Western Graduate&PostdoctoralStudies

Western University
Scholarship@Western

Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository

9-21-2012 12:00 AM

A Taste for Distinction: Food Representations in Popular Canadian Magazines

Rory A. Davis, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Dr. Michael Gardiner, *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Sociology

© Rory A. Davis 2012

Follow this and additional works at: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd

 Part of the Sociology of Culture Commons

Recommended Citation

Davis, Rory A., "A Taste for Distinction: Food Representations in Popular Canadian Magazines" (2012). *Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository*. 908.
https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/908

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Scholarship@Western. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository by an authorized administrator of Scholarship@Western. For more information, please contact wlswadmin@uwo.ca.

A TASTE FOR DISTINCTION: FOOD REPRESENTATIONS IN POPULAR CANADIAN MAGAZINES

(Food Representations in Popular Magazines)

(Thesis format: Monograph)

by

Rory Alexander Davis

Graduate Program in Sociology

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

The School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada

© Rory Alexander Davis 2013

THE UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN ONTARIO
School of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies

CERTIFICATE OF EXAMINATION

Supervisor

_____
Dr. Michael Gardiner

Examiners

_____
Dr. Scott Schaffer

_____
Dr. Charles G. Levine

_____
Dr. Ajit Pyati

The thesis by

Rory Alexander Davis

entitled:

A Taste for Distinction: Food Representations in Popular Canadian Magazines

is accepted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

_____
Date

_____
Chair of the Thesis Examination Board

Abstract

This study uses an exploratory approach to analyze the content of seventy-two individual lifestyle magazines, covering the 2010-2011 monthly publication periods for Chatelaine, Canadian Living and Reader's Digest. Food content therein is approached from two broad, non-mutually exclusive modes of consumption. The broad-spectrum category of distinction is used to classify food content pertaining to identity, conspicuous consumption, and co-optation. Co-optation is used in a narrow sense to identify the usage of terms reflecting 'localness', 'realness', and 'artisanry'. The plundering of these terms by mass marketers acts as a foil to the second broad-spectrum category, ethical food consumption. Ethical consumption as a category in this study comprises socially responsible or socially aware consumption, personal health, and general environmental concerns stemming from criticisms of the industrial food process. Comparisons revealed a gross disproportion favouring distinction elements over ethical elements. Furthermore, an undertone of individualism permeates elements of both distinction and ethical consumption.

Keywords: food; media; media analysis; ethics; co-optation; distinction; slow food; environmentalism

Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude to the many people who helped me throughout this thesis project. Firstly, I would like to thank Dr. Michael Gardiner for all of his excellent advice and mentorship. From the very start his suggestions helped solidify the direction and purpose of my work. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Scott Schaffer, Dr. Charles Levine, and Dr. Ajit Pyati, both for their initial interest in my thesis and for their insightful critiques. My loving thanks are owed to Linda Davis, Darlene Davis and Tyler Davis for all their help in gathering my research materials and editing my work. Lastly, I wish to thank Robert Davis, Ted Cowan, and Brieanna Davis for their caring support that has helped see me through this and every other academic hurdle I have faced.

Table of Contents

List of Appendices

List of Embedded Tables

List of Embedded Figures

Chapter 1

1. Introduction

The investigation I conducted of popular magazine media demonstrates disconnectedness between food ethics and food consumption within that medium. Over the last year and a half I performed a media discourse analysis of twenty-four issues of *Canadian Living, Chatelaine,* and *Reader's Digest* with a preconceived system of categories based on two facets of food consumption. Ethical food consumption was the first facet. In simplified terms it could be considered an outcome of social awareness about the impacts personal consumption has on the environment and farmers. Self-respecting concerns about nutrition and personal health also fall within the domain of food ethics. Distinction is an alternative outlook on food consumption that may or may not contain ethical components. In Pierre Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984) 'distinction' denoted class distinction, and much of his text was devoted to identifying the differentiating elements between social classes. My own usage of 'distinction' accommodates a few class identity markers as well as specific elements derived from conspicuous consumption, including co-optation. I should note at this point that even though advertisements are subsumed within the conspicuous consumption category in this study, they would more accurately be described as attempts to provide symbolic capital that could later be used in distinction-type processes. I also wish to be clear at the outset that I do not consider ethical food consumption and distinction to be opposites, or even necessarily conflicting. There are circumstances, however, where one might hope to see ethical food information hold primacy over specific elements of distinction, most notably when comparing 'real food' from farmers' markets to co-opted industrial 'real food' renditions.

Bourdieu's primary concern was cultural reproduction. His work emphasizes how social classes preserve their privilege inter-generationally and denies the popular notion of equal opportunity for social mobility. Bourdieu assumes there is a level of pragmatic rationale, or practical sense, in the recognition of circumstances and as a result there is also self-moderation. The concept of capital is extended beyond economic means to include cultural capital, which can function to symbolically legitimate advantaged positions in society. Legitimacy therefore becomes a field for symbolic conflict where distinctions must be created and affirmed in order to establish certain tastes as primary. By identifying which behaviours are legitimized within

magazines I am able to comment on their function as it relates to existing power structures and symbolic violence.

Thorstein Veblen, a predecessor and influencer of Bourdieu, provided a masterwork of symbiosis between sociology and economics in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). In this text he provides an evaluation of status-seeking consumption, or conspicuous consumption, as parasitic and wasteful. He argues that the activity of spending money on luxury goods for public display does not contribute to productivity. Instead, the practice can lead to a consumption arms race necessitated by unfavourable social comparisons (to a more affluent referent). This sort of pecuniary emulation is almost certainly the principle motivator for overtime work shifts and unduly negative appraisals of the social position occupied by the economically underprivileged.

A post-hoc analysis is provided within the conclusion section that draws comparisons between my findings, Veblen's notion of a consumption arms race, Boudieu's discussion of symbolic conflict, and also Jürgen Habermas's colonization thesis. These after the fact analyses help to illustrate the extenuating consequences of symbolic inequality within magazine media.

My main study is primarily exploratory and the largest time allotment was devoted to the creation of the dataset itself. Seventy-two magazines, two years of issues for each title, were thoroughly examined to create a numerical dataset from which further analyses could be conducted. The specifics of the categorical breakdown and page-theme designation procedures are detailed in section three of this paper, which addresses methods. Prior to conducting the investigation I suspected that the elements of distinction would hold primacy over ethics, but beyond that initial hypothesis, subsequent findings unfolded organically and were noted retrospectively. A full accounting of the numerical results and accompanying discussion is found in section four of this paper: results and interpretation. The apparent objectivity of numbers in charts, of course, glosses over the finer nuances that I recorded in several hundred pages of notes. Information that was used to allocate certain page themes was often of a 'best fit' quality, which necessitated a further descriptive analysis of specific content found in the analysis and interpretation section (section five). Conclusions drawn from the specific and general (chart-based) content follow in section six. Accompanying appendices are available subsequent to section six as a reference to be consulted when examining the results and conclusion sections.

The literature review, found in the following section, is the heart of this study. All subsequent work is derivative, albeit creatively so, from prior studies and publications that

address ethical food consumption and distinction. The literature review itself is divided into two major parts; ethical food consumption and social distinction. Ethical food consumption is further subdivided into three subtopics related to environmental harms of industrial farming, human harms resulting from the industrial food system, and socially responsible consumption. These three sections birthed my major analytical categories: social responsibility, personal health, and environmentalism. The second major part of the literature review, social distinction, is also divided into three subsections. The first deals with the Veblenian concept of conspicuous consumption and contends with certain critics of Veblen's work. Part two under social distinction outlines features of Bourdieu's distinction concept and discusses applications of that concept in the construction of class, national, cultural and racial identity. Significant attention is given to the importance of time within this section. Time poverty, according to Bourdieu, is characteristic of lower and middle class individuals, whereas the grand bourgeoisie are able to use their richness in time to perform time consuming culinary feats. The final section under the heading social distinction regards the concept of co-optation as well as an example of a highly successful co-optation, nutritionism, which has inundated Western culture. As was the case for ethical food consumption, the three distinction sections were instrumental in the construction of analytic categories. Class/national identity, conspicuous consumption, and co-optation were the three analytical categories that the literature review sections inspired. Nuanced aspects within these six major analytical categories are discussed at length within section three: methods.

Many of the existing works on food ethics and food activism convey information about problematized parts of the industrial food system, or highlight the activities of food activists. There is an implicit assumption in most food activist presentations that recognizing problems within the present industrial food system necessitates some level of ethical food engagement. While I cannot assure the reader that this is true, the pretence that awareness may lead to ethical action was an important initiating factor for me to conduct this study. My study provides insight into the types of food messages found in one powerful literary medium. *Canadian Living, Chatelaine,* and *Reader's Digest* are three of the four most widely circulated magazines in Canada. They are readily available for everyday information consumption. It may be difficult to predict what impact a magazine will have on consumer consciousness, but the content these publishers promote is an important element for understanding why casual consumers consume ethically or why they do not.

Chapter 2

2. Theoretical Context and Literature Review

2.1. Ethical Food Consumption

Ethical food consumption cannot escape being a somewhat relativist concept. Inevitably one will see what is 'ethical' in a number of different ways depending on their moral conscience, social position, mode of employment, and personal politics. Social justice will always boil down to what the writer presumes society 'ought' to be. This project places a primacy on human and environmental health when discussing social justice through ethical food consumption, but also remains cognizant of the economic needs and limitations of citizen-consumers and producers. Ethical food consumption is often discussed via the resolution of negatives, that is, solving the documented problems in the industrial food system.

There have been several recent documentaries that have attempted to persuade everyday consumers of the harms of our current food system in North America. *Supersize Me*, a 2004 film by Morgan Spurlock, attempts to portray the tragic health consequences of a fast food diet. *Tapped* is a 2009 film that demonizes large bottled water companies such as Coca- Cola, Pepsi and Nestlé for perpetrating environmental harm and compromising human health. *Vanishing of the Bees* was also released in 2009, and it documented Colony Collapse Disorder (CCD), which, according to the film, results from the weakening of the honey bee's immune system by pesticide use. Perhaps most significant to this project, however, was the 2008 release of *Food, Inc*., a documentary film about corporate farming in the United States. It was narrated by Michael Pollan, who also published *The Omnivore's Dilemma* in 2006, which covers much of the same material and in a similar tone.

Thus, for a person immersed in an academic culture, there was no shortage of film-based inspiration for a project such as the one I have undertaken. More significantly, however, food is a basic necessity of life, and any malfunction within our food system, which is integral to daily life, ought to demand fierce scrutiny. Broadly speaking, the two primary moral justifications for change are harms to human beings, and harms to the environment. These two harms are multi-faceted, but also intimately connected. Complicating the matter, however, are issues of economic

interconnectedness between nations who are producing food commodities for global trade. This, and increasingly de-nationalized transcontinental corporate interests threaten to render campaigns for 'social justice regarding food' somewhat idealistic, or possibly utopian in the pejorative sense.

Still, one cannot be dissuaded by the complexity of a system, or forgo change because certain interest groups will be adversely affected. Large groups of people were and continue to be injured within the current food system. Until the human and environmental harms are negated, responsible citizens must continue to problematize the current industrial food system and seek viable alternatives.

2.1.1 Environmental Harms of Industrial Farming

It seems suitable to begin with the ecological harms produced by industrial farming methods. After all, many of the human harms are derivative of the damage done to life-sustaining ecosystems. Water and air pollution may be the most direct harms of industrial farming, but there are also a number of 'slowly' progressing problems that will have severe long-term consequences. Soil erosion, reduced biodiversity, and aggressive deforestation are key examples of progressively worsening conditions resulting from farming monocultures worldwide. It is necessary to be painfully explicit about these harms in order to illustrate why change is required.

Industrial farming itself is actually a fairly recent development in human history, with all significant developments happening within the last hundred years. The cornerstone of industrial farming, or mass production farming, is synthetic nitrogen (Pollan, 2006: 42). Synthetic nitrogen is an incredible chemical tool, which initially allows farms to generate vast crop yields. In 1909, controversial Nobel Prize winner Fritz Haber invented the means to extract chemical nitrogen using fossil fuels for use in fertilizers and warfare (*ibid*: 42). With this new tool farmers could replenish nitrogen, the basis of soil fertility, without having to cycle in nitrogen-rich legume crops, or utilize animal manure (*ibid*, 44). A "sun-driven cycle of fertility, in which legumes fed the [crop] which fed the livestock which in turn (with their manure) fed the [crop], was now broken (*ibid*: 44). 'Fertility in a bag' allowed single crops, like corn, to be planted every year and on as much land as a farmer had available.

With the dawn of monocultures new problems arose for plant resistance. Biodiversity means the perpetual development of new varieties of plants, which are able to resist newly evolving plant diseases (Horrigan *et al*., 2002: 448). Monocultures are large expanses of cropland devoted to single species of crops. Because of this, insect pests and plant diseases are aided by monocultures. In some developing countries, such as Indonesia and the Philippines, 80% of farmers plant only modern rice varieties, which has led to the extinction of 1,500 local rice varieties in only 15 years (*ibid*: 448). Biodiversity is greatly eroded by the consolidation of the seed industry. "Large seed companies tend to rely on first-generation hybrids because they force growers to buy new seed every year" (*ibid*: 448). This means that the seeds that are commercially available cannot reproduce and cannot be saved, as they essentially self-terminate after every harvest.

Monsanto, who purchased the company responsible for suicide-gene seed, are also the creators of the best-selling pesticide on the global market: Roundup. Pesticides come in three formats; herbicides, insecticides, and fungicides. All three are required in increasingly stronger doses to protect first-generation hybrid plants that have been engineered in a way that denies them the potential to naturally evolve immunities. The economic reasoning behind this decision is simply to engineer repeat customers and thus ensure consistent annual income. The environmental impacts are devastating. To begin with, an increasing proportion of insect species are developing resistance to pesticides. Unfortunately, beneficial species of honeybees, which are vital pollinators, are not among the adaptive insect species and are suffering increasing incidence of Colony Collapse Disorder (CCD) due to chemical insecticides such as Bayer's Gaucho (as documented in *Vanishing of the Bees*). This specific ecological consequence is, of course, in addition to the generalized pollution of water, air and soil.

A sensational case of pollution to the groundwater as a result of chemical pesticides was documented in Suffolk County, NY in 1979. The pesticide Aldicarb had unexpectedly turned up in the county's groundwater in spite of extensive tests for pesticide safety (Zaki *et al*, 1982: 1391). Unique circumstances of sandy soil, a shallow water table, and heavy rainfall had resulted in downward leeching of the pesticide, which resulted in contamination of drinking water drawn from over a thousand wells (*ibid*).

Of all ecological deterioration, degradation of soil may actually be the worst effect from a human population standpoint. To sustain agriculture in any capacity a healthy layer of topsoil is

required. As of today, wind and water continue to erode 1% of the world's topsoil each year (*ibid*: 447). Much of this erosion occurs because of industrial farming practice in which soil must be plowed by heavy machinery for replanting each year. Heavy machinery compacts soil which destroys its structure and many of the helpful organisms in the soil food web (*ibid*: 447). Helpful soil organisms like worms, mites, protozoa and other taxa, break down organic matter and transform it into nutrients for the soil (Daily *et al*, 1997: 116). "As much as 10 MT/ha-yr of material is passed through the bodies of earthworms, for example, leaving nutrient-rich 'casts' that enhance soil stability, aeration, and draining" (*ibid*: 116). Chemical fertilizers can cause too much nitrogen or acid content to accumulate in the soil, which only a limited number of plants and organisms can live in (Horrigan *et al*: 448).

The richest soil is found under the complex ecological conditions of forest terrain. Many developing nations, who do not have access to the natural capital of the world's breadbaskets, have taken to deforestation in order to participate in the global market (Austin, 2010: 511). More powerful developed nations have shifted resource-intensive production to the developing world, whilst they reserve the high-profit secondary industries for themselves, reflecting an international division of labour. The theory of comparative advantage asserts impoverished nations can stimulate their development by utilizing their natural resources. One example of a consequence of this economic way of thinking has been the massive deforestation of the Amazon to make way for expanding soybean cultivation (*ibid*: 512).

Genetically-modified foods are a recent and budding concern for environmental theorists. One of the greatest risks of introducing genetically-modified organisms (GMOs) into a natural environment is the possibility of modified genes being transferred to wild plants (van der Bergh & Holley, 2002: 813). Research does suggest, however, that transfers from modified crops to other varieties have, to date, been small. Another pressing concern is that genetically modified corn, soy and rice that are produced with *Bacillus thuringienis* (*Bt*) toxin, may hasten *Bt* resistance by weeds and insects (*ibid*: 814). Terminator seed technology may actually decrease the risk of contaminating natural ecosystems with unnatural resistances. This is only a small ecological safety net, and it does not offset the damage that results from GMOs' main purpose; namely, to enable crop survival amidst heavy pesticide use.

Utilizing pesticides and GMOs is, of course, primarily a means to supplement and create the conditions necessary for a North American diet that centers on meat consumption. In spite of

being time, labour and energy intensive (approx. ten calories of productive energy for every one calorie of food), many of us consume meat every day (Pollan: 88). The demand is so great that industrial methods have also been applied to farming animals; these are often termed 'factory farms'. The living conditions for factory farmed animals are notably deplorable. Animals are forced to live in close confinement, often with a complete deprivation of sunlight and unspeakably poor sanitation (Kreuziger, 2005: 367). To counteract the worst effects of these unhealthy conditions a steady stream of antibiotics are employed (Pollan: 73). Additional health problems are incurred by cows that are fed an unnatural diet of industrial corn for purely economic reasons (*ibid*: 139). I suppose we should be grateful for small mercies like the cessation of forced cannibalism that has previously been employed, arguably to the effect of degenerative conditions like mad cow disease (Pollan: 75; Ritvo, 1998). Significant opposition to the consumption of factory farmed animals does exist, particularly from groups like People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), whose moralism demands a vegetarian diet.

A final significant ecological consequence of modern industrial farming has to do with the distance food travels, or "food miles". The largest environmental concern here is that the high carbon dioxide emissions created by shipping food from industrial production centers to local consumers. This is contributing significantly to global warming and air pollution. Semi-trailer trucks that are used to haul food to grocery stores across a national network travel 2,400 kilometers on average (DeWeerdt, 2009: 6). "A Canadian study estimated that replacing imported food with equivalent items locally grown in the Waterloo, Ontario, region would save transport-related emissions equivalent to nearly 50,000 metric tons of CO_2, or the equivalent of taking 16,191 cars off the road (*ibid*, 6). In addition to CO_2, fine particulate matter emitted by vehicles poses additional risks to human and environmental health. Airborne particles are responsible for the obscured visibility around major cities such as Los Angeles, but the most dangerous variety is actually smaller than a human blood cell. Particles from vehicle emissions clog the stomatal openings (pores used for gas exchange) of plants and thus block their ability to intake carbon dioxide (The Encyclopaedia of Earth Online: Abiotic Factor, by C. Michael Hogan).

2.1.2 Human Harms from the Industrial Food System

The human impacts of the industrial farm system are just as disconcerting as those on the environment. Three major areas of consequence are health, economics and time. Health concerns involve both illnesses and lowered quality of life. Economic concerns demonstrate the manipulation of consumers and the abuse of 'bio-serf' farmers. Finally, time concerns centre on time saved versus time lost in the dynamics of preparing and consuming food.

First, regarding food miles, the deterioration of air quality with the presence of fine particulate matter has been linked to cardiovascular health risks. Food transportation, like any long-range shipping, is a major source of pollutants that deteriorate the air quality for residents, especially near major highways. The American Medical Association found that fine particulate and sulphur oxide-related pollution generated from combustion engines is associated with lung cancer and cardiopulmonary mortality (Pope *et al*. 2002). A meta-analysis of research on particle matter found that breathing combustion-related fine particles found long term chronic health effects related to cardiovascular mortality (Pope and Dockery, 2006). Additionally, health effects are stratified by socio-economic status due to the tendency for lower income families to live closer to major highways utilized by transport trucks (Finkelstein *et al*. 2003). In sum, the means of product distribution utilized by the industrial food system contributes adversely to cardiovascular health, especially for those who reside closer to major highways.

Logging an excess number of food miles is not just a problem for our respiratory health, although that is the most troubling issue, but also a detriment to the quality of products being shipped. Produce has to be picked early to be shipped long distances, leaving it to ripen artificially on a truck. Stress and cruelty of shipping conditions can also badly affect the flavour of the meat from animals (Parkins and Craig, 2006: 132). Another very important consequence of food miles is the separation they forge between producers and consumers. Consumption is safer and ultimately "more pleasurable when the consumer has knowledge of the producer" (*ibid*: 133). This assertion by the authors of *Slow Living*, Wendy Parkins and Geoffrey Craig, may seem a bit contrived and self-serving at face-value, but it does fit well with existing research on consumer trust. Sapp *et al*. (2009) found that consumer trust was significantly explained by perceptions of competence and fiduciary responsibility, both of which are much easier to recognize when the farmer is someone you know.

When the food found in supermarkets is drawn from countries of varying economic conditions, our chances of consuming unsafe products rise. Pesticide residues are one of the most direct and immediate concerns of consumers shopping for fruits and vegetables. These residues present a risk that is normally beyond human detection by ordinary sensory perceptions (ex. touch, smell, taste) (Jenson and Blok, 2008: 760). The dangers, both to human health and of natural destruction, are 'visible and painful' to farmers (*ibid*: 761). Despite stringent import regulations in developed countries like Canada or the US, illegally contaminated produce imported from the developing world continues to trickle through (Galt, 2010). The danger to Canadians may be increasing as funding to the Food and Drug Administration is reduced under the Harper government.

Galt (2010) attempted to provide an explanatory framework to understand why farmers in the developing world would run the risk of having their crops rejected and continue to use banned pesticides like the insecticide Methamidophos. He found that insecticides like Methamidophos help to provide high yields of aesthetically pleasing crops at a low monetary cost, which compels impoverished farmers to chance violating the pesticide ban (*ibid*: 337). The product is "relatively cheap and extraordinarily powerful", and it remains in the plant much longer than most pesticides (*ibid*: 338). Because of 'price squeeze', or lowered produce value, risking being caught, and risking the health of consumers exposed to pesticide residues, becomes necessary for the farmer's economic survival.

Those who do place their faith in the mainstream food system will be fed a steady diet of corn, wheat, soybeans, rice, beer, milk, beef, peanut butter and sunflower oil (Mercola, 2011). This is mostly explained by government subsidies bestowed upon the most domestically overproduced crops in North America (*ibid*). Corn is undoubtedly the champion of all subsidized products in the USA. Corn is a military-industrial crop, meaning that it is storable, portable and tradeable, and therefore a great source of wealth (Pollan: 201). As an added perk, corn is also highly adaptable to chemical manipulation. It is usable as a replacement sweetener (fructose) to the common sweetener sucrose.

Fructose has come under fire in the last decade for its perceived correlation with the rising obesity epidemic in the USA and certain other industrial nations, including Canada. Proponents of the fructose-obesity link found that a high fructose diet induces insulin resistance in rats (Bezerra *et al.*, 2000) and, unlike glucose, does not stimulate leptin production (Bray *et*

al., 2004). These findings are cause for substantial concern, since insulin resistance increases the risk of type 2 diabetes and leptin regulates appetite and helps prevent overeating. There is also a highly conspicuous correlation between the introduction of high fructose corn syrup (HFCS) as a low cost sweetening alternative and the climb in obesity rates since 1970 (*ibid*:540).

The battle over HFCS does not end with any definitive conclusions, however, due to arguments over experimental methods. White (2008) convincingly points out that market varieties of HFCS differ substantially from the pure solutions tested on rodents in lab settings. He claims that fructose use is only a problem for the metabolism in cases where it totally replaces sucrose. Energy and soft drink companies have found no notable metabolic effect in combinations of fructose and sucrose (*ibid*: 1719S). The author of "Mindless Eating: Why we eat more than we think" (2006), Brian Wansink, concurs that fructose has been unduly demonized, and offers an alternative theory on obesity related to an abundance of food cues in society and a sedentary lifestyle.

Mindless eating may be another unfortunate consequence of the economic side of the industrial food system. The low cost of high calorie products, partnered with little opportunity to expend extraneous energy, have created a diet-lifestyle mismatch that dooms the typical North American to gain weight. According to data collected by the World Health Organization in 2005 nearly 50% of men and women in the US are obese, whereas Canadian men and women linger around 30% (White: 1720S). Professor Marian Nestle of New York University charged that "advertising and marketing methods have changed society in a way that it has made it too easy to overeat… It is now socially acceptable to eat anywhere, all day, every day, and in larger and larger quantities" (Elliot, 2003: 1067). Government responses have tended to stray away from advising people on what to eat and focus instead on encouraging more physical activity (*ibid*).

Responsibility for obesity and poor food choices generally falls squarely on the shoulders of the consumer. Ethical consumerism itself contains an implicit belief that the spending behaviour of consumers must be redirected away from the destructive commodities towards products that were developed sustainably. A parallel assertion is that those who prefer products that are of poor quality are too focused on price. Holm (2003) identified the tendency to 'blame the consumer' in her study of Danish consumers. She also noted that consumers are not always able to purchase goods that meet their own quality standards; instead, they resort to

"compromise" foods (which can come in large calorie-packed quantities), while reproaching themselves for the violation of what they feel is their responsibility (*ibid*: 144).

Consumers may not realize that there is an especially close relationship between cheap food and the price of labour (Moore, 2010). Workers can be paid less (relative to the cost of living) if their wages still enable them access to cheap food. 'Cheap food' therefore reduces the 'value' of commodified labour power and augments the capitalist's capacity to extract surplus value (*ibid*: 397). "In 2001, food had never been so cheap – even as US consumers faced rising prices for healthy food and falling prices for junk food" (Patel, 2007). Without an ethical orientation to the production and consumption of food many consumers could be lulled into complacency by food abundance. Abundant food supplies, even if they are nutritionally lacking or generated through destructive agricultural practice, fulfil the most fundamental requirement of a functional food system by keeping the majority of people fed. A well fed population is far less likely to demand revolutionary changes be made to what they can reasonably perceive as a functional food system. Misperceptions regarding the value of labour relative to the cost of living are conceivably reinforced by the false perception that 'cheap food' is for everyone, but healthy food is reserved for higher earners.

Lifestyle choices related to the consumption of food have been altered by the products of the industrial food system. It is frequently lamented that the industrial system, with its emphasis on efficiency, has eroded the family meal. A growing number of convenience foods and ready-made meals may have reduced the overall time individuals spend on cooking and eating. Warde *et al*. (2007) performed a multinational study on American, European and Nordic eating habits and found that in all cases cooking time has gone down. From 1970 – 2000, on average, Americans spent 9 minutes less preparing meals (48min-39min), 10 minutes less eating at home (52min-42min), and 2 minutes more eating out (28min-30min) (*ibid*: 368). Although the data alone does not lead to definitive explanations of why this relocation of time is happening there are a number of possibilities related to the food system to consider.

Reducing meal preparation times can be considered a form of liberation. This is especially true for people who consider cooking to be onerous. In many cases, both partners in a relationship are being pressured into labour force participation, which increases disdain for domestic tasks (Matthaei, 1980). Onerousness, in this instance, is resulting directly from increased time pressure and 'time poverty'. Stress, associated with time poverty and role

overload, has the net effect of eroding the quality of life for many fast-paced couples (Higgins *et al*., 2010: 855).

Time might be the most valuable commodity anyone can possess. By quickening our lives under pretences of efficiency, productivity and profitability, we may be hastily eroding the quality of our lives. The social pressure to be productive effectively labels all 'slow' nonconformists unproductive (Parkins and Craig: 43). We can even measure precisely how unproductive an individual is being thanks to the key of the industrial work cycle: clock time (*ibid*: 49). Clock time is fundamental to daily life today, and it is absolutely necessary for the cohesion of so many independent, yet interdependent, productive agencies that work together to keep store shelves stocked and the consumer lifestyle afloat. Still, the oppression of time pressure certainly has a negative impact on the enjoyment of, and satisfaction, in everyday life.

2.1.3 Socially Responsible Consumption

Some consumers may prefer the hyper-mechanized, instantaneously available selection of industrial products and thereby privilege accessibility and convenience (Bauman, 2000: 89). Others are more willing to experiment with systems of food production that prioritize sustainability above abundance. There is no easy path down the latter road. Members of the Western industrialized world have all partaken of and contributed to a system of unsustainable food production that is self-reinforcing and well-fortified politically and financially. As powerful and consolidated as this system seems, however, it is still quite malleable and responsive to consumer demands. The recent surge of organic products in supermarkets provides some proof of that. As consumers we all have a duty to make clear and specific demands of our food economy and take an active role in shaping environmental and human health outcomes at the earliest juncture.

The buying behaviour of a single individual may feel like an ineffectual effort to advance social change. The consumer activities of a substantial collection of individuals, alternately, can quickly draw political attention and moderate the behaviour of even multinational corporations. Boycotting products to reach this end has been a tool of working class consumers for more than a century. The Knights of Labour produced a vast boycott list for national and local use as early as 1887 (Frank, 2003: 366). The goal of this, and other early boycott groups, tended to be the

assurance of fair wage and working conditions, or specifically a unionized work environment attached to the production of goods (*ibid*: 367). "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work", became a significant movement for African-American neighbourhoods whose residents were being excluded from jobs (*ibid*: 369). A contemporary rendition that emerged in the late eighties and early nineties is the "Buy American" campaign, which found itself co-opted by unlikely sources such as Wal-Mart (a notorious user of low-wage Asian labour) (*ibid*: 373).

One of the problems with many early boycott, or 'buycott' in the case of "Buy American", efforts is that the moralistic component ran askew where racist understandings bubbled to the surface. People can easily be diverted from understanding the transnational nature of corporate strategies by focusing on anti-foreigner and anti-immigrant messages (*ibid*: 373). In situations such as these, boycotting efforts themselves, whose express purpose is ethical consumption, in fact promote unethical consumption from a human standpoint. Friedman (2001) discusses the ethical dilemmas of blanket boycotts, or 'surrogate boycotts', which target entire geographical areas and needlessly create many innocent victims. Product boycotts require substantial specificity in order to be effective, yet seek to be fair to secondary participants in a corrupt system. Effective means of boycott include the production of a "blacklist" of specific unethical items, or a "whitelist" of select ethical products (*ibid*: 239). The latter need not be exclusive, as new products produced in an ethically desirable manner could readily be added to a "whitelist".

The paradigmatic food boycott is probably the controversy over infant formula attached to the Nestlé ® Corporation. In the mid-1970s, Nestlé came under fire for promoting and selling infant formula in developing nations and unintentionally causing infant malnutrition and death (Post, 1984: 115). A lack of water purity, sanitation, refrigeration, and over-dilution of formula by impoverished consumers in the developing world all contributed to sick and dying infants, and the conclusion of many was that Nestlé's product was inappropriate for many of the consumers they marketed it to (*ibid*: 115). Broad public awareness of the issue followed a series of press stories accusing Nestle of killing babies (*ibid*: 117). The Infant Formula Action Coalition (INFACT) took up the cause after the publicized trial of Nestle in Switzerland, from its roots in Minneapolis USA, a small band campaigned for public support for a boycott of the world's largest seller of infant formula (*ibid*: 118). The boycott won great battles for publicity and, as a result, drew the attention of the World Health Organization (WHO), who pressured the

food industry to develop a code for responsible marketing (*ibid*: 119). Despite resistance from the Reagan administration who were compelled by industry lobbyists to resist regulation, Nestle responded to public dissatisfaction (and lost profits) with an adapted code to comply with the WHO code (*ibid*: 120). Though far from perfect, the Nestlé marketing code did address several highly irresponsible advertising practices and misrepresentations of information regarding infant formula (*ibid*: 124). Significantly, several members of the boycott committee were allowed to serve on an audit commission to help assure Nestlé's compliance with responsible practice (*ibid*: 126). The Nestlé controversy and subsequent boycott stands as an inspiring success story of successful campaign organization, specific product/practice targeting and corporate responsively to the buying power of consumers.

Change in small increments through strategic boycotting does not, however, contain the most progressive elements of ethical food consumption. Indeed, many consumers without substantial resources lack the power to exert their ethical influence on the food market in this way. Working-class people are more likely to bend to economic restraints and shop at Costco or Wal-Mart, as opposed to middle-class shoppers who can purchase from high-priced natural food stores, or select Fair Trade Coffee (Frank: 374). It is an unfortunate reality that although ethical consumerism can and does exist, true consumer democracy does not exist yet. The burden may therefore be doubled for those who do have the means to exercise unabated choice on the food market. For their own consumption they must vote morally with their money, and they must also be a voice that pleads and lobbies for governmental changes in food subsidizing and accessibility to the disadvantaged.

In order to progressively deconstruct, or at least disrupt, the damaging and unsustainable aspects of the industrial food system, consumers may best be diverted towards local purchasing from farmers who are transparent about their practices. I am apprehensive about equating ethical food consumption with local food purchasing, but there seems to be a strong connection between locally self-contained food production and sustainable, ethical agricultural practice. If consumers wish to spend their energy and earnings on alleviating the harms of industrial farming, then they ought to support local farming.

Meanings attached to localness in food production do show variance in consumer populations. There is a perceived connection between localness and trustworthiness. The term 'local' triggers associations with familiarity, shared values and community, which is the

alternative "to the industrialized food systems that have been blamed for breaches in consumer safety, animal cruelty, producing 'Frankenstein foods,' cultural homogenization, and the undermining of farmers" (Blake *et al*, 2010: 410). Still, there are a confusing array of meanings attached to localness regarding time-space, quality and value (Blake *et al*, 2010). Place is perhaps the most important since there is a basic relation between geographic distance travelled and conceptions of localness (*ibid*: 413). What this means is that large supermarket chains that are 'local' to a residential area may be considered local by their customers. This dissociation of localness from food's production source is an understandable source of confusion given the basic elements in the average consumer's reasoning about shopping: distance, price and quality, which are all elements of personal cost. It is problematic, but does illustrate how meanings are constructed relationally, and it reinforces the need for specificity in designating what is meant by 'local' in the context of ethical consumption.

Access to local food is a multifaceted problem. On one hand, distribution centers such as farmer's markets need to be found in places that are as convenient as the spots chosen for supermarkets. On the other hand, the goods themselves must not exist solely for the wealthy consumer. Jones and Bhatia (2011) documented a program in San Francisco, California that was designed to permit low-income shoppers access to farmer's markets through food stamps. Some problems with implementing the program involved the use of electronic benefits transaction (EBT) systems and the general lack of farmers' markets located in low-income areas (*ibid*: 781-2). Inaccessibility or unacceptably high personal requirements for transportation is probably the largest disincentive for everyday shoppers to partake of local food. This strikes me as an enormous paradox, however, given the vast transportation networks involved in industrial foods.

The problem of 'convenience' is mostly one of infrastructure as the prevalence of farmer's markets is dwarfed by the prevalence of supermarkets in Canada. Consumers can and usually do take advantage of local food distribution initiatives when they are made available. Unfortunately, there is a lack of economic incentives to promote a more humanistic and environmentally friendly food system. Connelly *et al* (2011) analyzed 'sustainable community' development projects in two Canadian cities, Vancouver and Edmonton, and found a highly receptive consumer base. They focussed on the notion of embeddedness as a driving force for ethical food systems to gain legitimacy by reciprocity, trust, transparency and accountability (*ibid*: 313). The Vancouver project focussed particularly on building the physical and social

infrastructure to provide farmers with direct access to consumers of a local food market (*ibid*: 316). Building the necessary infrastructure has, however, made the problem of limited economic resources for 'local food' all the more explicit (*ibid*: 318). Budding movements toward ethical food consumption are severely disadvantaged when trying to purchase prime, accessible real estate when competing with established centers of distribution that are part of the industrial system (e.g. supermarkets). A strong advocacy for ethical food consumption may lie hand in hand with advocating ethical investment into necessary infrastructure.

