

# *Food transgressions: ethics, governance and geographies*

Book or Report Section

Accepted Version

Goodman, M. K. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4861-029X> and Sage, C. (2014) Food transgressions: ethics, governance and geographies. In: Goodman, M. K. ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4861-029X> and Sage, C. (eds.) Food Transgressions: Making Sense of Contemporary Food Politics. Ashgate, Aldershot, pp. 1-14. ISBN 9780754679707 Available at <https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/56239/>

It is advisable to refer to the publisher's version if you intend to cite from the work. See [Guidance on citing](#).

Publisher: Ashgate

All outputs in CentAUR are protected by Intellectual Property Rights law, including copyright law. Copyright and IPR is retained by the creators or other copyright holders. Terms and conditions for use of this material are defined in the [End User Agreement](#).

[www.reading.ac.uk/centaur](http://www.reading.ac.uk/centaur)

**CentAUR**

Central Archive at the University of Reading

Reading's research outputs online

## Chapter 1

### Food Transgressions: Ethics, Governance and Geographies

*Michael K. Goodman and Colin Sage*

For the human body, besides sex, there are few things more essentially transgressive and boundary-crossing than food. As Elspeth Probyn has it in her opening to *CarnalAppetites*, “[i]n the act of ingestion, strict divisions get blurred (14). ... [E]ating conjoins us in a network of the edible and inedible, the human and non-human, the animate and the inanimate (17) ... [at the same time it]... places different orders of things and ways of being alongside each other, inside and outside inextricably linked” (Probyn 2000: 32). And, as this boundary-crossing *embodiment* of food writes itself onto our metabolising, corporeal selves, there is—at the same time—a wider transgressive *politics* of food that shapes and is shaped by the economic, social and ecological systems that serve multi-scalar production and consumption networks. Here, these embodiments and politics of food reflect struggles over food’s governmentality, something that Lang and Heasman (2004) have called “the global battle for mouths, minds and markets”. Such governmentality stretches from scientific research engaged in redesigning the basic building blocks of life that constitute the basis of our food system—seeds and animal embryos—through to the moments of ingestion and embodiment. Across this spectrum we witness a continuous and contested dynamic around new forms of morality in food provisioning, shifting socio-techno regimes, concerns over ecological and bodily health, globalised food cultures and connections, and shifting centres of food power. In short, we observe a multiplicity of boundary-crossings or contemporary *transgressions* of knowledges, practices and politics around food.

This volume has consequently been devised as a way to chronicle, critique and engage with the ways in which contemporary food systems build upon and reshape geographies, politics and histories. Arguably, there is almost nothing more geographical than food in the ways that it intimately interlinks production and consumption, nature and society, bodies and landscapes, the global and the local, and indeed spaces, places and everywhere in between. We are *where* we eat, just as much as *what* we eat (Bell and Valentine 1997; see also Coles and Crang 2011; Cook and Crang 1996; Goodman et al 2010a; Sage 2010). But more explicitly, as all the contributors to this volume demonstrate, we share an interest in exploring the ways that the contemporary cultural and political economies of food are co-producing a fascinating array of material, discursive, spatial and political *transgressions* in food and food networks around the globe. For example, several of the chapters in the volume touch on the ways that alternative food networks (AFNs) have effectively transgressed the boundaries of taste (in the Bourdieuan sense) that rendered them elite or niche phenomena, to become more conventionalised food supply chains that have allowed their products to be more accessible (although not necessarily more affordable) everyday items (see also Goodman et al 2012). Paradoxically, AFNs have also transgressed into the business of feeding poor and disadvantaged people in the guise of localised food justice schemes, while offering up transgressive cosmopolitan economies of care.

In contrast, corporate food interests, in the form of retailers, are expanding into novel geographical and economic spaces as well as those of bodily and landscape ecologies. Food marketing and the construction of taste is now a thoroughly transgressive tool of ethical trade, development, political ecologies and livelihood formation designed to shrink the spatial, economic and socio-cultural distances between

producers and consumers. In this regard, transgressive ‘cultures of consumption’ figure quite prominently in the chapters that follow in the context of working to create new and more ethical food provisioning systems. Moreover, situated and scientific knowledge boundaries are being transgressed to create novel bio-economies in the development of food networks; academic knowledge regimes and methodologies are similarly being transgressed in efforts to discursively ‘bring to life’ the bodily as well as wider political-economic and political-ecological a/effects of contemporary food geographies and politics.

