

Introduction

Reflecting on the Embodied Intersections of Eating and Caring

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The aim of *Careful Eating* is to critically reflect on the many and varied relationships between food and care. Specifically, it investigates how these relationships are mobilized to shape and intervene in individual bodies, as well as how they may be both enacted and resisted in and through those bodies. It thereby develops current critical debates regarding how care, in the context of food and eating, may so often be a political mechanism through which the self and the Other are (re)produced and social hierarchies constructed. As such, this transdisciplinary volume draws into dialogue diverse ways of addressing a currently neglected, yet critically important, question regarding the ways in which eating and caring interact on multiple scales: From state-led interventions and public health discourses to the workplace, from the market to the home, and in the intimacies of individual eating and feeding practices. Engaging with the often-jagged political intersections of food and care across these scales, and paying attention to the bodies caught up in them, offers new ways of thinking through urgent contemporary concerns regarding food and social justice. It addresses fundamental questions regarding how, as human beings, we care (or not) for and about ourselves and Others, our communities and environments. This involves drawing attention to the terms ‘caring’ and ‘eating’ themselves, asking what each is, what relationships they create and rupture, and how their interplays are experienced in everyday life. By taking account of these multi-directional flows of engagement between eating and caring practices, the volume’s contributors elucidate: how eating practices mobilize discourses and forms of care; how discourses and practices of care (look to) shape particular forms of eating and food preferences; and how it is often in the bodies of individual consumers that eating and caring encounter one another. These three central theoretical dimensions are the organizing principles around which the chapters’ diverse perspectives coalesce, and the volume is constructed.

Eating and caring are inherently bound together. Normatively framed as simultaneously instinctive and didactic, both are understood as something we do and something we learn to do in order to reproduce and sustain social and biological life. It has been suggested that, just as multiple roles are assumed in relation to food throughout the lifecourse, with individuals feeding Others as well as eating, ‘what most people spend their lives doing [is] caring for themselves,

for others, and for the world' (Tronto 1993: x). Yet although individuals' care practices are often relational and intimate like their food choices, they can also be socially prescribed, constrained and even enforced. As such, whilst recognizing the central importance of caregiving practices to human life and society, we suggest that care is also not necessarily as benign as it might appear. Mirroring recent understandings of the tensions and power dynamics embedded in both the production and consumption of food (Abbots and Lavis 2013; Holtzman 2013), caring has been shown to be heavy with moral value and is often entangled in culturally-embedded notions of the 'right' and the 'good' (Barnes 2012; Gilligan 1982). Commodified as well as given, both food and care practices are arguably as political as they are moral (Tronto 1993). Eating and caring can therefore be further understood not only as performances of reproduction, but also of production: ones that constitute Others and (re)establish relations between those Others and selves. *Careful Eating* argues that it is the myriad and diverging ways in which care is defined and utilized that underpin this production. This slippery multiplicity is central to care's political malleability within contemporary social and cultural debates around food; it allows the seemingly benign concept of care to be mobilized and used to produce highly politicized knowledge claims about eating that intervene in, constrain and reshape individual bodies and their everyday practices of consumption. Such claims, in turn, also construct eating and feeding as caring or care-less acts – by the self, for the self and for Others. As such, just as there are many points of contact between eating and caring at the level of political agendas and cultural discourses, they also meet in the biological and subjective depths of the body. Viscerally illustrating what has been termed 'the corporeality of the social and the sociality of corporeality' (Blackman 2008: 3), both eating and caring are profoundly social practices to which the body is central. Mirroring the way in which particular bodies are produced, denigrated or caught up in (bio)political framings of food, both eating and caring are intrinsically embodied performances; political relations and cultural imaginings may be resisted and disrupted by, as well as played out in, individual eating bodies.

Highlighting this circulation and ingestion of knowledge claims engenders a question that is central this volume: Why and how do individuals, groups, institutions and agencies care about what Others eat? And, secondly, what forms of sociality and social bodies are made and negotiated, ruptured and ignored, or rendered visible and invisible, in these encounters between individual eating bodies and the caring agendas of Others? This volume illustrates that there are no easy answers to these questions. There is, rather, a range of responses and reactions and these pose further nuanced and reflexive questions across a variety of contexts and disciplines: In what ways do discourses of 'good' and 'proper' food and eating utilize the concept of care to promote their ideologies? How is care manipulated to alter the eating practices of others? How is care for the social body used to govern and regulate individual bodies? How do individuals respond to such governance? How do individuals demonstrate their care for and about Others by eating as well

as feeding? How is agency dispersed along the networks that are created by food and eating practices, and how does this contrast to the conceptualizations of agency embedded in notions of care? To explore these questions and others, the individual chapters of this volume are drawn from anthropology; geography; cultural studies; primary health care; public health; gender studies; critical literacy; science and technology studies; education and sociology. Although diverse in approach, each contributor starts from the premise that eating and caring are simultaneously individual and social, material and symbolic, ideological and political, and all have been challenged to explore the multi-dimensionality of the interplays and entanglements between eating and caring. Together the contributors offer a unique and creative pathway into issues as diverse as body size and eating disorders; children's dietary guidelines; inequality and poverty; mass and social media; ethical eating; ecological and cultural sustainability; food tourism; and the cultural politics of contemporary food systems.