The difficulty in establishing a base for local food distribution may owe to a lack of strong culinary history of high food valuation in North America, as opposed to what one would find, in say, Italy or France. Embeddedness is the key concept that Bowen (2011) uses to examine relationships in social networks, social capital and other elements in France's market for specialized Comté cheese. Territorially embedded food chains, or *terroir*, attach a local place to food products and endow those products with the value attached to that region (*ibid*: 327). In the case of Comté cheese this means cheese made from raw milk from Montbéliarde cows, a breed of cow found in the Jura Massif region of eastern France (*ibid*: 329). The cheese is labelled differently depending on the diet the cows eat; the summer cheese is not the same as the winter cheese, because cows are eating differently (*ibid*: 336). In so far as territory and specific aging practices are so important to this very distinct cheese, there has not been a great dilution of quality by the introduction of larger companies (*ibid*: 334). This outcome results from the need to preserve the particular taste consumers expect from Comté cheese, which is the reason why the label for this cheese is tightly regulated by the Interprofessional Committee for Gruyère from Comté (CIGC) (*ibid*: 329). Small farmers' food network access and protection of traditional methods are effectively regulated by the CIGC, and the strength of their label has therefore gained the power to 'embody' *terroir*, localness.

Labels seem like an important tool for reinforcing the important quality differences between locally produced food and food that is mass produced and shipped across exceptional distances. Most foods produced industrially do list the region where the food was produced, but for generic foods like peanut butter there is not any place with a strong history of artisanal production. Klintman (2006: 427) lists product labelling as a "soft tool" for building more ethical consumption possibilities. An interesting possibility would be to include a kilometre number for the distance any given product has travelled, but the impact of such an initiative should not be

overstated since it is already self-evident that products from other countries have travelled a long way. It should also be restated at this point that there is potential for racism, or at least cultural insularity, in any discourse that privileges one region over another. Even though local food is a flawless, ethical solution from an environmental perspective, there are still numerous exploited labourers in foreign nations whose immediate situation would become dire if international trade were to decline.

For every labourer who is hopelessly dependent on the global industrial food system, however, there are others in the developing world who greatly desire independence and re-establishment of their own local farm infrastructure. It is easy to fall into the trap of believing that North American controlled trade makes this continent the master controller of the fate of all the less privileged parts of the world. It is equally easy to overstate the benefits that global trade provides to the developing world. From a broad perspective, it must be acknowledged that, in our imperfect global system, individual nations have experienced a deterioration of food security. Commodity crops have transformed Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa from food exporters into food importers (Murphy, 2001: 38). This is indicative of the forced agricultural dependence that has been created through world trade market pressures. Many citizens of the developing world are well aware of the exploitative abuses in the global food system, and have worked through 'peasant resistances' to attempt de-commodification of farmland and reconstitution of local producer-consumer bonds (Schneider and Niederle, 2010). Strong local food networks may actually be even more empowering for nations in the developing world than for advanced industrial nations like Canada.

There is some irony in advocating an ethical food project that centers on local food production while living in a cold-climate country like Canada. If members of any nation should appreciate the rewards of international trade with more temperate regions, it would have to be Canadians. From a moral standpoint, however, it seems obvious that local food must be the basis of our growth, or purposeful lack thereof. Global food alliances should by no means be sacrificed, as they undoubtedly act to the benefit of inhabitants of soil/climate-disadvantaged parts of the world. The price of food obtained through that alliance, however, must equate to the sum of the true human and environmental cost of production. In other words, international trade should be fair. Fair trade practice, however, may be impossible within a capitalist framework.

2.2 Social Distinction through Food Consumption

The intention for one's particular tastes to be recognized as socially valorous is unmistakably different from consumption for social justice. The difference is that the social awareness being used is of a very different sort. Concern for one's standing amongst others shows a self-focused social awareness, which differs greatly from the acknowledgement of social responsibility for the good of others. Distinguishment through intentional action is central to conspicuous consumption. The main way that a food consumer can distinguish themselves is through ostentatious displays at dinner parties, and the proficient application of gastronomic knowledge.

Distinction is a highly nuanced concept. Pierre Bourdieu developed the term in his influential work, *Distinction*: *A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984). He attempts to promote distinction as something greater than conspicuous consumption. Importantly, Bourdieu is concerned with the way taste is the cultural definer of class position. The behaviour and preferences of the grand bourgeoisie are said to differ markedly from the working class, in important and telling ways.

Conspicuous distinction is not the sole domain of persons; industrial producers must constantly apply new marketing strategies to garner public attention for their products. One notable strategy that I am deeply concerned with is co-optation. This concept is thoroughly explored in Thomas Frank's *The Conquest of Cool* (1997), and Joseph Heath and Andrew Potter's *The Rebel Sell* (2004). My interest in co-optation is that co-opted elements of ethical food movements may be paradoxically used by large, destructive industrial food producers.

2.2.1 Conspicuous Consumption of Food

Conspicuous consumption is a term that is both popularly and academically invoked to denote individuals whose ostentatious spending helps create the impression that others hold of the spender. This concept finds frequent everyday examples in clothing or automobiles. It can also be readily applied to the selective consumption of food products. Indeed, John P. Diggins assessed that Thorstein Veblen's original inspiration for conspicuous consumption was the Native American potlatch ritual feast (Campbell, 1995: 42). There is, of course, also the matter

of eating out at high-end restaurants where food rarities and a festival of presentation take place. Recognizing conspicuous consumption in magazines presents a unique set of problems, but an examination of a few prominent theorists who have written about Veblen's work helps illuminate some potentially unclear matters.

Veblen himself saw the utility of conspicuous consumption as something that marks apparent disparities in income, which induces envy in those of less means. The procurement of luxury items by the leisure class is only apparent in comparison to the purchase of raw necessities by the 'industrial class'. It is a "mark of human dignity" to consume non-essential things. Lesser individuals are pressured to consume only for their sustenance (Veblen: 188-189). An exception to this follows from vicarious consumption, where treating one's 'servants' (or those under one's charge) to luxuries can also evoke awe towards the pecuniary strength of the master (*ibid*: 193). For the purposes of reputability, the most essential commonality in all conspicuous consumption is waste (*ibid*: 196). Waste, both of products and efforts, is especially evident in cities that have a large, highly mobile population (*ibid*: 197). Even in a diffuse population, however, good opinion of acquaintances, even passing ones, is generally sought through any available consumptive means to rise above the 'conforming mass' (*ibid*: 199). Such competitive expenditure does not, however, meet Veblen's moralistic standard for the approval of conscience. "To be at peace with himself man must be able to see in any effort and enjoyment an enhancement of life and well-being on the whole" (*ibid*: 203). Thus, ostentatious displays may promote dignity, status increments, and induce envy, but they fail to meet a standard of benefit for the generalized population.

Work on conspicuous consumption has been readily adopted by economic sociologists and is a precursor of modern advertisements (Tillman, 2006: 97). The essential economic characteristic for conspicuous consumption is that a high price paid is as important as the inherent qualities of the commodity (Leibenstein, 1950: 203). Furthermore, the real price differs from the 'conspicuous price', which is the price that other people believe was paid for the commodity (*ibid*: 203). For common market items, real price is likely to equate with the conspicuous price. However, few everyday consumers would be able to readily conjure up the price figure that it takes to purchase a private jet. Advertisers have seized on conspicuous consumption to promote certain brand items, at increased price, as superior to the more generic

necessity brand. Hence Kraft Peanut Butter will always sell for a good sum more than No Name or Selection brands.

Another enduring truth of the hierarchy of food is the privileging of exotic foods or foods whose general access is limited or restricted. Examples of restricted foods are more common in times before the era of globalization (D'Arms, 2004: 431). A trait that has carried over from Roman antiquity and beyond is the explicit use of ceremony and spectacular presentation to convey status from opulent spending (*ibid*: 430; 434; 435). Spectacle continues to play a role in modern conspicuous food consumption at elite eateries. I recall from the prelude of the film "American Psycho" a poignant example where uniquely arranged foods are prepared for four corporate executives. The restaurant's waiters display their exceptional mastery through flawless, menu-less recitations of specialty foods like squid ravioli in a lemon grass broth with goat cheese profiteroles, and an arugula Caesar salad. Another waiter smoothly sells swordfish meatloaf with onion marmalade, and a third promotes grilled free-range rabbit with herbed French fries. The executives casually complain about the restaurant's lack of sophistication, re-affirming their statuses even further, before paying the reasonable $570 bill and exiting to the next scene. Given my focus on domestic living magazines it's unlikely that I will find a restaurateur's guide, but equally telling will be attempts to emulate opulent foods through elaborate recipes.

The strongest critic of Veblen's work that I encountered is Colin Campbell. Campbell questions Veblen's premise that envy arises out of a desire to emulate the behaviour of others (1995: 39). He also notes that vicarious consumption, specifically spending on others, such as drinking companions, elides high pecuniary standing with personal qualities of generosity (*ibid*: 41). The unknowable aspect is the altruist's intention. Campbell also derides Veblen's 'original inspiration' of the Native American potlatch whose participants carry a range of motives from generosity to intent to embarrass (*ibid*: 42). Campbell draws attention to the unknowable intentions of the conspicuous consumer and the unknowable effects of conspicuous consumption on observers. These effects are both presented as 'insurmountable' challenges to empirical study since honesty can never be assured (*ibid*: 46).

Supporters of Veblen have responded to these criticisms aptly by pointing to the successful study of other taboo subjects like homosexuality, bestiality, or incest, where honesty would also be an issue (Tillman: 100). Tillman himself lauds Veblen's work on emulatory consumption, or "want creation" (*ibid*: 101). He is particularly impressed with Veblen's moral

stance on "wasteful consumption" and reserves a neoclassicist label for Campbell's stance of purchase neutrality and libertarianism (*ibid*: 103; 106). Due to my own critical approach to consumptive practice, I am also disinclined to respect the value agnosticism of neoclassical economics. Still, I recognize the pitfalls of value-laden analysis and have thus taken special care to understand the mechanisms of ecological and human harm inherent in the industrial food system.

In sum, the application of conspicuous consumption as a component of distinction in my analysis shall focus on issues of price, ostentatiousness, and emulation (of perceived *haute cuisine*). I should note that distinguishing oneself through culinary mastery is far from a bad thing. I have plenty of respect for sweeter, extraneous food items and for individuals whose skill in meal preparation warrants awe. In the hierarchy of needs, however, surely privileging conspicuousness over the remedying of gross inequities in a deteriorating food system is not entirely defensible.

2.2.2 Class/Identity Politics in Distinction

Joining the ranks of cultural nobility is not a simple task of flaunting expensive goods that are beyond the means of the common man. Pierre Bourdieu terms this sort of wasteful consumption to be "naïve exhibitionism", in that it is a crude display of ill-mastered luxury (31). The pure gaze, or aesthetic gaze, is the tool that defines those with the highest cultural capital. Aesthetic distancing means a rejection of human passions and a glorification of form over content (*ibid*: 34). Disregarding functional elements in favour of stylization remains a privilege reserved for those who are removed from the burdens of operating out of necessity. A person concerned merely with putting 'food' on the table will be far less interested in that food's presentation than a person freed from such constraints. Bourdieu attaches moral agnosticism to his archetype for the aesthetic gaze (*ibid*: 47). He leads us to assume that a pure aesthete will be blind to everything except stylization. This is not to say that any aesthetically inclined person would be ignorant or amoral with regards to the plight of others. More so it is a statement about an ability to apply flair above functionality in one's own production and consumption. His most elegant example is of a dinner invitation, wherein he states: "If I write to a friend to invite him to

dinner, my letter is primarily a communication… but the more I shift the emphasis to the form of my script, the more nearly does it become a work of literature or poetry" (*ibid*: 29).

The mode of acquisition of the pure gaze and of cultural knowledge more generally is a recurring and vital theme in Bourdieu's work. A person's learning from their family and formal school education combine to form academic capital (*ibid*: 23). High achievement in formal institutions of learning is certainly the prime element of credentialization and in conveying a larger and larger generalized perception of capability with each successively higher degree attained (*ibid*: 25). Cohesive participation within 'high class' groups, however, more often demands a solid foundation of informal learning and accumulation of requisite cultural knowledge from the family. Bourdieu actually places domestic learning and scholastic learning of culture in opposition (*ibid*: 74), since teachers will only convey what is 'legitimate culture' from their restrictively limited middle or working class backgrounds (*ibid*: 87). "And it is probably in tastes for food that one would find the strongest and most indelible mark of infant learning, the lessons which longest withstand the distancing or collapse of the native world and most durably maintain nostalgia for it". In this sense, food is the archetypal cultural good because of the enduring hangover of nostalgia, which programs individuals with a unique and selective disposition towards pleasure. Within his surveys, Bourdieu questioned respondents on their preferences in food and also on their mode of self-presentation in meals they served on special occasions. "The style of meal that people like to offer is no doubt a very good indicator of the image they wish to give or avoid giving to others," and provides "indicators of the position occupied in the economic and cultural hierarchies, economic trajectory, social trajectory and cultural trajectory" (*ibid*: 79).

This line of Bourdieu's thinking is particularly applicable to the examination of the content of the magazines that I intend to examine. He predicts that middle and working class meals will invariably tend to offer plentiful and comforting food whereas the upper class are inclined to offer their guests 'original and exotic' foods (*ibid*: 79). These characteristics can be located in the styles of meal and accompanying text presented in the magazines. Of course, these magazines are written for a mass audience and so one would expect accessible rather than exclusionary text. The importance of providing an emulatory avenue to pursue upward cultural class mobility, however, could be presented effectively.

It is important to note that 'authentic distinction' as Bourdieu imagines it can certainly not be gained from a second-hand source like 'popular magazines'. Bourdieu places the legitimate tastes of the possessors of high cultural capital in diametrical opposition to popular tastes of wide appeal (*ibid*: 15). Knowledge gained through direct experience as opposed to learning also takes on a privileged position for members of the upper class (*ibid*: 74), which further limits the status ascension that any person could hope to attain from 'magazine lifestyle mastery'. The reason for the privileging of direct experience has to do with forging a class divide that circumvents education by utilizing the surplus of spare time that is available to the exceptionally rich and vocationally privileged (*ibid*: 55).

According to Bourdieu's model of a 'grand bourgeois', real cooking is "the sort where it takes two days to make a Madeira sauce" (*ibid*: 277). The implications of this statement are twofold. First, the quality of a chef can be said to vary by time investment in addition to their more obvious skills at the cooking craft. Second, the quality of the food product rises exponentially with the quality of ingredients, and with the care invested into its preparation. This reconfirms that it is tragic that most of our society been bent to 'time pressure' and perpetually live in 'time poverty'. Pressures of efficiency are really just another way of stating the force of necessity in Bourdieu's terms. Those who work the hardest at measured time intervals generally do so because they lack the job autonomy to provide themselves with greater opportunity for slow and reflective work. The fact that necessity and efficiency carry into the home life and even consumer choices is an expected consequence of progressively reinforced social learning and distinctive labelling of certain activities as work. The increased importance of efficiency, a rational-economic orientation, could also be seen as evidence of the colonization of the lifeworld by rational forces as predicted by Habermas. Thus, a person who seeks the 'quickest' meal solutions, which I expect some of my sample magazines to provide, is probably a member of the 'time-poor' class, and has almost certainly labelled cooking as work.

The alternative to life in the fast lane, which is often touted as more ethical, comes in two closely interrelated, but importantly different approaches: voluntary simplicity and slow living. Often mistaken for pure asceticism, voluntary simplicity, according to author Duane Elgin (1981), is based on deliberate, intentional and purposeful actions rooted in an awareness of oneself (397). Poverty, after all, is involuntary and debilitating, which is in direct contrast to voluntary simplicity, which Elgin claims is enabling (*ibid*: 398). Elgin also claims that the earth

can sustain a moderate and satisfying standard of living for every human family, which is reassuring, but I do not know what equations were employed to reach this conclusion (*ibid*: 399). He proceeds to explain that simplicity is a deeply personal idea, since each individual is the best judge of where their life is needlessly complicated. The series of tips that Elgin provides revolve around developing one's full emotional, mental and spiritual potentials. The most spiritual link that he asserts is the connection that one has with the earth through "reverential concern with nature" (*ibid*: 401). To do this, and in addition show compassion to the world's poor as well, one should alter consumption to favour durable products and overall lower consumption. Each person should also seek a job that contributes to the well-being of the world and allows them the use of personal creativity. Reduction in dependence on experts for development is also a part of Elgin's scheme to move into smaller more self-contained living environments (*ibid*: 402). The opening chapter ends with an overview of religions which have in one way or another promoted reductionist lifestyles as the most fulfilling path (*ibid*: 408-411).

A number of authors have critiqued the tenets of simplicity (Parkins and Craig, 2006; Librova, 2008). The foremost objection is that the simple lifestyle 'oversimplifies' proactive environmentalism. The appeal of simplicity is that it provides an alternative to the hectic pace and needless complexity of modern life (Librova: 1112). Yet, proponents of simplicity have failed to acknowledge the very complicated and difficult reality of leading an environmentally friendly lifestyle. The word 'simplicity' itself has comes packed with a number of connotations that obscure the overall message, including non-ownership, relinquishing the power of control therein, aestheticism (simplicity in fashion and art; 'necessism'), closeness to nature and what is construed as free, more natural behaviour, anti-education (notably in the religious sources), sedentary lifestyle (guarding against overwhelming outside stimuli), and living lightly (living with ease) (*ibid*: 1113-1117). Librova (2008) points out that many of these principles are contradicted by actual practicing environmental consumers. She concludes that the cultural stereotype of 'good simplicity' does not measure up to the complex rituals involved in an environmentally friendly lifestyle (*ibid*: 1125). Being an eco-friendly consumer requires vigilance and informed, purposive action.

Slow living, as described by Parkins and Craig (2006), attempts to convey something greater than voluntary simplicity. They emphasize the pleasure principles recurrently (*ibid*: 124) as if in staunch opposition to asceticism. The authors posit slow living as a non-escapist

response to undesirable facets of space and time in post-traditional society (*ibid*: 10). The theory is grounded in hedonism, as the authors envision the growing popularity of farmer's markets in the UK and Australia as a response from people who prefer higher quality produce and a more personable shopping experience (*ibid*: 11). Like voluntary simplicity, slow living encourages reflexivity. It does this primarily by emphasizing the need for time taken to show attentiveness to the self, openness to others, and resultantly greater self-actualization all derived from a modified rhythm of life (*ibid*: 20). 'Slow' cities, in select European countries, have successfully implemented the principles of slow living; urban plans include reduced traffic, improved parks, building restoration, population limits, and bans on neon signs, car alarms and mobile phone towers (*ibid*: 29; www.cittaslow.net). These cities are not living museums, however, as they readily embrace new technologies that improve the quality of life (*ibid*: 31). Parkins and Craig assert that the principles of slow time are in direct opposition to the business principles that govern most of the population's working lives (*ibid*: 43). These principles of speed are highly detrimental to family life, as is the case with the oft-cited lamentable end of the family meal (*ibid*: 44). The desire of imposing an ethic of quality time is to counteract the negative effects of efficiency; by downshifting, which does not mean fleeing to a rural existence, persons can reclaim enjoyable time spent together (*ibid*: 46). Speed has enslaved humanity in many respects (*ibid*: 53), whilst ironically operating under the guise of providing a fuller, more richly experienced life. Additionally, the need for speed creates numerous barriers where previously they would not have existed, as such it creates hostility, inconsiderateness and foolishness (*ibid*: 55). The only party that benefits from speed is the capitalist who seeks more production capital.

The illustration of the benefits of the gift of time go on and on throughout Parkins and Craig's book. Eventually they do address the issue that having time is wonderful, but it is a restricted resource in modern life (*ibid*: 48). And, importantly, it is not a restricted resource solely because modern actors elect to 'make the most' of the time they have. Rather, it is a conjunctive product of that mentality and the institutional forces and economic pressures of capitalism. Still, despite the philosophy of slow living currently being one that is taken up by middle-upper class adherents, there is a definite interest in creating an accessible movement for people of all income levels (*ibid*: 120).

One final broad-based issue that warrants inclusion in a discussion of distinction is the purposeful assertion of a 'cultural identity' through food consumption. A 'food identity' crosses

racial, class and gastro-nationalistic categories (DeSoucey, 2010). According to popular media distinctly Canadian dishes include Nanaimo bars, butter tarts, maple syrup, poutine, and, of course, a host of selection in beer (see www.filibustercartoons.com/New_Canada_Guide/index). Such culinary options unmistakably serve to assert a particular, stereotyped, gastronomic identity. Although I could not hazard to guess to what extent these choice morsels affirm national solidarity, I do think it reasonable to assume that most Canadians could identify with at least one of these symbols.

Specific political intentions have been pursued in the past by African-American women in the war against racism through the contents of cookbooks (Zafar, 1999). Zafar's article concentrates on two cookbooks; *Vibration Cooking*, by Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor, and *Spoonbread and Strawberry Wine*: *Recipes and Reminiscences of a Family*, by Carol and Norma Jean Darden (*ibid*: 250). These cookbooks attempt to recover and recast the image of the African-American female chef from the 'Aunt Jemima' figure into a more capable and accurate depiction (*ibid*: 251). Race politics take a central role, since traditionally black women and their cookbooks have come across as less high class than popular French or Italian cuisine (*ibid*: 252). Both cookbooks take an explicitly political approach in re-creating black community and African identity through gastronomic means (*ibid*: 256).

Zafar closes with a quote from Boudieu: "taste is *amor fati*, the choice of destiny, but a forced choice, produced by conditions of existence which rule out all alternatives as mere daydreams and leave no choice but the taste for the necessary" (*ibid*: 258). The significance of this quote is that the foods we are forced to eat in our early years leave their mark on us through unique class-based preferences. As Zafar demonstrates, these enduring preferences can be made into a gastronomic appeal to group solidarity. For disadvantaged groups especially, community solidarity is a valuable tool for organized progress towards a more equitable society.

Solidarity through gastronomic preferences represents a notable benefit of distinct food tastes. It certainly blurs the line I have attempted to forge between ethical food consumption for social justice causes and consumption for distinction. Distinction can potentially be a progressive cause in itself. It is vitally important, however, to recognize that distinguishing a particular group identity is important to community solidarity, and is at best a starting point from which we must progress into deeper environmental and social justice concerns in our highly problematic food system.

2.2.3 Co-optation of the Ethical Food Message

Co-optation could be used to describe the infusion and assimilation of almost any thought or image (popular or scientific) into an advertisement. Pollan (2007, January 28) notes, "in the 1980s food began disappearing from the American supermarket, gradually to be replaced by "nutrients"". Imprecise food terms like eggs, cookies or breakfast cereal are replaced by scientifically precise new terms like 'fibre', 'cholesterol' and 'saturated fat'. Pollan's key point, however, is that understanding food as an assemblage of nutrients, which are invisible and hidden realities that only experts can interpret, is an ideology and not a scientific subject (hence the "ism" in "nutritionism").

The new language of nutritionism is enthusiastically embraced by manufacturers of processed foods who can "reengineer thousands of popular food products to contain more nutrients that science and the government deemed good for us" (*ibid*). Foods themselves are exonerated of all evils since the new culprit is an invisible substance called saturated fat. The typical "real food" has more trouble competing under the rules of nutritionism, if only because something like a banana or an avocado can't easily change its nutritional stripes (*ibid*).

I chose to embrace Pollan's nutritionism when measuring health claims by the products advertised in my sample. Western society is so inundated with nutritionism, however, that it hardly seems like a co-optation anymore. What I intend to measure is the specific co-optation of terms like "real foods" themselves in order to market a processed product. My goal was to measure the very specific plundering of the key terminologies. Specifically, terminology that may have once separated 'actual' food from processed food. Ethical food terms like organic, real and simple are being applied to products like mayonnaise, frozen pizzas and microwave dinners.

Most of what I know about co-optation I learned from a few contemporary writers; Thomas Frank, Joseph Heath and Andrew Potter. These authors mostly focus on the clever repackaging of countercultural ideas, even those that started out in direct opposition to industrial capitalist culture.

Advertising a little more than a half century ago was very different from the images we see in the mass media today. The tools of marketing in the 1940s and 1950s were actually mirror images of the tools of production. They were built on principles of efficiency, calculability and

routinization found in the Taylorist production model (Frank: 21). Rosser Reeves' advertising agency formerly produced ads with 'scientific precision'. They applied Pavlovian tactics of repetition to condition the consumer to absorb messages (*ibid*: 43). Starting in the 1960s, innovators like Bill Bernbach broke the scientific mould and began exploring alternative methods of advertising (*ibid*: 55). Bernbach sympathized with the 1960s countercultural critique of advertisements that disrespected the consumer and simultaneously lent themselves to public criticisms of conformity, manipulation and fraud (*ibid*: 55). He harnessed the disdain of counterculturalists to revolutionize marketing into a symbiosis with the countercultural voice.

Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB) marketed products for companies like Volkswagen as "badges of alienation" (*ibid*: 64). DDB attained their greatest success where they succeeded in convincing the consumer that the product was a more authentic and honest alternative to the generalized mass market (*ibid*: 65). 'New Age' advertisers learned to pander to public scepticism and mock anything and everything (*ibid*: 69). Scepticism was converted into brand loyalty for alternative industries (*ibid*: 71). 'Hip products' became the answer that would "put us in touch with our authentic selves, to distinguish us from the mass-produced herd" (*ibid*: 229). The obsession with newness that Frank describes allegedly overcame the old consumer fears over planned and rapid obsolescence (*ibid*: 106). 'Rebel consumers' would willingly forsake the old, which stood for conformity, in favour of new and exciting hedonistic opportunities (*ibid*: 139).

Branding and marketing 'alienation' is nothing more than a clever industry built on co-opting countercultural ideas. The content of countercultural revolts, according to Frank or Heath and Potter has never succeeded in extending itself beyond the reach of capitalism and has therefore never threatened it (Frank: 8; Heath and Potter: 130). These authors share the same disdain for the large, industrial organic food industry that Pollan argued in *The Omnivore's Dilemma* (Pollan: 139), though their conclusions are markedly different.

Counterculturalists of the 1960s embraced organic foods and married them to naturalness, which fit perfectly with their rejection of the Vietnam War and 'Agent Orange' chemical weapon/pesticide supplier, Monsanto (*ibid*: 143). Since then a large portion of 'organic' food producers have become highly industrialized. The evidence is on display on the supermarket shelves that remain dutifully stocked amidst the 21st century surge of organic hype. Eighty percent of organic lettuce can be sourced back to two large corporate organic growers in the USA: Earthbound Farm and Grimmway Farms (*ibid*: 138). The fear for many 'true believers' in

ethical food now is that "organic" is becoming precisely what it was supposed to be an alternative to (Rigby and Brown, 2007: 81). This unfortunate circumstance owes to the weak certifying standards for organic products set out by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) (*ibid*: 88). Originally the USDA's Organic Food and Production Act (OFPA) even allowed genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and irradiated products to be certified organic (*ibid*: 88). Some gains have subsequently been made, such as forcing the USDA to toughen up on pesticides, antibiotics (for livestock) and GMOs (*ibid*: 89). Still, increased profits of the organic sector have pushed it to utilize industrial methods such as large centralized operations and the fossil fuel transportation chain (*ibid*: 89).

In the end, industrial interests have seemingly prevailed as the 'organic TV dinner' finds its place on the frozen foods shelves (Pollan: 155). Against cynical criticisms like the 'organically certified Twinkie', defenders of large organic farming like Gene Kahn feel that organic food cannot meet supply needs without resorting to factory farms (*ibid*: 156). Kahn also sees the upside to small steps in the organic direction, since even though Earthbound Farm is certainly 'industrial organic', it has saved over 270 000 pounds of pesticide from being used and 8 million pounds of petro-fertilizer (*ibid*: 163). His critique seems to hold water because our present infrastructure prevents utilization of local farming to its full potential. To resolve the issues related to monoculture growing and long-haul shipping the opposite needs to be true (*ibid*: 166). That is, small growers ought to make up the majority of food suppliers and larger operations ought to act as a plan B failsafe.

Heath and Potter claim that organic food is nothing more than the latest craze of premium priced taste indulgence (p: 154). They would maintain that the "hamburger bad, organic fruit good" distinction is just as arbitrary as country music versus rock (*ibid*: 105). There is a sort of weary resignation in this conclusion, and it is not offset by their vague appeal to global domestic policy (*ibid*: 333). It is not clear from where the unifying miracle of government effervescence and policy change is supposed to spring if not from grassroots demands for reinforced local, and more importantly ethical, farm infrastructure.

A critical point is nearing, however, where real food no longer means something that grows, but instead encompasses all things that we are able to eat. Consumers have been indoctrinated in the language of nutritionism. Will manufactured "real foods" be next?

Chapter 3

3. Methods

Popular magazine media is one possible source of gastronomic information for everyday consumers. Magazines are a highly accessible form of media whose content is meant to be digestible without a scholarly background. The 'popular' element was very important to me for this study since I am aware that some might consider the magazine medium to be on the decline, especially with the advent of the internet. Thus finding a sample with a significant readership and wide circulation was the first task I performed. It was also necessary that a significant portion of these widely circulated magazines be devoted to food and lifestyle elements involving eating behaviours. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations (http://www.accessabc.com/: online) the four most widely circulated lifestyle magazines in Canada (as of 2011) were *What's Cooking* (Kraft Foods/Meredith), *Reader's Digest* (The *Reader's Digest* Association), *Chatelaine* (Roger's Communications) and *Canadian Living* (Transcontinental) (see Appendix N for further circulation information). *What's Cooking* was eliminated from the selection based on its length and biased focus on Kraft Foods products. This left three of the four most widely circulated magazines in Canada as a media sample befitting the title 'popular'.

The decision to include two years (24 magazines) for each publication was done in the hopes of finding some rudimentary patterns and trends if any were to be found. The years 2010 and 2011 were selected because of their immediate contemporary relevance. I acquired the magazines themselves through various social avenues, mainly friends and family relations. I performed a verification of all content that I did not purchase new for its completeness.

In the spirit of Harold Lasswell I attempted to keep a record of who said what, to whom it was directed and to what extent and effect. Those, however, are mere guiding principles and in order to effectively describe the contents of this medium of food literature I needed a framework that took account of the principles contained in my literature review.

Ideally the information of my literature would have transposed perfectly into content categories whose extents of usage could be measured and reported. The reality, however, was that many compromises needed to be made. I already mentioned within the literature review that Bourdieu's notion of a pure gaze is not something that can be acquired through, or necessarily demonstrated in popular magazine literature. A 'test run' through several magazines helped me

reorganize my framework in such a way that I could accommodate the type of information the magazines were presenting while still remaining true to certain essential qualities of the concepts found in academic literature.

Category 1 was meant to encompass features of social awareness and responsibility, local purchasing, and humanism. The first aspect of this category is drawn directly from Carlo Petrini's demands for local food consumption as an alternative to centralized monocultures and their inherent harms. It also carries the implicit assumption that local consumers help to negate some of the ecological strains resulting from long haul shipping as noted by DeWeerdt (2009). For the purposes of counting, any positive reference to local food consumption, farmers' markets or roadside farmer sales was recorded as an ethical 'event'. The second aspect was one I had not anticipated prior to engaging with the magazines. I termed this aspect 'food charity' since it involved direct donation of food aid to needy populations. The third aspect of this category was a broad spectrum encompassment of any criticism of the industrial farming process and products. In effect, two-thirds of my literature review could be subsumed into this one aspect, which might lead one to believe it would yield a diverse and important set of results. Fair trade, the fourth aspect, is meant to capture all references to economic disparities resulting from free trade, and information that promotes equitable compensation for international farmers who provide food to Canadians. Boycotts were originally included as an aspect of this category, but the completed analysis yielded no events and thus no categorized pages of this nature. The fifth and final aspect of this 'social responsibility' category is the inclusion of information that promotes consumer awareness of the importance of food labels.

Category 2 was concentrated on aspects relating to personal health through diet and nutrition. Respect for one's own health and wellbeing is the cornerstone of ethical food consumption. The availability and promotion of nutritious foods to accomplish this task is the front end of ethical food movements. There is also revolutionary potential in the recognition that certain foods, overwhelmingly those created through heavy refining and processing, have very few positive effects on our bodies. Real foods need to do something for a person's body besides act as filler and hunger deterrence. A population can easily be nutritionally starving even as waistlines expand. These factors were taken into account in defining the first aspect of the personal health category. Nutrition information is something I would expect to be quite prevalent in lifestyle magazines. All three publications contain a health section concentrating explicitly on

diet and exercise in addition to their respective food section. Information pointing to the healthful effects of vegetables in particular can be considered evidence of food ethics on its own, even though such information would be greatly augmented by additional information on food production, especially relating to pesticides and shipping distances. The second aspect of this category involves showing sympathetic attention to those with special dietary needs (potentially having resulted from exposure to an inadequate food system). I also added any information that could be termed a 'nutritional health bulletin' warning consumers about specific food dangers into the calculation for this aspect. The third and final aspect of the personal health category is mindful consumption. I was inspired by the work of Wansink (2006), White (2008) and Elliot (2003) to include a counterbalance against mindless consumption. Any information that positively appraises slowly prepared meals, to be mindfully enjoyed, and with prior thought given to the nutritional quality, fits this aspect.

Category 3 was constructed to represent aspects relating to the environment, sustainable agriculture, and animal rights that were not captured by category 1, 'social responsibility'. There is a great deal of interconnectedness between category 3 and category 1 and mutual exclusiveness is not assumed. In order to avoid proportionately undervaluing ethical food consumption because of my artificial division of these two categories, my analysis portion often combines category 3 with category 1 for comparative purposes. The first aspect, personal gardening, is one that reduces, or potentially absolves, consumers of dependency on an industrialized food system. By providing content that helps consumers to grow a portion of their own food supply, even in urban conditions, the pinnacle of local food production is achieved and a great deal of empowerment as well. The second aspect acts as an expansion on the industrial criticism aspect, but is meant as a more exclusive domain of ecological consequence. The aspect is a bit of a catchall for any information that I could see connecting our food system to the environment without necessarily being a criticism of the industrial food system. The third aspect focuses on the treatment of livestock animals. I was most inspired to include this aspect by Pollan's discussions of factory farm conditions in *The Omnivore's Dilemma*. I was looking for both examples of cruelty brought to light and positive counterexamples of animals being treated ethically (example: free range chicken farming). The fourth aspect, organic food, involves treating plant life with the same type of respect that Pollan wished to see for animals. Organic food involves all anti-pesticide information and any detailing of the positive health effects and

ecosystem benefits resulting from the choice to eat organic produce. The final aspect of this environmental category is very specific. Polycultural farming was the central alternative in Pollan's work, and its principles do seem to reach an idealized opposite to monocultural farming. The specific nature of this aspect probably means that it will not be significantly represented in magazine media, but it is important that I have a means of identifying it independently of other enviro-ethical effects.

Category 4, the first of the distinction categories, incorporated the best proxies I could envision for capturing a class identity within magazine content. The category was not to be based on any actual persons, but rather the way food, especially food recipes, was being treated and what it tells us about the hypothetical food consumer being constructed. As mentioned, Bourdieu noted in his description of the grand bourgeoisie that real cooking "is the sort where it takes two days to make a Madeira sauce" (Bourdieu: 227). This, and class-based criticisms of slow living (Parkins and Craig: 48), led me to create 'time shortage' as the first aspect of the class identity category. The gift of time does not exist for everyone and accommodation of its shortage reflects an orientation towards working and middle class consumers who keenly feel time pressure. Much of the same information was applied to the second aspect of this category, 'easy preparation', which again accommodates the need to provide food quickly as opposed to devoting time-elaborate or exotic meal themes. Cost and budgetary constraints as they relate to a basic necessity like food are also strong indicators of belonging to a less privileged class and as such the third aspect measures references to affordable food. The work of Zafar (1999) inspired me to also include in this category an aspect related to a cultural, regional or national identity as it relates to food. There are a number of limitations for this aspect, however, since I cannot know who is consuming a 'culturally marked food' and for what reason. This final aspect of the class identity category is meant merely to document the existence of such references and their political significance if there is any.