Thus, while keeping true to the use of the established concept of transgression in social theory such that it denotes “...that which exceeds boundaries or exceeds limits ... [of norms] ... conduct and cultural productions” (Jenks 2003: 7-8), we wish to move beyond these existing definitions and understandings of transgression in order to suggest that, in the particular case of food, other forms of boundary-crossing are a vital part of its ‘practice’ as well as conceptualisation. To be clear: food’s *bodily* transgressions—articulated as it is above in Probyn’s work and that of many others (e.g. Carolan 2011; Colls 2008; Evans and Miele 2012; Lupton 1996; Roe 2006a, b; Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2010a, b)—is only one, albeit important, instance of food’s liminalities. Rather, we extend this idea of transgression, again in the specific context of food, to include fault-lines and boundary-crossings that implicate and affect knowledge regimes and discourses, spaces and places, nature and culture, society and technology, bodies and environments, the personal and the political, ethics and morality and, indeed, even disciplinary and theoretical approaches to food’s ‘wily’ nature.

In this, exploring food transgressions also means interrogating the very boundaries that actions, knowledges, materialities and ethics are meant to and do

transgress (e.g. Cook et al 2008; Cook et al 1998, 1999; Duruz 2005; Lind and Barham 2004; Whatmore 1997). For in order to *be* transgressed boundaries, borders and norms—whether behavioural, spatial, discursive, material or ethical—must be created, become established, and be maintained in order to be subsequently crossed. In other words, as Jenks (2003: 7) puts it “[t]ransgressive behaviour ... does not deny limits or boundaries, rather it exceeds them and thus completes them”. For him, “[w]e need to know the collective order, to recognize the edges in order to transcend them” (p.7). Mol and Law work to take these concerns about transgressions, edges and transcendence further and in different directions by deploying a series of deceptively simple yet profound questions in their writings on ‘boundary variations’: “What, for instance, is it to *cross* a boundary? What is a boundary when it is *blurred*? What happens when boundaries *move around*? Or when they *fold*? Or when they act as *semipermeable membranes*?” (Mol and Law, 2005: 637; emphasis in original) These questions and concerns about how both boundaries and borders have been set up but also crossed, blurred and moved in the context of food are at the very centre of the chapters in this volume.

Importantly, though, the research represented here on transgressions within contemporary foodscapes builds from more general multi- and inter-disciplinary writings on entanglements, actor-networks, collectives, assemblages, hybridities and relationalities (e.g. Whatmore 2002; Bennett 2010; Latour 1993; Law 1994). Much of this writing and theorising—coming, as it does, out of the ‘materialist’ social sciences and science studies—is dedicated to a normative, intellectual and ontological project designed to explore the ways that societies, natures, actants, materialities and cultures are stitched together in the various orderings of the multi-faceted worlds we inhabit and

create. Here, in working to normatively and intellectually overcome the ‘false divisions’ of nature and society and materiality and representation, boundaries, borders and edges will not only be ‘normally’ transgressed but disappear or dissolve altogether. In other words within the new ontologies of what might be called a ‘compositional cosmopolitics’ (Latour 2010) where nature(s)-culture(s)—and a number of other hyphenated binaries and states of being (e.g. Cloke and Johnston 2005)—reign(s) supreme, it might be assumed that everything has always (and already) been transgressed in the makings of socio-material worlds (cf. Lorimer, 2012).

Given its liminal properties and characteristics, food has played a significant role in these debates as a number of key writings demonstrate (see, *inter alia*, Busch and Juska 1997; Goodman 1999; Goodman and Goodman 2001; Mol 2008; Murdoch 2000; Whatmore 1997; Whatmore and Thorne 1997). It should come as no surprise, then, that a majority of the chapters in this book tack to these emerging ontologies in varied ways, ranging from the more prosaic use of common terminologies such as ‘networks’ and ‘entanglements’, to specifically deeper ontological commitments that attempt to unsettle established nature/culture/technology boundaries, divides and edges.