The purpose of this collection then is to forge interdisciplinary and dialogic (see Bakhtin 1982) ways in which to 'strip back' the discourses of care that we suggest perpetually frame the eating practices of Others, and reveal the (re)production of embodied power dynamics that are inherent, but commonly obscured, in such discourses. The contributors elucidate the many socio-material relationalities of eating and caring, illustrating these to be both political and politicized. Through their empirically-grounded richness and theoretical complexity, the chapters trace the often-hidden ways in which eating and caring may (be made to) isolate and divide as much as create sociality and cohesion. It is in this insight that the central theoretical contribution of the volume as a whole lies; it demonstrates how paying attention to eating and caring offers up a new critical lens onto broader contemporary questions regarding food, (bio)politics and social justice. By drawing attention to these political processes across such a diverse range of contexts, the chapters elucidate the ways in which individual eating bodies are both knowingly and unknowingly entangled in, and made by, circulating notions of care.

As such, *Careful Eating* extends and productively reverses the focus of our earlier volume in this series, entitled *Why We Eat, How We Eat* (Abbots and Lavis 2013). That volume explored the ways in which Others – bodies, agents, institutions and nations – are performed and produced through the act of eating, as webs of relations flow outwards from the individual eater. Maintaining the focus on eating initiated there, this volume now explores not only how imaginings, mobilizations and relationships of care actively shape eating, but also the part played by eating in the production and breaching of performances of care. By paying attention to this multi-directionality of entanglements between food and care, *Careful Eating* examines what is made and unmade by the individual act of eating itself, and also the ways in which eating is viewed, critiqued and governed by Others. In so doing, we retain the focus on food both inside and outside of bodies initially presented in *Why We Eat, How We Eat*, but now turn to develop this by reflecting on how individual eating bodies are lived, shaped and sculpted by and through care, and

how care is ingested, felt and lived in the 'ordinary' (Stewart 2007) spaces of everyday lives.

Careful Eating is organized into three parts that mirror the three central theoretical dimensions of the volume noted above. Within each part, we have purposefully juxtaposed chapters with differing approaches and disciplinary backgrounds in order to create dialogue through which each may illuminate the others. Part I, comprising chapters by Flowers and Swan, Rousseau, and Abbots, traces how eating performs relationships of care. It examines how particular food practices and preferences are framed as enacting care more than others and shows how specific foods, in turn, come to be valued as care-full, while others are constructed as care-less. In so doing, this part elucidates ways in which these subjective valorizations are informed by, and reproduce, political dynamics and how relations of otherness may be created through proximity as much as distance. In Part II, Lavis, Zivkovik et al. and Lindenmeyer all explore bodies as the primary sites in which caring and eating encounter one another in everyday life. Each, in a different way, captures the multi-directionality and myriad scales of this encounter, demonstrating that in individual moments of eating and feeding, care may not always be felt to be so 'caring', or food so 'good' or 'right'. Part III reverses the flow of Part I and directs attention to the ways in which discourses of care perform eating. Here, Coles, Eli et al., and Truninger and Teixeira focus on how political and ideological modes of caring frame eating behaviours, and illustrate, in turn, how care is simultaneously placed and enacted. In so doing, the chapters in this part deconstruct how social and personal frameworks embedded in caring actions shape eating practices.

Disentangling the Entanglements between Eating and Caring

The chapters of this volume all demonstrate that care is a foundational concept in current critical debates about 'good' and 'proper' eating across a range of contexts, including clinical settings, schools and public institutions, retailers and the market, and online forums. Yet a systematic critical analysis of the concept of care in relation to food practices and preferences has, to date, been largely absent from the interdisciplinary field of Food Studies. It has been commonly implied – although not explicitly drawn out as a concept worthy of examination – in a wide range of accounts of food selection and preparation, feeding and eating. It is this body of work that provides, in part, the ethnographic and theoretical foundations of our approach and which we look to extend here by drawing care explicitly to the fore for closer interrogation.