Category 5, conspicuous consumption, contains the aspects that I expect to yield the highest frequency. My approach to conspicuous consumption is best described as an orientation to food marketing and food identity marketing. The object being marketed could be the self, or more specifically a socially-approved front for the self that displays culinary capability. Alternately, the object could also be a food product that is being assigned certain statuses within the food realm (such as healthiness). I have extended the concept beyond personal status-seeking

because I sensed the potential of this concept in describing what I forsaw as the preeminent feature of popular media: marketing. Food styling, the first aspect, draws from Bourdieu's concern over the aestheticization of food, but it functions most strongly as a basic form of conspicuous consumption. The attractiveness of recipes displayed in pictures throughout magazines function primarily to attract consumers who in turn wish to create meals of similar impressive quality for themselves. Although exact motives of consumers are not knowable, the intent of publishers in providing beautifully styled foods is clearly to market them as meals worthy of accolades. The second aspect captures an even more ostentatious display of this same theme by recording references to special meal occasions, impressing guests, and party functions. This aspect relates directly to what Veblen imagined in potlatch feasts; displays to evoke envy in others. Gastronomy, the third aspect of this category, is in the same vein as the first two, but this time concentrates on a connoisseur's knowledge of food. The focus for gastronomy is on effective food and drink pairings to evoke a more pleasing sensory experience from dining. The fourth aspect will focus on all food advertisements, which Tillman (2006) noted as all existing in the spirit of conspicuous consumption. Advertisements themselves are not distinction factors; however, they do represent attempts to infuse products with symbolic capital that could potentially be used in distinction-type processes. The number of advertisements described in magazines is so cumbersomely large and as a result I decided to perform a second analysis, with separate criteria, to denote the statuses food items are assigned within advertisements.

The categorization criteria I have provided so far was used to assign a theme to specific food events that populate magazine pages. Food events, however, create a number of problems due to their non-equivalence (see Appendix N for food events chart). A bullet point about fast, affordable recipes is as much a food event as a three paragraph story on polycultural farming. To resolve this issue I utilized two separate tactics. The first was to use the sum and length of food events to assign a dominant theme per page and perform further analysis based on equivalent page units. Next I created an order of primacy to assure fair representation of categories. My research hypothesis is that distinction categories will receive higher representation. Therefore it seemed prudent to assign a higher value to ethical consumption categories and work against my own hypothesis. Furthermore, text was always assigned a greater value than pictures. Magazines are a very visual medium and I worried that holding pictures at an equivalent value to text would badly bias my analysis towards the food styling aspect.

After the initial categorization and page counting was completed I decided to perform two additional analysis based on recipe times and a comprehensive advertisement breakdown. The titles of recipes often lead to their categorization as fast, or easy ("meals in minutes"). In addition to that I felt there was more that could be done with the instructions given in recipes. I am unqualified to provide a nutritional quality analysis of the contents of recipes as a registered dietician might. Instead, my focus fell on the times that recipes called for consumers to spend in the kitchen. Initially I intended to incorporate Warde *et al* (2007)'s finding that average meal preparation times in America had fallen to 39 minutes. Within my analysis, however, I discovered that the publishers of *Chatelaine* and *Canadian Living* both ordained 'quick recipe time' as an even 30 minutes. If 'under 30 minutes' was to be considered 'quick', then it stood to reason that 31 to 60 minutes might be a moderate preparation time and prep times greater than 1 hour would be a 'slow' standard. The analysis was complicated, however, by the large portion of recipes that did not provide a preparation time separate from the total time, which included baking, chilling and slow cookers. Graphs for both total recipe times and preparation times are provided in Appendix K, but I remain apprehensive about drawing conclusions from them given the sizeable 'unlisted prep times' portion.

Advertisements dominated my analysis both because of their frequency and natural tendency to have entire pages devoted to them. Even in my initial categorization I knew that co-opting advertisements needed to be separated from the main group. I subsequently elevated advertisements that co-opted ethical food messages to a category in itself rather than a sub-genre of an aspect pertaining to conspicuous consumption. Co-opting advertisements were also the only category that I used a definite set of key words to identify. Those keywords include: real, natural, simple, authentic, wild, and where it was featured centrally "no artificial ingredients". The essence of the category was that marketers would be using key terms or features drawn from ethical food literature. In addition to co-optation I identified 11 types of advertising tactics employed to sell various food products in magazines.

Tactic Type	Description
Indirect	Measures advertisements that are featured through an intermediary such as an event, faux recipe, giveaway offer, 'fun facts' or educational content about a product, or a product rating piece

Fun	Measures advertisements that portray the product as fun, unusual, magical or appealing to children
Celebrity	Measures advertisements that employ a celebrity person to market the product
Easy Prep	Measures advertisements that draw attention to the easiness or speed with which the food items can be turned into a meal
Low Cost	Measures advertisements that express low cost, affordability or stress budget in any way
History	Measures advertisements that claim to have a long history of craftsmanship
Indulgence	Measures advertisements that portray the product as a dessert treat or special, guilty indulgence
Gastronomic	Measures advertisements that appeal to the deliciousness of a product, extraordinary taste, sensory experience of consumption, or elegant presentation of the product using props and background
Parties / Festivities	Measures advertisements that feature a party scene or contain text that describes the product as something for a party, celebration or special occasion
Healthy	Measures advertisements that promote the healthful quality of a product, its nutritional value, and use popular nutrition calculators such as calories, sugar and salt (note: 'Healthy' would subsumed under nutritionism in Pollan's work)
Nutritionism	Measures advertisements that promote a product as healthful because of a special ingredient that boosts the nutritional content

[Table 1]

I used these 11 types as well as the cooptation type to categorize advertisements separately and provide a more usable breakdown than one overly broad aspect of conspicuous consumption.

The only food-related exclusions from this analysis were gums, vitamin supplements, diet pills, fruit bowl centerpiece decorations as part of dining room décor, and foods featured in non-ingestible product advertisements such as A535 rub or Downy laundry detergent.

Presentation of analysis results is to take place in two phases. First, the basic frequency statistics that resulted from an in-depth analysis and counting procedure. These results can be found in section 5. Second, key exemplars are discussed in the analysis and interpretation section to provide the reader with a specific account of the types of examples that were used in the classification process.

Chapter 4

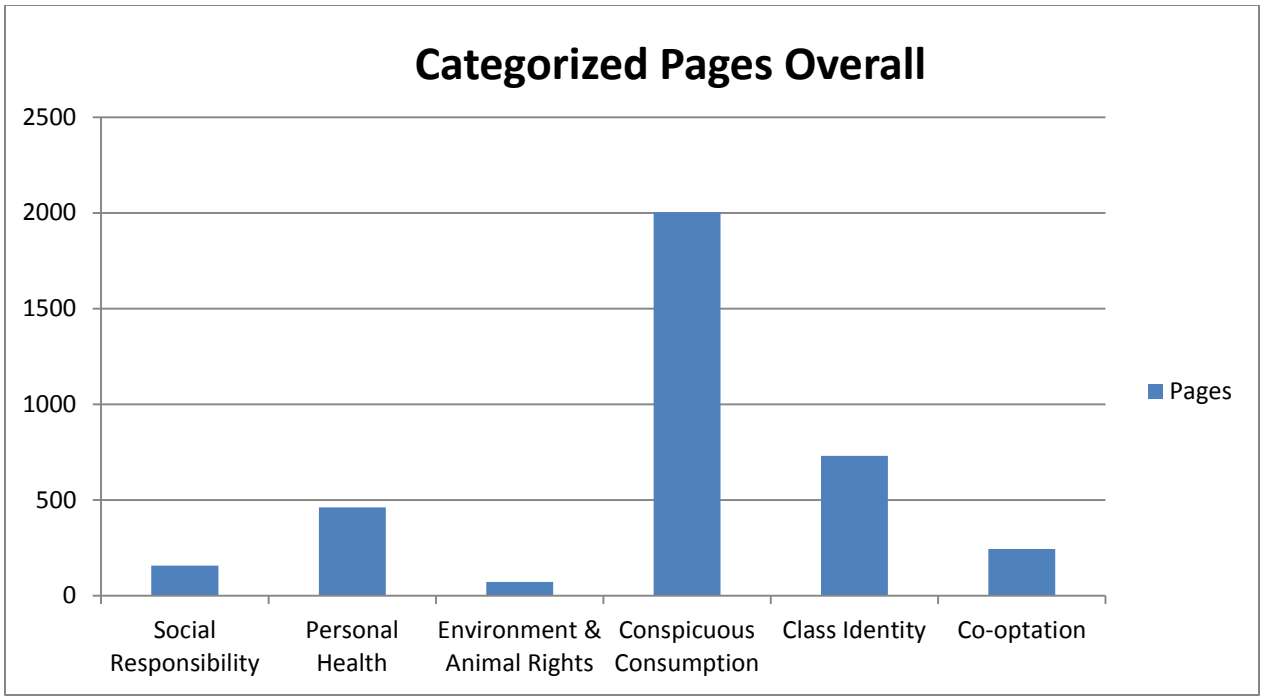
4. Results and Interpretation

For this section I have made a concerted effort not to broach any interpretive aspects unnecessarily. The purpose of my results section is to outline the numerical representations of my categorized observations and their immediate meaningfulness. For the sake of clarity and brevity most graphs and tables were moved to the Appendix section attached at the end of this project. Additional information pertaining to the results section is included in the appendices attached at the end of this project. The specific content that was used to create these general statistics will be discussed in detail in the following section: Interpretation and Analysis.

In total 3,898 pages from 72 magazines focussed explicitly on food content as outlined in the methods section. Of those, I was able to fit 3,664 pages (94%) into one of my six constructed categories. Unclassified pages (234) consisted almost entirely of recipes that fell outside the time guidelines (note: all recipe times are considered and measured outside of this specific analysis). The sum of all pages that were considered during this analysis was 14,117. Food was thus the central focus of approximately 28% of the magazines as an aggregate. *Canadian Living* had the largest number of food themed pages over the two year period (1674 of 4475 total pages [37%]). *Chatelaine* had the second largest number (1503 of 5146 total pages [29%]). Food was the least focal in *Reader's Digest* (721 of 4496 total pages [16%]).

The specific monthly breakdown for pages devoted to ethical food consumption for *Canadian Living* can be found in Appendix A. The breakdown for pages predominated by distinction themes for *Canadian Living* can be found in Appendix B. *Chatelaine*'s breakdown is referenced in Appendices C and D and *Reader's Digest* in Appendices E and F.

The following chart (figure 1) represents the sum of all pages that were successfully categorized into one of six broad-spectrum categories of ethical food consumption or distinction. Social responsibility totalled 156 pages, healthy eating predominated on 461 pages, environmentalism and animal rights were the focus of 71 pages, pages devoted to conspicuous consumption numbered 2,002, a 'class identity' was focal in 731 pages; co-optation, which was deliberately extracted from conspicuous consumption, totalled 243 pages.



[Figure 1]

The most obvious feature of this bar graph is that a gross disproportion exists between ethical food consumption categories (left 3 bars) and those related to distinction (right 3 bars). That disproportion in itself is a surface answer to my primary research question: which aspect of food consumption predominates in Canadian magazine media. Given that magazines are a highly aestheticized form of media, and owe much of their revenue to advertisements, this probably does not come as much of a revelation to readers. However, there are a few other important observations that can be noted from this basic chart. First, the ethical consumption categories show that a great deal more attention was given to individualized aspects of food consumption than to the social aspects. 'Social responsibility' and 'environmental issues' categories were both grossly neglected. The 'personal health' category, which received far greater representation, is more streamlined towards the nutritional characteristics of food and private eating behaviour. Second, the 'class identity' category (731 pages) has significantly more page focus devoted to it than the 'personal health' issues category (461 pages). This is important because 'class identity' is a category that assigns primacy to with fast, easy and cheap food consumption (those 3 aspects make up 573/731 pages of this category (see Appendix J)). This sets the 'class identity' category in strong opposition to the mindfulness aspect (31 pages) of the 'personal health' category, and might be opposed to the nutritive information aspect. The second assumption is based on the

possibility that an association between mindfulness and the selection of nutritious foods might exist (by label reading/made-from-scratch recipes). Even though I cannot prove in this study that mindfulness is a central determinant of healthy food choices, the disproportionate focus on easily prepared and quickly consumable food in magazines would be significant in conjunction with a 'mindfulness-healthiness' finding. The third, and most notable surface observation for my purposes, is that the co-optation of ethical, real, slow and simple food terms by major food brands (243 pages) occurs more frequently than the discussion of local food consumption, sustainability in general, farming processes, livestock treatment, the industrial food production process, and environmental issues combined (227 pages, merged categories 'Sustainability and Humanism' and 'Environmentalism and Animal Rights'). Less space is devoted to identifying what 'real food' is and the social issues around it than is given to advertisers who use 'real food terms' for marketing their products.

Summing up the numerous aspects into basic categories as I have for broad-based analysis has the disadvantage of glossing over the important disproportions of coverage between aspects that compose each category. Each of the three ethical consumption categories, and to a lesser extent the 'class identity' category of distinction, owes a significant portion of their overall page volume to single aspects within them. Identifying the dominant aspect leads to an appreciation of the extent of simplification ethical food ideals are subjected to under the magazine medium.

'Social responsibility' contains five aspects in this study: local food purchasing, food charities, industrial food system criticisms, fair trade, and food labels. Among those aspects only local food purchasing has more than 15 pages devoted to it (see Appendix G). Over the 24 month sample period there is no discernable season-based pattern regarding when attention is paid to social responsibility for our food system in any of the three publications (see Appendices A, C, and E). Fair trade relations for food trade between developed and developing nations was not discussed at all over the 24 month period for *Canadian Living* or *Chatelaine*. Of the five total pages regarding fair trade, four came from a single issue of *Reader's Digest* (July 2011). Criticisms of the industrial food system were equally hard to come by. Twelve of the 14 pages that were considered criticisms of industrial food and food processes came from *Reader's Digest*. Attention to food labels was sparse, but fairly even in distribution across the three publications. On average about 0.21 pages per month were devoted to raising awareness of food labels.

Charity programs without specific branded product associations totalled 14 pages over all three publications.

Local food purchasing, the only sizeable aspect of the 'social responsibility' category, reached its maximum page count at 6 pages in the October 2011 issue of *Chatelaine*. There were 11 months of *Reader's Digest* publications that made no mention of local food purchasing. The highest average page count was 1.91 pages per month in the *Chatelaine* sample.

Overall the sparseness of this category helps affirm the assessment that individualism dominates magazine coverage of food issues. The two most social aspects -- charities and fair trade -- received minimal coverage, and industrial criticism, which holds potential social implications, was negligible in all but one magazine of the 72 magazine samples. Still, all aspects of this category reflect some awareness of social responsibility for one's food system and it is noteworthy that local food purchasing had over 100 pages committed to it.

Food choices made out of a desire for improved personal health contains three aspects, but the most sizable by far was information regarding the nutritive quality of foods. Nutrition -- often boiled down to sodium, sugar and calorie counts -- composed 322 pages of the 461 pages devoted to this category. Discussions of dietary disorders, both prevention and treatment, coupled with specific warning bulletins totalled 108 pages. Special features about mindful consumption were the underutilized aspect of this category totalling only 31 pages. There is a fairly stable level of year-round coverage of healthy eating behaviours due to the inclusion of a health section in all three publications that focuses on diet and exercise. Omission of any dietary advice for an entire issue is rare, but examples do exist (See Appendices A, C, E and H). The highest aspect coverage for the personal health category was 5.96 pages per month (by *Chatelaine*) for nutritional information and the lowest average page count was 0.54 pages per month for the mindful consumption aspect. There was not a significant disparity between magazines regarding dietary health issue coverage. *Chatelaine* featured the most pages on all three aspects (see Appendix H).

Environmental issues were the most neglected part of food topic discussion in the magazine sample. The average page count for each aspect was less than 1 page and all three publications completely omitted mention of food issues connected to the environment in 20 or more magazines. The most considered aspect was personal food gardening (35 pages of 71 total pages). The least considered aspect was polycultural farming, which was meaningfully

considered on only 1 page in the April 2010 issue of *Reader's Digest*. Environmental Health (18 pages), livestock animal treatment (13 pages) and organic food promotion (4 pages) were all grossly neglected aspects. Seasonally, environmental issues receive more attention during the warmer growing months of late spring and summer (see Appendices A, C, E), which makes sense given the higher prevalence of gardening focus above any other aspect in this category. Overall, *Reader's Digest* did contain more information related to the environmental issues category, but even so, their contribution did not rise above 35 pages over the course of 24 months.

There is an evident neglect of environmental issues pertaining to food and the fundamental connection between ecological health and human health. This can be taken as further proof that social responsibility is not a prominent topic in magazines, at least not where food systems are concerned.

'Class identity' may be an imperfect proxy category for the complex analysis provided by Bourdieu, but it does lend itself to some interesting notations about the kind of food consumer major magazine publishers seek to accommodate (see Appendix J). The major aspect of this category is the recurrent need for time-cost efficient food solutions (420 pages). To a lesser degree easiness is emphasized (127 pages), but it should be noted that easiness of meal preparation and time efficiency are closely related concepts. Cost was the least discussed aspect (26 pages). There was a significant focus on distinctive national and regional food specialties (158 pages), but that aspect seems less noteworthy in comparison to the time-based identity aspect. There is a consistently high frequency of fast food (not in the commercial sense) discussions in magazines averaging 8.38 pages per month in *Canadian Living*. Seasonal variation in frequencies for this category is small (see Appendices B, D, F).

In order to fully appreciate whether time efficiency dominates the food sections of magazine media I was forced to separately consider recipe times. The results provide mixed evidence. Instances where recipes called for less than 30 minutes of time total numbered 808, recipes calling for 31 to 60 minutes for completion numbered 102, and recipes requiring more than an hour to reach completion numbered 650. Even though 'fast recipes' were the most numerous category the next most numerous category requires delaying gratification for over an hour. Furthermore, averaging recipe time totals was confounded by numerous slow cooker recipes and recipes that called for chilling over several days. I can only conclude that there is a

relatively balanced distribution of quick and long recipe times in these magazine publications (see Appendix K).

Examining preparation times is an effective means to sidestep the confounding factors listed above. Preparation times also provide a better representation of the easiness or difficulty of a recipe. Unfortunately, a large proportion of recipes, including the entire sample from *Reader's Digest*, omitted preparation times in their recipe descriptions. Drawing conclusions from such data must thus be done with great caution. The number of recipes with preparation times under 30 minutes numbered 823, a further 85 required 30 to 60 minutes, only 4 recipes called for preparation times above 60 minutes. It should be noted that recipes that did not list preparation times were mostly recipes whose total times were less than 30 minutes. The average preparation time for recipes in *Canadian Living* was 19.2 minutes. The average preparation time for recipes in *Chatelaine* was 16.3 minutes.

Conspicuous consumption is the largest category that I considered in this study. Food styling (538 pages) and special occasions (206 pages) were significant aspects, but both are dwarfed by the prevalence of food advertisements (1442 pages) (see Appendix L). Because of this disproportion it is important to reiterate that advertisements are not distinction factors in themselves, but are attempts to provide symbolic capital unto products for distinction-type purposes. Pages whose major theme was gastronomy numbered 79. Seasonally, the conspicuous consumption category has a consistently high frequency with peaks in the December holiday season and mid-late summer alfresco dining season. Food styling is a less significant aspect of *Reader's Digest* (76 pages) than *Chatelaine* (234 pages) or *Canadian Living* (228 pages). All three magazines featured recipes and ideas for special dining occasions at an average rate between 1 and 3 pages per magazine issue with expected increases in the holiday season. Gastronomy was typically featured on one page providing the advice of a sommelier per magazine issue. A special inclusion in the January 2010 issue of *Canadian Living* saw coverage of gastronomy peak at 8 pages.

Advertisements could have been a category in their own right. Even after separating co-opting adverts from the mix, it became clear that a second analysis was needed to extract meaning from the very large advertisement pool (see Appendix M). The most populous component was indirect advertising (323 pages). Adverts that concentrated on the healthiness of the product had the next highest page count (308 pages) and the closely related nutritionism

tactic described a further 84 pages of adverts. The third most common tactic was co-optation (243 pages) whose significance will be discussed in greater depth momentarily. Gastronomic focus was explicit in 227 pages of advertisements; closely related tactics include marketing the food as an indulgence (26 pages), and drawing attention to the producer's long history (24 pages). The 'time-poor consumer' tactic ('Easy Prep' on Appendix M graph) did not receive as much attention as I expected (34 pages), although it was used predictably for microwaveable dinners and ready-made meals. 'Party' -- the tactic measuring products marketed to special occasions -- had 29 pages devoted to it, and among those, wine brands were overrepresented. The fifth most used food advertising tactic was to make the product seem fun, unusual or endowed with special qualities (101 pages). The least used tactics were deploying a celebrity (12 pages) and making the low cost of the product focal (11 pages).

The exact producers who advertised with the greatest frequency and made the most use of particular marketing tactics are listed in the table beginning in Appendix M. The majority of indirect advertising came from a combination of multiple brands on a single page (53 pages). These combinations featured assembled products being reviewed and praised, gift offer pages, and specific events being sponsored by identifiable food brands. The association that marketed itself as healthy with the greatest frequency was Canadian Milk (32 pages) followed closely by the Kellogg's corporate brand (30 pages). Kellogg's was also the largest user of nutritionism (35 pages); clearly stating their application of the special health properties of 'wheat bran fibre' to several products. Hellmann's "Real Food Movement" campaign assured the mayonnaise producer the highest number of notations of co-optation (25 pages). Gastronomy was utilized in a great diversity of product advertisements. 'Deliciousness', a multifaceted concept accounting for substantial amounts of marketing terminology, explains most of this variation. The number one user of gastronomic themes was Kraft, particularly for their "Kraft Cool Whip" advertisements. Marketing a long history of artisanal production was mainly done by cheese producers such as Balderson (3 pages), Rosenberg Castello (2 pages), Tre Stelle (3 pages), and wine makers Marchesti de Frescobaldi (2 pages), Lindeman's (1 page), and Filippo Berio (2 pages). The tactic was also used by Hidden Valley ranch dressing (8 pages) and Arctic Gardens vegetables (3 pages). Kellogg's was the greatest user of 'fun product' tactics (29 pages), particularly for Mini Wheats Little Bites and Rice Krispies, but Pringles advertisements used this tactic almost exclusively (21 pages or 28 total Pringles ad pages).

The top four advertisement types all have more pages devoted to them than the social responsibility and environmental and animal rights concerned categories combined. The most striking of these disproportions being that co-opted ideas of ‘real’, ‘simple’ and generally authentic food exist in greater proportion than information about where food comes from, farming practices that get it to us, and the harms inherent in such processes. Of course, the assessment of ‘most striking’ is subjective. Others may feel that advertisements promoting a product as healthy combined with those claiming to have a secret ultra-potent health ingredient (nutritionism) totalling more pages than all those devoted to health and nutrition information is most striking. I can conclude with certainty, however, that more marketing-based ethical consumption ideas exist in my aggregate magazine sample than actual information about ethical consumption.

Chapter 5

5. Analysis and Interpretation

Every 'themed page' contains unique content. This content does not always meet the standard of an ideal type that one might hope for in order to achieve perfect categorization. I attempted to identify a series of exemplars whilst engaging in the categorization process. These exemplars were chosen for one of two reasons. Either they elegantly captured the essence of a particular aspect of a category, or they provided a nuanced view on the topic that is worthy of discussion. In any case, it is important to demonstrate for my readers the type of material I was working with, and the impressions that led me to count that material in the way that I did.

5.1 Ethical Food Consumption

5.1.1 Social Responsibility

Local Purchasing

The most recurrent topic regarding social responsibility or ecologically-conscientious food consumption was local food purchasing. All three magazines glorified purchasing from farmers' markets and local growers/artisans. This is good news; after all, moving our food system towards one that recognizes growers as an essential component of our everyday life is a goal of ethical food proponents. Inciting regular consumers to get to know farmers and take an interest in their craft is the best means to garner political attention and begin building a more ecologically-sensitive and socially-connected food system.

My favourite piece on this topic was an article from the April 2010 issue of *Chatelaine* (Johnston, p: 38) about a town chef in Halifax. This chef, Dennis Johnston, grew up in a family environment that fostered close relations with farmers. Very early in life he was exposed to the variety and quality of goods available at farmers' markets. But it is the social connection that shines through the answers Johnston gives in this quasi-interview. "I never haggle with farmers, who put their heart and soul into their work. I will pay retail – I see it as an ethical transaction and an investment in the future." (*ibid*: 38). Mr. Johnston's responses seem to reflect a measure of respect and foresight that is very encouraging. He recognizes the food producers within his locale as the cornerstone of a sustainable way of living. Johnston believes in the 100-mile diet

and also feels it is important that the next generation of chefs understand the importance of the local food movement.

An effective pairing to Dennis Johnston's life anecdotes would have been the section from the August 2011 *Canadian Living* (Embrett, p: 67) that suggested taking children to the local farmers' market or a 'pick-your-own' local farm as a worthwhile family activity. Making a day-event out of these practises is a little bit touristy, but I see this sort of day-trip as a way of manifesting awareness of farmers and food growing processes. As such it ranks highly in my evaluations of articles engaging with ethical food consumption.

A recurring page in *Chatelaine* magazines (June 2010 – December 2011) was one that featured '*Seasonal sides*' or side dishes that utilize a main ingredient that is 'market-fresh' in that particular month. I have made an assumption that seasonality contains at least an implicit connection to regional growing and localness. This connection could hypothetically be negated, however, if consumers responding to this piece bought 'seasonal produce' that was nonetheless shipped from distant growing locales. Despite this being a contentious connection to ethical food, I decided it was best to err on the optimistic side, especially since counting these pages works against my main hypothesis.

High praise for the taste of seasonal goods can be found essentially anywhere that the term 'seasonal' occurs. In the June 2010 issue of *Chatelaine* (p: 44) juicy local strawberries are discussed in the article, "Things to love about June". "So little and so sweet, strawberries just don't taste like this at any other time of year." (*ibid*: 44). This notation occurs outside of the 'seasonal sides' section, which featured snap peas for that month (*ibid*: p 231).

One of the reservations I had about the 100-mile diet, a diet consisting of foods grown within a 100-mile radius, is that I could not conceive of how someone could sustain themselves through the winter months when fresh produce is no longer locally produced. After delving deeper into the issue I learned of many creative tactics one can use to continue enjoying local foods even when the season does not favour growing. Central among those tactics are the somewhat lost arts of do-it-yourself food preservation. Canning, pickling and freezing home grown foods can, at the very least, supplement a diet through the winter months. The article, "Eat fresh all year long", from the September 2010 issue of *Chatelaine* (p: 85) highlighted this issue and provided some tips for freezing veggies in a way that would preserve their flavour. This is an

important inclusion in discussions of local, sustainable food consumption since availability of fresh produce year-round is an obvious deterrent to the 100-mile diet.

Beginning in the July 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* (p: 128), the magazine began a cross-country tour that often features specific local producers in the provinces of Canada. The series of articles, which is continuing into 2012, is titled "A Taste of [province]". The first of these articles centered on British Columbia's seafood industry. According to the article, "British Columbia leads Canada's sustainable seafood movement. Ocean Wise, created by the Vancouver Aquarium, is one of the top programs created to educate the public about fisheries. It unites restaurants, markets, consumers, food services and suppliers, ensuring they have the most up-to-date information on sustainable seafood." (*ibid*: 130). An even more compelling segment was featured in the September 2011 issue (Shneer, 156) that profiled Saskatchewan's John Bennett and focused on his commitment to soil sustainability. A couple months later this section honed in on bee farmers in Alberta; specifically Ron Miksha's Summit Gardens Honey Farm outside of Calgary (Stuparyk, November 2011: p 171). Mr. Miksha's honey operation is praised and contrasted with the much larger bee colonies maintained by large commercial producers. Each example from the featured 'A Taste of …" series could arguably be categorized as exposés on distinction since the uniqueness of each province's specialties is a central feature. These articles exceed this categorization and become representations of ethical food through their emphasis on sustainable practice and local farmer personalities. Still, this series of articles is a fine example of how preservation of local, artisanal food products can benefit from pride in one's distinctive, regional methods, thus merging ethical food consumption and distinction.

The next article I wish to focus on is one that strays from localness and sustainability into the territory of romantic nostalgia for the artisanal atmosphere around a specific mode of production. 'Local Gold', a featured piece in *Chatelaine*'s October 2011 issue (Franklin, 56), devotes most of its writing space to discussing picturesque elements of a handful of French producers. The "pleasure of visiting their farm on the first day of harvest . . . a delicious lunch under the welcoming shade of a white awning. . . Their farmhouse was fairy-tale perfect with thick stone walls and cool, dark rooms . . . All of this while a warm breeze blew, and the summer sound of buzzing bees and barking dogs took me back in time. I was in French heaven." (*ibid*: 56). I still see value in promoting a positive representation of local food producers, but there is definitely a danger of losing sight of the goals of sustainability and focusing instead on

romanticism and nostalgia. Ethical food consumption needs to be a path for the future and as such it should embrace any new technologies that make sustainable agriculture more viable. Becoming deadlocked in a certain mode of operation for the preservation of a nostalgic image of farming could lead to a rejection of such advances and thus end up being a hindrance to furthering the 'sustainable food' cause.

The last three exemplars that I have chosen to include under the local food heading are by far the weakest and border on ineffectualness and co-optation. The January 2010 *Canadian Living* magazine contained an 'info-advertisement' sponsored by Ontario chicken farmers (p: 64). "When you buy Ontario Fresh Chicken™ you're making more than a healthy choice for your family. You're supporting the local economy and farmers across Ontario who are committed to providing the highest quality of chicken." (*ibid*: 64). The tagline includes positive messages about farmers and the farm economy, but I find it conspicuous that 'Ontario Fresh' is trademarked and that there is no mention of how the chickens are raised. This is a crucial issue that food consumers must be mindful of: localness does not guarantee an ethical production process. In terms of the distance food travels, or food miles, localness always assures some level of sustainability. Where this piece fails is in its lack of discussion of the living conditions and feeding conditions of livestock. Omitting this information leaves the possibility that the 'local farmer's' practices could be environmentally destructive, or inhumane to the animals.

The second dubiously 'ethical' example I wish to discuss is from the June 2010 issue of *Chatelaine* (p: 44). The article, "juicy local strawberries", tells the reader that strawberries "just don't taste like this at any other time of year." (*ibid*: 44). The above quote fits perfectly with seasonality and localness parts of ethical food consumption, but the page also contains a conspicuous recipe for a 'beach-worthy cocktail'. The recipe calls for "one part Primm's and two parts 7Up over ice," in addition to fresh sliced berries and cucumber (*ibid*: 44). This obvious insertion of branded beverage items would normally have led me to categorize the page as 'co-optation'. The only reason I did not in this case is that the recipe does not dominate the page and appears subsidiary to the promotion of local produce. Still, it is not as pure a feature as those discussed at the beginning of this section.

Lastly, a page titled, "have an inspired day" was devoted to locally grown apples appears in the October 2010 issue of *Canadian Living* (p: 168). The page contains simple, direct information and a full page depiction of a basket of apples. The caption notes that you can "treat

your tastebuds *and* boost your immune system with locally grown produce. Bite into an apple today!" (*ibid*: 168). All appears well until one considers a small inclusion in the lower right of the page promoting a special offer to subscribe to *Canadian Living* magazine for an annual fee of $24.95 plus tax. Given this information I was once again left balancing the strength of local food promotion against the weight of a self-serving advertisement (not that I denounce *Canadian Living* for including this; it simply creates problems with categorization). In the end, I decided that it would be best to antagonize my main hypothesis and consider this piece a worthy inclusion amongst ethical, local food promotions.

Food Charities

At the outset of this project I did not envision this dimension of ethical food being a substantial topic. In sum, however, 14 pages explicitly highlighted humanistic causes related to providing nutrition for others. More than half were devoted to 'Breakfast for Learning', programs advocating quality nutrition in schools to "ensure children are well-nourished and ready to learn." (see *Canadian Living*, February 2010: p 132). The remainder relate to seasonal donations to the food bank and charitable breakfast events. In retrospect, I may well have included this aspect under the healthy eating category as it has more to do with nutrition and nourishment than sustainable agricultural practice, fair trade or industrial criticism. Regardless of its precise categorization, however, these pages warrant inclusion among the ethical food pages I counted for this project for their explicitly humanistic cause without observable ties to any specific brand or product.

Industrial Criticism

The significance of this aspect was that I needed an avenue to capture negative evaluations of industrial food production and not just proactive, consumer-side activities. Ideally, articles categorized as 'industrial criticism' would have attacked the food production process and the unsustainable practices therein. Unfortunately, that criterion would have rendered this a near-empty aspect. Instead, I noted pages that criticized the end products of industrial production and contained an implicit connection to the process that generated products of this nature.

The lone 'process criticism' that I encountered was part of a three-page Q and A about milk in the June 2010 *Reader's Digest* (Nelles, 100). Question number six regarded "why

hormonal growth promoters for dairy cattle are not approved for sale in Canada" (*ibid*: 102). The answer strongly criticized the hormonal growth promoter "recombinant bovine somatotropin" (rBST), which creates notable health complications for cows including udder infections, infertility and lameness (*ibid*: 104). Resultantly, rBST was banned by Health Canada and any milk Canadian consumers purchase that carries the Dairy Farmers of Canada (DFC) logo is guaranteed to be hormone-free (*ibid*: 104).

Marketing industrial foods is a matter of emphasizing the 'added value' these products hold. Mostly this is a matter of selling an image (and prefabricated quality assurances) and 'selling convenience'. Complicated baking and cooking procedures are reduced to simple steps and speedy results. According to an article in *Chatelaine*'s health section, "we're all about convenience, but when so many processed and prepackaged foods come loaded with trans fats, excess sugar and salt, and other ingredients we can't even pronounce, it's time to get back to DIY" (Steringa, October 2010: p 92). The above quote emphasizes the principle nutritional criticism of industrial foods: their overreliance on fat, sugar and salt for taste. According to registered dietician Elizabeth Somer, "no matter what you cook at home, it's going to be healthier and fresher than the store-bought or restaurant versions," (*ibid*: 92). Given that industrial foods are frequently marketed as 'doing things for us' I feel that 'do-it-yourself' as a slogan can be considered an industrial criticism in itself.

In the November 2010 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Chapman, 128) there was a featured expose on one of the primary staple ingredients for industrial foods: salt. Salt is a marvellous seasoning, preservative, and nutrient, which are all desirable qualities for a food additive. The problem is that the modern food-processing industry uses far too much. "The majority (of salt) comes from packaged, processed, canned and premade foods such as pretzels, crackers, chips, hot dogs, smoked meats and dill pickles. It's also found in condiments such as soy sauce, ketchup and steak sauce." (*ibid*: 134). "Canadians now ingest about double the sodium we need – some 3,400 milligrams a day, as opposed to the recommended 1,500 a day for a healthy adult." (*ibid*: 130). Most troubling is that living with a salt-saturated food industry for as long as we have poses trouble even beyond righting the production process. "Much of our preference for certain levels of salt is learned." (*ibid*: 133). If this is true, then some consumer resistance can be expected when introducing foods with reduced salt levels. Consumer resistance, unfortunately, is a strong disincentive for industrial food producers to mend their ways.

When it comes to matters of taste, however, there may be hope in overcoming salt addiction. Slow food proponents have always pointed out that industrial foods never compare to 'real foods' made from scratch with ethically grown ingredients. This sentiment is echoed in the August 2010 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Chapman, 114) where Sasha Chapman supplies a personal anecdote about grocery store salads that are "pre-washed in chlorine and packed in an unbreathable plastic box or bag, and don't taste like much of anything." She attests that half the reason people eat bigger, fattier, saltier and sweeter portions is that they are unconsciously compensating for the lack of flavour in the basic food (*ibid*: 115). Chapman also appeals to consumers to do-it-themselves by stating that "a simple vinaigrette [for a homemade salad] takes all of 30 seconds to prepare; and when you make your own dressing, all those stabilizers and preservatives become unnecessary" (*ibid*: 115).

The remainder of what I counted as 'industrial criticism' are cartoon jokes that take small jabs at industrial food. For example, in the May 2010 issue of *Reader's Digest* (p: 73) a cartoon child is selling mud pies for 25¢ at her small vending station where the caption reads "now zero trans-fat". This is actually a rather clever attack on the typical industrial food as bereft of nutritional quality. The cartoon 'sees' through a typical 'healthy' industrial food label, one which markets zero trans-fat, a way that the product is not hurting the consumer, as a meagre justification for healthful appraisement.