Yet, while allied and also committed to this work and its border-crossing ontologies, our use of the terms ‘transgression’ and ‘transgressive’ is deliberate in that it is meant to firmly signal and highlight two forces at play within contemporary debates around food. The first concerns the significance of foregrounding the *intentions* and *intentionalities* of many current food transgressions. Looming large here are the *ethical* dimensions where transgressions catalogued in this book speak to the desire to do ‘good’ or do ‘better’ in the provisioning of food (cf. Goodman et al 2010b; Sage 2003). As a number of the chapters document and explain, there are numerous ways in which

boundaries and borders are being transgressed in the name of doing the ethically and/or morally 'right' thing(s) for producers, eaters and/or ecologies. Also playing a relatedly important role are the *economic* intentions of value generation through food transgressions and the ways that these transgressive intentions lead to novel and/or different forms and instances of accumulation. Thus, what is of both empirical and theoretical interest here is an exploration of the *practices* and *processes* of food transgressions and the intentionalities that have activated them within food networks. Indeed, instead of simply foregrounding the ontological givens of, for example, nature-cultures and other, 'radical symmetries', the authors in this volume are concerned with exploring those practices, processes, intentions and motivations of transgression involved in the very *stitching together* of natures, cultures, spaces, and technologies in the provisioning of food. Overall, the chapters and their case studies build on Jenks' (2003: 2) argument that "...transgressions are manifestly situation-specific and vary considerably across social space and through time" such that the characteristics, outcome and outline of boundary-crossings in food are dependent upon the transgressive practices, processes and motivations that are firmly embedded in particular spaces, histories and materialities.

The second force that the use of the terms 'transgression' and 'transgressive' is meant to highlight is that of *power*. In particular, we and the authors here are concerned with the 'who' of the actors behind the intentions of various food transgressions detailed in the book: who is *able* to put these food transgressions into train and then who *benefits* as a result? Related to these questions are the following: *why* are transgressive intentions put into practice, what are the *outcomes* and for *whom*? Again, the power of the intentions of particular actants to 'do the right thing(s)' in organising and facilitating



ethical and/or different food networks figures heavily in the stories of food transgressions being told in this book. However, as we well know, power encompasses many different forms and expressions: from the everyday, capillary-like expressions of inter-personal power to those varied and far-reaching expressions of power wielded by capital, institutions and governments. Thus, questions of power inform not just border-crossing instances of personal decision-making about what to eat, but extend to the governance of international food trade networks involving investment decisions by supermarkets about where they set up shop and what foods they will stock. An exploration of transgressive food power is also an exploration of the ways that food transgressions *generate* the power—in *both* the Foucauldian and Marxian senses—to create and govern new geographies, connections and politics. As noted above, the border-, boundary- and edge-crossings embedded in food transgressions can work to reconfigure spaces and places, connections and relationalities, politics and policies. Food transgressions are infused with, but also produce, new forms and relations of power from the spaces of the everyday to those of the global, from the *bodily* politic to the *body* politic.

This volume offers up a series of carefully considered, inter-disciplinary chapters that—through different perspectives and theoretical approaches—explore a diversity of types, forms and instances of food transgressions, transgressive foods and the political geographies that direct and result from these transgressions, novel assemblages and food networks. In introducing the chapters, as we do below, we highlight the three themes of *ethics*, *governance*, and *geographies* that interweave themselves in and out of the various chapters' engagements with food transgressions, as well as interweave amongst themselves in these tales about transgressive foods. In this,

we hope that the foregrounding of these three themes is as much a substantive effort as it is one designed to facilitate an introduction of each of the chapters in the volume.

