some foods could be doing them harm, and the word “diet” (which suddenly became a verb as well as a noun) took on the meaning it has for us today, people’s obsessive relationship with dieting began to take hold. Dieters became key targets for the industry as they began to seek out new “light” foods. Eating in itself was not enough to provide good health; one also had to know what to eat and when. People had a certain amount of inherited knowledge; for example they knew that a lot of fat was unhealthy (Taubes 2001, Fischler 1999) and that vegetables and fruits were important components of the healthy diet (*‘an apple a day’*), but it was science that had formalised and codified the relevant knowledge in conjunction with the food industry. In the wake of western world post industrialisation much inherited knowledge had disappeared.

Fischler (1999) has chronicled a revolution in the way foods were chosen, delivered and presented concurrently unfolded during the 1960s; as production intensified. Labelling conveyed messages to consumers from supermarket shelves; people shopped based on the basis of rapidly changing nutritional advice. Nutritionally “complete meals” (1999, p.538) were available in successful fast food restaurants,

spurred on by U.S. obsessions with “hygiene”, “safety” and “the automobile” (Fischler 1999, p.539). Here we see the influence of both transport and nutrition on the unravelling of traditional foodways. Food itself had become a “vehicle of power” (Counihan 1999, p.113). A ‘new nutrition’ (Lupton, 1996, p.71) involved selecting foods for their chemical composition rather than based on taste or appearance. These dietary recommendations were directed at the middle classes, as “the poor and working classes were deemed beyond reform”, (Levenstein cited in Lupton, 1996, p.71). By implementing these policies at a social and national level, government[s] felt they were securing the “internal social security” of the nation, which in turn would give them “competitive advantage” over other industrialised nations (Cannon 2005).

Today there is a growing nostalgia for the era before some of the technological advances we hear so much about, namely GM crops, industrial farming and pan global food corporations. Many people now crave a return to simplicity and a *‘farm to fork ethos’*. However the farm to fork ethos has essentially bypassed the working class who are left to live with the fallout of the low-cost food industry—obesity, diabetes, and, ironically, malnutrition (Widdicombe, 2014).

“Nutritional advice typically focuses on what to eat, but seldom on how to fit those recommendations into busy daily lives”, (Jabs and Divine cited in Halkier 2010, p.140).

At the same time as America was coming to terms with new nutrition Britain and Europe was also taking up the gauntlet on good eating. During World War 2, the British government purposely engineered the national food system to provide better nutritional support to the nation (Cannon, 2005). Good nutrition was by then regarded as synonymous with good health in its “biochemical aspect” (Cannon, 2005) throughout the developed world. Although food had been a political issue since the dawn of

civilisation, those political issues were usually concerned with the parameters of supply and demand. Given that food policy is not led by consumer choice and is a major source of profit and centre of employment in industry, it comes as no surprise that it remains an arena rife with politics (Germov, Williams 2004).

“Food is a prime political tool; it has a prominent role in social activity concerned with relations of power”, (Dietler, 1996, p.87).

Warren Belasco (2005) recalls a parallel trend in 1960s American food culture, one where nutritionists, agronomists and food technicians were waxing lyrical about enriched processed food being “nutritionally equivalent” to that of traditional food items. There was a growing confidence amongst food technologists that a diet with the right bio-chemical nutrients was preferable to eating food ad lib. “Modernist fantasies” about synthesised food (Germov, Williams 2004; Belasco 2005) were bandied about in an attempt to break with traditional sociological perspectives on the composition of food (Giddens 1990). The technological leaps made by food companies and science with regard to preservation, flavour enhancement and methods of distribution were ‘rationalised’ by industry through profits and expansion at both domestic and international levels and by consumers who embraced convenience foods and the consequent lack of need to engage with raw materials.