Current scholarship within Food Studies has often invoked a definition of care in a soft, virtuous form, associating it with commensality, affection, love, kinship and social cohesion. Caring what other people eat in these contexts, the literature tells us, is related to the forming of social bonds; it is a gesture of love and affection, a symbol of nurture, and the manner through which individuals

are incorporated – culturally, emotionally and biologically – into a social group (Carsten 1997; Fischler 1988). Care manifests, then, in work that explores the interplays between food, being and belonging, and elucidates how feeding and eating are pivots around which identities, of both selves and groups, are forged and performed (Abbots 2011; Klein and Murcott 2014). This process is thrown into particularly sharp relief when senses of belonging are put into a state of flux or drawn into dialogue with those of Others, as in the context of migration and multiculturalism. Ray's (2004) study of middle class Bengali-Americans, for example, demonstrates how commensal sociality reproduces social relations between families and helps maintain cultural continuities. Renne (2007) highlights how attentiveness to what is eaten reinforces West African identity and community in the USA. Likewise, Toumainen (2011) points to the ways in which solidarity is fostered, and previously entrenched ethnic boundaries dissolved, among Ghanaian migrants in London through shared food practices and preferences. The notion of 'culinary safe havens' (Saber and Posner 2013: 198) thus emerges in which eating is treated as a process through which intimacies are forged, boundaries blurred, coterminous bodies constituted and, as such, care enacted.

The Slipperiness of Care

In order to extend reflections on care within Food Studies beyond this softer conceptualization of caring, it is necessary to ask what caring is and what it means. To avoid the risk of not looking beyond the benign, even essential, life-sustaining aspects of care, we need to consider what else care might be and how it is conceived, provoked, inherited, mobilized, performed and rejected. Therefore, in addition to Food Studies literature, *Careful Eating* engages with the interdisciplinary body of literature that reflects on care. Thinking through care is a slippery exercise not only because care is diversely experienced, conceived of and applied to food and eating, but also because what 'to care' means is widely contested, with the opacity of the term extensively examined. A prominent example of such explorations is Finch and Grove's (1983) collection of essays entitled *A Labour of Love*, which explores and illustrates that caring is variously applied; to care may denote a feeling, a relationship or form of work (see also Fisher and Tonto 1990). Ungerson (1983) further bifurcates care into two converging manners of caring: care-for and care-about, a deconstruction that has helped to establish care as something one can do and something one can feel (Thomas 1993). In her more recent exploration Ungerson (2005) further elucidates that these dynamics of care as action, labour and performance as well as emotion, sentiment and feeling are still very much active with regards to how care is understood and delivered.

With some degree of agreement, Hinchliffe (2007) argues that when nurturing behaviours (and attitudes) are operating, care is signified. This frames caring as a manner of relating that is rooted in beneficence. As such, one can be said to care when one cultivates, cherishes, offers philanthropic or charitable support, or sustains

attention to, an Other (be that a person, object, idea or place). It is this model of care that is particularly explored by Mol et al. (2010a. See also Mol 2008) who seek to draw the hidden embodied specificities of care work to attention, illustrating how care practices challenge rationalist notions of a bounded human. Instead, the authors suggest, they constitute and reveal 'the relations in which we make each other be' (Mol et al. 2010b: 15). This portrayal of care as a nourishing force makes it easy to believe that when care manifests 'good intentions' (Mol et al. 2010b: 12) prevail, and a 'good' is mobilized and produced. It is viewing care within this framework that enables it to assume the qualities of a virtue (see also Barnes 2006, 2012).

This supposition that care acts as a beneficent force draws much strength from the series of ethical philosophies that explore the concept of care with a view to ascribe value to personal, political and global caring, and to ultimately inspire a universally applicable 'ethic of care'. This could be seen as a social substrate from which emerge practices that support social justice and equality (see Barnes 2012; Held 2006; Tronto 1993). Wishing to illuminate how caregiving practices may underpin human society, scholars of an ethic of care propound this recognition to fashion *how* (not *if*) citizens care for each other. In turn, this framework has been utilized to disseminate models of best practice in a bid to promote and elucidate the *hows* of effective care (Twigg and Atkin 1994; Twigg 2006). Care emerges from this body of literature as at the root of our humanity and instrumental to mobilizing sociality (and thus survival), but it is simultaneously and paradoxically deemed flawed. As such, caring is legitimately re-appropriated and transformed into a set of skills and behaviours one can learn and become proficient in (Kubiak et al. 2007; Qureshi and Walker 1989). This slippage from instinct to learning allows discussion not only of how to teach the population to care, but also how to care 'correctly'. Care, thus, emerges as a troubled hybrid, conceptualized both as an innate ability and as a biopolitical force that governs and disciplines. It is framed as something persons instinctively do and yet as a process to be learnt that demands expert knowledge, guidance and training. As such, care manifests as an 'ontopolitical' force (Connolly 1995: 2) – a set of ideas that functions to 'fix possibilities, distribute explanatory elements, generate parameters within which an ethic is generated, and center (or decenter) assessments of identity, legitimacy, and responsibility' (ibid.: 2).