### **Ethics of Transgression/Transgressive Ethics**

The power of ethics—as motivation, as driving force, as framing mechanism and as discourse—is one of the themes that feature most clearly in the food transgressions that travel in and out of the chapters in this book. In the chapter by Berlan and Dolan and that of Nelson, Tallontire, Opondo and Martin, a number of the transgressions in the food networks they discuss—particularly around supply chain standards and their governance—are facilitated by the desire to do good, better and/or the ‘right’ things in the creation of more ethical and fair trading relations. Both sets of authors work to explore the contradictions, complications and complexities of the ways that the desire to do the ethically right things in alternative trade networks actually gets played out in the politics of practice within these networks. For Berlan and Dolan, the very ‘ethics of care’ embedded in fair trade’s moral economy of connection between producers and consumers has — through its conventionalisation and standardisation — been transgressed in ways that re-align it along pathways of, in their words, “disconnection, distance and detachment”. In Nelson et al’s chapter, transgressions into multi-stakeholder supply chain management between Africa and the UK, designed to promote more ethical labour standards and working conditions, were not able to be *transgressive enough* to disturb existing power relationships in which retailers remain in control. Their detailed account demonstrates that, even with an ethically-motivated transgression of bringing other voices to the trade-governance table, it is actually transformation of the relations of power in trade circuits that should be the issue under discussion and that needs to be achieved in the name of more ethical trade. Thus, their account is one that

reveals how, at one level, some boundaries are crossed in the creation of more ethical trading networks but, at a different level, boundaries are either being created anew and/or existing, un-crossable boundaries are ‘hardened’ and brought to the fore.

An ethics of care, as presented in Berlan and Dolan’s chapter, similarly informs the arguments of the chapter by Cox, Kneafsey, Holloway, Dowler and Venn. For them, the care ethics embedded in a local community supported agriculture (CSA) project in Scotland works to transgress the ‘care of the self’ in the form of eating local, fresh and healthy foods, to encompass the care of (unknown) others as well as the environment at a variety of different scales. In a case that serves to some degree as a corrective to DuPuis and Goodman’s (2005) caution regarding the conservative and exclusionary potential of local food projects and ideologies, empirical evidence suggested a series of practice-driven transgressions across “the self and others, the political and the practical, the careful and the ordinary and, importantly, bodies, spaces, places and (alternative) food”. And, while not using this formulation specifically, Davolio and Sassattelli, in their contemporary history of the widening vision of the Slow Food movement, suggest that the movement’s changing ethics of care is now working to transgress into not just tasty, quality food but that which takes on food safety, ecologies and health. What they call Slow Food’s “polite transgression” is an account of the changing focus of the politics and practices of the movement that sees food pleasure as a right for not just middle and upper-class foodies (Cf. Johnston and Bauman 2010) but for all, in such a way that food becomes the epicenter of the reformation of our relationships to economies, cultures, ethics, politics and ecologies.

In the chapters of Dixon, Hattersley and Isaacs, and that of Goodman, it is the ethics of value generation and profit maximisation that, seemingly, is working to drive

the transgressions of retail capital into novel, even green, pursuits in terms of food supply and supply chain management. Dixon et al's chapter begins by noting the domination of the Australian food retail sector by just two supermarket chains, as well as the transgressions of food retail that are well underway in Thailand. Given the scale of supermarket power, they argue that a key element of corporate strategy is to seek legitimacy for their roles as social and political actors in both jurisdictions using "liminoid power" to redefine rights and responsibilities within the food system. This legitimization involves supplying shoppers with transgressive foods that come embedded with social responsibility, environmental-friendliness and consumer health. Liminoid power, according to Dixon et al, is little more than a ruse, designed to extract further value by providing volunteeristic consumer solutions to the very problems that supermarkets are implicated in causing in the first place. Goodman similarly explores the liminoid power of supermarkets in the UK in their explicit transgressions into, but more importantly, control of the so-called alternative supply chains for organic foods. Here, as he shows, the growing power of supermarkets to capture the ethics of care embedded in the discourses of the organic as local, fresh, environmentally- and small-farmer-friendly runs in parallel to those of value generation by controlling and supplying organic foods to the majority of hungry UK consumers. And, it is the similar drives of value-generation and control that have led to the "geneticisation" of livestock rearing by supermarkets, also in the UK. Here, Holloway, Morris, Gibbs and Gilna's chapter, using the perspective of bio-power, works to explore the ways and means by which retail capital and its surrogates have transgressed into the power and functionalities of genes in the desire to produce, rear and supply tasty, high quality and the 'right' kinds of meat. It is "supply chain integration"—from genetic material, to

scientists and scientific knowledge, to breeders, to new insemination technologies, to abattoirs—that comes to structure what the authors call “genetic knowledge-practices” which, in turn, facilitate the ethical and practical transgression of “when animals become food” (Miele and Evans, 2010).