To conclude this section I wish to briefly mention a counterexample (not counted in tallied statistics). In the October 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest* (p: 151) an interview of Dave Chilton, author of 'The Wealthy Barber', is featured over several pages. Therein Chilton provides a glowing appraisal of the amazing food 'variety' we should be grateful for in grocery stores. "How spoiled are we? Frozen entrees actually taste like real food now (remember the original Salisbury steak?). Salads come prewashed and ready to serve. We can buy fresh lobster in my landlocked hometown, Kitchener-Waterloo. Yet, somehow, food costs (as a percentage of our incomes) have trended down over the last century. Better quality. Higher safety standards. More variety. Healthy alternatives. Lower costs. Wow, there must be something to gripe about" (*ibid*: 151). After reading the preceding quote I was ready for Mr. Chilton to deliver his punch line that would fit this piece into my 'industrial criticism' aspect. Instead, Chilton ends this glowing appraisal by stating "Gratitude is riches. Complaint is poverty" (*ibid*: 151).

Fair Trade

Importing goods across international borders may not be a sustainable practice, but it is a conveniently accessible way for consumers who do not live in 'climate-rich' parts of the world to be exposed to exotic foods that are also nutritionally beneficial (for example: tropical fruits in Canada). For this reason, fair treatment of international trading partners must be considered an important part of ethical food consumption. Within my magazine sample, however, this was the second-least addressed topic of any relating to ethical food. Four of the five pages I recorded as representing this theme came from a single magazine, the July 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Webster, 17-20). The topic for these four pages was "Aid vs. Trade", regarding Canada's part in helping Guatemala's farmers. The World Food Programme (WFP) receives more support from Canada, per capita, than from any other nation (*ibid*: 18). The troubling paradox is that aid policies of rich nations like Canada are overshadowed by trade policies that undercut them (*ibid*: 18). Pablo Siguenza, the social scientist behind this article, stated that "Canada could fight hunger far more effectively if it would allow hungry countries to protect [their] farmers from cut-rate Canadian competition" (*ibid*: 19). Instead, less affluent countries depend on subsistence aid while "crops grown in Guatemala's best soil are rarely used to feed the local people" (*ibid*: 17). "The valleys contain all the best land, but they are mostly used for export crops, not for growing food for Guatemalans" (*ibid*: 17).

The "Aid vs. Trade" article does a reasonably good job of drawing attention to the destructive aspects of international trade and cut-rate pricing. Guatemalan farmers might very well be better off if Canada's demand for their low-cost commodity crops were eroded by high levels of local food purchasing by Canadian consumers. The role of Canadians in helping to strengthen local food economies abroad can only be addressed with an even higher level of ethical engagement beyond private purchasing. "Aid vs. Trade" is only one example, but the article does a service in raising critical awareness of issues in multinational food relations.

Food Labels

A lot can be accomplished with food labels. As a consumer, I generally check labels for rough estimates of the nutritional quality of my food, but there are a number of additional pieces of information that could be included to help Canadians consume food ethically. Listing food

miles, the distance the food item has been shipped, would have a much stronger impact than vague labels of country of origin or processing plant locations. Most supermarket produce have their country of origin labelled, or province if the produce is Canadian, but specific farms or farmer practices are not detailed, aside from the haphazard usage of the 'organic' label. Ironically, industrial goods are much more specific about the processing location, but these labels neglect the distance that the various ingredients travelled before they arrived at the food factory.

Within my magazine sample, twelve pages were devoted to food labels. *Chatelaine* featured pages on the 100% Canadian Milk label five separate times in 2010 (March, May, September, October, and December). The message on these pages was short, but did draw a connection between localness, quality and civic pride. "We can be proud of products bearing the 100% Canadian Milk symbol. It means they were made from locally produced milk renowned for its purity, high quality and great taste" (*Chatelaine*, March 2010: p 141). It is laudable to direct consumers to local dairy producers in this fashion. This particular label, however, did cause me a fair degree of categorization grief, due to the use of the 100% Canadian Milk label on more heavily processed products. Two key examples would be Nestle and Chapman's ice-creams. After much contemplation I concluded that the label itself is fine and progressive, but due to its liberal application, consumers are forced to remain cognisant of the fact that only the milk ingredients are locally produced, and any additional ingredients may still be drawn from distant sources.

A much more straightforward food label is the 'percent Daily Value', which was featured in several full page spreads within my sample (see *Canadian Living*, November 2011: p 151 for an example). Displaying the daily value percentage of calories, fats, sodium and sugar directly enables consumers to pursue a more nutritious diet. The full page spread is sponsored by Health Canada.

The final three examples are brief featured stories about labels. In the August 2011 issue of *Chatelaine* (Herndon, 60), there was an article titled "calorie counts exposed". In it the author draws attention to a 'rare' example of "America leading the way in healthy eating" (*ibid*: 60). The conclusion is based on the requirement (in New York City and California) that chain restaurants, bakeries and grocery stores clearly post the calorie counts for their items. I am somewhat familiar with this proposition and the reservations some restaurateurs in particular

have about it. Owners of small, specialized eateries feel it would be unfair and impractical to hold them to standards of calorie labelling since the contents of their custom dishes vary widely. I am unable to comment on the validity of that assertion, but I can foresee some opposition from affected parties in any new 'ethical labelling' venture. Furthermore, sympathy for their economic plight as they are encumbered with new burdens should not be neglected.

At the tail-end of the salt exposé in *Reader's Digest* (November 2010: p 138) there was a page devoted to the agenda of the Sodium Working Group, "an organization of representatives from health organizations, food industry, public health and government". The group advocated several labelling endeavours including: sodium level labelling by restaurants, updating food labels so that sodium levels are clearer (more apparent) to consumers and updating Canada's Food guide with more information about sodium and calories (*ibid*: 138). The premise of the Sodium Working Group's campaign somewhat reminds me of the requirement that cigarette packages display severe health hazard warnings to ward off consumers. This could be an apt comparison if it turns out consumers are as addicted to sodium as the aforementioned salt exposé suggested.

The final article I wish to discuss is the most expositional and disconcerting. In the May 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Grainger, 186) there was a featured story titled "Something's Fishy about Best-Before Dates". A joint investigation by the Consumer's Association of Canada and CTV revealed that some superstores had been repackaging perishable food items and applying new inauthentic best-before dates (*ibid*: 186). This article indirectly raises the issue of enforcement. Enforcement is crucial for product labelling. A label is only ever as reliable as the group that ensures its legitimacy. This is bad news for Canadians, since the Canadian federal government has recently proposed budget cuts that could lead to a more toothless Canadian Food Inspection Agency (see: http://www.timescolonist.com/health/Budget+Government+police+food+labels+future/6380910/story.html).

5.1.2 Healthy Eating

Nutrition Information

Out of any aspect I categorized as ethical food consumption, the largest number of pages were devoted to the nutritional and healthful qualities of food items. Concentrating on this

dimension shows Canadian magazine media favours an individualized focus on personal health as opposed to aspects that are more connected with social change. Respecting one's own health is nonetheless an important part of consuming food 'correctly'. Since most industrial foods pack a lackluster nutritional punch, the focus on healthy eating can also be said to direct consumers to 'real foods' such as fresh, locally grown produce, anyway.

In the interest of helping consumers "get their nutritional facts straight" the 2011 October issue of *Canadian Living* (De Jonge, 54) provided a breakdown of label lingo. The aim was to demystify the "cryptic, vague or even downright misleading" information that so often appears on packaged foods (*ibid*: 54). For instance, 'calorie reduced' means that the item contains at least 25 percent fewer calories than the previous version of that product (*ibid*: 55). A 'source of iron' means that the product must contain at least 5 percent of the recommended daily intake of iron (*ibid*: 55). The handy chart provided over three pages also points out that terms like 'multigrain', 'natural', and 'no artificial flavours' are loosely regulated and do not guarantee a healthful product (*ibid*: 56). The decoded labels on display for readers in this section were assembled by "a panel of Canadian nutrition experts", which is comprised entirely of registered dieticians (*ibid*: 54). For my own purposes, I found this chart especially helpful in establishing a list of co-opted 'real food' terms that are unregulated, and thus carry little or no ethical weight.

The majority of information related to 'healthy eating' was nutritional information directing consumers toward produce. The clearest example of this type of exposition comes from *Canadian Living*'s June 2011 issue (Rosenbloom, 78-83), where a list of "10 healthy foods that you may never have tried before", is provided. Each food item is pictured, identified, and given a quick nutritional rundown on how it serves the human body. For instance, edamame is an iron rich meat alternative (p: 79), while quinoa provides a "complete protein", containing all nine of the essential amino acids (p: 81). The written breakdowns are brief, but certainly serve the purpose of encouraging consumers to test out more nutrient-rich foods that all come from produce shelves, instead of vacuum-sealed containers. There are also useful tips provided on how to buy (if the item is not found in regular grocery stores), store and serve these healthy foods as side dishes or cornerstones of meals themselves.

Featured recipes in magazines are given a large, often full-page, picture representation. The majority of those are captured by my food styling aspect under the conspicuous consumption category of distinction. In the April 2010 issue of *Chatelaine* (p: 60-67), however, the picture

representation of completed recipes was accompanied by a synopsis of the healthful impact of the 'star ingredients'. The braised rapini with feta and sun-dried tomatoes packs in beta carotene, and the spiced pomegranate rice features the antioxidant properties of pomegranates (*ibid*: 63). The addition of this information, and my decision to categorize each page as predominantly concerned with health, played a significant role in making this specific issue the champion of 'healthy eating' pages. This format was not repeated in the issues preceding or following this publication and was probably considered a special theme for 'spring slimming' (*ibid*: cover).

Most of the connections between food and health that were not essentialized to 'nutritional value' came in the form of disease-prevention information, which I categorized separately. There was an instance in the April 2011 *Canadian Living* issue (Seymour, 72), however, which focused on 'mood boosting foods' or food that leads to improved everyday well-being. It was an interesting biochemical look at how certain foods can alter our body states. The article points out that turkey with lettuce triggers the production of dopamine through the amino acid tyrosine. A salmon steak uses omega-3 polyunsaturated fatty acids to cause the "membrane around your brain cells [to become] more permeable" (*ibid*: 72). The article offered a perspective that more people ought to endorse when it comes to eating; food is not just about calories, fats and sugars.

Disease Prevention, Special Health Needs and Scare Tactics

The health sections of all three publications frequently supplied information on what foods we could be eating to minimize our risk of disease. The cancer-fighting properties of antioxidants were foremost among those. There was also significant coverage of chronic gastrointestinal disorders (GI) and a number of alternative recipes to accommodate the unique needs of sufferers. Prevention will always be preferable to treatment, but the coverage of both dimensions for food consumers were important, ethical inclusions. 'Scare tactics' was an aspect I constructed around a number of warnings to consumers. The pages I categorized as 'scares' were not a significant contributor to this aspect in terms of overall pages, but theme-wise this was the best fit for them.

In the June 2010 issue of *Canadian Living* (Seymour, 64) a notable article on the prevention of migraine headaches was included. It was drawn from a 2009 study in the *Clinical Journal of Pain*. In it the author states that "correcting all of your vitamin deficiencies and

consuming a healthy diet… will help your brain fight off migraines" (*ibid*: 64). An important point was also made about "not skipping meals" as a way to maintain regulatory rhythm. I thought this was an important point to stress, since the majority of healthy eating information concentrated on foods themselves, rather than the practice of eating.

Perhaps the most looming spectre that we directly associate with poor eating habits is the development of type-II diabetes. According to an article in *Chatelaine*'s February 2011 issue, "dark leafy greens may help lower the risk of type 2 diabetes" (Brabazon, 78). As an added benefit, the article notes that "dark greens are a good source of carotenoids lutein and zeaxanthin", which help prevent eye disorders like cataracts (*ibid*: 78). Further connecting leafy greens to disease prevention, the article features arugula, a member of the "cancer-fighting cruciferous family with a zingy, peppery flavour" (*ibid*: 78). Some forty pages further into this magazine, there is also a message from the Heart and Stroke Foundation promoting beans as heart medicine (*ibid*: 124). "Eaten regularly, they'll reduce your chances of developing heart disease and beans cost only pennies per serving" (*ibid*: 124). This latter full-page promotion also carries in it a cost-conscientiousness for consumers without strong economic means.

Marketing healthy foods as disease-fighters seems a bit like fear mongering. And yet it seems the fear-mongerer derives a higher sense of urgency to correct one's diet. What solidifies this type of information as purely 'ethical' to me, is that whether by marketing disease prevention or the positive effects on the way one feels, better health is the goal.

For those who are already afflicted with illness, there was a series of articles linking food to treatment. One such article, in the June 2010 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Bendall, 69), introduced a case study of a woman suffering from celiac disease (marked by an intolerance to gluten). The article covered this woman's initial reaction to the disorder, the symptoms she faced, and her alternative eating patterns that followed (*ibid*: 69). In the September 2010 issue of *Chatelaine*, a series of gluten-free recipes were provided, along with some accompanying information on celiac disease (p: 153). *Canadian Living* also featured suggestions on how to build a 'gluten-free pantry' in their 'Food Matters' section, in the November 2011 issue (p: 201).

Celiac's disease bridges the gap between disease and food more explicitly than most illnesses. Others, like Alzheimer's disease, may seem disconnected from food consumption. According to the July 2010 issue of *Chatelaine*, however, "dark and leafy greens (like arugula, kale, rapini and spinach)" show promise, and give hope to those fighting Alzheimer's (p: 68).

The article, titled "brain food", also notes a German study (unspecified) that found persons "living within 100 metres of a busy roadway have more than double the chance of developing type-2 diabetes because of air pollution" (*ibid*: 68). Because of this, "risk factors you can control, like eating well and exercising", become even more important for city-dwellers (*ibid*: 68).

Drawing on the knowledge of popular health guru Dr. Oz, *Chatelaine* magazine also provided tips for combatting cancer with vitamin A (September 2010 issue: p 112). Dr. Oz also criticized the absorbability of vitamin supplements and promoted consumption of vitamins that exist in 'real food' (*ibid*: 112).

Food scares were proportionately insignificant, and can be amply captured with two examples. The first deals with the potential for hepatitis A contamination in salads, which allegedly can occur when an infected worker handles the salad (see *Chatelaine*, October 2010: p 97). It could be argued, however, that this particular 'awareness piece' is actually promotional material for the hepatitis A vaccine Twinrix®. The second example seems to have purer intentions, as it deals with the dangers of giving honey to an infant child. This Health Canada warning can be found in the February 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* (p: 110). The caption states that "honey can contain bacteria that cause *infant botulism*, a serious condition whose symptoms include constipation, muscle weakness and breathing problems" (*ibid*: 110). What both of these scare pieces illustrate in their own way, is that consumer awareness is especially important when it comes to products that we eat, or intend to be eaten by our families.

Mindfulness

Mindfulness, the final aspect of my healthful eating category, can actually be said to bridge all of ethical food consumption, depending on how broadly the term is realized. Despite the importance I believe this concept holds, it had the fewest number of pages devoted to it of any in the personal health category. Those few inclusions were all based on the work of Dr. Cheung and Buddhist monk Thich Nhat Hanh, co-authors of *Savour: Mindful Eating, Mindful Life* (2010), and Dr. Wansink, author of *Mindless Eating: Why We Eat More Than We Think* (2006) (for example see *Canadian Living*, July 2010: Dorrell *et al*., 48-54).

Writing things down (*ibid*: 48) and planning meals in advance (*ibid*: 49) feature centrally in mindfulness strategies. "People who believe that they can reach a healthier weight through healthy eating and active living set relevant goals that they perceive to be important for the

desired change" (*ibid*: 48). Further suggestions drawn from this work include label reading, aware and purposeful eating, maintaining accessible healthy snacks, and curbing night time eating (*ibid*: 52). The assumption seems to be that more thought and deliberate action towards preparing a meal will ensure a healthier diet. This makes a lot of intuitive sense, and is especially effective, given the motivated starting point of believing one can reach a healthier eating lifestyle. My only reservation would have been that it is possible to purposefully and mindfully consume an unhealthy diet, but given the pretext that the authors set, this would not be the case.

Within the "Fresh & Tasty" section of the May 2010 *Reader's Digest* (Chapman, 148), section writer Sasha Chapman detailed select points from Professor Wansink's book. She begins with a personal anecdote about how she, a health-conscious person, had allowed the snack-food portion of her diet to be mindlessly chosen and startlingly unhealthy (*ibid*: 148). Chapman then goes into a fair amount of detail, describing an experiment Dr. Wansink conducted about the mindless consumption of popcorn in a movie theatre (*ibid*: 148). In her words, it is a "kind of automaton-like snacking on junk food" (*ibid*: 148). It seems to me that a movie theatre, being an arena of distraction, may not fully capture normal snacking behaviour. I'm not convinced that all unhealthy snacking is mindless. It seems more likely to be the product of a compulsion towards indulgence, without a truly mindful assessment of consequence. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that "snacks are everywhere, the consequence of modern life on the run" (the extent of media focus on 'life on the run', is to be discussed in a later section) (*ibid*: 149). If nothing else, this piece re-accentuates the need for pre-planning and preparation of healthy convenience foods.

Of course, I also feel mindfulness is indebted to the provision of proper information for the consumer. And given crafty language such as "Made in Canada", meaning only that the "last transformation of the product" (*Canadian Living*, October 2011: p 56) occurred in Canada, the need for sophisticated labels and accessible food guides is strong and apparent. The artificial segmentation of my aspects or categories is not meant to gloss their strong interconnectedness. Real world progress towards a more ethical mode of food consumption naturally requires that all aspects of ethical consumption be addressed in tandem.

5.1.3 Animal and Environmental Issues

Personal Food Gardens

Purchasing food from local sources may be considered highly sustainable in comparison to industrial modes of food distribution. Potentially, the least environmentally taxing means to obtain food would be by caring for and growing one's own supply. This mode of production eliminates food miles, and ideally sidesteps harmful chemical usage. Each of the three major magazine publications in my sample had a gardening section included, which was typically found under their respective 'Home' sections. Most of the articles contained in these sections dealt with aesthetic growing (i.e., flowers or other attractive plants). It was not uncommon, however, to find tips for growing vegetables for personal consumption.

In the May 2010 issue of *Chatelaine* the author notes that "the hottest gardening trend is growing your own produce" (Harris, 169). Whether this trend can be taken as a representation of a burgeoning awareness of a problematic food system is unspecified. Along with some vibrant pictures, the article provides brief information synopses about the ideal growing zones, hours of sunlight and water needs of a few specific vegetables (*ibid*: 169). More detailed information about vegetable maturation and harvesting was provided in the October 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* (Flowers, 140). The article advises the gardener to "pick cucumbers when they are firm and dark green", "cut cauliflower when the heads are tight and white", and that "tomatoes are ready to pick when they have a full, even colour" (*ibid*: 140). This style of advice continues over the next page as well, featuring broccoli, peppers, eggplants, corn, garlic, cantaloupes, watermelon, pumpkins and cabbage (*ibid*: 141). There are also a number of valuable tips for storing fall harvests over the winter in a traditional fruit cellar (*ibid*: 141).

The following month, *Canadian Living* printed a piece in their gardening section about caring for a garden through the winter months, in order to assure ideal conditions for the spring (November 2011: Flowers, 139). In the interests of improvement, one of the keynote suggestions was to "note successes and failures, what was used and what was wasted, to guide you when planning next season's crops" (*ibid*: 139). In this regard, and several others related to the task of gardening itself, having a personal garden incorporates a great deal of mindfulness. Still, reservations are bound to be held by those lacking a 'green thumb' or who live in inhospitable growing areas like cities.

Urban gardening may provide some hope for green thumbs living in unconventional growing areas. The first time I encountered the term 'urban garden' in the magazines sampled, was within the March 2010 issue of *Reader's Digest* (p: 12). It was hard to get a sense of what urban gardening was from this brief piece, especially since the page was dominated by a picture and online link to readersdigest.ca/garden (*ibid*: 12). It is hard to know whether many casual readers of the magazine would pursue additional information from this link, based on the vague coverage displayed. A much better presentation of urban gardening can be found in the April 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Cuturillo, 124), under the heading "notes from a space-challenged gardener". Utilizing flowerpots on balconies and windowsills is the preferred means of limited-space urban gardening, but creatively utilizing empty food cans for herb gardens can also be effective (*ibid*: 124). Even sturdy reusable plastic shopping bags, filled with organic potting mix, can make for an improvised growing environment for tomato, pepper or endive plants (*ibid*: 124). According to the October 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* (Oliver, 202), Ontario, and more specifically Toronto, "is blessed with many urban agriculture promoters". This means that a Torontonian looking to break into the urban garden scene will be able to find a receptive environment of like-minded individuals within their city.

Environmentalism (Consumers & Producers)

Before outlining examples for this section, I should note that there were plenty of examples of environmental efforts that were omitted from this section. Strictly speaking, being ecologically conscientious and trying to preserve wildlife is not expressly connected to our food system. Certain pages detailing endangered species, or general donations appeals for the World Wildlife Fund were not included in this aspect. In order to warrant inclusion, I had to hold the requirement that there be a connection drawn to food systems. Without a set of restrictions, everything from non-animal tested beauty products to Dawn® soap's 'Save the Wildlife' campaign would have to be considered. I was acutely interested in locating environmentally destructive practices involved in generating our food stocks, as well as any opportunities for consumers to demonstrate green consciousness.

To begin with a modest example, I should note an excerpt from the June 2010 *Canadian Living* (Leclair, 114), from the article, "Green-Friendly Summer Living". The article begins with eco-friendly picnic suggestions, such as avoiding nonbiodegradeable Styrofoam cups and plates,

and only using compostable cloth napkins (*ibid*: 114). Purchasing "bottles of water, especially if they're made from non-renewable materials and have been shipped long distances", should also be avoided (*ibid*: 115). There is also an appeal in this article for "buying locally grown, in-season food whenever you can" (*ibid*: 115), which unifies this aspect with aspects previously discussed in the 'sustainability category'. Discussing 'environmentalism' separately, however, enabled me to broaden the scope of topics beyond local purchasing and express industrial criticisms.

The attack on plastic bottles was echoed in the April 2011 edition of *Chatelaine* magazine (p: 32). This article, in the "Ms. *Chatelaine* (A woman of style and substance)" section, focussed on the "eco-epiphanies" of Vanessa Farquharson, a film critic and author (*ibid*: 31). In it Ms. Farquharson stated several ways she had attempted to rectify her mode of food consumption. "She had started small (ditching bottled water and plastic bags)", but had progressed to greater heights such as "unplugging her fridge" and "eating only local and organic products" (*ibid*: 32). By describing these actions in the positive light that *Chatelaine* has, the editors are positioning Ms. Farquharson's actions as exemplary and noble. Extrapolating her actions as recommendations for modifying one's personal lifestyle, however, takes some imagination, and somewhat limits the effectiveness of this article. It becomes too easy to see Ms. *Chatelaine* as an unattainable icon and mere aspiration.

In the April 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* (Scott, 90), important notations were made in an article titled "Eco-Inspiration". First, that the "food on your plate has a big impact on your environmental footprint" and more specifically, that "it takes a lot of land, water and other resources to produce meat". Thus, according to this article, part-time vegetarianism is preferred and full-on vegetarianism is optimal. It ought to have been noted, that in addition to the taxing of resources required to raise livestock en masse for food, there are also a number of toxic effects that follow the industrialized factory farm model. Manure lagoons and animal malnutrition are foremost among those effects. Another valuable inclusion to this article would have been that the factory farming model is responsible for the grossly distorted common perception of the cost of meat. Still, the article has a sound purpose in directing consumers away from a meat-centered diet, towards a much more sustainable and energy-efficient diet, centered on vegetables.

The final two articles for discussion in this section both involve the endangerment of marine life by destructive modes of aquatic harvesting. *Reader's Digest* featured an article about "reefs at risk" in their 2011 June issue (Chapple, 176). Normally, this type of article would have

fallen outside my guidelines, but the writers explicitly connected it to the fishing industry. The reefs are "a nursery for fish that feed more than a billion people around the world and provide 200 million jobs in the fishing industry" (*ibid*: 176). By forging this connection to our food system, the protection of the reefs is explicitly made a matter concerning our own sustenance, and therefore an exemplar for the type of content I desired to capture in the "environmentalism" aspect. The other article concerns the destructive havoc caused by the industrial practice of trawling sea floors. In the October 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Howes, 21), it is noted that a small community off the coast of Newfoundland is suffering "rapidly dwindling" cod stocks, due to "international draggers that strip the local waters of marine life" (*ibid*: 21). This article is easily multi-aspect, as it exemplifies both industrial criticism and environmentalism. My determination to class this article as environmentalism was somewhat arbitrary, in that no other parts of the industrial process were mentioned, beyond the initial trawling.

Organic Food and Polycultural Farming

In combination, these two aspects of ethical food predominated in only five pages from the entire sample. This can partially be explained by the frequent pairing of organic food and polycultural farming with some other ethical theme, usually local food purchasing. The best example of a page predominated by organic food comes from the April 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* (Scott, 91). Under the heading "Ready, Set, Green!", there are a few key points drawn from the David Suzuki Foundation's Queen of Green blog (*ibid*: 91). "If you have a gardener in the family", then "you want to look at reducing pesticide use or composting so that you can make your own soil" (*ibid*: 91). This is a powerful suggestion incorporating themes of gardening, avoidance of pesticides and building soil, which are all tied to sustainable growing. Another organic suggestion from this article is to "buy as much organic produce as you can afford", and "introduce more meatless meals into your diet" (*ibid*: 91). Once again, the suggestion is multi-themed – not only deriding pesticides at the consumer level, but also encouraging meatless meals.

Ethical Treatment of Livestock Animals

This aspect is the most compassionate of any that I included in this study. It also holds a great deal of potential for turning everyday food consumers away from a meat-centered diet. The prospect of livestock suffering is glossed over by refined, processed and neatly shrink wrapped portions of grocery store meat, so much so that sympathy for living creatures is allowed to slip completely out of consciousness. If the cruelty and inhospitable conditions endured by animals in concentrated animal feedlot operations (CAFO) were made more apparent, even attached like cigarette warnings to every happy meal, then surely the stomachs of many consumers would be turned, and alternatives sought.

Precisely that type of epiphany is evidenced in the February 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Vallantin, 40), an article interviewing vegan former NHL hockey player Georges Laraque. Laraque comments that the "revelatory moment came in the spring of 2008 while watching *Earthlings*, a documentary about the inhumane use of animals for food, fashion and medical research" (*ibid*: 40). "I just cried" says Laraque, "I felt so stupid. I didn't know animals suffered. I knew nothing about how they were raised" (*ibid*: 40). Subsequent to his film viewing Laraque immediately converted to veganism, and provided French narration of *Earthlings* for organized viewings around Montreal (*ibid*: 40).

Stories about animal cruelty can be profoundly moving, as the Georges Laraque interview suggests. But positive examples of symbiotic relationships between farm animals and people also deserve attention. There was a particularly inspiring story included in the December 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest* (Langford, 206). This story was titled "Hens that Heal", and it featured the miraculous recovery of hens rescued from factory egg farms – 'spent hens' – after these hens were given over to the care of abused children as mutual therapy (*ibid*: 206). Within the bird sanctuary, "the birds revive, regrow feathers, and are able to lay eggs again" (*ibid*: 207). The story is preceded by an anecdote from *Reader's Digest* Food Editor Valerie Howes, who notes that "only happy, well-fed poultry produce eggs of rich flavour" (*ibid*: 206). As beautiful as this story is, it also forces the reader to consider the opposite effect. Factory farm animals, who have endured a life of misery and health problems, may be less healthy to consume, due to the stresses their bodies have endured.

Continuing on the theme of well-treated animals, I would like to end this section by discussing an article titled "A Modern Day Dairy Queen", featured in the March 2011 edition of

Chatelaine magazine (Glassman, 108). This time, the focus is less on the animals themselves, as much as it is on the farmer, Amy Darroch, who manages a 100 acre organic dairy farm in Ontario (*ibid*: 108). When asked what characterizes her work, Darroch stated, "a great deal of kindness, because animals don't respond well to harsh personalities" (*ibid*: 108). She goes on to say that "cows are a product of their environment, so I always think about their comfort and play music" (*ibid*: 108). The portrait of this woman is one of an idealized farmer, who facilitates optimal living conditions for the animals in her care, both out of personal fulfillment and economic rationality, regarding how her cows produce when they are contented. Darroch seems to hold opinions that share the same spirit as Joel Salatin's contributions. Her care and devotion to ethical husbandry, as described in this story, is an exemplary representation of 'ethical treatment of animals'.

5.2 Social Distinction

5.2.1 Class Identity

National/Regional Identity

A subculture's food identity can be a highly political tool. Zafar (1999) demonstrated, with the documentation of "Vibration Cooking" and "Spoonbread and Strawberry Wine" cookbooks, that race politics can be woven into the food literature. There was a possibility that similar politicized content would be integrated into culture-specific recipes in major magazine publications. Unfortunately, most of the national, regional, and cultural content related to food in these three publications was tourist-based. The foods were advanced as a means to sample a culture or landscape, rather than detail any greater significance that specific meals might have.

Canadian cuisine tended to receive greater exposure in the July months, so as to coincide with Canada Day celebrations. The July 2011 *Reader's Digest*, for example, encourages us to "savour our national flavours" with a recipe containing bacon and oka cheese (p: 120). It is not uncommon, however, to find references to Canadian nationality when identifiably Canadian food dishes are presented. In the May 2010 issue of *Reader's Digest*, "Poutine with Braised Chicken in BBQ Sauce and Cheddar" is a featured recipe (Stern, 151). The article starts out noting that "poutine is one of Canadian's most popular snack foods", and gives a brief historical note stating, "it started in Quebec with French fries topped with gravy" (*ibid*: 151). There is no

accompanying information on how poutine became popular, or what significance its Quebec origins might hold.

Food tourism best describes cultural culinary content. In May 2011, *Canadian Living* included a themed food section – "Mucho Gusto!" – to celebrate the foods of Mexico City, "the culinary capital of Mexico" (p: 172). "And the best part is that with this delicious menu you don't have to travel all the way there to enjoy its food!" (*ibid*: 172). The perspective the preceding quotation brings is that of a foreigner looking to sample the flavours of Mexico. The closest the section comes to being politicized is when the Mexican tricolour rice recipe notes that, "Mexicans like to recreate the red, green and white colours of their flag in both food and drink" (*ibid*: 177).

Similar treatment is given to Italian cuisine, in the "Italian Christmas Eve" inclusion of the December 2010 *Canadian Living* (p: 170). "An Italian Christmas Eve meal is a collection of dishes served together without one central dish. The tradition originally comes from southern Italy, and different regions have their own variations" (*ibid*: 171). Aside from that introduction, the most notable inclusion within the four-page 'Italian dinner' section is an advertisement for Tre Stelle® cheese dips that takes up two-thirds of page 173.

Continuing East, both *Chatelaine* and *Canadian Living* display an ongoing fascination with the Orient. In the February 2010 issue of *Chatelaine*, that magazine uses the concision of Valentine's Day and the Chinese New Year as an excuse to include desserts with an "Asian twist" (p: 27). The section is, at best, a caricature, featuring ideas like a "stack [of] small heart-shaped cookies in colourful Chinese takeout boxes" (*ibid*: 27).

The "Cultural Exchange" between East and West continues, in *Canadian Living*'s November 2010 issue, focussing on some Japanese flavours (p: 171). "*Mizutaki*, or Japanese hot pot, is an easy style of home entertaining" (*ibid*: 171). "The best part: almost everything you need comes from the grocery store" (*ibid*: 171). Again, it is apparent that the premise for inclusion is not cultural exchange as much as recipe tourism for those interested in exotic flavours. Class-wise, Bourdieu's work tells us that the pursuit of such recipes would typically be done by the upper bourgeoisie. I feel the counterbalance to that is the emphasis on simple, easy 'Japanese' meals. This negates the focus on high time-commitment that Bourdieu saw as a fundamental grand Bourgeois trait.

The article most devoted to exploring another culture's food system, came from *Chatelaine*'s March 2011 issue (p: 112). The article, titled "eating the East", follows "self-confessed foodie Jan Wong" as she tours cuisine hot spots in Japan (*ibid*: 113). Wong recounts personal experiences she had at a Tokyo cooking school, the famous Tsukiji fish market, and a private resident's home who performs cooking lessons part-time. The best parts of the article are Wong's anecdotes that connect culinary culture to the beliefs of the people of Japan. When she creates an irregular soba (buckwheat noodles), at the Tokyo cooking school, Wong explains that, "in a culture where appearances and aesthetics are paramount", her 'trial noodles' were not fit to be served (*ibid*: 113). While detailing her exploration of the Tsukiji fish market, Wong provides us with historical background on how "tourists were [formerly] banned from Tsukiji, the largest wholesale fish market in the world, ostensibly because they kept poking the wares, a serious faux pas" (*ibid*: 113). As an aside, this article is located in the travel section rather than the food section. This could suggest that full immersion in a different culture is the only way that that culture's food can be treated seriously in the magazine medium.

'Fast' Food, Time Usage

Many of the time references used in the magazine sample appeared on the cover, and in the table of contents as titles of sections. It may stand to reason that information appearing on the cover page is information that the publishers feel is most important for attracting consumers. If that is true, then publishers overwhelmingly believe that consumers desire the fastest, easiest meal solutions possible for dinner, on a consistent basis. 'Fast' does not necessarily mean the meals being described are unhealthy, and an overly negative reading of time-efficient meals is not warranted. For the purposes of class identification, however, accommodation of time pressure, and seeking the fastest provision of a dinner solution possible, is highly representative of working and middle class interests.

Printed on the cover of the September 2011 *Canadian Living* is the title, "Keep it simple", which is immediately followed by four bulleted solutions including "time-saving dinners". The table of contents echoes this need, with section titles, "dinner on the double", and the recurrent section, "quick and easy" (*ibid*: 3). The tagline of the "quick and easy" section is "weeknight dinner solutions", which draws a connection between time poverty and the busy working lives of everyday consumers. Oftentimes, *Canadian Living* takes recipes for items that

one might presume would take a substantial time investment, and converts them into rapid solutions. In the September 2010 issue, "quick breads" are the featured item (p: 139). The tagline of the "quick breads" section reads, "rapidly rising loaves, cakes and muffins that you can enjoy lickety-split" (*ibid*: 139).

Chatelaine's food section operates in largely the same style as *Canadian Living*. Instead of "quick and easy", the food sections are titled "dinner tonight: fast food", and "10-minute gourmet" (*Chatelaine*, November 2010: 18). In addition to those two recurring 'fast dinner' sections, the cover pages also traditionally host time-efficiency propaganda. The cover of the November 2011 *Chatelaine* hosts the tagline, "dinner's ready: 30 pages of easy appetizers, 15-minute dinners [and] to-die-for desserts".

There is never much accompanying discussion of why 'fast meal solutions' are demanded, but the same words occur continuously, are often assigned bolded text, and placed as section or recipe titles. Titles and taglines about fast meal solutions occur to such an extent that 'low time' is the most populous identity section.

Easiness

Easiness, as a counted aspect, owes its comparatively low page count to the frequent co-occurrence of 'easy dinner solutions', with 'fast dinner solutions'. Since only one theme can be assigned per page, and with brevity being more frequently cited than simplicity, this aspect was shorted in a sense. There were several unique inclusions in *Canadian Living*, however, that nicely displayed 'easy cooking', in short steps and illustrations. The August 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* demonstrated a technique for fluting pie crust in two steps (p: 121). The February 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* showed a technique for melting chocolate in a few easy steps (p: 121). These illustrated techniques are exemplars of this category, but this aspect was counted in all circumstances where "a few easy steps", effortlessness, or simplicity in general, was considered central to recipe preparation.

Budgetary Concern; Low Cost

Economic well-being is probably the most intuitive aspect of a person's class identity. Bourdieu rejected the notion that class is based only on material wealth, but he also recognized its importance, as one of four types of capital that determine one's social position. For my purposes, budgetary concerns and references of low cost were used somewhat infrequently. Some notable exceptions exist. *Canadian Living* featured "budget-friendly weeknight dinners", on the covers of both the September 2010 issue and the April 2011 issue. *Chatelaine* even provided a list of a "few simple changes" to "save you more than a thousand dollars a year" (February 2010: 94). These tips included avoiding convenience food purchases, like breakfast sandwiches and the "$2.00 cup of premium joe every morning", as well as shopping tips like buying frozen meat to save about a third of the cost of fresh meat (*ibid*: 94).