It can be argued, thus, that calls for an ethic of care conflate being caring (as a state) with the construction of a social framework of common and collective good. Such a conflation avoids the prickly issues of normativity, control and hierarchy that the implementation of a framework for caring is arguably liable to create (Foucault 1978). Additionally, these discussions nimbly sidestep explorations of the vast array of motivations attached to the multiplicities of being caring and, as such, avoid questions that might work to problematize what care is and does. This volume engages with, and challenges, these perspectives in order to interrogate how assumptions of care as a virtue may influence, pervade, and sculpt social and individual practices and discourses around food and eating. Furthermore, actions that claim to be rooted in care also produce numerous behaviours, conclusions

and responses that may not be experienced as caring or care-full by all parties. Consequently, reflecting on caring *about* what Others eat – and perhaps, caring *for* Others through that concern – raise questions regarding how the taken-for-granted moral, righteous and worthy character of care allows demands to be made on social and individual (eating) behaviours. Thus what it means to care – that is to care-for, to care-about, to be caring – it seems, may not always be as caring as it appears, after all.

Regulated and Resistant Eating Bodies

By offering diverging examples of how caring is enacted and experienced both around and through eating, the following chapters demonstrate how the seeming benevolence of care is deeply embedded in governing processes of normativity, regulation and control. This recognition shifts the meaning of caring into a disposition or practice that is more than simply virtuous; it transforms into a mechanism of achieving outcomes that is at once wrapped in virtue but is also political. Accordingly, this volume traces how, when associated with food and eating, care may be problematically entwined around regulatory ideas of good or normative practices, citizens and bodies.

The ingesting bodies (of Others) have increasingly become key sites both of 'surveillance medicine' (Armstrong 1995. See also Foucault 2003) and of 'biopower', defined as the 'numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations' (Foucault 1978: 140) undertaken by nation states. In such a formulation, caring what Others eat and are fed emerges as a mode of discipline that is not only imposed upon individual bodies but also lived through these, as bodies are invested with technologies of power that render them docile (Foucault 1977). In this volume, this is highlighted by Truninger and Teixeira, through their exploration of school meals as 'biopedagogies' (Wright and Harwood 2009). Abbotts also shows this by examining the ways in which the governing classes in Highland Ecuador establish social distance in their attempts to discipline the eating behaviours, and shape the bodies, of the peasantry by subjectively constructing some forms of eating as care-full and others as care-less.

Within public health, the body has an extensive history as a site of such cultural and political disciplining around food. Public health in Britain, for example, has long emphasized structural factors that undermine wellbeing as well as bodily integrity and longevity. It has sought to intervene in these at the level of state policy (Twigg 2006. See also Lewis et al. 2000; Petersen and Lupton 1996), with food featuring in these processes since the nineteenth century (Baggott 2000). Underpinning much of those earlier interventionist policies were concerns over potential food shortages and malnutrition (Mills 1992). Underfed bodies were framed as both individually vulnerable and detrimental to the workforce, with a lack of food thereby regarded as potentially destabilizing to the individual and social body. Food insecurity and poverty, and their intersections with social

justice, and indeed injustice, continue to be pressing issues, both in the global south and, as shown by the rise in food banks (Trussell Trust 2014), in the global north. Malnutrition in ageing populations, particularly in relation to dementia as well as poverty, is also a growing global concern (Donini et al. 2013; Pierson 1999). However, the bodies that are arguably framed as most in need of discipline in cultural imaginings and media discussions, especially in the global north, are those framed as 'obese'.