Finally, Caraher and Dowler chronicle and critically explore the possibilities and limitations facing AFNs as they seek to transgress, particularly under the circumstances of the ‘new austerity’, into anti-hunger politics and practices. At the same time, the authors consider how long-standing food poverty campaigns have had to draw back from more oppositional politics as they take on more responsibility for alleviating hunger with the declining provision under state welfare policies. Caraher and Dowler’s chapter gradually begins to reveal the possibilities of transgression by both anti-hunger and AFN movements into each other’s ‘territory’ of politics and practice. Access to nutritious and healthy foods for the poor, hungry and marginal, they argue, can and, perhaps, should be addressed by AFNs in alliance with social justice campaigners who understand the structural determinants of poverty and who can ensure such initiatives are as equitable and inclusive as possible. Consequently, Caraher and Dowler argue that the possibilities for such an alliance offer not only an oppositional platform to the status quo, but the envisioning of new ways to produce and consume food that provides health, security and pleasure. And it is the development of new alternatives in the realms of meat production and consumption that underpins Sage’s chapter. Starting from a concern for the environmental, ethical and health aspects of meat-based diets, Sage considers the potential of different transgressive options, new dietary choices in the forms of meat analogues, in-vitro tissue culture and insects. Such options have the potential to not only reduce the impact of livestock’s so-called ‘long shadow’ (Steinfeld

et al 2006) but also increase the nutritional intake of undernourished poor consumers around the world. Clearly, cultural and cuisine-related transgressions will need to become the order of the day in order to encourage this branching out into other forms of protein and so the ways that new forms of ‘meat’ become ethically acceptable (or not) is, as Sage recommends, worth much future research.

### **Governance Transgressions/Transgressive Governance**

A second set of related themes that feature throughout many of the chapters in this volume involve the ways that new governance regimes work to transgress a number of different boundaries in the production and consumption of food. For instance, De Laurentis and Cooke’s chapter explores the ways that food systems in the UK in general, but Wales in particular, have shifted away from an exclusively productivist food governance paradigm to one that is arguably more broadly-based. This has developed furthest in Wales where the development of more sustainable production methods including organic farming, has been combined with a more niche-oriented and regionally-embedded strategic focus. De Laurentis and Cooke call this an “organicist” food regime, one in which value is added through place- and process-marketing mechanisms. So while knowledge transgressions amongst producers are key to developing and promoting new Welsh food products, crucially, these become closely tied to place promotion and the encouragement of agri-tourism ventures. Crucial here, of course, are the sustainable development governance structures put into place by the Welsh Government, suggesting that one of the key transgressions in the changing shape and form of the Welsh agro-food sector is that between established and emerging markets, between those in the process of private sector-led development and those being facilitated by the state.

A number of chapters in the book work to explore the ways that retail capital in the form of supermarkets is rupturing, reforming and transgressing agri-food governance networks. The power of supermarkets—and other corporate players in agri-food networks—and their capacity to engender new governance transgressions is illustrated in the chapters on organic food in the UK (Goodman); on fair and ethical trading schemes (Berlan and Dolan, and Nelson et al); on nutritional and socio-ecological metabolisms (Dixon et al); and in the chapter on meat qualities (Holloway et al). Through the examples of fair trade chocolate and ethically-produced and -traded flowers, Berlan and Dolan and Nelson et al, respectively, show the ways that retail and corporate capital has transgressed into the realms of governance so as to shape what is meant by ‘fair’ and ‘ethical’ in practice. Goodman, on the other hand, looks at the particular ways and means by which retailers in the UK deepen their market reach by providing transgressive access to the so-called alternative spaces and ethics of organic food. Dixon et al, meanwhile, explore the boundary-crossing implications of supermarket food supply in Australia and Thailand, arguing that such corporate transgressions occur to the detriment of the spaces and ethics of food provisioning and citizens in both societies. Holloway et al explore the co-production of the bio-politics, bio-economies and bio-knowledges of meat production through the ability and desire of supermarkets and their surrogates to infiltrate and entangle themselves into the very processes of ‘life itself’: Corporate retail bio-power, in other words, exercise the very genetic governance of traits and qualities in livestock in their supply chains. And, as Davolio and Sassattelli’s chapter outlines, even in the case of Slow Food which is working to position itself into the mainstream, supermarkets have become key players to be negotiated and worked with in order to spread and develop the Slow Food brand.