Cutting costs can also involve making the most of what one has. In the January 2011 issue of *Reader's Digest*, the "beginner's guide to being cheap" provided tips on how to make produce last longer, such as separating bananas to slow ripening, and storing lettuce in a sealed zip-lock bag with moistened paper towel (p: 147).

The essence of this aspect was that cost-saving tactics of some sort had to be employed. Meal plans referred to as inexpensive, low-cost, budget-friendly, or any other terminology in reference to saving money, meant that events on a page would be termed 'budgetary'.

5.2.2 Conspicuous Consumption

Food Styling

Before starting this project, I anticipated that food styling would be a very strongly represented aspect, especially given the media form I was dealing with. Aesthetic appeal is central to convincing consumers that the food recipes being advertised are worth time and energy investments. Creating a meal with the elegant beauty depicted in stylized images may be viewed as a challenge, and a potential source of adulation upon successful completion. Because of my preconception that food styling would be overrepresented, and perhaps unduly augment my hypothesis, I elected to measure a picture's significance as less than the words on a page. Despite that restriction, food styling still emerged as the second-most strongly represented aspect. This is

largely owing to the common usage of full-page recipe pictures with little or no accompanying text.

Stylized pictures were always used in every publication to introduce respective food sections. In the January 2010 edition of *Canadian Living* (p: 29), sweet-potato hummus was displayed with sprouts carefully placed alongside the plate. In the December 2011 *Canadian Living* magazine (p: 192), a turkey roast was featured. Food styling was always done by Sasha Seymore, with the assistance of prop stylist Catherine Doherty, and photographer Ryan Szule (*ibid*: 192). In the January 2010 (p: 53), *Canadian Living* a sauced-up spaghettini with arrabbiata was used to introduce the food section. The December 2011 *Canadian Living* (p: 155), featured a festive ham, partly sliced with faint steam lines, surrounded by vegetables. A similar three-person team was credited with the styling for *Canadian Living* (styling is performed by Lucie Richard for *Canadian Living*).

Reader's Digest featured the least amount of food styling, which can be attributed to food recipes being a much smaller part of the composition of that magazine. Still, styled foods were consistently displayed to introduce the food section, both when it was titled 'Fresh & Tasty' (*Reader's Digest*, January 2010: p 103), and when the section was retitled and re-themed as 'Open Kitchen' (*Reader's Digest*, December 2010: p 123).

Food for Special Occasions and Festivities

Special occasions present cooks with an opportunity to conspicuously display their culinary skill, for the express purpose of impressing guests. I made an implicit assumption that food styling is connected to this same purpose, but textually describing the purpose of a recipe as being to "impress guests" (see *Chatelaine*, December 2010: p 1 for that exact phrase usage), makes a more explicit connection between food and status-seeking. Ostentatious displays found at parties are not necessarily amoral. A party is an excellent opportunity for socializing and providing needed breaks from mundane, habitual life patterns. Unless the purpose is expressed as such, parties are not ethically-oriented beyond the social aspect.

Fortunately, speculation on the ethical nature of parties is simplified when examining parties through the lens of magazine media. The primary concern is almost always to "provide recipes your guests will love" (*Canadian Living*, January 2010: cover page). "Festive meals" are outlined for special events, such as the "New Year's Dinner Party" (*Chatelaine*, December 2010:

cover page). Goals consist of finding ways to "help you have the best holiday ever" through "70+ festive recipes" (*Canadian Living*, December 2010: cover page). A host can "make a splash! [with] 45 recipes your guests will love" (*Canadian Living*, January 2010: cover page). The prior quotes demonstrate that the entire recipe section can often be oriented to the theme of entertaining or festive meals.

Christmas, Hanukah, Valentine's Day, Thanksgiving, and barbecue season, consistently received special attention in the magazine issue corresponding to the appropriate 'season'. For instance, readers are encouraged to "celebrate Valentine's festively [by making] classics creatively, prepar[ing] fondue for two expertly and more" (*Chatelaine*, February 2010: p 9). For Christmas, hosts are advised to "have edible decorations on hand for drop-in guests" and "for a great look, [to] use snacks that coordinate with your décor" (*Reader's Digest*, December 2010: p 162).

Dining alfresco, particularly by picnic or barbecue, receives a lot of attention during the summer months. "Starting July, we're celebrating the best of summer: picnics and barbecues (*Chatelaine*, July 2011: p 176). After all, "you just don't get the rush from an oven that comes from igniting the barbecue in the backyard – or cooking over a driftwood fire on the beach" (*Reader's Digest*, August 2011: p 102). So "chill the wine and fire up the citronella candles – it's time for a backyard cocktail party" (*Canadian Living*, August 2011: p 3). Even if parties were not originally planned, these articles offer encouragement for readers to engage in merrymaking, out of respect for good weather, and experiential aspects of alfresco dining.

Party themes also function for the entertaining of children. When describing their 'outer space' party section *Canadian Living* writers take note of their "intergalactic menu, games and invitations that will put your pint-size party guests into orbit" (March, 2010: p 5). In the fall season, writers describe the 'killer party' where "zombies have run amok in the Test Kitchen – and created a ghoulish Halloween party menu" (*Canadian Living*, October 2011: p 7).

For the time-pressed party host, there is a recurrent section in *Chatelaine* magazine titled "Instant Party", to accommodate that need (see November 2011: p 226 for example). *Canadian Living* staff stress that "articles in our food section (celebratory foods, festive punches, memorable desserts) will help you plan a menu for that special party; whatever you're planning to celebrate, you've got the right magazine in your hands" (June 2010: p 8). This statement is meant to characterize the magazine as a consistently reliable source of party information.

I noted earlier, that the purpose of party menus in magazines is almost always to impress guests. There is an instance in the in the December 2011 issue of *Chatelaine* (p: 104), where the express purpose is to impress guests "with these healthy upgrades for everyone's favourite classic recipes". This example was not categorized under 'special occasions', rather it was counted as an example of 'promotion of healthy eating'. It represents a bridging of the two aspects, and reinforces the idea that even though a party is morally neutral, it can take on an ethical character or status-seeking character, depending on the descriptive language that follows.

Traditional Gastronomy

A very narrow definition was used for the aspect termed traditional gastronomy. I had originally sought to use this aspect to classify information about the sensory experience of food, such as descriptions of smell, taste, and aesthetic beauty. This type of information, however, was never used to the extent that it dominated the theme of a page. Consequently, I reengineered this aspect for wine guides, and wine and food pairings.

'Traditional gastronomy' is comprised almost entirely of one to two page wine pairing guides that occurred in all three magazine publications. 'The Wine Taster', a special segment in *Canadian Living*, featuring sommelier Anne Martin's wine-food pairings, is one such example (see *Canadian Living*, March 2010: p 98 for example). Some examples of her recommendations include pairing Fronseca White Port, Portugal, with salted nuts, salmon and other seafood (*ibid*: 98). Sommelier expertise for *Chatelaine* is provided by Annie Reid and Kelly Robson, "on wine, beer and spirits" (*Chatelaine,* April 2010: p 74). For *Reader's Digest,* Signe Langford provides an expert opinion on "culinary odd couples" (*Reader's Digest*, February 2011: p 106).

Food Advertisements

Advertisements are the largest aspect in this study, and their enormous volume warranted a second classificatory criteria. The lack of an advertisement-specific breakdown would have resulted in a diverse range of marketing tactics being glossed over. In truth, many of the subcategories are directly inspired by pre-existing aspects within this study. Low cost, easy preparation, a long history, indulgence, gastronomy, parties, healthiness and nutritionism are all proxies. New subcategories that I created specifically for food advertisements include indirect ads, funny and unusual, and celebrity-endorsed. The proportional results of my analysis are

available in Appendix M. The purpose of this section is to identify and describe key examples within the advert sample itself.

Indirect Advertisements

Indirect advertisements used to be a subcategory that I termed 'hidden advertisements', but subtlety was never that apparent. Three key examples are "it's your health", sponsored by 100% Canadian Milk, the "Cheez Whiz Challenge", and the "best new product" awards.

"It's your health" is a recurrent inclusion in *Chatelaine* and *Canadian Living* that provides a new health-related message each month, but always maintains a clear pro-dairy undertone. In the March 2010 issue of *Canadian Living* "It's your health", the focus was on eating for a healthy blood pressure, the recommendation was for "greater emphasis on vegetables, fruit and milk products" (p: 15). The July 2010 issue of *Canadian Living* critiqued sugary foods that lack nutrients, but maintained that "chocolate milk and yogurt, which have some sugar added to make them tastier, improves diet quality with no adverse effect on weight" (p: 55). Each article also contains a recipe at the bottom of the page. These recipes always include some sort of dairy component, and were notably sponsored by 100% Canadian Milk™ and dairy farmers of Canada. The "pizza night" recipe in the March 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* called for a number of cheeses to be included in the homemade pizza (p: 69).

The Kraft Cheez Whiz challenge was an event featured over several months in *Canadian Living*, beginning in August of 2010 (p: 124). The rules of the challenge called for home cooks to creatively engineer recipes with Cheez Whiz® as the main ingredient. Numerous sample recipes were featured in all issues from August 2010 to February 2011, where the "grand-prize winner" was announced. The winning recipe was "Cheez Whiz® barbecued mushrooms" (*Canadian Living*, February 2011: 119).

In the April 2011 issue of *Canadian Living*, the "best new products" of 2011 are listed and granted conspicuous exposure (p: 181). A total of 21 separate food products are listed and given a brief synopsis, praising their merits. Since up to 9 separate products could be featured on a single page, I classified each page as "multi-band", in my advertising results.

Fun, Funny and Unusual Advertisements

Advertisements of the fun, funny and unusual sort, were initially very difficult to classify, since they tended not to be about anything food-related. The best examples are the Pringles potato chips advertisements. "The Happy Pup", was the title of one Pringles advert in the April 2011 issue of *Canadian Living* that showed two people using Pringles chips, as if they were tongues protruding from their mouths. One of those actors is also featured in a Pringles advertisement for the December 2010 issue of *Chatelaine*, bizarrely sticking out her tongue towards a Pringles canister with the tagline "your mouth will be strangely attracted to them" (p: 277).

Celebrity Endorsement

There were only a handful of brands that applied this tactic to market their food-stuffs. The one that I remember most acutely was a Natur-a brand advertisement that featured a Canadian Olympic and World Champion speed skater (*Canadian Living*, March 2010: 78). The smiling athlete holds a small organic soy beverage below the tagline, "world-class athlete Clara Hughes appreciates the importance of healthy nutrition in her pursuit of excellence" (*ibid*: 78). The 'healthy' component of the advertisement is strong, but the appeal to the celebrity status of a world-class athlete is unmistakable. It is also unmistakable that this advertisement was attempting to draw on some nationalistic pride, using an Olympian who not only competed in the February 2010 Olympic Games, but was also the Canadian Olympic Team flag bearer.

Easy Preparation/Time Pressure

This sub-category of advertisements was made up of microwaveable dinners, instant coffees, soup mixes and instant potatoes. The value these products supposedly add is that they eliminate the need for a time or effort investment to prepare a meal or beverage. My favourite example is a Nescafe advertisement, featuring a child crying in her crib with the caption "she wants you, you want a great cup of coffee – you have one minute to do both, welcome to the real world" (see *Chatelaine*, September 2010: 35). There is no other advertisement that made such a pandering appeal to time pressure and its consequences for the express purpose of marketing a product.

Low Cost

Very few advertisements marketed a food product as affordable. I cannot guess why that might be the case. Perhaps some association exists between low cost and low quality in the marketing world. One of the few examples is Club House Beef Stew, which advertises "dinner for 4 for under $10" (see *Reader's Digest*, February 2010: 5). Even so, that was not the only message in the advertisement. "Not only are Club House® Recipe Mixes easy on the wallet, they're easy to make too". So it is even by a narrow 2:1 margin that low cost represented this advertisement better than easiness, as the marketing tool.

History

A long history has a number of positive associations attached to it. Substantial experience leads consumers to conclude there is mastery, and a long company history conjures images of dependability, reliability and safety. There is also a sense of nostalgia about craftsmen, who were performing their tasks before modern, industrial technologies. All of these associations are woven into the Hidden Valley Ranch Dressing advertisements in my magazine sample (see *Chatelaine*, June 2010: 256). Hidden Valley promotes its line as "the original Ranch dressing invented by the folks at Hidden Valley" (*ibid*: 256). There is an old metal sign pictured in this ad, hanging from wooden posts and overlooking a vast and splendid lettuce crop – the sign reads, "we invented ranch dressing and arguably tasty salads" (*ibid*: 256). The presumptuousness of claiming to be the catalyst for enjoyable salads is hard to swallow, but the method of this madness is clear. Hidden Valley desires a seat of primacy among salad dressings, based on their long history of producing ranch dressing.

Indulgence

Logically, few companies are going to want to market their product as an indulgence, since by definition an indulgence is something that is only enjoyed sparingly. Two separate examples employing the same tactic help to illustrate how food companies get around this issue, and promote their products as indulgences. Jell-O has a product line of dark chocolate mousse pudding that it markets as "sinfully delicious," (see *Chatelaine*, July 2011: 13), and encourages consumers to "go ahead, give in" (see *Canadian Living*, November 2010: 219), in two separate advertisements. One variation of the mousse pudding is even called 'chocolate indulgence

flavour'. The product is 'saved' from relegation to an unhealthy, guilty pleasure by its appeal to the low calorie count per pudding cup. Weight Watchers also markets their product as an indulgence (see *Canadian Living*, February 2011: 72), and more than Jell-O they omit the health redeeming calorie information. I can speculate that this is done out of confidence that the Weight Watchers brand has a traditional association with dieting products.

Gastronomy

A taste experience is central to the principles of the gastronomy sub-category; that, and the presentation of the product, in such a way that seems like a work of art as much as food. I mentioned in my results section that the number one user of this tactic was Kraft, and more specifically, Kraft Cool Whip. The Cool Whip adverts were always presented in the same fashion – a can of aerosol cool whip on a white background next to a bowl of fruit with the foamy white topping (see *Chatelaine*, October 2010: 69). The taste of the ordinary fruits or cakes was always alleged to receive some great elevation in flavour. This elevation was commonly expressed with a buzz word or onomatopoeia, such as "from melons to Mmmm" (*ibid*: 69). The caption at the bottom of every Cool Whip advertisement was always the same – "it changes everything" (*ibid*: 69).

Nestlé chocolates were great purveyors of the language of gastronomy. Nestlé made claims such as, "you've never experienced milk chocolate like this", and "it's not just the creamy, rich taste, everything about Nestlé Noir Superieur is exceptional" (see *Chatelaine*, September 2010: 14). Consumers are even told that the shape of the chocolate enhances their experience – "its sensual curved shape to its ridges designed for superior in-mouth melting – this milk chocolate is in a class of its own – you don't just eat this chocolate, you experience it" (*ibid*: 14).

"Whether you seek light body or full-flavoured intensity, fruity notes or woodsy undertones, Van Houtte has a coffee brew that suits you" (*Chatelaine*, June 2011: 180). The Van Houtte brand attempts to use flavour profiles to lure in consumers who seek "a cornucopia of savoury blends for every taste" (*ibid*: 181). The taste experience is the key to marketing the product.

Party, Celebration & Special Occasion

Much like 'indulgence', this marketing tactic carries the limitation that it restricts the product to enjoyment at specific times, rather than everyday consumption. The only products to use this tactic exclusively were brands of wine. Yellow Tail Shiraz featured their wine with the caption, "to dinner parties that are more party than dinner" (see *Chatelaine*, December 2010: 210). Freixenet claims that, "every bottle awakens to the melody of a celebration" (see *Chatelaine*, September 2011: 8). Outside of wines, Christie Triscuits frequently showcased this tactic. In the October 2011 *Canadian Living* issue, Christie Triscuits had an advertisement that showed a smiling hostess, serving a tray of carefully decorated biscuits (p: 160). The caption reads, "Triscuit balsamic and basil is my new favourite. Topped with bocconcini, basil and cherry tomatoes. Poured a Pinot Noir. Tuesday get-together. Italian-style" (*ibid*: 160). Christie brand seems to be attempting to forge a connection between special occasions and their finger foods.

Healthy Food

Advertisers of a great range of products are eager to promote their foods as healthy. 'Health', in the advertising world, often consists of information about how little harm food is doing to us (low calorie, low sugar, low sodium), or about select vitamins in isolation. Some food products, because of their stigma as health foods, promote the health component more forcefully. Certain Silk soy advertisements not only promote "all the healthful benefits of soy - protein", but also go into greater depth stating, "soy protein-based foods promote heart health and strong bones and may alleviate symptoms of menopause and reduce the risk of certain cancers" (*Reader's Digest*, April 2010: 152).

California Almonds is another example of a brand that markets its product as nutritious, and also something more helpful beyond that. The almonds are first described as "a handful of your heart's desire", a "snack that loves you back" (*Chatelaine*, August 2010: 157). The advertisement continues on, however, to state that "fibre-filled, nutrient-rich California Almonds" can also "help you maintain healthy cholesterol levels" (*ibid*: 157). It seems that producers of 'naturally healthful foods' like almonds, or soy beverages, feel a need to provide extra descriptors of how the product can actively improve health. These extra health messages seem to follow weak language markers like "may alleviate", and "helps maintain". For my

purposes, I would prefer a function-based argument explaining how soy reduces cancer risk, or what almonds do for my body to reduce cholesterol. Perhaps advertisers felt that such information would be too technical for the average consumer, or worse, the claims may be unsubstantiated, or based on limited and inconclusive evidence.

Instead of promoting what sort of healthful benefit can be expected from consumption, 100% Canadian Milk advertisements frequently displayed the consequences of neglecting milk products in one's diet. Milk advertisements commonly featured a two-page picture spread, featuring people in either a lobby, or a park, these people were mostly deflated with the exception of those partaking of some sort of milk product (see *Canadian Living*, May 2010: 4). The implication is that people neglecting dairy are deprived of bones, or bone density, to hold up their frames. The advertisement is an interesting reversal of the health subcategory, wherein unhealthy outcomes of a diet lacking in the specified product are the principle focus.

Nutritionism

Nutritionism, as a practice, seems somewhat like adding a 'magic' or 'secret ingredient' to a product, to greatly boost its nutritional quality. I encountered many different 'secret ingredients'. Prebiotic fibres, polyphenols, protei-fibres, wellmune and inulin, plant sterols and wheat bran fibre were all touted as key proactive solutions to a healthful diet.

The largest promoter of plant sterols seemed to be Becel, with their 'pro-activ' line of margarines (see *Canadian Living*, February 2011: 56). Becel often included a 'health facts' article within the advertisement, or as part of a two-page spread, which provided the rundown on how plant sterols 'actively' reduce cholesterol.

Leclerc Praeventia cookies incorporate a variety of special ingredients. They contain "polyphenols (antioxidants), inulin (a prebiotic dietary fibre) that promotes digestive health or *B*-glucans (Wellmune WGP) that activate key immune cells" (see *Chatelaine*, March 2011: 6).

The Immuniforce product line of Oasis juices are made with "Wellmune WGP®, a natural ingredient clinically proven to activate your body's key immune cells…so help keep your family's immune system strong the tasty way" (see *Chatelaine*, October 2010: 114).

All of these examples rely on a belief system, where any nutritive part can be artificially infused into a food, to create a healthier sum of parts on the whole. The validity of this belief

cannot be known through this study, but the prevalence of nutritionism in industrial products is demonstrable and countable, and was the focus of this sub-section.

5.2.3 Co-optation

More than anything else the advertisements that I classified as co-optation were the ones that assimilated ideas such as authenticity, naturalness, organic food, realness, simplicity, and any kind of artisanal suggestion. Whenever these terms are incorporated into advertisements, with dubious sincerity, the terms run the risk of having their value diluted. Realness, simplicity and especially artisanry should not be disassociated from farmers and traditional food craftsman. While it is encouraging that certain large, industrial producers are claiming to have an interest in simpler foods with fewer chemical compounds, their main mode of production does not convey the essence of these ethical food terms.

To a somewhat cynical mind, the use of these terms often comes off as an unintentional mockery of the product itself. Campbells chicken broth "made with 100% chicken meat for a rich, authentic chicken flavour" is a good example (see *Reader's Digest*, January 2010: 107). By overstressing that actual 'chicken meat' was used, the consumer may easily question if this was always the case, or even the quality of the 'chicken meat' in question.

Red River Cereal alleges that their product contains ingredients that are "100% natural with no additives" (*Reader's Digest*, February 2010: 14). Their name and marketing also implies that their operations are exclusively based in Canada. Red River is a case where I hold some hope that the claims may be valid. The ingredient list is short, and contains only whole items instead of chemically-derived components. Still, I can recall some controversy involving this product and undisclosed soybean content that may raise ethical concerns (The Canadian Press, 2011, September 25).

The most frequent hijacker of the real food trend by far, is the Hellmann's Mayonnaise brand. "You want to make sure the food your family eats is real, so do we" (*Chatelaine*, October 2010: 243). Empathetic slogans, like the preceding quote, are designed to manifest a sense that a revolutionary epiphany is unfolding, and Hellmann's is leading the way. "If we knew what was in our food, would we eat better?" (*Reader's Digest*, October 2011: 124). This question has traditionally been posed to industrial food producers, to demonize the factory process, and

glorify small farm operations. Small cracks and fissures appear in Hellmann's argument, where they convey to the consumer that, "our mayonnaise *starts with* real, simple ingredients like eggs, oil and vinegar" (italics added) (*ibid*: 124). The phrasing, 'starts with', leads to curiosity about where the ingredient list might end. In addition to eggs, canola oil and vinegar, the ingredient list includes water, salt, liquid yolk, sugar, spices, concentrated lemon juice and calcium disodium EDTA. Such a lengthy list, including a preservative designed to prevent decolouration (EDTA), does not sound as compellingly simple as "eggs, oil and vinegar".

McCain is another brand who strongly took to 'simple food' messages. Like Hellmann's, McCain advertisements use evocative questions like, "shouldn't food be the only ingredient in food?" (*Chatelaine*, March 2010: 39). That's why McCain is, "on a journey to make food with ingredients like you would use if you were making it yourself from scratch…no unfamiliar ingredients like sodium stearoyl lactylate or polysorbate 60" (*ibid*: 39). The background picture for this advertisement is of a plaid-shirt wearing farmer, holding a basket with vegetables and cheese. McCain also released a series of ads holding their products in comparison to 'inferior renditions'. A McCain International Thin Crust Pizza advert reads, "take a closer look and you'll find things like sodium nitrite, artificial colours and artificial flavours. Not McCain pizzas. What you see is what you get. Canadian mozzarella cheese, peppers, onions, mushrooms, and pepperoni made with natural ingredients. Nothing artificial or simulated. So you could say we left a few things out" (see *Chatelaine*, February 2011: 175). These claims are part of an ongoing "it's all good™" food commitment that McCain started in January of 2010.

Other major purveyors of co-opted ethical food messages include Sun Rype juices, Nutella, So Nice soy beverages, Dare Real Fruit gummies, and Nestle Real Dairy ice cream products. As a burgeoning emphasis on 'real foods' seems to be emerging, it is important that consumers begin asking informed questions. Who is regulating the key terms of real food? Where exactly do the 'real food' ingredients come from, and what sort of farmer produced them? How greatly are the nutritive qualities of the 'real foods' diluted by the processing procedures that create a finished industrial product? Is simple (in an industrial sense) always good for us, or do certain chemical additions help protect us from harmful compounds found in the 'real foods'? It is not wrong to feel encouraged that companies are taking notice of a consumer demand for 'real foods', however, it is also right to demand a higher standard of informational exposition,

preferably from accredited third parties, and company transparency if these claims are to be taken seriously.

Chapter 6

6. Conclusion

There is a significant disproportion between ethical food content and content that represents distinction. On the surface, this finding is not a cause for concern, especially since there is overlap between certain aspects of distinction and ethical food initiatives. The nature of the categories of ethical consumption being neglected, and that of the distinction categories receiving attention, however, is disconcerting. Social-ethical and environmental categories of food consumption are the ones that appear most undervalued. Environmentally hazardous practices perpetuated by a grossly inefficient and wasteful industrial food system, are largely given a pass in mainstream magazine media. Progressive agricultural practices, like polycultural farming, receive scant or no attention at all. The interconnection between certain aspects of distinction (such as regional identity) and ethical food consumption is not deep or extensive enough to redeem the overall disregard for the environment and socially responsible consumption. The brevity of ethical food information in popular magazines represents a failure by publishers to help common consumers reach a more critical awareness of their food system, which could motivate them to demand change.

Local food consumption and personal health through diet and nutrition are the only two aspects of ethical food consumption that received more than fleeting attention. Between those two facets, personal health received three times the exposure that local food did. The personal health category is made up primarily of nutritional information (322 pages) and information to help sufferers of specific health conditions, such as celiac disease or diabetes (108 pages).This disproportion seems to be representative of a highly individualized outlook on food consumption. Concern for one's own health, and perhaps, by extension, the health of one's immediate household, completely eclipses much more political concerns like environmental destruction (18 pages), universal access to nutritious food (14 pages; although only loosely represented by the food charity aspect), sympathetic and humanistic treatment of animals (13 pages), and fair trade with farm economies abroad (5 pages). Fewer than twenty pages devoted to any one of these important social issues is unacceptable in a seventy-two magazine sample (with over 4000 pages devoted to aspects of food consumption).

Individualistic sentiment also exudes from content that could have contained a strong social component. Eating in season is privileged for taste reasons. Mindfulness is seen as a tool for setting personal diet goals and health improvement, but not as a means to greater social awareness and activism. Personal gardens are treated in a strict 'how to' fashion with no discussion of social significance. The recurrent series in *Canadian Living*, "A Taste of [province]", makes up a substantial portion of the local food purchasing aspect of social responsibility. The articles within "A Taste of [province]", however, juggle ethical discourse with food tourism and personal indulgence.

Ironically, the popular magazines' concern for the social aspects of eating receives greater representation in the form of conspicuous consumption. Using local food purchasing as a basis for comparison, there is an evident privileging of culinary distinction over social responsibility. Parties and special occasions have nearly twice the representation in page content that local food purchasing does. Similarly, parties are the dominant page content twice as frequently as progressive farm practices (organic and polycultural methods), the environment, and animal rights concerns combined. 'Special meal occasions' are being treated as more of an everyday concern than the farms that provide for us, the treatment of livestock animals, and the generalized natural environment that sustains life. It is also important to bear in mind that the expressed purpose of these parties, festivities or special occasions was almost always to "impress guests" and win adulation. Additionally, gastronomically effective food and drink pairings, which could be considered a single component of effective entertaining, are proportionately comparable to local food content (79 pages compared to 110).

This may simply be the niche that popular lifestyle magazines are designed to fulfill. Perhaps they are purposefully created for a target population of self-interested health-food tourists, whose strongest social inclination is effective entertaining. Using the class-identity categories, there are even more unflattering 'truths' that popular magazines tell us about their target audience. Unlike the traditional gastronomes of old, the magazine-gastronome is unwilling to commit substantial amounts of time or effort to preparing 'gourmet cuisine'. Meal preparation times are suggestive of extreme time poverty, while section and recipe titles are demonstrative of a consistent demand for quick, easy, meals in minutes. As sociologists we have to ask why there is an implicit assumption that consumers require exceptionally fast and easy meal solutions. Why does speed have a greater emphasis placed on it than healthfulness? The provision of fast recipes

could either be construed as sympathetic to consumers dealing with time poverty, or as an affirmation that fast meals are normative and acceptable.

Marketing was the backbone of every magazine issue I dealt with. Given different classificatory criteria, even personal health could have been considered a form of 'lifestyle marketing'. My criteria were far more specific, but that did not prevent the aspects of marketing (drawn from principles of conspicuous consumption) from dominating this study. Food stylizations, which serve to entice consumers to create conspicuously beautiful meals, have roughly five times the number of pages devoted to them that local food purchasing does. This may not be such a damning finding given that magazines are a highly visual medium, but one should consider that other evocative visuals related to food production could have been used.

Proportionately, only half of all food content is based on information that is not functioning to sell a brand name product. I can identify the significant aspects of ethical food consumption and distinction in turn, and I feel such information is necessary and valuable. In spite of how important that content seems to be, the publishers' most substantial page commitment was to providing a forum for selling brand name products to consumers. Industrial food brands, and the promises they make, receive more exposure than any other category (39% of total categorized pages). Kellogg's, the most advertised brand, has nearly as many pages allotted to it as my entire social responsibility category (127 pages compared to 156). Indirect advertising is the most common format, narrowly eclipsing 'healthy food' marketing (323 versus 308 pages). Indirect advertising illuminates the depth of interconnection between brand advertising and popular magazines. Product comparisons, gift/wish lists, and product award features, which make up 'indirect advertising', all show how magazine writers grant additional conspicuous exposure to products beyond that product's official advertisements. Gastronomic traits, like deliciousness, or elegant presentation of packaged foods, appear with the fourth highest prevalence (227 pages). For ethical food proponents, however, the most concerning attribute of recent adverts ought to be the trending use, and possible abuse, of key terms such as 'real food', 'simple food', and 'food artisanry'. The unchecked usage of co-opted messages actually exceeds the frequency of 'authentic information' about progressive food initiatives; based on totals for categories 1 and 3 (243 co-opting ad pages compared to 227 'ethical food' pages: 156 from the social responsibility category, 71 from the environmentalism and animal rights category).

It is possible that the attention major brands are giving to 'real food' is aiding consumer awareness of ethical food consumption, or it may even be representative of an existing public demand for cleaner, more wholesome foods. The question remains, whether consumers want to have this demand met by large, industrial producers. After all, it is the irresponsible, rapacious industrialists, with their factory-food methods, that inspired food activists to promote more localized, alternative food sources.

There is an important element of this study that is not adequately captured by comparisons of page counts. The numbers I have presented derive their strength from their size by aggregation and the relative objectivity based on the fact that I obeyed the rules of classificatory criteria that I outlined within the methods section. Numbers are easy to draw conclusions from, but it cannot be forgotten that they do not predict an individual reader's experience with any given magazine. The potential for exposure is the most honest denotation of what I have measured. A given reader may skip substantial portions of a magazine and direct their attention only to articles about local food, guest entertaining, or even those scant examples of environmental concern.

As a consumer of magazine content in this study, my perspective is somewhat askew. I forced myself to experience and analyze every food-based part of every magazine, which is not representative of a typical reader. Additionally, I have a positive bias toward ethical food consumption that colours my interpretative lens. These limitations are a necessary preface before I state that as a reader I felt more engaged with the limited content on ethical food than I did with the content related to distinction. This further illustrates that conclusions about a reader's experience cannot be derived from my study. My study only illustrates a set of categories that describe what magazine publishers are projecting about food consumption.

It could be argued that the depth and story-like nature of articles, which is the format in which most ethical food information is found, should afford them a greater weight than I did with my counting system of equal page units. The criticism is fair on one level, but I feel it strays too close to speculation about how a reader will experience a publication. Mainstream magazine media cannot be redeemed by speculation regarding the depth of engagement predicted for the ethical food content contained on a given page. Based on the sparse and sporadic inclusion of ethical food articles there is an equal probably that an 'in-depth article' will be missed entirely. There are also limitations in the ethical food stories themselves that I noted in my specific

content analysis (analysis and interpretation section). They are typically depoliticized, occasionally romanticized, and frequently touristy.

If one were to consider the competing interests of ethical food against standard industrial food as the central symbolic conflict then the issue becomes much more polarized. There is no sustained effort to compel consumers to modify their daily routines, and advice that does coalesce with lifestyle modification is undermined by counterexamples embracing industrial products and fast-paced meal preparation. Commercial food products are made to appear legitimate and commonplace in everyday life. Alternatively, anti-industrial food pursuits are portrayed as exotic, extraneous to daily life and perhaps just a pursuit for overachieving do-gooders.

Bourdieu relayed Marxist sentiments in his discussion of symbolic conflict when he noted that the legitimation of established order and power structures comes through the reproduction and reinforcement of distinctions (Bourdieu, 1991, 167). There is a distinct possibility that magazine publishers function (perhaps unwittingly) as agents who institutionalize a particularly commercialized vision of the social world. Good taste is much more frequently defined as something ostentatious than anything revolutionary. The destructions and violence inherent in our food system are unrecognizable behind the façade of functioning consumer capitalism. Magazines are part of a recurring system of ideological production that breeds apathy, or at least misguided ambition, within the dominated class. Perhaps the single most important misguiding effect within the magazine sample would be the repeated stressing that health and taste are individual instead of social concerns.

Private food consumption is not absent of social ramifications and as such should not be treated exclusively as an individualized topic. For consumers to consent to any food system, mass production or raw foods direct-from-farmers, they ought to be afforded a full disclosure of the nutritional and social impacts their choice will have. Lifestyle magazines are an accessible medium that could consistently convey this sort of information. I cannot conclude that that is the function of three of the most widely circulated magazines in Canada. Ethical food information in *Reader's Digest*, *Chatelaine* and *Canadian Living* is infrequently provided, frequently diluted, politically acquiescent and ultimately inadequate. Their central concern appears to be the marketing of major brands, and provision of a guide for conspicuous consumers.

Pages dealing with conspicuous consumption in magazines take little or no measure of inequalities in the consumption field. Budgetary concerns, represented as 'low cost' in this study, received the least attention of any distinction category. This is particularly problematic in light of the implicit demands for consumptive emulation. Veblen saw social comparisons to wealthier reference groups perpetually driving up decency standards where consumption is concerned. This type of 'consumption arms race' is reflected in popular magazine media where the hypothetical 'Joneses' to be competed against are extrapolated from dietician-approved meals, or the lofty examples set by featured Ms. Chatelaines. The standard of living depicted in magazines will inevitably be used as a basis for comparison by some readers. Focusing on beautiful food representations and culinary skill and knowledge (represented by the proper food pairings sections) only accentuates desirability of upward lifestyle mobility where meals are concerned. Veblen's work is not, however, perfectly representative of food-based magazine content. There is a continuous focus on fast and easy meal solutions, which is representative of lower class accommodation more than reaching towards aspiration.

The possibility exists that beyond swaying consumers to consume ethically or conspicuously there is a deeper and more systemic problem that can be identified within my magazine analysis. Habermas proposed that the lifeworld sphere, a grounds for communicative action through which common understandings can be built, is being colonized by rational-economics. His thesis suggests that moral discourse has increasingly been subordinated to highly rational systems (namely money and political power represented by votes). While I did not initially approach this project seeking clues for the encroachment of rationalization, the influence is undeniable. The predominance of advertisements, the mediation of available choices, and perhaps most tellingly the de-politicization of food discourse, all lead to an appreciation of the preeminent influence of money. Corporate food brands will be included in lifestyle magazines without disparagement so long as value-based discourse is subordinate to revenue generation as the necessary function for magazines.

There are definitely limits on the extent I can assume popular magazine readers are influenced by the content to which they are exposed. Information taken from magazines will be seen through the filter of personal experience and judged in accordance with a contextualizing disposition with plenty of room for agentic variation. There is no deterministic guarantee that the impressions gleaned from these magazine publications will fit the model of 'perfectly transparent

communication', or a full and straight decoding of the media message (Hall, 1980, 136). Despite conscientious effort to illustrate what the content dictates from an objective sense, it is not possible to know whether I decoded messages precisely as the authors intended me to receive them. For this project I desired a thorough scientific breakdown of food content within three specific magazines. Given that breakdown these publications can be evaluated in their own right, but on its own my study is incapable of illustrating what impressions real, agentic people take away from food content in magazines.

Overcoming this obstacle is the next logical step for further study. Directly interviewing consumers, both common and activist, would provide necessary comparative information. That is the only way to discover if the mainstream magazine archetype that I constructed is representative of a consumer's beliefs and values and whether those values at all resulted from interactions with magazine media. I should also note while discussing interpretive diversity that a lack of consensus is a serious limitation inherent in any independent analysis. In order to overcome this dilemma to a reasonable degree I performed three separate inter-rater tests for reliability in categorization. The results showed strong agreement between raters (averaged to 88 percent) (see Appendix O).