Caring about what Others eat has, perhaps, taken its most explicit public form in relation to the politics of what the WHO has controversially termed a 'global epidemic' (WHO 2000) of obesity. As Zivkovik et al. and Lindenmeyer explore in this volume, obesity has been the focus of many and varied public health initiatives and interventions. Since the advent of the 21st century, these have also underpinned a swathe of obesity-focused entertainment television, particularly in the UK and USA. This has arguably enabled such knowledge claims not only to travel, but also to be performed and accepted as 'fact' in ways that visually categorize and stigmatize Others' bodies (Eli and Lavis 2014; Inthorn and Boyce 2010; Oullette and Hay 2008). As Lindenmeyer's chapter shows, obesity-focused discussions of eating often draw a linear acultural relationship between food and body fat, which is contested (Aphramor et al. 2013). They also frame corporeal fat simply as excess without meaning, which has been challenged by explorations of its embodiment and materiality (Colls 2012; Lavis 2014; Murray 2005). Through such discourses, the body emerges as central to the enactment of neoliberal citizenship; eating and food preferences are thereby positioned as integral to a seemingly virtuous self-care that enacts 'good' citizenship through responsabilized caring for both the individual and social body. Eating becomes entangled in neoliberal notions of individual responsibility, and continuous self-improvement (Guthman 2011; Walkerdine 2003) with the feeding of Others, especially children, also an act that must be performed within disciplined parameters (Bell et al. 2009; Zivkovik et al. 2010). This latter, and its widespread gendering, is also particularly demonstrated in a slightly different but related context by debates around breastfeeding (see Faircloth 2010; Stearns 1999). Relationships between foods and bodies are therefore key ways in which 'technologies of the self' (Foucault 1988) are inculcated and enacted (see also Lupton 1996, 1997). As such, however, certain bodies and persons can also find themselves omitted from constructions of a 'good' citizen.

As care sits so awkwardly between the personal and the political, when offered to those considered at risk or vulnerable it can produce discomfort and resistance. This has been seen more widely in relation, particularly, to disability (Campbell and Oliver 1996) and mental health (Crossley and Crossley 2001), which have both seen important challenges to taken-for-granted paradigms of illness and care in recent years. These have sought to extend inclusion by exploring notions of citizenship and wellbeing, and have also highlighted individuals' agency and embeddedness in wider networks of relations as caregivers as well as receivers (see also Twigg 2006). In this volume, the potentially uncomfortable dynamics of care are drawn out by both Lindenmeyer's and Lavis' accounts of intimate

interactions within clinical encounters. Lindenmeyer shows that the series of positions and identities created by care services do not only function as top-down models of intervention, but also work to affect all of those involved in the process. She thereby illustrates how experts, whilst enabled and authorized to convey proclamations on the how, when and what of caring practice generally, are also party to and instrumental in the production of new tensions, which emerge from the manner through which caring relationships are structured. As such, as Lavis explores, both carers and those being cared for negotiate between normative notions of care and the complexities and experiences of personal lived realities, from which alternative models of caring may emerge. Both of these chapters consequently not only point to the implicit power dynamics inveigled in caring, but also highlight that being cared for is not necessarily experienced as a positive intervention. They thereby demonstrate how care may become absent to itself in dialogues around food, as interventions that are wrapped up as care in the giving may not be experienced as care in the receiving.

Practices of resistance to such biopolitical, and indeed often biomedical, framings of the relationships between foods, care and individuals are also present in Abbots' account of discourses of good and proper eating propounded by the governing classes that define the preferred foods of the peasantry as lacking in care. Measures are consequently taken to encourage more careful eating practices which, Abbots shows, have little effect, with the peasantry enacting care for and through food in their own, more intimate ways, while continuing to consume those foods deemed care-less in public spaces. Likewise, Zivkovic et al.'s chapter explores how 'sweetness', in the form of refined sugars, is constructed in diverging ways by public health initiatives and individual eating bodies. Their ethnographically-rich discussion reveals how ingesting sugar in a context of social disadvantage contrasts to normative notions of a 'correct' diet; sweetness, they argue, 'emerges as a strategy of caring', which reclaims sugar from public health discourse, not only repositioning its categorization but also its materiality. As such, this chapter elucidates not only how seemingly well-meaning interventions concerned with the health of biological and social bodies can be regarded – and experienced – as an instrument of (attempted) governmentality, but also how these may be resisted through material moments of ingestion. As Lavis' exploration of eating disorders in this volume also does, Zivkovic et al. thereby demonstrate that not only do such interventions interfere with, and reposition, bodily materialities, but also that materialities of bodies and foods 'interfere' (Haraway 2008) more profoundly with interventions themselves. This indicates the importance of attending to corporeal and consumable materialities when exploring food and care.

The Bodily Materialities of Careful Eating

Scholars exploring the materiality of food (Bennett 2007, 2010; Carolan 2011; Lavis, forthcoming; Probyn 2000, 2012), argue it to be 'an active inducer-

producer of salient, public effects, rather than a passive resource at the disposal of consumers' (Bennett 2007: 45). In turn, Roe shows how 'materiality is displaced during the event of eating, bodies collide, mingle, and separate' (2006: 467). Such scholarship engages with food, thus, as 'more-than-food' (Lorimer 2005. See also Kearnes 2003). In parallel, various ontological developments across the social and physical sciences have recently given rise to a renewed focus on the affective materialities of embodiment as part of this wider turn to materiality (see Blackman 2012; Coole and Frost 2010). This allows a particular approach to corporeality and embodiment as both enfolded in and enacted by encounters between food and care. It emphasizes bodies as at once indeterminate and dynamic, but also as vulnerable to interventions wrapped up as 'care'.