Liquid foods did not remain a modernist fantasy for very long and have been with us in various stages over the last half century. Patients convalescing or unable to swallow solids are fed liquid nutrition and diet fads such as Slimfast™ also used liquid meal replacements to promote lower calorie intake for people hoping to lose weight (Widdicombe, 2014). Rob Rheinharts creation, *Soylent*, is being marketed not as a diet food but as a food replacement that will simplify lives by saving the user both time and

money as well as maximising nutritional intake. There is none of the stigma attached to Soylent about it being a diet industry product nor is it associated with people that are ill and cannot eat. Soylent appeals to people who are simply too busy to eat and “craving efficiency” (Widdicombe, 2014), not wanting the hassle and cost of buying and preparing food and cleaning up afterwards. There exists an entire generation of people that did not grow up with the family meal as an anchor of social activity or with generational cooking knowledge passed down from their mothers. For these nutrient junkies, time is of the essence.

“Categorisation is part of the work of culture, and it is something that we do not only regard with food”, (Monaghan, Just, 2005, p.39).

Craving the Truth

We know food is complex. At a biological level it *is* our fuel and we crave it for energy. Rob Rheinart however describes food as “*the fossil fuel of human energy*” (2013) essentially a wasteful and inefficient use of our resources and time. The proponents of this fuel have their roots in large scale industrial farming with the end product often disguised as a ready meal. These meals are cleverly packaged and skilfully marketed with undertones of food nostalgia to make us feel more in-tune with Mother Nature, by giving food its point of origin or perhaps an organically produced seal of approval which helps us to situate these products on our own internal food map. Although this ‘meal’ may be consumed on public transport or at an office desk, the associated knowledge of place names, sources of origin, minimal fat content, sugar-free, organic and home-made hark back to an internal craving we have to be better, simpler,

more authentic people, at least as regards the food we eat. The lives of the vast majority of people have become busy and structured; the same could be said of food manufacturing.

While it is possible to appear spoiled for choice, with regards to contemporary food, much of the real choice and decision making has already taken place on the consumer's behalf. The food industry is all too well aware of the cyclical struggles in the average person's day. We must be on time, we have a desire to feel liberated and cultured with our food choices, we crave a healthy lifestyle; however there are times when we just need to eat. It is at these moments where the skills of marketing and the interests of food manufacturers combine to entice us to grab what we can to satisfy our hunger while maintaining an image or pretence that complies with our moral food compass. Mary Douglas asserts that "many of the important questions about food habits are moral and social", (Julier, 2013: 339). Not everyone buys the same food for the same reasons but the clear trends that have emerged over the last half century show that working class and poor or uneducated sectors of society in general veer towards low cost processed food, placing them firmly in the unhealthy eating category. By contrast so called health foods, unprocessed and foods concerned with Designation of Origin tend to be marketed towards more discerning consumers of middle income and upwards. Tregear and Giraud (cited in West, 2013,p.218)suggest that trends of Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) commodities resonate with "contemporary consumers" who use these commodities "as a way of showing their aesthetic good taste and distinction from others" as well as showing wider concerns for the social and environmental issues relating to global food production.

Time, Taste and Choice

In today's arena, where society is "structured to clock and calendar time", (Adam 1990, p.1), time becomes an important ingredient of daily life, one that people and social science also take "largely for granted" (Adam 1990, p.3). Although Professor Barbara Adam suggests that a social amnesia surrounds the subject, she and other sociologists have studied diverse social issues connected to time (1990, p.2-4) including how people budget and organise it in and around "activities" in a "rhythmic" fashion (such as eating). She reveals the invisibility of time within social science describing it as "obvious", (1990, p.3), and it is precisely this invisible nature of time, she suggests, that allows us to take it for granted.

Rather than agree that we take time for granted, I suggest that people become more aware and also crave time at certain junctures linked to social activity. In moments of disorganisation, time forcibly controls us; it "puts things in their place and creates order", (Rilke 2005, p.109), often dictating our actions and choices. When upon suddenly realising we may be late for a given appointment, a power struggle ensues; one of the choices we often concede in this melee is to eat. "*I will grab something on the way*" or "*I will get a coffee to tide me over*" are frequent scenarios in synergy with the movement of people throughout the day. Our desire to live balanced, relaxed and meaningful lives is often framed around friends and loved one with good food and wine featuring as a common bridge or social bind. Yet we are slaves to time and responsibility, and these aspirations in our lives are subsumed by the demands and constraints of modern living. This has accelerated the change in consumer culture to one where "*food has increasingly become an item not produced in the household*" (Julier,