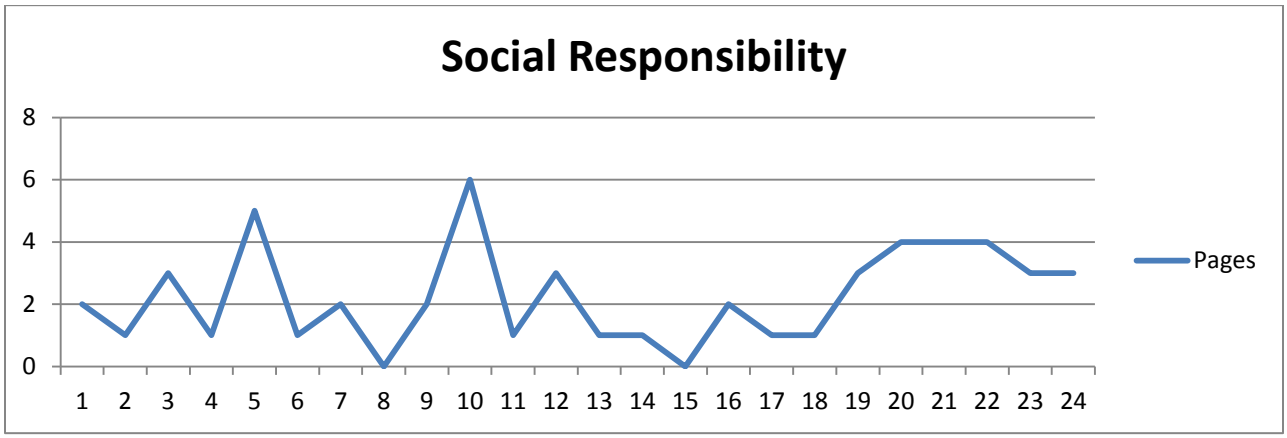
I feel that I have succeeded in reliably demonstrating what food information magazines publishers are promoting. I have also provided a valuable resource for subsequent studies that seek to explain a lack of social activism toward reforming our food system. Furthermore, since my findings provide information on the most recent state of major magazine publishers, the avenue of historical comparison is also open for the investigation of trends over time.

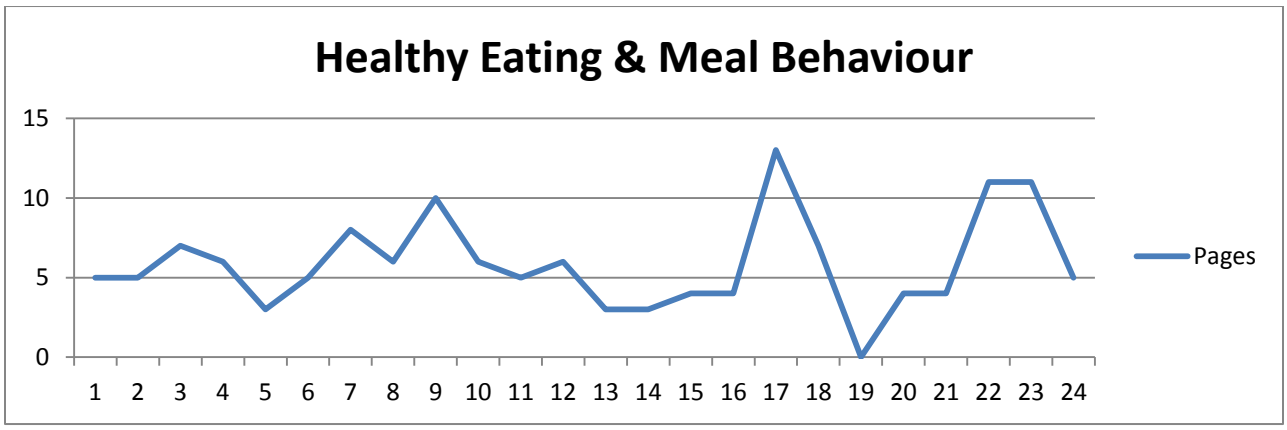
Given the available findings, I find it unlikely that the magazines in this sample would be a rallying ground for food activism. My reasoning is that the dilution or removal of the political elements of ethical food eliminates the reader's opportunity to address many of the 'why' questions they may have as a requisite to changing their personal consumptive behaviour. Popular lifestyle magazines represent a missed opportunity to promote awareness of the problems within the North American food system. They also publish evidence that elements of distinction, especially conspicuous consumption, rule their medium.

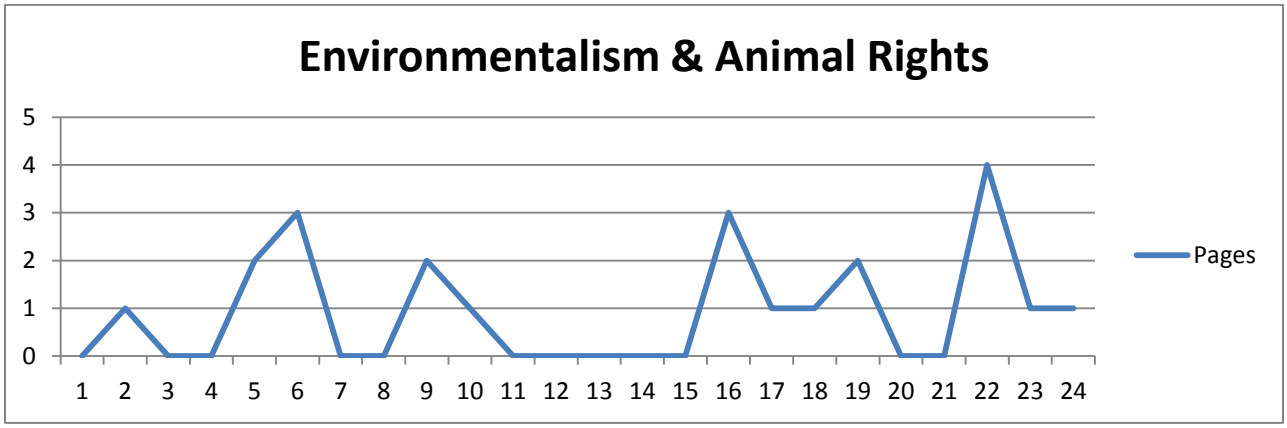
* * *

Appendix A

CANADIAN LIVING 24 MONTH 'PAGE THEME' TREND
for ETHICAL FOOD CONUMPTION



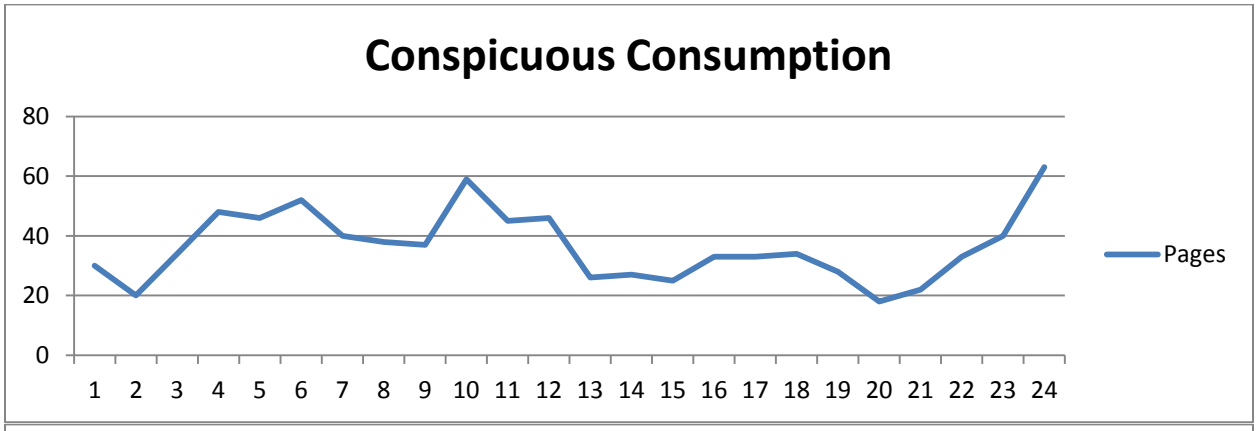


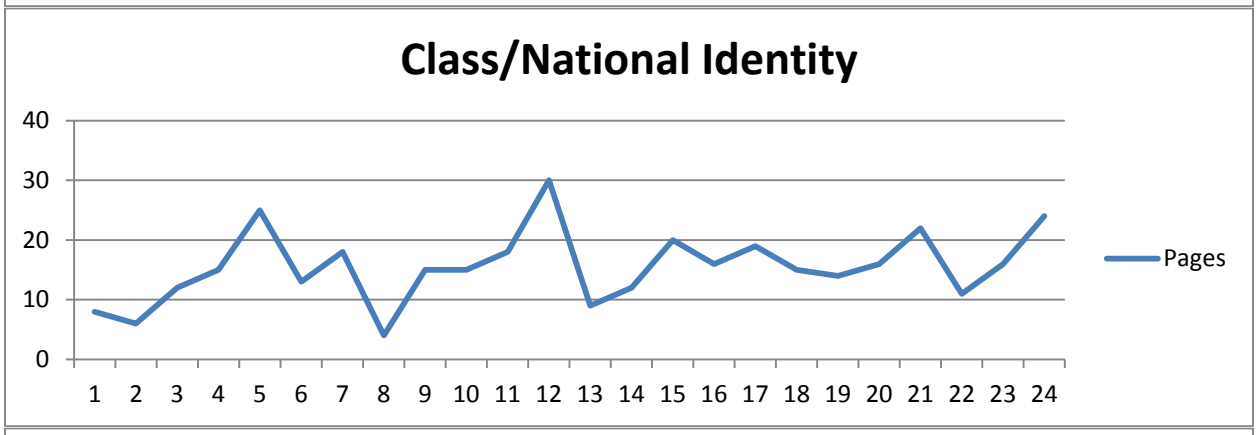


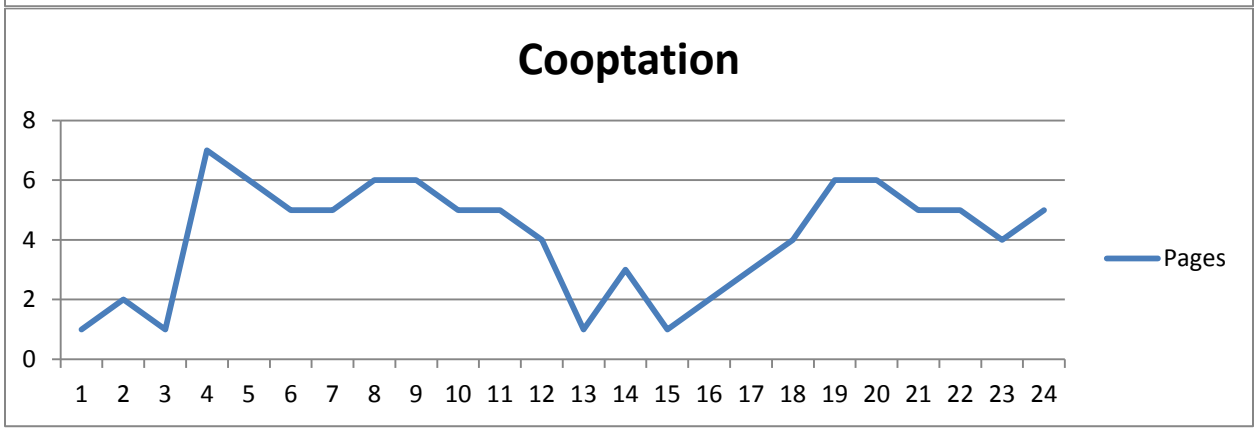
Category	Max pages / month	Min pages / month	Average pgs. / month
Soc. Resp.	May '10 (5 pages)	Aug '10 / Mar '11 (0 pages)	2.25
Health.	May '11 (13 pages)	Jul '11 (0 pages)	5.88
Enviro.	Oct '11 (4 pages)	12 months (0 pages)	0.91

Appendix B

CANADIAN LIVING 24 MONTH 'PAGE THEME' TREND
for DISTINCTION



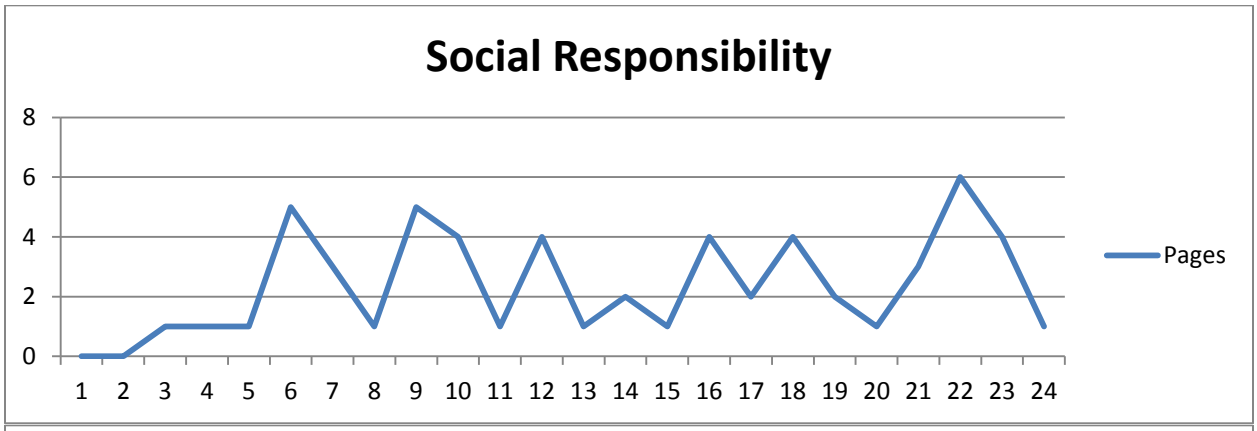


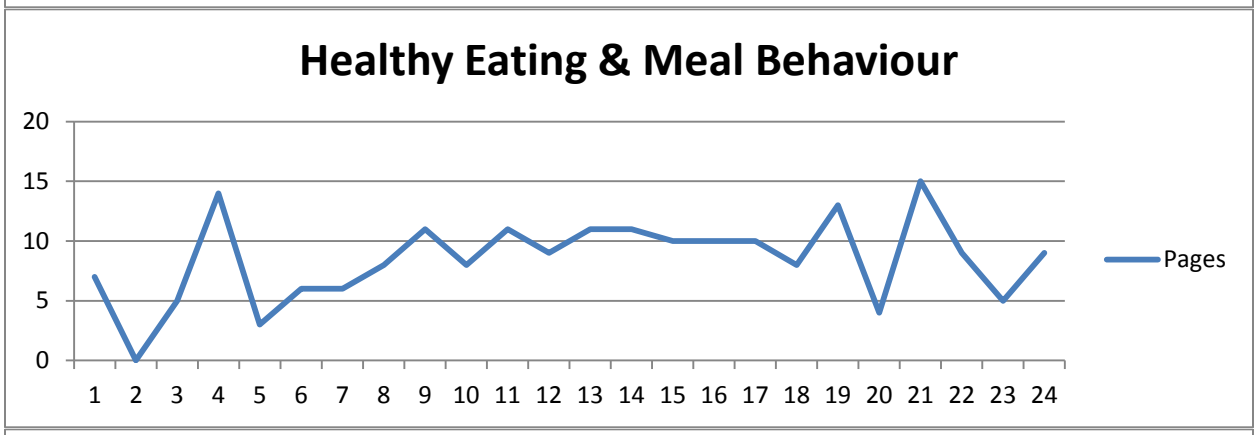


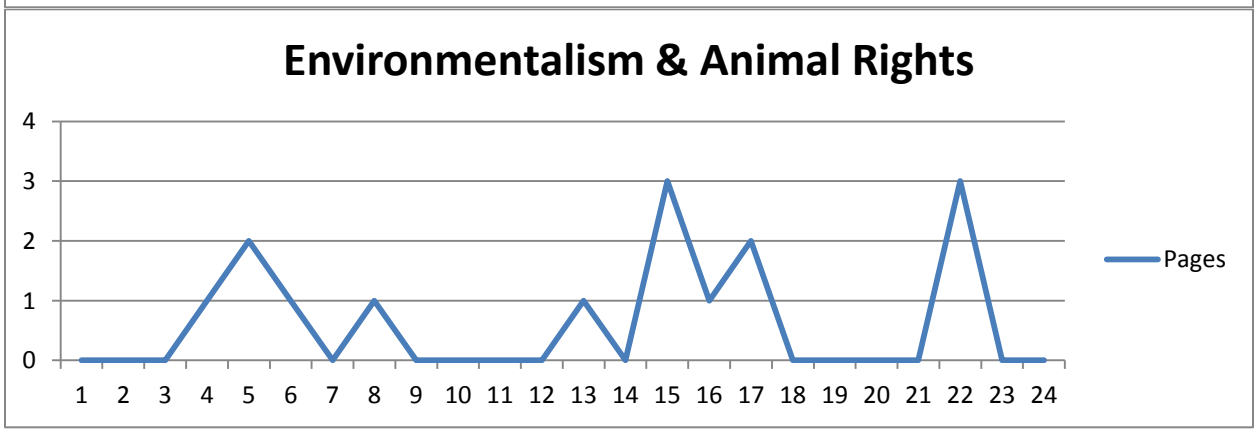
Category	Max pages / month	Min pages / month	Average pgs. / month
Conspicuous Cons.	Dec '11 (63 pages)	Aug '11 (18 pages)	36.54
Class Identity	Dec '10 (30 pages)	Sept '10 (4 pages)	15.54
Cooptation	Apr '10 (7 pages)	4 months (1 page)	4.08

Appendix C

CHATELAINE 24 MONTH 'PAGE THEME' TREND for ETHICAL FOOD CONUMPTION



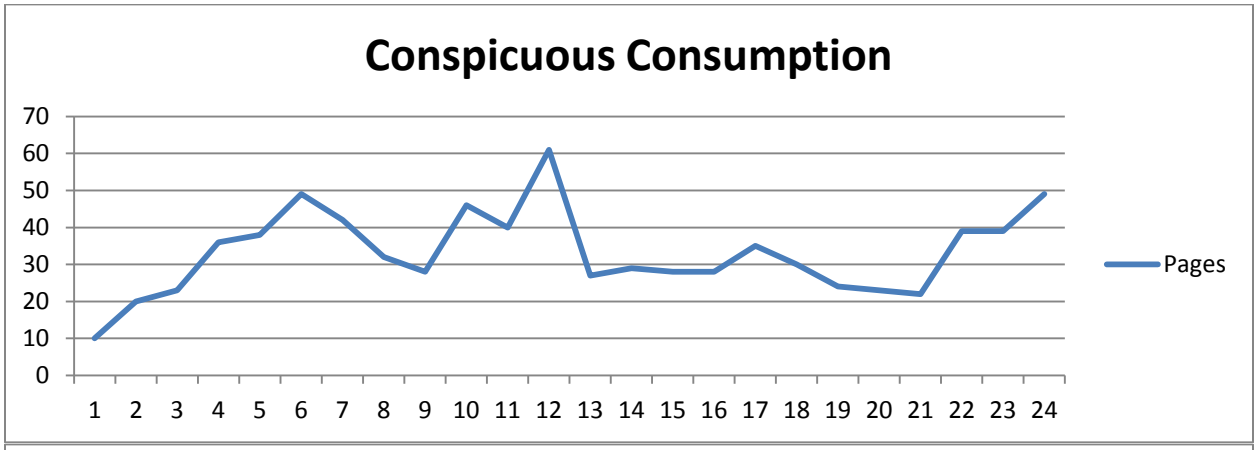


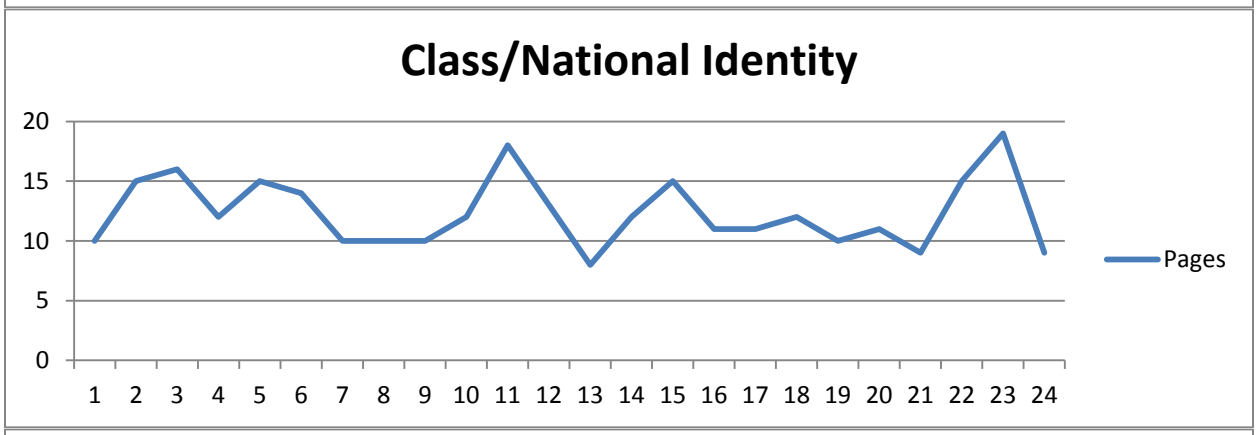


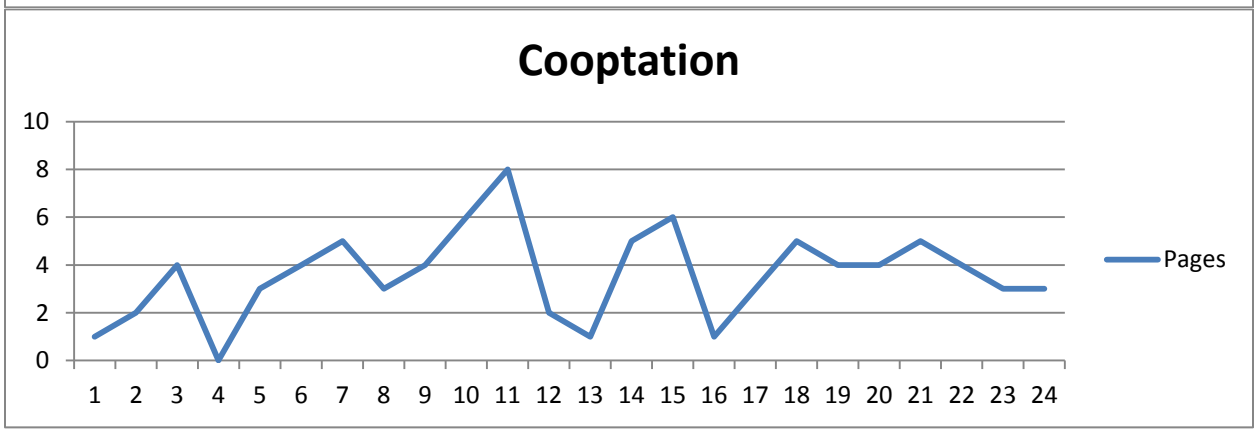
Category	Max pages / month	Min pages / month	Average pgs. / month
Soc. Resp.	Oct '11 (6 pages)	Jan '10 (0 pages)	2.38
Health.	Sept '11 (15 pages)	Feb '10 (0 pages)	8.46
Enviro.	Mar '11 (3 pages)	15 months (0 pages)	0.63

Appendix D

CHATELAINE 24 MONTH 'PAGE THEME' TREND for DISTINCTION



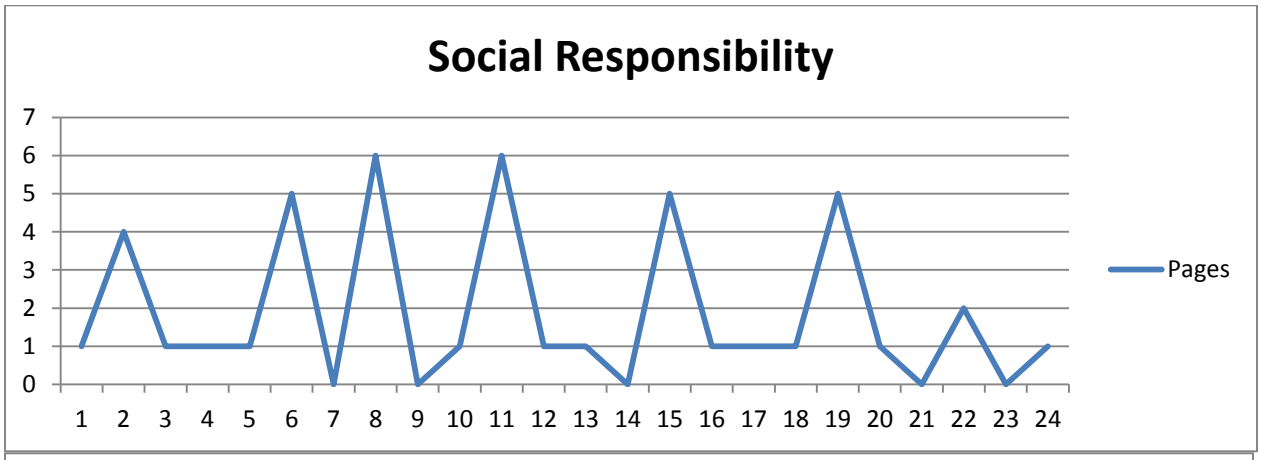


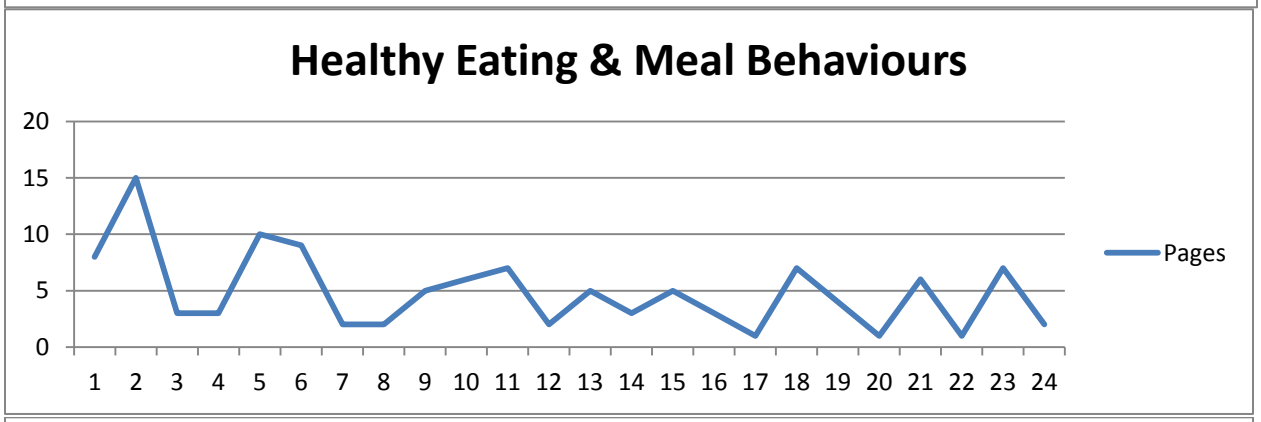


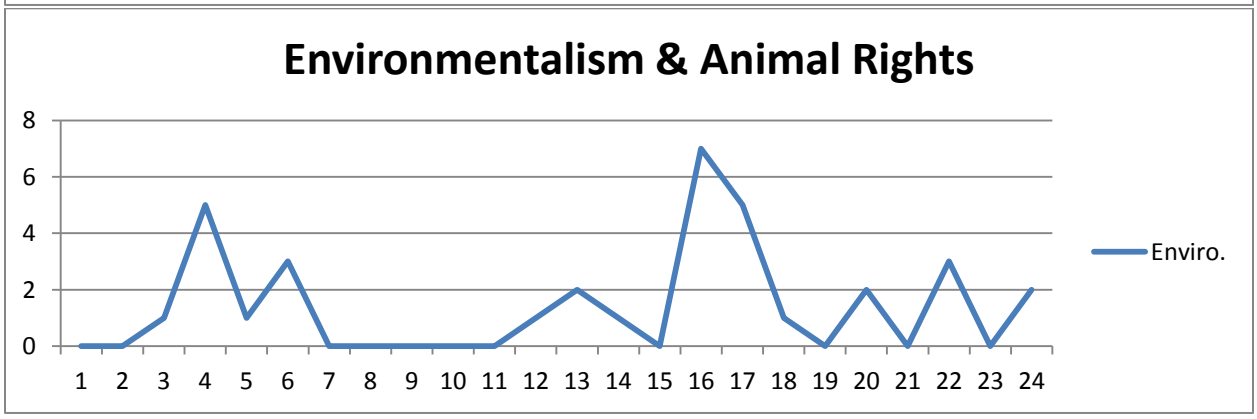
Category	Max pages / month	Min pages / month	Average pgs. / month
Conspicuous Cons.	Dec '10 (61 pages)	Jan '10 (10 pages)	33.25
Class Identity	Nov '11 (19 pages)	Jan '11 (8 pages)	12.38
Cooptation	Nov '10 (8 pages)	April '10 (0 page)	3.58

Appendix E

READER'S DIGEST 24 MONTH 'PAGE THEME' TREND
for ETHICAL FOOD CONSUMPTION



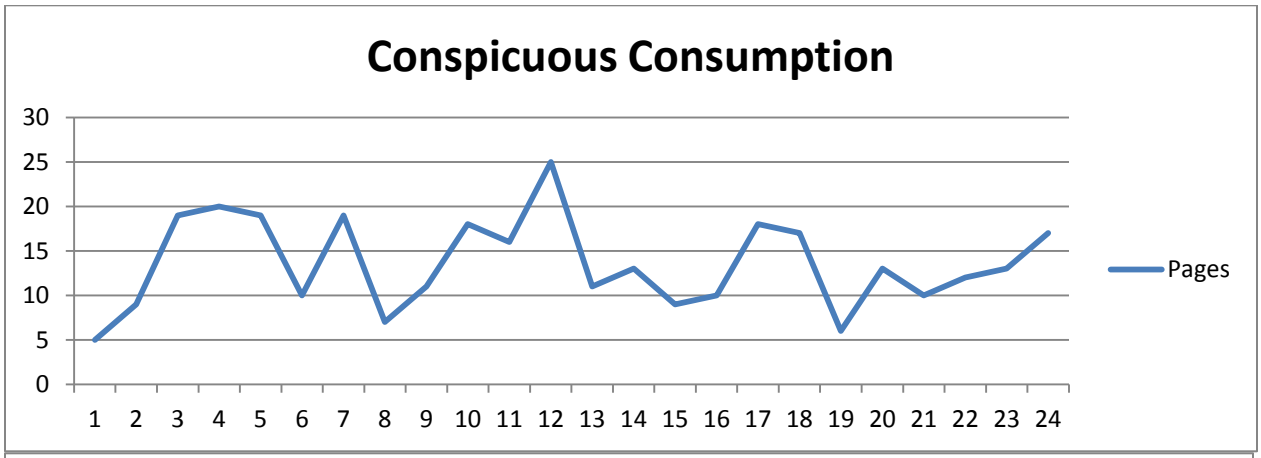


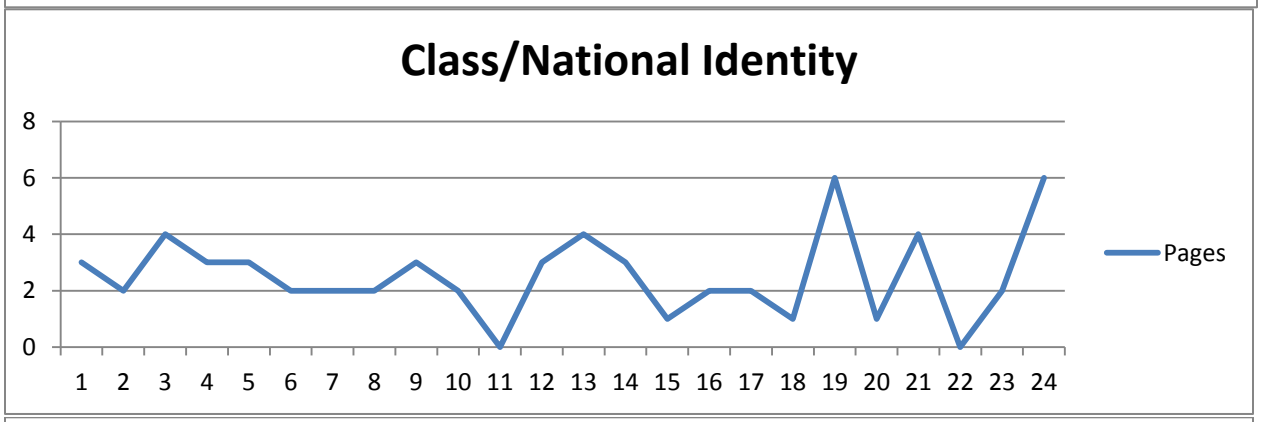


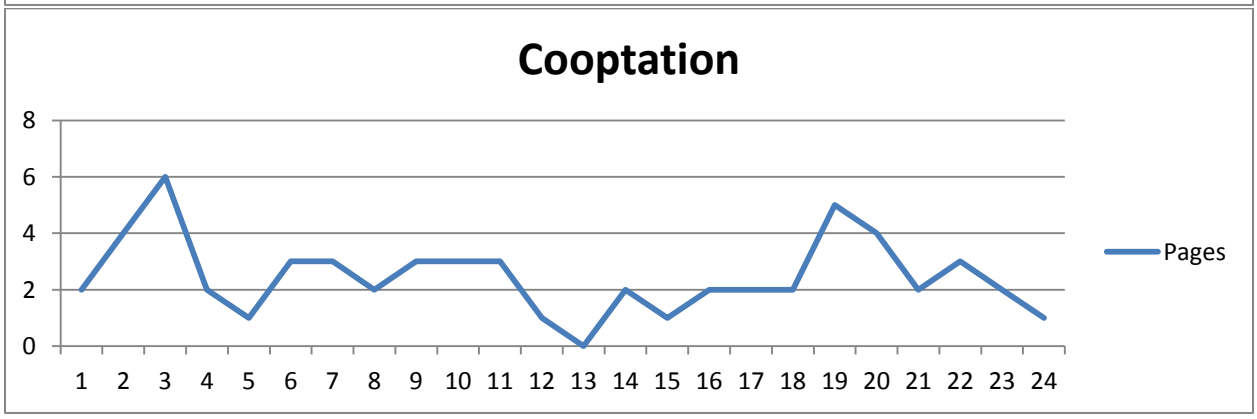
Category	Max pages / month	Min pages / month	Average pgs. / month
Soc. Resp	Aug '10, Nov '10 (6 p)	5 months (0 pages)	1.88
Health.	Feb '10 (15 pages)	3 months (1 page)	4.88
Enviro	April '11 (7 pages)	11 months (0 pages)	1.42