In tandem, but from a differing disciplinary standpoint, critical realist approaches to care have also sought to take account of lived bodily materialities and their wider contexts without resorting to biological reductionism (Williams 1999). Such an engagement casts light on how particular bodies become constructed as in need of care, with wider political discourses coalescing at the level of the individual (Twigg 2006). Yet, it also illuminates the intimacies and tensions involved in caring for an Other's body, highlighting the intrinsic troubling of bodily boundaries in caregiving. Like eating, receiving care through acts such as washing and feeding signify a rupture or re-siting of bodily boundaries in ways potentially pleasurable and painful. To care for an Other's body and to allow another to transgress one's corporeal/territorial boundaries demands both trust and a shifting of power dynamics, as well as questioning of what a body means and where its boundaries lie (see Lawton 2000; Pols 2006, 2013; Twigg 2002). Care may be shared between bodies as multiple bodies become entangled through caring: It is Lindenmeyer's chapter that shows this most explicitly as the clinician-patient relationships she discusses collapse boundaries between those receiving and those giving care. This sense of the coming together of imagined as well as corporeal bodies, as eating and caring is shared between them in ways that trouble easy assumptions of individuality, is also interrogated by Lavis. As such, recognizing the body as entangled in webs of relations produced both by eating and caring, is also to recognize plurality both of and within bodies. It has been suggested that eating is always multiple; it is shared between bodies whilst also making many bodies (Abbots and Lavis 2013; Lavis, forthcoming). Thus, both eating and caring bring into question distinctions between the individual and the multiple. The 'body multiple' (Mol 2002) engendered by both of these acts, and their mobilizations of one another, is one connected to other bodies, human and non-human, and also to practices, technologies, and objects that produce diverse kinds of bodies and ways of being human.

As Twigg concludes, 'focussing on the body also enables us to explore some of the complexities of 'care' as a category of activity' (2006: 173) – one, we suggest that produces and displaces particular bodies. Bodily materialities are not just acted upon, but are also created by discursive formations of food and eating; these, it might be said, 'enable and coordinate the doing of particular kinds of bodies'

(Blackman 2008: 1). It is perhaps a turn to 'viscerality' that has most opened up a way to interrogate relationships between agential bodily materialities and wider biopolitical and cultural structures that are arguably often enfolded in but eclipsed by a focus on caring what Others eat. Viscerality has been defined as 'the sensations, moods and ways of being that emerge from our sensory engagement with the material and discursive environments in which we live' (Longhurst et al. 2009: 334). Developed particularly in the work of Jessica and Allison Hayes-Conroy (e.g. 2010a, 2010b), a turn to viscerality seeks to engage with 'contextualized and interactive versions of the self and other' (2010b: 1273) and establish the centrality of the material body to an exploration of wider political and social structures and interventions. It argues that 'the dynamics of social institutions and/or structures are always already visceral' (ibid.: 1274).

Careful Eating and the Construction of Otherness

Food's power to entangle biological bodies within wider political and cultural structures is a recurrent motif of this volume, and is productively explored across many of the chapters through the lens of otherness. Invoking issues of national identity and belonging, Truninger and Teixeira unearth the undercurrent of Portuguese nationalism and 'national taste' in the making of children's bodies in the context of school meals and the education system, whereas Flowers and Swan discuss how multicultural Taste Tours in southwestern Sydney are framed as a means of challenging racism and breaking down ethnic divisions and stereotypes. Flowers and Swan, however, draw attention to the flipside of such initiatives by pointing to the ways in which these can create and reinforce social distance and difference. They thereby indicate how culinary identities and gustatory boundaries are constructed by 'the eating of the Other', and demonstrate how eating can both create and dissolve social and bodily boundaries. Eating is therefore explored in this volume as an intersection through which dynamics between the self and Other are brought into sharp relief (see also Abbots 2013). Food is consequently as much 'a marker of difference' (Caplan 1997: 9) as it is of similarity and while scholarship within Food Studies has accounted for this, it has arguably been less skilled at highlighting the ways that food practices are often as fraught, divisive and tension-filled as they are harmonious and cohesive (Abbots and Lavis 2013; Holtzman 2013; Wilk 2010). This lack is a reflection, perhaps, of a tendency within Food Studies towards, what Holtzman has labelled an ethnography of tasty things (2006) and a Pollyanna-ish inclination for foods that comfort and soothe (2013). As he reminds us, food is 'an arena to create and evoke joys in things that are so close to us but are also a site for tensions, anxieties and regrets' (2013: 145). Comfort can often be discomfiting, and closeness claustrophobic.