2013, p.340). Nowadays an increasingly greater proportion is purchased daily in individually sized portions, prepared and simply need to be put in the oven for a selected time period to heat or cook it through. Marks and Spencer and Tesco Express style stores lean heavily towards the individual shoppers who perhaps purchase their evening meal on a regular basis after finishing work as opposed to doing a large weekly purchase of food at a larger store or market. Much of the agency and discourse in our lives is linked to our spatial awareness of time. As a deeply embedded social fact we cannot easily suspend our servility to it.

Homogenising the Palate

In his seminal piece 'Food, self and identity' French sociologist Claude Fischler (1988, p.290) asks a crucial question: "are we in danger of losing control of ourselves through what we eat?" Fischler's question is pertinent and grounding, showing his concern for how humans "situate themselves in the universe". He associates *régime*, or the re-introduction of control in the diet, with the rekindling of self identity and meaning, something he says is necessary for both food and the eater (1988, p.290-291). But food is ubiquitous, constantly presented to us in numerous guises, as we manoeuvre between, to and from our social spaces. It is here we adopt 'modes of feeding' and partake in 'feeding niches'. How we choose and consume these foods is "personally unique" (Warde 1997, p.3) but only in a superficial sense. Given that we typically no longer have to source our food or prepare it in any arduous manner, we are prone to taking it for granted (Mintz 1994); much of the real choice and decision making has already been performed for us. In this way we share collective tastes (a sense of

homogenisation) as well as sharing “sources of guidance” in order to make our selections (Warde 1997). Since 2007 according to the United Nations more humans now live in cities than outside of them (Murray, 2007). This means that more and more people that were once self-sufficient are now reliant on the food industry to provide for them. This is first step in relinquishing choice. Although most discerning eaters with disposable income like to believe that the choices they make are based on individualism. In practice, however, research on specific ingredients is channelled to the public through a myriad of media sources (Parasecoli 2008). These ‘factoids’ affect consumer behaviour and expectation, often swaying opinion and creating fads and trends. This in turn can exact changes on the supply and demand chain, prompting industry to create new foods to meet these trends (Parasecoli, 2008).

This is not a new concept, Amy Trubek reveals that in France from the early twentieth century onwards, “French *tastemakers* – Journalists, cookbook writers, chefs and taste producers – cheese makers, winemakers, bakers, cooks – effectively shaped how people tasted wine and food”, (Trubek cited in West, 2013, p.213) thus guiding the French towards a relationship between taste and place. This in turn, as Harry West explains, bolstered their love and belief in the idiom of *terroir*.

Habitus

While waiting in line to be served social pressures such as time constraints, the ease at which the product can be eaten, body image and social status can measurably affect our food choices. In a sense we can become drawn to types of foods that are in the media limelight, are perceived to be healthy or unique or simply are convenient and

affordable. With the average lunch break in the U.K. lasting only one hour convenience and sustenance take centre field. Quick and filling foods that can be eaten as we move are all too common and slot perfectly into our working lives. The pattern of our meals is reflected through our organised schedules in society (Holm, p.327). Western food trends are more akin to grazing or snacking which poses another question about whether the meal and our feeding habits are “ceasing to be social institutions” (Poulain cited in Holm 2013, p.327).

Too much choice and information can hamper the clarity with which we decide, and indeed, how much pleasure we attain thereafter. Proponents of the tropes marshalling “individualisation and informalisation” (Warde 1997, p.13) as the influencing idioms on patterns of social food consumption have, I argue, conceptualised choice as a “realm of freedom” (1997, p.13). Pierre Bourdieu generated the notion of ‘habitus’ as a primary element in nuanced decision making stating that “Taste (in the non-sensory form)....is the generative formula of life style” (Warde, 1997, p.9). Bourdieu also evoked the sense that choice is systematic of class and is linked to life-style (Warde 1997; Ashley et al 2004). Class structures, lifestyle and taste are determinants in how we make food choices but too often dialogue surrounding choice neglects to mention the underlying effect time exerts on these actions. With flavours and textures becoming more streamlined, the significance of unique foods for some could be waning. Chefs, foodies and bespoke food producers would surely disagree given the current amount of interest in traditional foods and foodways. However, interest in these foods and their associated movements, for most people, is purely recreational and sporadic, being something they may wish to aspire to but can only fit into their practical and functional lives in their free time. For large sections of society on the other hand, eating has