Appendix F

READER'S DIGEST 24 MONTH 'PAGE THEME' TREND
for DISTINCTION



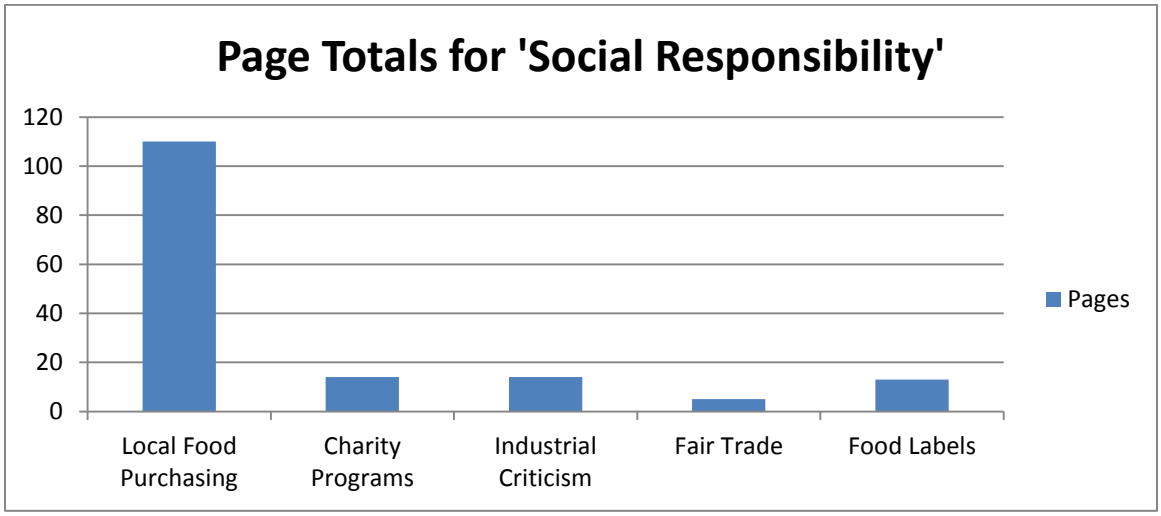


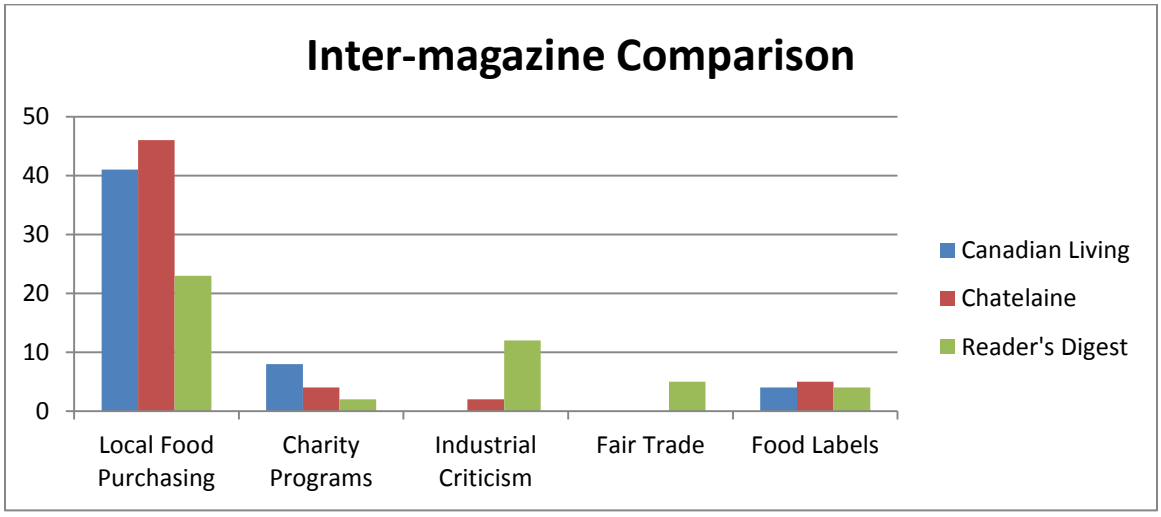


Category	Max pages / month	Min pages / month	Average pgs. / month
Conspicuous	Jan '11 (25 pages)	Jan '10 (5 pages)	13.63
Class Identity	Jul '11, Dec '11 (6 p)	Nov '10 (0 pages)	2.54
Cooptation	Mar '10 (6 pages)	Jan '11 (0 pages)	2.46

Appendix G

'PAGE THEME' PROPORTIONS for SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY CATEGORY w/ COMPARISON



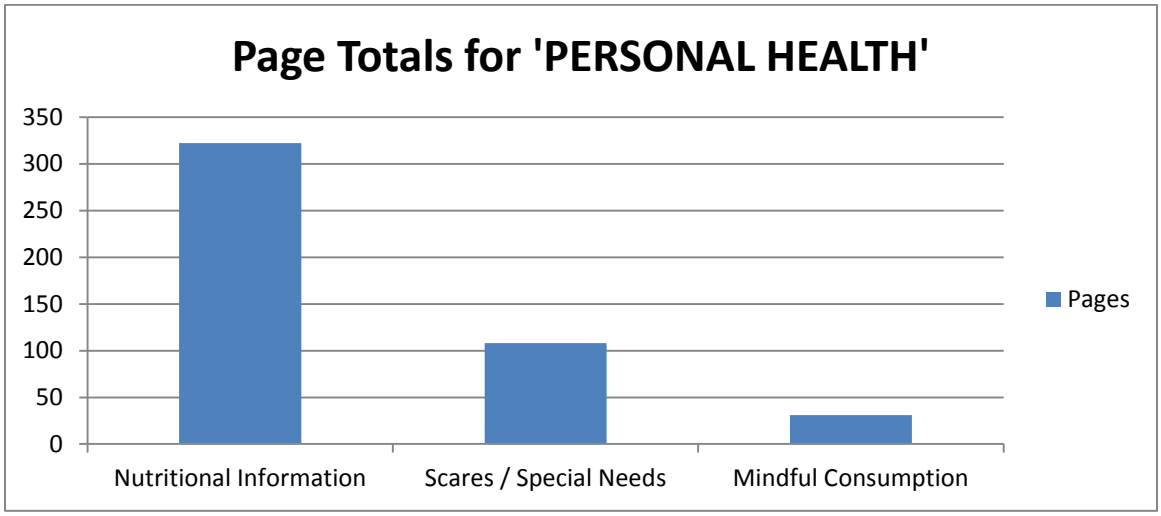


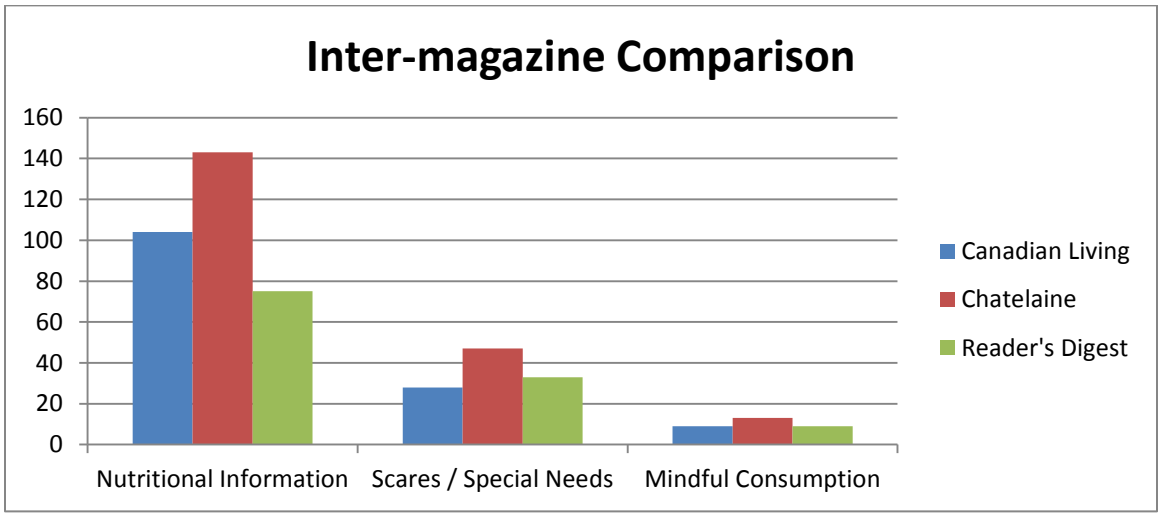
Aspect	Max Pages	Min Pages		Most Pages Avg.	
Local Food	Ch Oct '11 (6 pages)	RD	11 months (0 pg)	Ch	1.91 pg/month
Charity Programs	CL Dec '10, Ch Nov '11 (2 pg)	RD	22 months (0 pg)	CL	0.33 pg/month
Industrial Criticism	RD Nov '10 (4 pg)	CL	24 months (0 pg)	RD	0.5 pg/month
Fair Trade	RD Jul '11 (4 pg)	CL, Ch	24 months (0 pg)	RD	0.21 pg/month
Food Labelling	RD, Ch, CL (1pg)	RD, CL	20 months (0 pg)	CH	0.21 pg/month

Ch = Chatelaine
CL = Canadian Living
RD = Reader's Digest
pg = pages

Appendix H

'PAGE THEME' PROPORTIONS for PERSONAL HEALTH THROUGH FOOD CATEGORY w/ COMPARISON



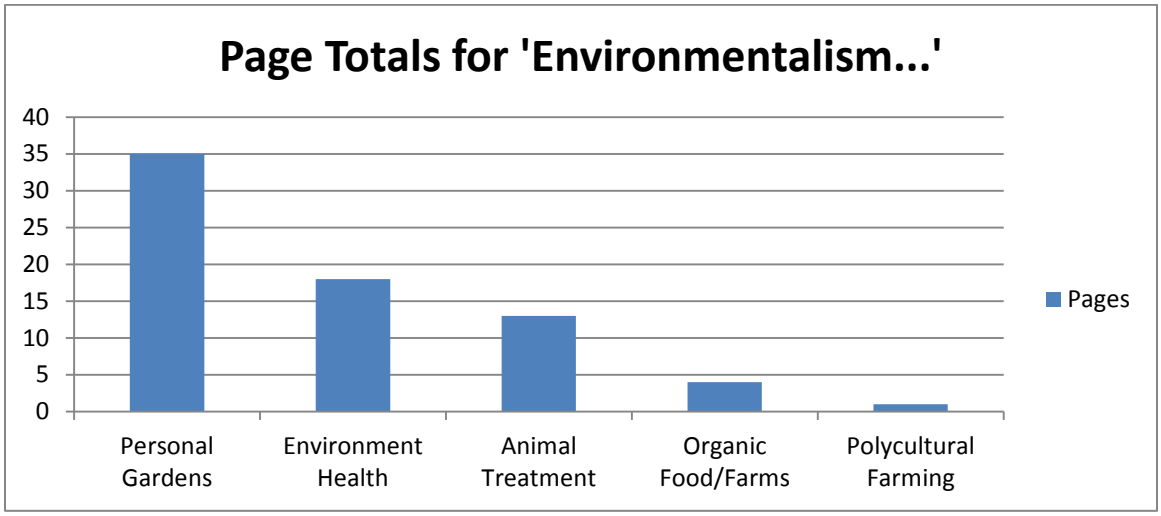


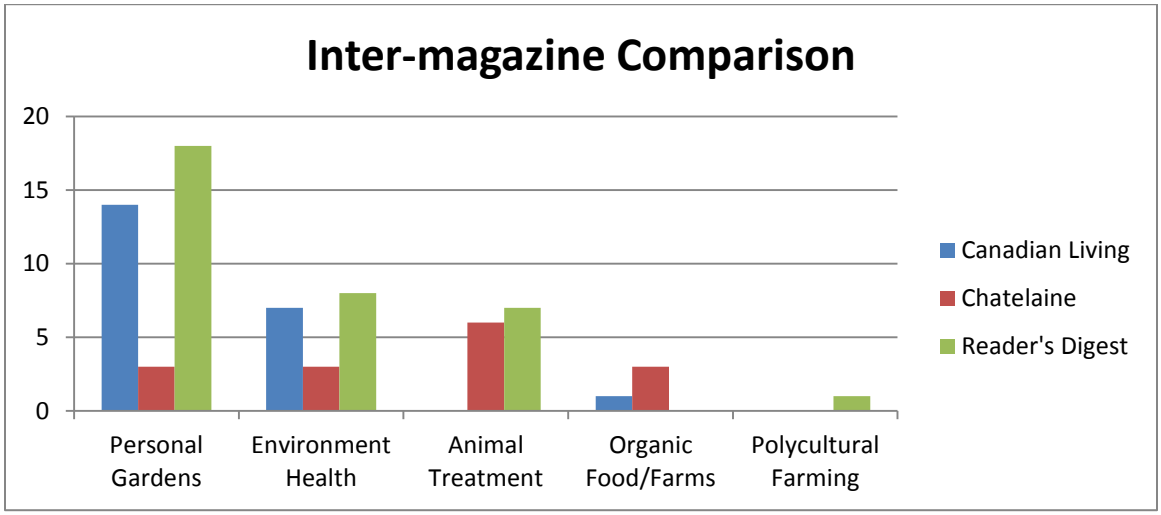
Aspect	Max Pages	Min Pages	Most Pages Avg.	
Nutrition Info	RD Feb '10 (13 pg)	RD Dec'10, May'11 (0 p)	Ch	5.96 pg/month
Scares/Special Need	Ch Sept '11 (11 pg)	CL 14 months (0 pg)	Ch	1.96 pg/month
Mindful Consumption	CL Jul '10 (5 pg)	CL 21 months (0 pg)	Ch	0.54 pg/month

Ch = Chatelaine
CL = Canadian Living
RD = Reader's Digest
pg = pages

Appendix I

'PAGE THEME' PROPORTIONS for
ENVIRONMENTALISM & ANIMAL RIGHTS CATEGORY
w/ COMPARISON



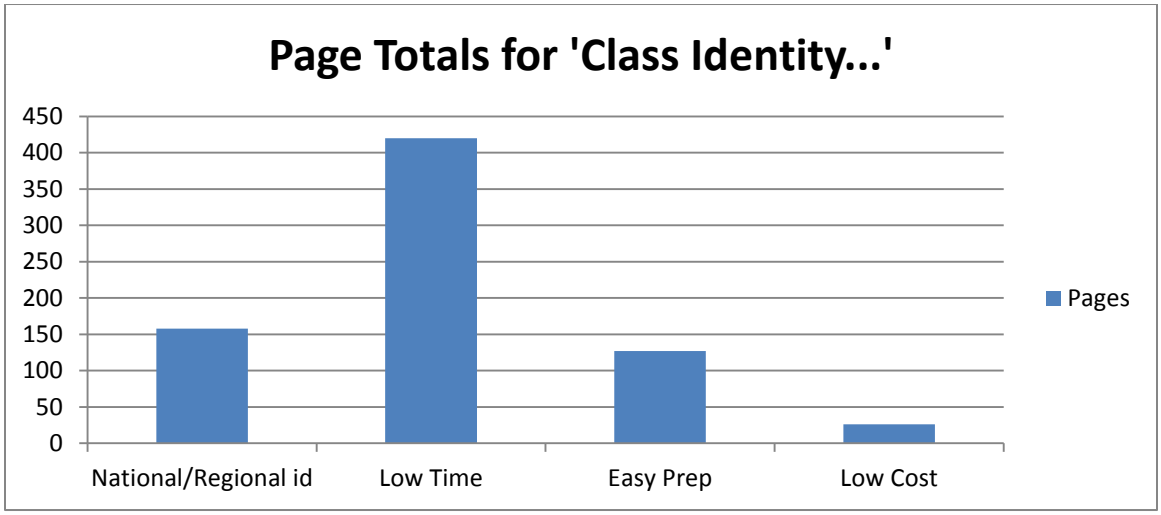


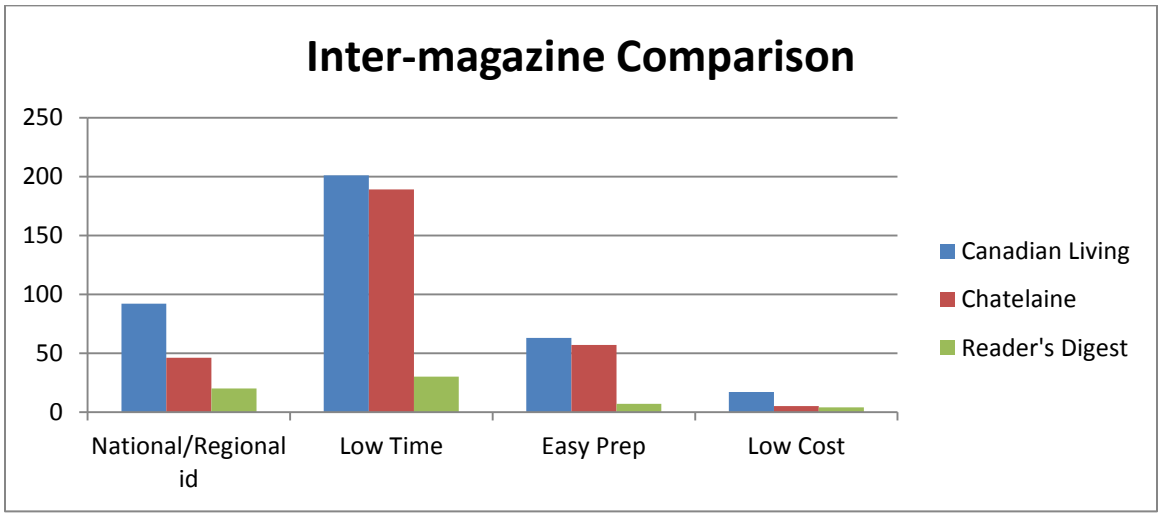
Aspect	Max Pages	Min Pages		Most Pages Avg.	
Personal Gardens	RD Apr '11 (6 pg)	Ch	22 months (0 pg)	RD	0.75 pg/month
Enviro. Health	RD Jun '10 (3 pg)	Ch	21 months (0 pg)	RD	0.33 pg/month
Animal Treatment	Ch Mar '11 (3 pg)	CL	24 months (0 pg)	RD	0.29 pg/month
Organic Food/Farms	Ch Jul'10, Jan'11, Sept'11, CL Apr '11 (1 pg)	RD	24 months (0 pg)	Ch	0.13 pg/month
Polycultural Farms	RD Apr '10 (1 pg)	CL, CH	24 months (0 pg)	RD	0.04 pg/month

Ch = Chatelaine
CL = Canadian Living
RD = Reader's Digest
pg = pages

Appendix J

'PAGE THEME' PROPORTIONS for CLASS & NATIONAL/REGIONAL IDENTITY CATEGORY w/ COMPARISON



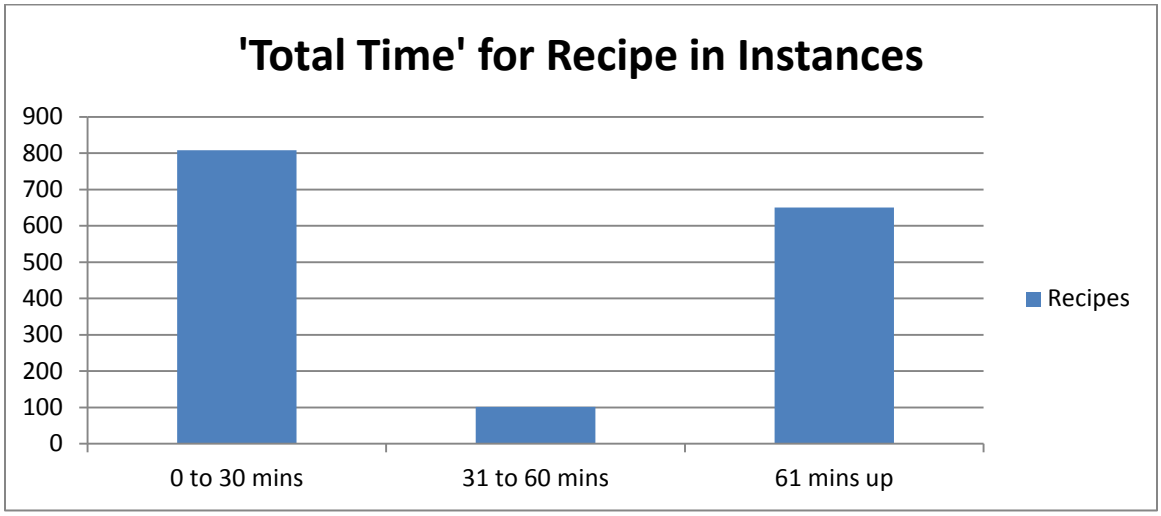


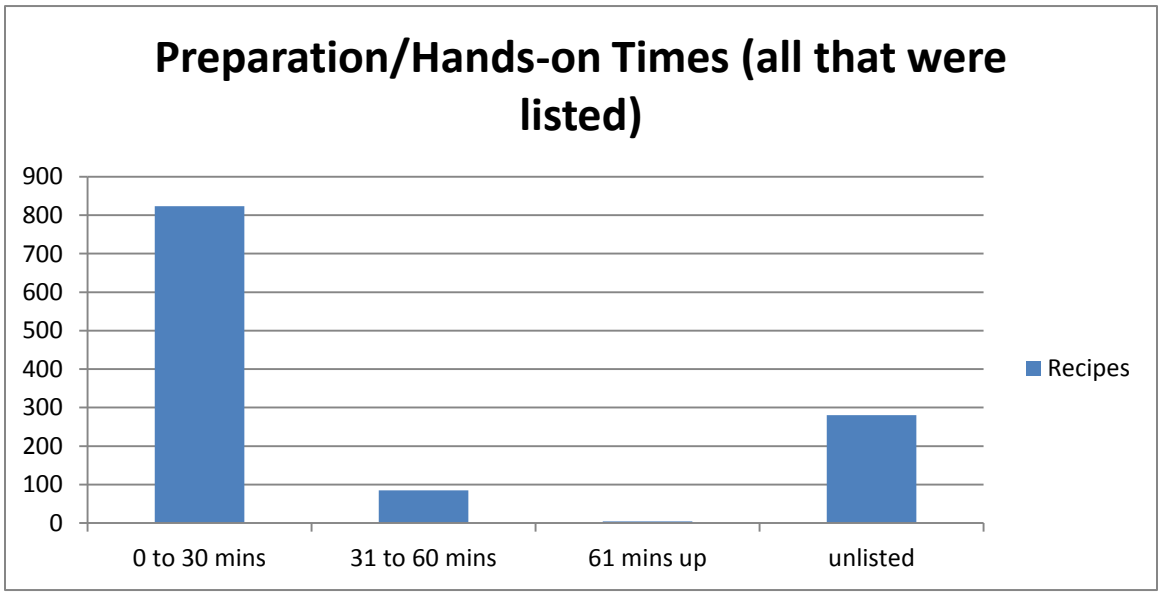
Aspect	Max Pages	Min Pages		Most Pages Avg.	
National/Regional id	CL Dec '10 (11 pg)	RD	14 months (0 pg)	CL	3.83 pg/month
Low Time	CL Sep '11 (14 pg)	RD	4 months (0 pg)	CL	8.38 pg/month
Easy Preparation	CL May '10 (7 pg)	RD	18 months (0 pg)	CL	2.63 pg/month
Low Cost	CL Dec '10 (6 pg)	RD	20 months (0 pg)	Ch	0.71 pg/month

Ch = Chatelaine
CL = Canadian Living
RD = Reader's Digest
pg = pages

Appendix K

RECIPE TIME COMPARISONS



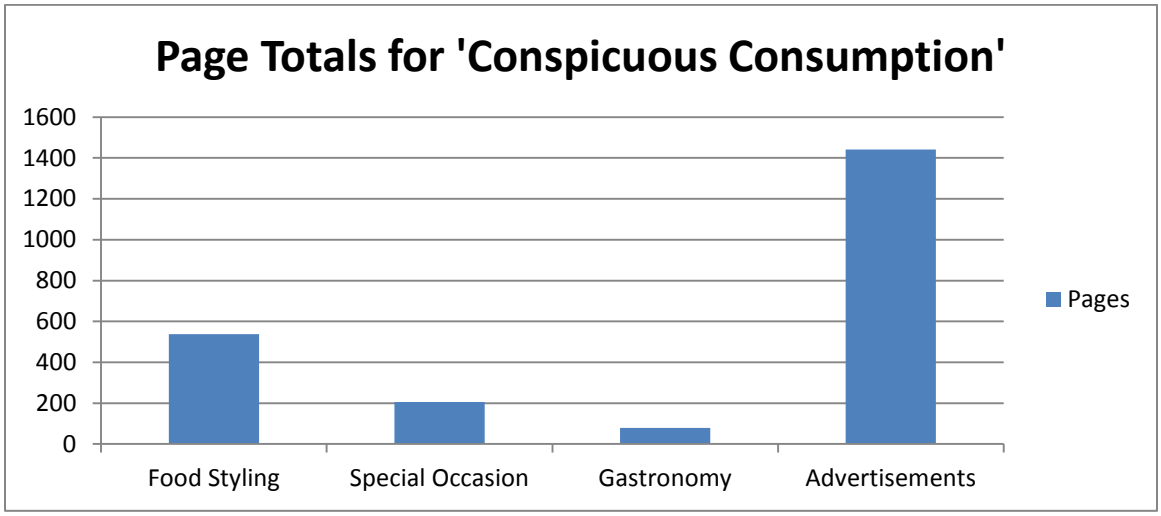


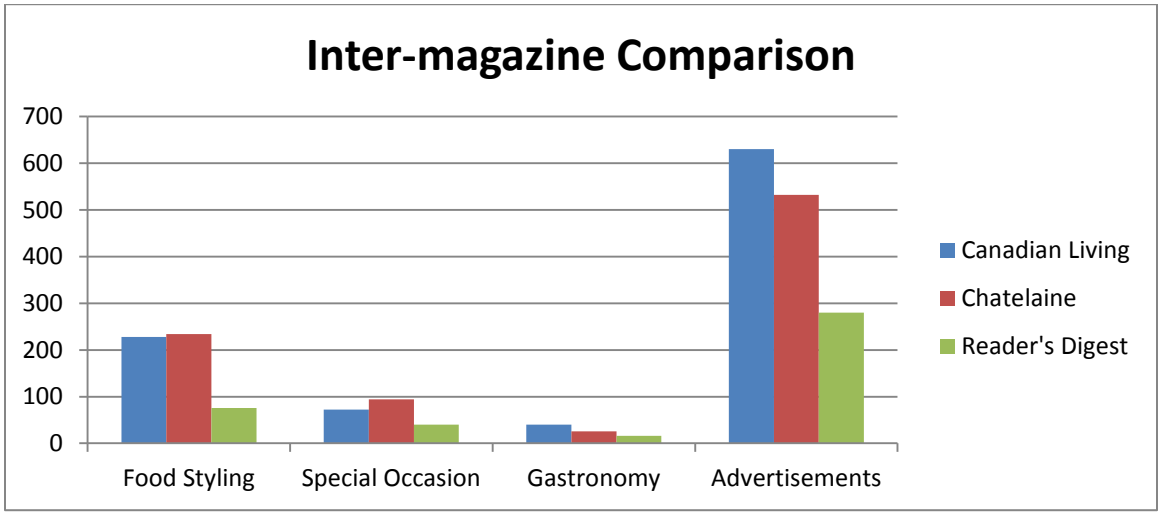
Magazine	Average Recipe Preparation times		
Canadian Living	19.2 minutes	541 listed	169 unlisted
Chatelaine	16.3 minutes	371 listed	36 unlisted
Reader's Digest	No listed Prep Times		

* only listed prep times were calculated in average

Appendix L

'PAGE THEME' PROPORTIONS for CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION CATEGORY w/ COMPARISON





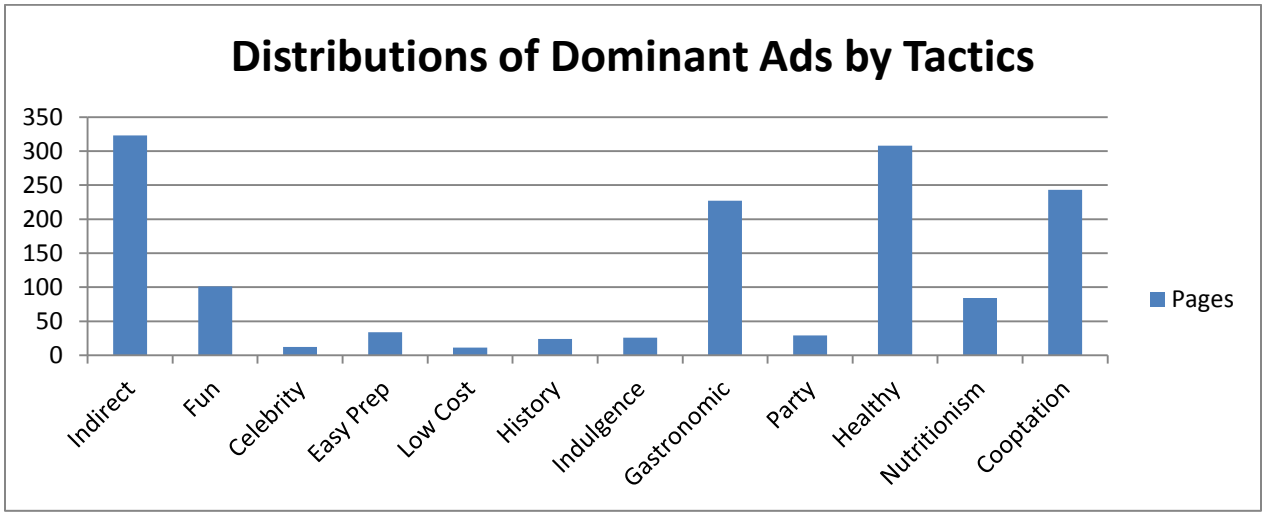
Aspect	Max Pages	Min Pages	Most Pages Avg.	
Food Styling	Ch Dec '10 (22 pg)	RD Jan '10 (0 pg)	Ch	9.75 pg/month
Special Occasions	Ch Dec '10, Dec '11 (10 pg)	RD 6 months (0 pg)	Ch	3.92 pg/month
Gastronomy	CL Jan '10 (8 pg)	RD 17 months (0 pg)	CL	1.67 pg/month
Advertisements	CL Dec '11 (42 pg)	RD Jan '10 (6 pg)	CL	26.25 pg/month

Ch = Chatelaine
CL = Canadian Living
RD = Reader's Digest
pg = pages

Appendix M

PAGE TOTALS FOR ADVERTISEMENTS BY TACTIC

BRAND USAGE OF AD TACTICS



# Ads	Brand	Product Types	Tactics	Advertised in:
127	Kellogg's	Cereal, cereal bars, Eggo Waffles	Indirect: 33 ads Fun: 29 ads Nutritionism: 35 ads Healthy: 30 ads	*Canadian Living*: 43 ads *Reader's Digest*: 28 ads *Chatelaine*: 56 ads
75	Kraft	Cheese, Cool Whip, Cheese Whiz, Salad Dressing, Kraft Dinner	Indirect: 9 ads Fun: 2 ads Gastronomic: 33 ads Healthy: 17 ads Cooptation: 13 ads	*Canadian Living*: 31 ads *Reader's Digest*: 21 ads *Chatelaine*: 23 ads
64	Canadian Milk (association, not a brand)	Milk, Cream	Indirect: 31 ads Healthy: 32 ads Celebrity: 1 ad	*Canadian Living*: 33 ads *Reader's Digest*: 6 ads *Chatelaine*: 25 ads
55	Becel	Margarine	Indirect: 20 ads Nutritionism: 11 ads Indulgence: 4 ads Healthy: 20 ads	*Canadian Living*: 29 ads *Reader's Digest*: 10 ads *Chatelaine*: 16 ads
53	Multiple Brands	Occur as: Giveaways, Consumer Reports, 'Holiday Wish Lists' (3 or more brands same page)	Indirect: 53	*Canadian Living*: 38 ads *Reader's Digest*: 7 ads *Chatelaine*: 8 ads

50	Christie	Cookies, Biscuits, Rice Thins, Triscuits, Ritz	Indirect: 4 Fun: 16 Party: 6 Gastronomic: 12 Healthy: 12	*Canadian Living*: 23 ads *Reader's Digest*: 9 ads *Chatelaine*: 18
39	Knorr	Sidekicks, Soup Mix, Homestyle Stock	Indirect: 7 Easy Prep: 1 Healthy: 14 Cooptation: 17	*Canadian Living*: 18 ads *Reader's Digest*: 9 ads *Chatelaine*: 12 ads
36	Nestle	Chocolate, Water, Ice Cream	Indirect: 9 ads Gastronomic: 17 ads Cooptation: 10 ads	*Canadian Living*: 12 ads *Reader's Digest*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 21 ads
33	Dempster's	Breads	Indirect: 22 Fun: 3 Gastronomic: 1 Cooptation: 7	*Canadian Living*: 10 ads *Reader's Digest*: 10 ads *Chatelaine*: 13 ads
31	Silk	Soy Milk, Almond Soy Milk	Indirect: 3 Indulgence: 3 Gastronomic: 2 Healthy: 13 Cooptation: 10	*Canadian Living*: 12 ads *Reader's Digest*: 11 ads *Chatelaine*: 8 ads
30	Campbells	Soup, Broth	Indirect: 25 ads Cooptation: 5 ads	*Canadian Living*: 11 ads *Reader's Digest*: 10 ads *Chatelaine*: 9 ads
28	Hellmann's	Mayonnaise	Indirect: 3 Cooptation: **25**	*Canadian Living*: 10 ads *Reader's Digest*: 9 ads *Chatelaine*: 9 ads
28	Pringles	Potato Chips	Indirect: 3 Fun: 21 Party: 4	*Canadian Living*: 12 ads *Reader's Digest*: 11 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
27	Sun Rype	Juices, Snack Foods	Nutritionism: 7 Cooptation: 20	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Reader's Digest*: 12 ads *Chatelaine*: 8 ads
26	California Almonds	Almonds, Chocolate covered Almonds	Indirect: 1 Indulgence: 2 Gastronomic: 2 Healthy: 21	*Canadian Living*: 13 ads *Chatelaine*: 13 ads
25	Canadian Cheese	Cheese	Indirect: 12 Gastronomic: 13	*Canadian Living*: 18 ads *Chatelaine*: 7 ads
24	McCain	Ready-Made Potatoes, French Fries, Frozen Pizzas	Easy Prep: 4 Healthy: 2 Cooptation: 18	*Canadian Living*: 10 ads *Reader's Digest*: 4 ads *Chatelaine*: 10 ads
21	Club House	Spices, Meal Mixes	Easy Prep: 3 Gastronomic: 10 Low Cost: 5 Cooptation: 3	*Canadian Living*: 4 ads *Reader's Digest*: 10 ads *Chatelaine*: 7 ads

18	Kashi	Granola Bars	Cooptation: 18	*Canadian Living*: 4 ads *Reader's Digest*: 7 ads *Chatelaine*: 7 ads
17	Philadelphia	Cream Cheese	Indirect: 17	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Reader's Digest*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
17	Yves	Veggie Cuisine ready-made meal	Indirect: 1 Healthy: 16	*Canadian Living*: 5 ads *Reader's Digest*: 6 ads *Chatelaine*: 6 ads
16	Earth's Own Ryza	Soy Milk Beverage	Indirect: 4 Gastronomic: 1 Healthy 7 Cooptation: 4	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Reader's Digest*: 12 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
16	Jell-O	Jell-O products	Indulgence: 11 Healthy: 5	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Reader's Digest*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 7 ads
16	McDonald's	Southwest Salads, Chicken Wraps, etc.	Fun: 1 Gastronomic: 4 Low Cost: 3 Healthy: 8	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Reader's Digest*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 7 ads
16	Oasis	Juices	Indirect: 3 Nutritionism: 11 Gastronomic: 1 Healthy: 1	*Canadian Living*: 8 ads *Chatelaine*: 8 ads
15	Bick's	Pickles	Indirect: 2 Gastronomic: 1 Healthy: 12	*Canadian Living*: 5 ads *Reader's Digest*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
15	Danone	Yogurt	Nutritionism: 6 Gastronomic: 9	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Reader's Digest*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 7 ads
15	Lipton	Tea, Tea Mix, Soup	Indirect: 4 Nutritionism: 3 Gastronomic: 5 Healthy: 3	*Canadian Living*: 8 ads *Reader's Digest*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 4 ads
15	So Good	Soy Milk Beverage	Indirect: 1 Fun: 1 Party: 1 Gastronomic: 5 Healthy: 7	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Chatelaine*: 8 ads
14	Chapman's	Ice Cream	Cooptation: 14	*Canadian Living*: 13 ads *Reader's Digest*: 1 ad
13	General Mills	Cereals, Cereal Bars, Curves Chewy Bars	Fun: 6 Healthy: 7	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Reader's Digest*: 4 ads *Chatelaine*: 6 ads
13	Mazola	Canola Oil	Healthy: 13	*Canadian Living*: 6 ads *Chatelaine*: 7 ads