These wider tensions and ambivalences between proximity and distance, sameness and otherness, and intimacies and estrangements, are all glimpsed in a variety of ways across the chapters of this volume. For example, in Coles' account

of chicken consumption in southeast London, place (both imagined and material) is experienced and ingested by middle class professionals who attempt to assuage their food anxieties and insecurities whilst constructing a cosmopolitan identity. The structural class dynamics that Coles explores, both implied and explicit, are just one dimension of how tensions around eating and caring come to the fore, and how the notion of place is employed to construct seemingly caring identities. This thread is also picked up by Abbots, who interrogates how relations of distance are reflected in, and potentially destabilized by, conflicting notions of care-full and care-less foods. Eli et al. also illustrate this multiplicity to care positioning; investigating a web platform, they interrogate how personal care agendas can be made to travel and map across spaces and distances using digital technologies. Social media as a modality of mobilizing care is also taken up in Rousseau's chapter, which demonstrates how counter-discourses of good and proper eating practices are produced through rapid exchanges across cyberspace. Lavis too pays attention to interplays of proximity and distance. By engaging with individuals affected by anorexia, she shows how not eating may enfold wider ethical concerns into self-care by mapping the world in ways both careful and yet painful. In diverse ways, this volume therefore demonstrates that environments and proximities are positioned, and even made, by eating-as-caring for (imagined) places, spaces and Others.

Caring Consumption: Entwining the Personal and Political

The production of Others and selves through careful eating further points to the ways in which the personal and political are entwined in the subjective depths of the body. DuPuis (2000), drawing on David Goodman's (1999) evaluation of actor-network approaches to food, illustrates this process through the lens of organic milk and the 'not-in-my-body' politics of refusal engendered by fears over bovine growth hormone. Challenging perspectives that centre on commodity chains, she stresses the role of the reflexive consumer in the co-production of food systems and interrogates ways in which political activities are played out through everyday food choices. Similarly, Collier and Lakoff (2005) point to the increasing politicization of domestic life and Barnett et al. highlight how 'care, solidarity and collective concern' (2005a: 45) increasingly shape consumer choice and the extent to which ethics are located in domestic lives (Barnett et al. 2005b). This theme of caring consumption is further unpacked in Goodman et al.'s (2011) account of alternative food networks and fair trade which, they point out, are premised on the notion that eating differently can change the world (of food). They demonstrate the role such forms of consumption play in the creation of the moral and ethical self and, in so doing, elucidate how an ethic of care is embedded in fair trade networks. Moreover, for Goodman et al., discourses – or in their words, the 'cultural economies' (ibid.: 209) – of fair trade are more than mere marketing tools: instead they are 'semiotic intermediaries' that are '*indispensable* in creating the meanings of fair trade good

as caring consumption' (ibid.: 209-10, emphasis in the original). As such, the 'traffic in things' constitutes the 'traffic in care' (ibid: 209). They thereby not only indicate the relationalities that eating may engender, but also elucidate how these are commoditized, concluding that fair trade 'works to translate the social relations of care into the economic terms of the minimum price and price premium' (ibid. 2016). Care, therefore, can be practised at a distance (Lewis and Potter 2011: 15), albeit through a mechanism that, paradoxically, works to reconnect (Carrier and Leutchford 2012; Kneafsey et al. 2008; Morgan 2010).

Alternative food networks have been subject to further criticism, in part because of their elitist, and often raced and racializing, characteristic (Hayes-Conroy in press; Slocum and Saldhana 2012; West and Domingos 2012). Consequently, questions emerge regarding which social actors have the economic and cultural wherewithal to consume in a 'caring' manner. Or, in other words, following Goodman et al. (2011), who can 'traffic' in care. In this volume, this is considered by Coles as he examines the ways in which middle class sensibilities and anxieties about eating are experienced and enacted by his participants' careful consumption. In so doing, he indicates the class-premised food spaces they inhabit, avoid and imagine. Intersecting with Goodman et al.'s (2011) discussion of fair trade, Coles further highlights the role that the material economy of food, such as labels, plays in making specific networks of production (partially) transparent. He shows how these, often imagined, networks are materially and discursively (re)produced. Weberian notions of class performativity (Weber 1978), and ways in which they intersect with more structural dynamics, are also addressed by Eli et al., Abbots, and Zivkovik et al. These three chapters share an interest in interrogating who has the cultural authority to define the constitution and parameters of careful eating.