become solely a means of gaining energy using the mouth and hands as delivery systems by which to intake the necessary nutrients and calorific fuel needed by the body and mind, so as to carry on with a busy and introverted existence.

Global Swarming

This said the general passion for food has taken it along an ever-increasing number of tangential paths which have naturally exposed food theory to a wider and more diverse cross-section of society. Globalisation and “culinary tourism” (Germov, Williams 2004, p.21) have effectively turned the world into a “global kitchen” (Ashley et al, 2004, p.91-97), while unleashing a sort of “culinary hegemony” into practically every urban public space, with “the whole world’s cuisine is now assembled in one place”, (Harvey 1989 cited in Clark 2004 p.25). Food in all forms has returned to the streets, to the markets, to the bars and pubs as well as being introduced to a myriad of arenas not traditionally associated with the showcasing, purchasing and consumption of food (Schlosser 2005). The juxtaposition between nostalgia and reflexive modernity can be jarring and according to Giddens “undermines tradition” (Germov, Williams 2004, p.21).

This information plays out in the dichotomy concerning the two major categories of food consumerism. Faddish diets and processed foods that appeal to our specific nutritional needs, as well as fitting into our busy transient lives, are championed by the media, celebrity culture and of course food manufacturers. Anxious obsessions with specific ingredients we ingest and the pressures of maintaining health and image as well as circumventing ‘contaminants’ within the complicated food chain can be very confusing. These shifts in social attitude towards certain foods and how and where they are consumed are heavily linked within the feeding niches of today. The other category

relates to how our time-structured lives dictate the manner in which we eat, what we can eat, how often we can and should eat, and all of this while we are psychically or physically on the move.

Everywhere there are opportunities to eat (Bell, Valentine 1997, p.131): airports and on ferry boats, throughout bus and train stations, at sports events, along our motorways at filling stations, from contemporary food trucks, in farmers markets nationwide, at the Cineplex's and DVD rental stores, from automated vending machines, in pubs and ale houses, shopping centres, at festivals, circuses and concerts (Bell, Valentine 1997; Schlosser 2005). This progressive norm is, I argue, a clear and distinct adaptation in how we gain our necessary sustenance especially in urban settings. Ironically, the petrol station is now another stalwart for modern food consumption, while leading supermarkets now also sell fuel for vehicles; this I suggest says something poignant about the notion of humans refuelling with food. The praxis here is centred on *our perceived* need to ingest food and our love of convenience, which we believe to be helpful to us in saving time, a commodity both precious and in short supply. Tesco *Express* (denoting our rapid movement to another place) is one example of a similar concept employed by supermarkets.

Given that society now often consumes its food on the go this can be seen as an indicator of how we view society and the greater world. Monaghan and Just tell us that "Eating is something that is part of a complex system of ideas, perceptions, norms, values, feelings, and behaviours so that the act of eating is never just about satisfying hunger, but is also an expression of how we have learned to see the world.", (2000, p.39). Quietly interwoven between all of the layers of a complex eating system is "our social structuring of the day with the aid of clock time" (Adam, 1990:1).

Meal Time

- Are a cold sausage roll and a can of Red Bull™ consumed alone on the platform of London's Covent Garden underground station at midnight a meal?
- Does a burrito eaten in five minutes at an office desk in front of a humming computer suffice as a lunch break?
- Can a fifteen course tasting menu comprised of such edibles as smoked sea urchin or whale meat, live shrimp or ants and even 'salt-tasting' courses be described as dinner (albeit designed for and accessible only to a select few)?