12	International Delight	Coffee Mix	Gastronomic: 12	*Canadian Living*: 9 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
12	Newman's	Salad Dressing	Indirect: 2 Cooptation: 10	*Canadian Living*: 9 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
11	Arctic Gardens	Vegetables	Fun: 8 History: 3	*Canadian Living*: 4 ads *Reader's Digest*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
11	Hidden Valley	Salad Dressing	Indirect: 2 Low Cost: 1 History: 8	*Canadian Living*: 6 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
11	Van Houtte	Coffee Blends	Indirect: 1 Indulgence: 1 Gastronomic: 9	*Canadian Living*: 6 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
10	Nescafe	Instant Coffee	Easy Prep: 6 Gastronomic: 4	*Canadian Living*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
10	Piller's	Meats	Easy Prep: 1 Party: 4 Gastronomic: 3 Healthy: 2	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
10	Sun Maid	Raisins, Raisin Bread	Indirect: 2 Healthy: 5 Cooptation: 3	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
9	Billy Bee	Honey	Cooptation: 9	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Reader's Digest*: 4 ads *Chatelaine*: 4 ads
9	Canadian Beef	Beef	Indirect: 5 Healthy: 4	*Canadian Living*: 4 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
9	Kinder Chocolate	Chocolate	Fun: 6 Healthy: 3	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Reader's Digest*: 4 ads *Chatelaine*: 4 ads
9	Leclerc	dietary cookies	Indirect: 1 Nutritionism: 6 Party: 1 Gastronomic: 1	*Canadian Living*: 7 ads *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
9	Saputo Mozzarellissima	Cheese Topping	Indirect: 5 Gastronomic: 4	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 6 ads
9	So Nice	Soy Milk Beverage	Indirect: 1 Cooptation: 8	*Canadian Living*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 4 ads
9	Toblerone	Chocolates	Indirect: 1 Gastronomic: 8	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Reader's Digest*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
8	Molson Canadian 67	Beer	Indirect: 1 Healthy: 7	*Chatelaine*: 8 ads
8	Nutella	Chocolate spread	Indirect: 2 Fun: 3 Healthy: 2 Cooptation: 1	*Canadian Living*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads

8	Peek Freans	Cookies	Nutritionism: 5 Healthy: 3	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Reader's Digest*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
8	Red Rose	Tea	Gastronomic: 5 Celebrity: 3	*Chatelaine*: 8 ads
8	Sawmill Creek	Wine	Indirect: 6 Gastronomic: 1 Cooptation: 1	*Canadian Living*: 8 ads
8	Tetley	Tea	Gastronomic: 2 Cooptation: 6	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Reader's Digest*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
8	Yoplait Asano	Yogurt	Healthy: 8	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 6 ads
7	Catelli	Pasta	Indirect: 4 Healthy: 3	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Reader's Digest*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
7	Mott's	Fruitsations ('real fruit' cups)	Healthy: 5 Cooptation: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 5 ads
7	Rosenberg Castello	Blue Cheese	Party: 3 Gastronomic: 2 History: 2	*Canadian Living*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
6	Acqua Panna-S. Pelligrino	Flavour Water	Gastronomic: 6	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
6	Coca Cola (mini)	Soda	Healthy: 6	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
6	Dare	Cookies, Real Fruit Gummies	Healthy: 2 Cooptation: 4	*Canadian Living*: 5 ads *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
6	Friexenet	Wine	Indirect: 1 Party: 4 Gastronomic: 1	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
6	Simply	Orange, Lemon, Apple Juice	Cooptation: 6	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
6	Wendy's	Apple Pies	Cooptation: 6	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 4 ads
5	Cote d'Or	Chocolate	Gastronomic: 5	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Reader's Digest*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
5	Swanson	Microwave Meals	Easy Prep: 5	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Reader's Digest*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
5	Tassimo	Barcode Brewer	Gastronomic: 5	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
4	Barilla	Pasta	Gastronomic: 4	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Reader's Digest*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
4	Clover Leaf	Tuna	Indirect: 2 Easy Prep: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 2 ads

4	Dad's	Cookies	Charity: 4	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Reader's Digest*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
4	Derlea	Spreads	Easy Prep: 4	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Reader's Digest*: 2 ads
4	Eagle Brand	Pie Filling	Indirect: 4	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Reader's Digest*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
4	Filippo Berio	Olive Oil	Gastronomic: 2 History: 2	*Chatelaine*: 4 ads
4	Fontaine Sante	Hummus	Party: 1 Cooptation: 3	*Chatelaine*: 4 ads
4	Glaceau	Vitamin Water	Healthy: 4	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
4	LU petit ecolier	Cookies	Gastronomic: 4	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
4	Melitta	Coffee	Gastronomic: 4	*Canadian Living*: 4 ads
4	Natur-a	Soy Beverage	Celebrity: 4	*Canadian Living*: 4 ads
4	Powerade Zero	Sports Drink	Healthy: 4	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
4	Pot of Gold	Chocolates	Gastronomic: 4	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
4	S. Pellegrino	Mineral water	Gastronomic: 4	*Chatelaine*: 4 ads
4	Supperworks	Catering	Easy Prep: 2 Low Cost: 2	*Chatelaine*: 4 ads
4	Tazo (+Starbucks)	Premium Coffee	Cooptation: 4	*Chatelaine*: 4 ads
4	Weight Watchers	Healthy Snack Bars	Indulgence: 3 Healthy: 1	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads *Reader's Digest*: 1 ad
4	Wonder	Bread	Cooptation: 4	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 3 ads
3	Balderson	Cheese	History: 3	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads
3	Breyers	Ice Cream	Indulgence: 2 Healthy: 1	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads
3	Brookside	Chocolate covered fruit	Gastronomic: 3	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
3	Delissio	Frozen Pizza	Gastronomic: 3	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 2 ads
3	Gay Lea Spreadables	Butter with Canola Oil	Fun: 3	*Reader's Digest*: 2 ads *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
3	Guylian	Chocolates	Indirect: 1 Gastronomic: 2	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads
3	Old Dutch	Potato Chips	Indirect: 2 Healthy: 1	*Chatelaine*: 3 ads
3	SPC	Fruit Cups	Cooptation: 3	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads
3	Tenderflake	Pie Crusts	Easy Prep: 2 Party: 1	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads

3	Tre Stelle	Cheese Dips	History: 3	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads
3	Vitalicious	'health' muffins	Healthy: 3	*Canadian Living*: 3 ads
2	Bacardi	Rum	Gastronomic: 2	*Chatelaine*: 2 ads
2	Country Harvest	Bread	Healthy: 2	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
2	Dole	Salad (bagged)	Gastronomic: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	Dove	Chocolate	Indirect: 2	*Chatelaine*: 2 ads
2	French Cross	Wine	Indirect: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	Janes	Microwave Chicken Strips	Easy Prep: 2	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
2	Maple Leaf Prime	Meats	Indirect: 1 Gastronomic: 1	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	Marchesti de Frescobaldi	Wine	History: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	Marina Del Rey	Box Seafood	Easy Prep: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	May Family Farms	Chicken deli meats	Cooptation: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	Red River	Hot Cereal	Cooptation: 2	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Reader's Digest*: 1 ad
2	Rene Barbier	Wine	Gastronomic: 2	*Chatelaine*: 2 ads
2	Ricossa Antica Casa	Wine	Indirect: 1 Gastronomic: 1	*Chatelaine*: 2 ads
2	Robin Hood	Baking Flour	Indirect: 1 Fun: 1	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	Splenda	Sweetener	Indirect: 2	*Canadian Living*: 2 ads
2	Starbucks Coffee	Coffee	Healthy: 1 Cooptation: 1	*Chatelaine*: 2 ads
2	Yellow Tail	Wine	Party: 2	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad *Chatelaine*: 1 ad
1	Back to Nature	Nut and Trail Mix	Cooptation: 1	*Reader's Digest*: 1 ad
1	Errazuriz Estate	Wine	Gastronomic: 1	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad
1	Ferrero Roche	Chocolates	Indirect: 1	*Chatelaine*: 1 ad
1	Fuze	Juice	Cooptation: 1	*Chatelaine*: 1 ad
1	Healthy Choice	Gourmet Steamers	Healthy: 1	*Chatelaine*: 1 ad
1	High Liner	Frozen Fish	Party: 1	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad
1	Kozy Shack	Rice Pudding	Cooptation: 1	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad
1	Lindeman's	Wine	History: 1	*Reader's Digest*: 1 ad
1	Patak'S	Authentic Indian Foods	Gastronomic: 1	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad
1	Post	Cereal	Cooptation: 1	*Reader's Digest*: 1 ad
1	Santa Margheritas and Vintages	Wine	Indirect: 1	*Chatelaine*: 1 ad
1	Sauza Margaritas	Wine	Party: 1	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad
1	Tim Hortons	Coffee (camp)	Indirect: 1	*Chatelaine*: 1 ad

1	Twinings of London	Flavoured breakfast tea	Gastronomic: 1	*Chatelaine*: 1 ad
1	Villaggio	Wine	Indirect: 1	*Chatelaine*: 1 ad
1	Windsor	Salt	Gastronomic: 1	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad
1	Woodbridge	Wine	Gastronomic: 1	*Canadian Living*: 1 ad
1422 ads	130 Brands	-	-	-

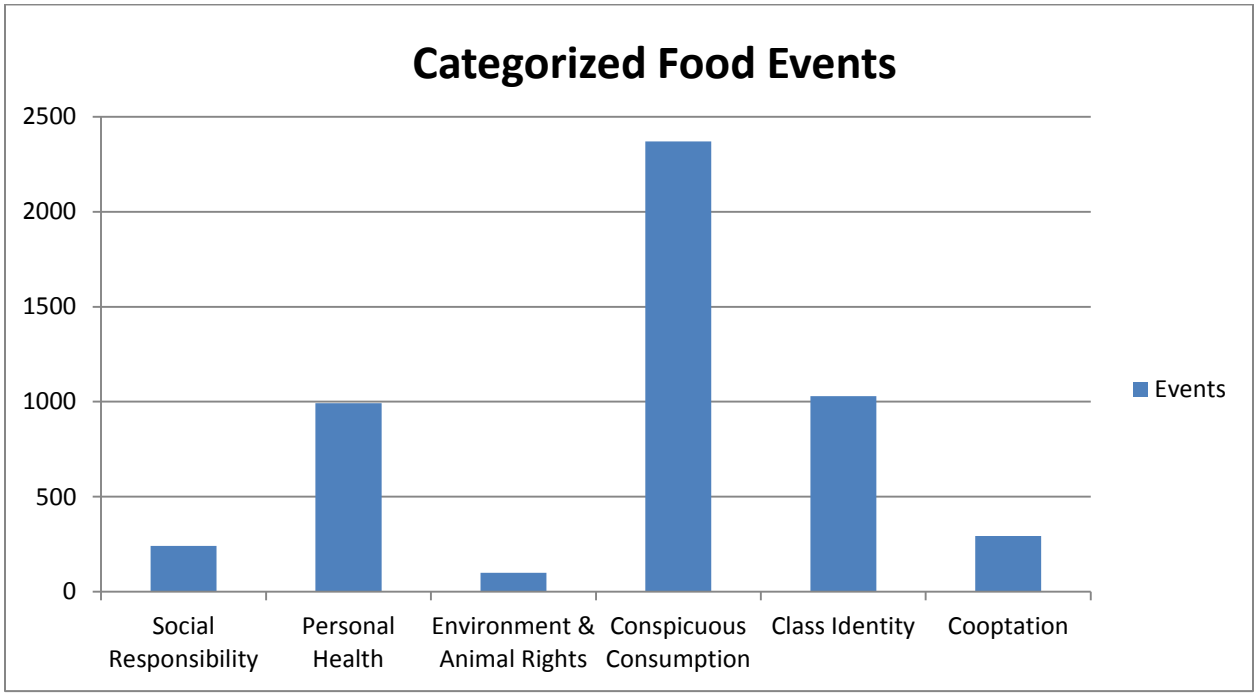
* More ads exist, the above chart shows the ones that were the most significant food information on the page/dominated a page according to the 'Order of Primacy'

Appendix N

MAGAZINE CIRCULATION CHART
&
'FOOD EVENTS' DISTRIBUTION

Canadian magazines, sorted by circulation, as of the second half of 2011
(Results retrieved from the Audit Bureau of Circulations: http://www.accessabc.com/index.html)

Rank	Magazine	Circulation	Publisher
1	What's Cooking	1, 517, 324	Meredith/Kraft Foods
2	*Reader's Digest*	593, 243	The *Reader's Digest* Association
3	*Chatelaine*	536, 447	Rogers Communications
4	*Canadian Living*	508, 479	Transcontinental
5	Maclean's	330, 203	Rogers Communications



14,117 magazine pages
3898 food themed pages
5026 'food events'
3664 dominant food theme pages categorized

Appendix O

INTER-RATER RELIABILITY CONFIRMATION

Three separate members of the University of Western Ontario Graduate Sociology program independently performed a 20 item 'test classification' exercise. The result was an **average 88%** agreement rate between independent graduate student rating and my own item classifications. Students were provided with a condensed category reference sheet containing appropriate categorical explanations and coding.

The following magazine pages from my sample were used in the test exercise:

Canadian Living	September 2011	cover page	coded as: Low Time
Canadian Living	September 2011	page 84	coded as: Budgetary
Canadian Living	September 2011	page 116	coded as: Co-Optation
Canadian Living	September 2011	page 121	coded as: Low Time
Canadian Living	September 2011	page 154	coded as: Regional Identity
Canadian Living	September 2011	page 156	coded as: Organic Farming
Canadian Living	September 2011	page 159	coded as: Local Food
Reader's Digest	February 2011	page 10	coded as: Food Scare
Reader's Digest	February 2011	page 40	coded as: Animal Rights
Reader's Digest	February 2011	page 106	coded as: Gastronomic
Chatelaine	March 2011	page 6	coded as: Ad (Nutritionism)
Chatelaine	March 2011	page 23	coded as: Ad (Health)
Chatelaine	March 2011	page 108	coded as: Animal Rights
Chatelaine	March 2011	page 113	coded as: Regional Identity
Chatelaine	March 2011	page 153	coded as: Food Styling
Chatelaine	March 2011	page 165	coded as: Ad (Fun)
Chatelaine	March 2011	page 186	coded as: Gastronomic
Chatelaine	August 2011	page 69	coded as: Ad (Health)
Chatelaine	August 2011	page 148	coded as: Co-optation
Chatelaine	August 2011	page 149	coded as: Budgetary

Rater 1: scored 19/20 = 95%
Rater 2: scored 18/20 = 90%
Rater 3: scored 16/20 = 80%
Averaged to 88% agreement

INDEPENDENT RATER CATEGORY REFERENCE GUIDE

ETHICAL FOOD CONSUMPTION MARKERS

Social Responsibility	Record content relating to social awareness, political awareness, and local economic awareness, & humanism	**1**
Local Food Purchasing	Content specifying importance of local food purchasing for local food economy (farmers markets, etc.)	**1 L**
Industrial Food Criticisms	Content that criticizes industrial food products or process on environmental, humanistic or economic grounds	**1 C**
Fair Trade	Content that details the detrimental impacts of international free trade on second world farmers	**1 F**
Personal Health	Record content relating to individual human health; for wellness or accommodation of illness	**2**
Nutritional Information	Content providing the reader with information on the nutritional quality of food based on markers such as calories, fats, sodium, or detailed information on positive effects	**2 N**
Food Scares / Special Needs Consumers	Content that details any food hazards that consumers should be aware of (ex. Tainted meat, defective products) or lists accommodation for specific disorders (ex. Diabetes, Celiac Disease)	**2 S**
Mindful Consumption	Information describing the importance of or how to pursue mindful food consumption (may involve awareness of where food comes from or identifying one's own consumption pattern (ex. Overeating)	**2 M**
Environmental Concerns	Record content that describes environmentally beneficial or deleterious food production practice	**3**
Personal Gardening	Content that specifies how to supplement one's food supply through personal growing	**3 G**
Environmental Health	Content that notes broad spectrum impacts on the local or global environment relating to pesticide use, long haul shipping, or overreliance on synthetic fertilizers	**3 E**
Animal Rights	Content that specifies the respectful treatment of animals, or documents and draws attention to abuse (ex. CAFO – Concentrated Feedlots)	**3 A**
Organic Farming	Content that specifies the benefits of farming without pesticides, or, regarding animals, without synthetic growth hormones	**3 O**

*coding numbers 4, 5 and 6 were omitted arbitrarily

Conspicuous Consumption	Record content that features food as a good to be conspicuously consumed; to leave a positive impression on others; includes all food advertisements (logic: food ads feature food in a conspicuously prominent manner)	**7**
Food Styling	Content that presents food in a highly stylized manner, involves the work of food artists (*does not include advertisements)	**7S**
Special Occasion	Content that associates food or dining with a party, formality or event wherein the goal is to leave a positive impression on guests (*not advertisements)	**7P**
Gastronomy	Content relating to culinary skill and food pairing knowledge (ex. Food-wine guides)	**7G**
Class Identity	Record content that provides information that could be used to identify a specific class-orientation	**8**
National/Regional Identity	Content that is associated with a specific place, nation, or ethnicity	**8 N**
Low Time	Content that reinforces that mealtime must be fast (implicit assumption that the consumer has little time)	**8 T**
Easy Prep	Content that parallels 'low time', but captures more subtle variations such as simple preparation instructions	**8 E**
Budgetary	Content that expresses budgetary concerns associated with meal preparation	**8 B**
Advertisements	Content that promotes a food product in associated with an identifiable commercial brand	**9**
Indirect	Measures advertisements that are featured through an intermediary such as an event, faux recipe, giveaway offer, 'fun facts' or educational content about a product, or a product rating piece	**9 I**
Fun	Measures advertisements that portray the product as fun, unusual, magical or appealing to children	**9 F**
Gastronomic	Measures advertisements that appeal to the deliciousness of a product, extraordinary taste, sensory experience of consumption, or elegant presentation of the product using props and background	**9 G**
Healthy	Measures advertisements that promote the healthful quality of a product, its nutritional value, and use popular nutrition calculators such as calories, sugar and salt	**9 H**
Nutritionism	Measures advertisements that promote a product as healthful because of a special ingredient that boosts the nutritional content (example: wellmune, inulin)	**9 N**
****Cooptation***	Measures advertisements that promote a product as a slow food or ethical alternative to commercial products; emphasis is placed on product simplicity	**10**

LITERATURE REVIEW REFERENCES

Austin, K.F. (2010). Soybean Exports and Deforestation from a World-Systems Perspective: A Cross-National Investigation of Comparative Disadvantage. *Sociological Quarterly*. Vol. 51(3): p: 511-536

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Bezerra, R.M.N., Ueno, M., Silva, M.S., Tavares, D.Q., Carvalho, C.R.O., Saad, M.J.A. (2000). A High Fructose Diet Affects the Early Steps of Insulin Action in Muscle and Liver of Rats. *Journal of Nutrition*. Vol. 130(6): p: 1531-1535

Blake, M.K., Mellor, J., Crane, L. (2010). Buying Local Food: Shopping Practices, Place, and Consumption Networks in Defining Food as "Local". *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 100(2): p: 409-426

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*: Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Bourdieu, P. (1991.) *Language & Symbolic Power.* Translated by Gino Raymond and Mathew Adamson. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press

Bowen, S. (2011). Importance of Place: Re-territorialising Embeddedness. *Sociologia Ruralis*. Vol. 51(4): p: 325-348

Bray, G.A., Nielsen, S.J., and Popkin, B.M. (2004). Consumption of high-fructose corn syrup in beverages may play a role in the epidemic of obesity. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*. Vol. 79(4): p: 537-543

Canadian Press (2011, September 25). Undeclared soy in Red River brand hot cereal: CFIA. CityNews Toronto. p. 1/1. Retrieved April 25, 2012, from http://www.citytv.com/toronto/citynews/life/health/article/156653--undeclared-soy-in-red-river-brand-hot-cereal-cfia

Campbell, C. (1995). Conspicuous Confusion? A Critique of Veblen's Theory of Conspicuous Consumption. Vol. 13(1): p 37-47

Connelly, S., Markey, S., and Roseland, M. (2011). Bridging Sustainability and the social economy: Achieving community transformation through local food initiatives. *Critical Social* Policy. Vol. 31(2): p: 308-324

Daily, G.C., Matson, P.A., Vitousek, P.M. (1997). Ecosystem Services Supplied by Soil. In: *Nature's Services: Societal Dependence on Natural Ecosystems*. (Ed.) G.C. Daily. USA: Island Press: p. 112-127

D'Arms, J.H. (2004). The Culinary Reality of Roman Upper-Class Convivia: Integrating Texts and Images. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Vol. 46(3): p: 428-450

DeSoucey, M. (2010). Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union. *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 75(3): p: 432-455

DeWeerd, S. (2009). Is Local Food Better? *World Watch*. Vol. 22(3), p: 6-10

Elgin, D. (1981). "Voluntary Simplicity and the New Global Challenge". In: *The Consumer Society*. (Eds.) J.B. Schor & D.B. Holt. New York: New York Press: p 397-412

Elliot, A. (2003). US Food Industry Ensures that Consumers Are Not Told to Eat Less. *British Medical Journal*. Vol. 327(7423): p: 1067

Finkelstein, M.M., Jerrett, M., DeLuca, P., Finkelstein, N., Verma, D.K., Chapman, K., and Sears, M.R. (2003). Relation between income, air pollution and mortality: a cohort study. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*. Vol. 169(5): p: 397-402

Frank, D. (2003). Where are the Workers in Consumer-Worker Alliances? Class Dynamics and the History of Consumer-Labour Campaigns. *Politics & Society*. Vol. 31(3): p: 363-379

Frank, T. (1997). *The Conquest of Cool*. United States of America: The University of Chicago Press

Friedman, M. (2001). Ethical Dilemmas Associated with Consumer Boycotts. *Journal of Social Philosophy*. Vol. 32(2): p: 232-240

Galt, R.E. (2010). Scaling Up Political Ecology: The Case of Illegal Pesticides on Fresh Vegetables Imported into the United States, 1996-2006. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 100(2): p: 327-355

Hall, S. (1980). "Encoding/Decoding". In *Culture, Media, Language*. (Eds.) S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis. London, UK: University of Birmingham, Hutchinson & Co. Ltd

Heath, J. & Potter, A. (2004). *The Rebel Sell.* Toronto, Ontario: HarperCollins

Higgins, C.A., Duxbury, L.E., and Lyons, S.E. (2010). Coping with Overload and Stress: Men and Women in Dual-Earner Families. *Journal of Marriage & Family*. Vol. 72(4): p: 847-859

Hogan, C.M. (2010). Abiotic Factor. The Encyclopedia of Earth [Electronic Version]. At http://www.eoearth.org/article/Abiotic_factor?topic=49461

Holm, L. (2003). Blaming the consumer: on the free choice of consumers and the decline in food quality in Denmark. *Critical Public Health*. Vol. 13(2): p: 139-154

Horrigan, L., Lawrence, R.S., and Walker, P. (2002). How Sustainable Agriculture Can Address the Environmental and Human Health Harms of Industrial Agriculture. *Environmental Health Perspecitives*. Vol. 110(5): p: 445-457

Jones, P. and Bhatia, R. (2011). Supporting Equitable Food Systems Through Food Assistance at Farmers' Markets. *American Journal of Public Health*. Vol. 101(5): 781-783

Klintman, M. (2006). Ambiguous framings of political consumerism: means or end, product or process orientation? *International Journal of Consumer Studies*. Vol. 30(5): p: 427-438

Kreuziger, C. (2005). Dismembering the Meat Industry Piece by Piece: The Value of Federalism to Farm Animals. *Law & Inequality*. Vol. 23(2): p: 363-405

Leibenstein, H. (1950). Bandwagon, Snob, and Veblen Effects in the Theory of Consumers' Demand. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. Vol. 64(2): p: 183-207

Librova, H. (2008). The Environmentally Friendly Lifestyle: Simple or Complicated? *Czech Sociological Review*. Vol. 44(6): p: 1111-1128

Matthaei, J.A. (1980). Consequences of the Rise of the Two-Earner Family: The Breakdown of the Sexual Division of Labour. *American Economic Review*. Vol. 70(2): p: 198-202

Mercola, J. (2011). The 9 Foods the U.S. Government is Paying You to Eat. Mercola Online [Electronic Version]. At http://articles.mercola.com/sites/articles/archive/2011/08/03/the-9-foods-the-us-government-is-paying-you-to-eat.aspx

Moore, J.W. (2010). The End of the Road? Agricultural Revolutions in the Capitalist World-Ecology, 1450-2010. *Journal of Agrarian Change*. Vol. 10(3): p: 389-413

Murphy, S. (2001). The Global Food Basket. *Forum for Applied Research & Public Policy*. Vol. 16(2): p: 36-42

Patel, R. (2007). *Stuffed and Starved*. New York: Melville House

Parkins, W. and Craig, G. (2006). *Simple Living*. Oxford & New York: Berg

Pollan, M. (2006). *The Omnivore's Dilemma*. New York, NY: The Penguin Press

Pollan, M. (2007, January 28). Unhappy Meals. *The New York Times*. p. 1-12. Retrieved December 6, 2011, from The New York Times Magazine: http://www.nytimes.com /2007/01/28/magazine/28nutritionism.t.html?pagewanted=3&_r=2

Pope III, C.A. and Dockery, D.W. (2006). Health Effects of Fine Particulate Air Pollution: Lines that Connect. *Journal of the Air & Waste Management Association*. Vol. 56: p: 709-742

Pope III, C. A., Burnett, R.T., Thun, M.J., Calle, E.E., Krewski, D., Ita, K., and Thurston, G.D. (2002). Lung Cancer, Cardiopulmonry Mortality, and Long-term Exposure to Fine Particulate Air Pollution. *Journal of the American Medical Association*. Vol. 287(9): p: 1132-1141

Post, J.E. (1985). Assessing the Nestle Boycott: Corporate Accountability and Human Rights. *California Management Review*. Vol. 27(2): p: 113-131

Rigby, D. and Brown, S. (2007). Whatever Happened to Organic? Food, Nature and the Market for "Sustainable" Food. *Capitalism, Nature, Socialism*. Vol. 18(3): p: 81-102

Ritvo, H. (1998). "Mad Cow mysteries". In: *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating* (2005). (Eds.) J.L. Watson and M.L. Caldwell. Malden, MA, USA: Blackwell Publishing

Sapp, S.G., Arnot, C., Fallon, J., Fleck, T., Soorholtz, D., Sutton-Vermeulen, M., Wilson, J.J.H. (2009). Consumer Trust in the U.S. Food System: An Examination of the Recreancy Theorem. *Rural Sociology*. Vol. 74(4): p: 525-545

Schneider, S. and Niederle, P.A. (2010). Resistance strategies and diversification of rural livelihoods: the construction of autonomy among Brazilian family farmers. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. Vol. 37(2): p: 379-405

Tilman, R. (2006). Colin Campbell on Thorstein Veblen on Conspicuous Consumption. *Journal of Economic Issues*. Vol. XL(1): p: 97-112

Van den Bergh, JC.J.M. and Holley, J.M. (2002). An environmental-economic assessment of genetic modification of agricultural crops. *Futures*. Vol. 34(9-10): p: 807-822

Veblen, T. (1899). *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York, NY: Penguin Books. Retrieved November 4, 2010 from Project Gutenberg (EBOOK)

Veblen, T. (1899). "Conspicuous Consumption". In: *The Consumer Society Reader* (2000). (Eds.) J.B. Schor & D.B. Holt. New York: New York Press: p 187-204

Wansink, B. (2006). *Mindless Eating: Why We Eat More Than We Think*. USA and Canada: Bantam Publishing (Random House Inc)

Warde, A., Cheng, S., Olsen, W., and Southerton, D. (2007). Changes in the Practice of Eating. *Acta Sociologica*. Vol. 50(4): p: 363-385

White, J.S. (2008). Straight talk about high-fructose corn syrup: what it is and what it ain't. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*. Vol. 88(6): p: 1716S-1721S

Zafar, R. (date). "The Signifying Dish: Autobiography and History in Two Black Women's Cookbooks". In *Food in the USA* (2002). (Ed.) C.M. Counihan. Great Britain: Routledge

Zaki, M., Moran, D., and Harris, D. (1982). Pesticides in Groundwater: The Aldicarb Story in Suffolk County, NY. *American Journal of Public Health*. Vol. 72(12): p: 1391-1395

REFERENCES FROM THE MAGAZINE SAMPLE

AUTHORED ARTICLE REFERENCES FROM THE MAGAZINE SAMPLE

Brabazon, A. (2011, February). "A Girl's Guide to Greens". *Chatelaine,* 76-80

Breakfast for Learning. (2010, February). "Breakfast goes a long way". *Canadian Living*, 35 (2), 132

Bendall, L. (2010, June). "Quit Your Bellyaching". *Reader's Digest*, 68-73

Chapman, S. (2010, May). "Snacking Nation". *Reader's Digest*, 148-150

Chapman, S. (2010, August). "My Salad Days". *Reader's Digest,* 114-116

Chapman, S. (2010, November). "Salt of the Earth". *Reader's Digest*, 128-135

Chapple, S. (2011, June). "Reefs at Risk". *Reader's Digest*, 176

Chicken Farmers of Ontario. (2010, January). "Savour some local flavour". *Canadian Living*, 35 (1), 64

Chilton, D. (2011, October). "The Wealthy Barber Returns". *Reader's Digest*, 140-156

Cuturillo, M. (2011, April). "Small Wonders". *Reader's Digest*, 124

De Jonge, L. (2011, October). "Cracking the Code". *Canadian Living,* 36 (10), 54

Dorrell, K., Graves, W. and Payne, D. (2010, July). "Lose Weight At Any Age". *Canadian Living,* 35 (7), 47-63

Embrett, C. (2011, August). "50 Simple Summer Pleasures". *Canadian Living, 36* (8), 67.

Flowers, F. (2011, October). "Reap What You Sow". *Canadian Living,* 36 (10), 139-141

Flowers, F. (2011, November). "Tuck in Your Beds". *Canadian Living,* 36 (11), 139

Franklin, C. (2011, November). "Local Gold". *Chatelaine*, 83 (10), 56

Glassman, A. (2011, March). "A Modern Day Dairy Queen". *Chatelaine,* 108-110

Grainger, L. (2011, May). “Something’s Fishy About Best-Before Dates”. *Reader’s Digest*, 186

Harris, M. (2010, May). “Grow Bold”. *Chatelaine*, 83 (5), 164-170

Herndon, M. (2011, August). “calorie counts exposed”. *Chatelaine*, 60

Howes, V. (2011, October). “If You Build It”. *Reader’s Digest*, 21-26

Johnston, D. (2010, April). “My Town *Chef Dennis Johnston”*. *Chatelaine, 83* (4), 38.

Langford, S. (2011, December). “Hens that Heal”. *Reader’s Digest*, 206-207

Leclair, E.R. (2010, June). “Green-Friendly Summer Living”. *Canadian Living*, 35 (6), 114-115

Nelles, D. (2010, June). “10 Things You Didn’t Know About Milk”. *Reader’s Digest*, 99-104

Oliver, G. (2011, October). “Spotlight: Urban Gardens”. *Canadian Living*, 36 (10), 202

Rosenbloom, C. (2011, June). “The Healthiest Groceries You’ve Never Tried*”. *Canadian Living*,
36 (6), 77-83

Scott, J. (2011, April). “It’s Easy Being Green”. *Canadian Living*, 36 (4), 87-91

Seymour, R. (2011, April). “Good Mood Food”. *Canadian Living*, 36 (4), 71-73

Seymour, R. (2010, June). “Migraine Relief”. *Canadian Living*, 35 (6), 61-64

Shneer, A. (2011, September). “Saskatchewan Grower Profile: John Bennett”. *Canadian Living*, 36 (9), 156.

Steringa, E. (2010, October). “-do- clean up your cooking”. *Chatelaine*, 83 (10), 92

Stern, B. (2010, May). “Poutine With Braised Chicken in BBQ Sauce and Cheddar”. *Reader’s Digest*, 151

Stuparyk, M. (2011, November). “Local and Tasty: Alberta Honey”. *Canadian Living*, 36 (11), 171

Vallantin, C. (2011, February). “George Laraque Is a Lover, Not a Fighter”. *Reader’s Digest*, 37-42

Webster, P. (2011, July). “Aid vs. Trade”. *Reader’s Digest*, 17-20

UNAUTHORED ARTICLE REFERENCES FROM THE MAGAZINE SAMPLE

"Brain Food: hope for fighting Alzheimer's". (2010, July). *Chatelaine*, 83 (7), 68

"Eat fresh all year long". (2010, September). *Chatelaine*, 83 (9), 85.

"Have an inspired day.*". (2010, October). *Canadian Living,* 35 (10), 169

"Juicy local strawberries". (2010, June). *Chatelaine*, 83 (6), 44

"Sustainable Seafood". (2011, July). *Canadian Living*, 36 (7), 130.

"Things to love about June". (2010, June). *Chatelaine*, *83* (6), 43-46.

ADVERTISEMENT REFERENCES FROM SAMPLE

100% Canadian Milk. (2010, March). "It's your health". *Canadian Living*, 35 (3), 15

100% Canadian Milk. (2010, July). "It's your health". *Canadian Living*, 35 (7), 55

100% Canadian Milk. (2010, May). *Canadian Living*, 35 (5), 4

Becel. (2011, February). "Pro-Activ". *Canadian Living*, 36 (2), 56

California Almonds. (2010, August). "A handful of your heart's desire". *Chatelaine*, 83 (8), 157

Campbell's. (2010, January). "Campbell's Chicken Broth". *Reader's Digest,* 107

Christie (2011, September). "Triscuit balsamic and basil". *Canadian Living*, 36 (10), 160

Club House. (2010, February). "Dinner for 4 for under $10?". *Reader's Digest*, 5

Hellmann's. (2010, October). "The Real Food Movement". *Chatelaine*, 83 (10), 243

Hidden Valley. (2010, June) "The Original Ranch Dressing". *Chatelaine*, 83 (6), 256

Jell-O. (2011, July). "Sinfully Delicious". *Chatelaine*, 13

Kraft Cheez Whiz. (2010, August). "The Cheez Whiz Challenge". *Canadian Living*, 35 (8), 124

Kraft. (2010, October). "Cool Whip. It Changes Everything". *Chatelaine*, 83 (10), 69

Leclerc. (2011, March). “Praeventia”. *Chatelaine,* 6

McCain. (2010, March). “Shouldn’t food be the only ingredient in food”. *Chatelaine,* 83 (3), 39

Natur-a. (2010, March). *Canadian Living,* 35 (3), 78

Nescafe. (2010, September). “Real Fresh. Real Fast. Real Good”. *Chatelaine,* 83 (9), 35

Nestlé. (2010, September). “Nestlé Noir Superieur”. *Chatelaine,* 83 (9), 14

Oasis. (2010, October). “Immuniforce”. *Chatelaine,* 83 (10), 114

Pringles. (2010, December). “The Happy Pup”. *Chatelaine,* 277

Red River. (2010, February). “100% natural with no additives”. *Reader’s Digest,* 14

Silk. (2010, April). *Reader’s Digest,* 152

Van Houtte. (2011, June). “A Coffee Brew That Suits You”. *Chatelaine,* 180

Weight Watchers. (2011, February). *Canadian Living*, 36 (2), 72

Yellow Tail. (2010, December). “To dinner parties that are more party than dinner”. *Chatelaine,* 2010

Curriculum Vitae

Rory Alexander Davis

Department of Sociology
The University of Western Ontario
Social Sciences Center
London, Ontario, Canada
N6A 5C2

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

2012 University of Western Ontario
M.A. Sociology

2010 University of Western Ontario
B.A. Honours Specialization Criminology (4 year)

HONOURS AND AWARDS

2010 *Dean's Honour List*, University of Western Ontario

2008 *Dean's Honour List*, University of Western Ontario

RELATED EMPLOYMENT

2010– University of Western Ontario
2012 *Graduate Teaching Assistant, Department of Sociology*

GUEST LECTURES

2012 A Taste for Distinction: Food Representations in Popular Canadian Magazines
University of Western Ontario, *Department of Sociology; Advertising and Society*

2011 Family Violence
University of Western Ontario, *Department of Sociology; Family Studies (001)*
University of Western Ontario, *Department of Sociology; Family Studies (002)*
King's University College, *Department of Sociology; Family Studies (001)*
King's University College, *Department of Sociology; Family Studies (002)*

2010 Racial Profiling in North America
University of Western Ontario, *Department of Sociology; Social Problems*

RESEARCH INTERESTS

Slow food; Environmentalism; Media Studies; Time poverty; White-collar crime; Youth crime; Domestic violence; Social inequality