The contested production of food knowledges, especially in reference to competing models of 'good' and 'healthy' eating, and the mechanisms through which particular voices are heard and given authority over others, has been subject to some attention (see for example, Abbots and Attala, in press; Flowers and Swan, in press, Rousseau 2012; West et al. 2014). In this volume, Abbots focuses on cultural fairs and examines how notions of tradition interplay with ideas of careful eating, whereas Lavis and Lindenmeyer address clinical contexts. Zivkovic et al. explore the arena of public health, and Truninger and Teixeira, the education system. This theme is also key to Eli et al. and Rousseau's explorations of how social media and user-generated content can provide a platform for sharing and challenging information and misinformation about caring foods. But, as Rousseau shows us, new technologies can reinforce and maintain existing cultural hierarchies of knowledge just as much as they can democratize, destabilize and give space to new and other voices.

The classed, racialized and gendered dynamics of eating and caring are also seen through the lens of labour relations, specifically in relation to the authority that the performance of reproductive labour both enables and prohibits. The extent to which women continue to perform the majority of food work within the domestic domain has been well established (Counihan and Kaplan 1998;

Pilcher 1998; Weismantel 1988), as has the ways in which women commonly privilege the preferences of family members over their own needs (Counihan 1999; DeVault 1991; Murcott 1983). This 'primary carer' role has been elucidated by Vallianatos and Raine (2008) who argue that the gendered self-definition of the Arabic and South Asian women with whom they researched in Canada rested on their capacity to provision food and cook for their families. Ensuing from such constructions, popular media and public health discourses frequently expound mothers' roles in producing childhood obesity (Maher et al. 2010; Zivkovic et al. 2010). In contrast, Zivkovic et al. show in this volume how such constructions are bound up with affective intimacies in domestic spaces, Flowers and Swan, in turn, demonstrate how such gendered relations of care labour may be enacted outside of the domestic realm as they interrogate the emotional labour of 'hostessing' in the context of culinary tourism. In so doing, their chapter expounds the intersections between gender and ethnicity and the ways in which boundaries of otherness are concomitantly blurred and reinforced through the process of outsourcing and commoditizing care. This theme of outsourcing is further taken up by Truninger and Teixeira as they point to the multiple carers involved in the production of Portuguese school meals and, ultimately, children's bodies.

Final Reflections on the Entanglements between Eating and Caring

Elsbeth Probyn (2010) reminds us that eating inherently enacts utterly 'messy' concerns. These are concomitantly deliberate and incidental, macro and micro, relational and intimate (Abbots and Lavis 2013: 6). As such, ingesting and digesting involve, and invoke, myriad decisions, actions and consequences through which individuals demonstrate that – and the extent to which – they care about particular issues, people and places. In turn, specific people, places and issues are (ostensibly) cared for through eating and not eating certain foods, places and Others. These complexities, and their multi-dimensionality, shift across and entwine the public and the personal: From consciousness-raising on the public stage and political activism, to everyday moments of shopping and eating, the cultural politics of care are, as the chapters in this volume demonstrate, played out at multiple sites. These include, but are not limited to, individual bodies (Lavis; Zivkovic et al.); kitchens (Truninger and Teixeira); clinical encounters (Lindenmeyer), cultural fairs (Abbots); tourism (Flowers and Swan); the market (Coles) and cyberspace (Eli et al.; Rousseau). Care then, as all of these contributions attest, is a slippery concept that takes on multiple forms and many guises. Although essential to human life and society on the one hand, it may also masquerade, and be wrapped up, as something entirely different from its seemingly intrinsic character. Caring, thus, can appear benign whilst also being politically charged and morally laden; its performances may be as care-less as care-full. Unearthing not only this slippery nature of care, but also how this slipperiness is produced and mobilized draws our attention to the unseemly politics of food more widely. Illustrating how particular bodies, persons

and citizens are marginalized and denigrated by carelessly-careful debates around food is a key contribution of this volume, and it is one that intersects with wider concerns regarding food, social justice and the (bio)politics of everyday inequality. As such, asking why and how individuals, groups, institutions and agencies care about what Others eat does not give rise to one simple answer. Rather it engenders a raft of complex responses and reactions that intersect, juxtapose and throw each other into sharp relief. It is those very complexities that we present in this volume and, in so doing, we offer up an intellectual, compassionate, and ultimately humanizing, reflection on what it means to eat, to care and to write about both.

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