Whatever your view on the above, the emerging reality is that much of the opprobrium previously attached to eating with our hands, out of bags, on public transport, alone and without the associated usual semantics of this private act, has quite simply evaporated. The similarities between refuelling a mechanism and humans 'refuelling' with innate foodstuffs are metaphorical and philosophical, clearly, but the augmentation that takes place in our daily diets to keep us going shows that we are becoming increasingly automated and nuanced regarding our calorific intake.

The common thread amongst our approach to foods and culture today is the shift away from the notions of fixity and stasis. Even popular trends such as the pop-up restaurant evoke the mutable and fleeting nature of food today. Yes, it is dynamic and innovative but it is not intended to last. With the number of meals eaten out dramatically increasing over the last two decades worldwide (Julier, 2013), the food industry understandably has embraced institutionalised modernity with gusto in a bid to maximise profit on a large scale. However, consumers have assumed their own forms

of modern agency to deal with the flux and unpredictability of this very system which they deeply depend on. Since humans cannot remain static and rather must adjust to the “dynamic ebb and flow of reality”, (Lash, Friedman, 1992, p.1) their spatiality is reflected by how much they identify with time. Here I contend that the symbolic values of food have been eroded by nutritional distinction and the social apparatus of time.

Conclusion

For large sections of urbanites there simply is not enough time within their day to stay competitive within their given field and also take the time to engage with food which they can identify with on a culinary level (Fischler 1988). Is this a loss of control or an adaptation to social climates? Fischler considers this a “crisis” (1988, p.289) in the “recognisable criteria regulating eating habits” (1988, p.289). Nevertheless, since Fischler wrote his seminal piece, convenience food has also adapted massively to consumers needs and trends. Nostalgic throwbacks to locally sourced and prepared ingredients, the need for ethical and safe-eating traceability and the rise of the TV chef have given the consumer an avenue back into a more cultured, dynamic, diverse and in some cases ethically-sound eating arena, albeit a portioned, appealingly packaged and nutritionally solid one.

Carefully displayed ingredients and ready to eat foods chosen for diverse reasons such as health, nostalgia, class or convenience have also removed the barriers of eating in traditionally-designated formations. Designed to be eaten without the use of crockery, utensils and even tables, these timely presentations draw us into the complicated power struggle of necessity versus desire. Marketing, even in its most

personal eco-friendly assemblage, is still motivated by economic capital by way of our needs and wants. By replacing traditional modes of eating (with plastic receptacles, wrapping paper etc. for use in the hand to mouth delivery system) with food displaying life affirming language, the industry has taken the fuss out of eating away from the home. As consumers we rely on our industry professionals not only to protect us by providing food that is safe to ingest, we often also express a desire for accountability, traceability and a degree of exclusivity. With no real way to check the authenticity of each piece of food available on the market consumers are forced to anxiously stare at labelling and listed ingredients as well as pricing and then weigh up the potential risks or benefits. We have lost control, as Fischler suggests, but we are in the driving seat none the less.

The mutable nature of modern dietary recommendations can be problematic, resulting in confusion, worry and anxiety about what and how and why to eat. Collectively humans are feeling “increasingly alienated from that which keeps them alive”, (Clark 2004, p.26). Fischler (1988) compounds this theme, noting that the outcome of an increase in choice can be a decrease in knowledge.

Have we created this synchronised fuelling culture around food or has it been created for us? And are we physically evolving as we adapt to our ever changing food supply? It is probably impossible to definitively answer those questions. Either way, humans are conscious beings, aware that life has a cycle and an undetermined timeframe. In the modern era our bodies and general health have had to adapt to the pressures of a very concentrated eating regime (Stinson 1992). To make sense of food one needs to be tuned in to shifts in its meaning and context across space and time (Staples, 2008). Culture gives us meaning while focusing our experience of the world

(Monaghan, Just, 2000). Our normative eating values have been interrupted by the distinction between “food” and “non-food” and thus we can contextualise our food as fuel (Monaghan, Just 2000, p.39). This cultural assimilation surrounding food, for the most part, has been accepted. The emotive or “carnal” and “not always predictable experiences of food” are part of “being in this world” (Staples 2008).

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