A final theme in terms of governance concerns the ways that shifting diets and food consumption cultures also act as expressions of food transgressions. Different chapters take up these concerns and explorations in different ways. Davolio and Sassattelli, for example, show how the “cultural intermediary” that is Slow Food attempts the (re)governing of entire food networks through reconfiguring consuming cultures, such that it places pleasure, quality and tradition at the forefront of eaters’ concerns. Governance, through these novel consumer cultures, works to be transgressively multi-spatial, in that it crosses from the local, to the national, to the regional, to the global; but it also seeks to be multi-vocal as it attempts to communicate on the multiple registers of the economic, cultural, ethical and political. Cox et al, writing from the specific experience of one AFN, explore how a transgressive ethics of care can attempt to govern peoples’, producers’, consumers’ and communities’ everyday practices as well as geographical imaginations in the context of food choice. For Sage, it is the possibilities of alternative forms of meat and, especially, the need to transgress from meat-centric diets that must inform better governance around food choice and consumer cultures. In the context of creating more and better conditions for justice in food systems in post-industrialized countries—which form the core concerns of Caraher and Dowler’s chapter—the possibilities of AFNs transgressing into the governance of anti-hunger provisioning schemes comes in for sustained discussion and critique. Here access to nutritious food for those less well-off is not just a question of governance and practice but goes to the heart of the ideological constraints that present themselves within the current array of AFNs. What Caraher and Dowler suggest is the need for greater and more far-reaching transgressions and boundary-crossings, but ones



which are historically, spatially and socio-ecologically embedded, in the development of new and more suitable food justice networks and movements.

### **Geographies of Transgression/Transgressive Geographies**

The crossing of spatial boundaries and the ways that food and food politics create and facilitate spatial transgressions is the third and final set of themes that we see weaving in and out of the chapters in this volume. For many of the authors, such transgressions are identified through a series of discursive, material or governance practices connecting spaces of production and consumption. One of the clearest examples of this is found in De Laurentis and Cooke's chapter where they describe a kind of 'selling of place to save it'. In this case Wales, as a geographical entity that produces and markets itself through agri-tourism and branded regional and locally-produced foods, works to transgress space and place in order to promote territorial development. Making use of regional designation schemes, for example, Wales seeks to become a branded, 'foodie' place that not only produces quality products for others to eat but also a place that they will connect with. For Cox et al, the boundaries of the local CSA farm are transgressed through the geographical imaginary of the ethics of care embedded within it, its producers and its consumers. Literal and figurative distance is lessened or even disappears (cf. Barnett et al, 2005) in the care relations that transgress geographies, ecologies and many other boundaries. In the fair, ethical and green agri-food networks explored in the chapters by Berlan and Dolan, Nelson et al and Goodman, the ultimate purpose of these networks is to transgress the boundaries of socio-economic and ecological relations of production and consumption and, indeed, of producers and consumers. For Davolio and Sassattelli, it is a politics of pleasure that works to transgress and connect the spaces and place of production and consumption, this

connection becoming ‘materialised’ on the plates and palates of Slow Food eaters. Such transgressions, set out as they are in Slow Food’s new drive to express the universal right of food pleasure for all, still present a series of practical question of which, perhaps, the most pressing being: who is it that gets to participate in these Slow Food spaces, places, politics and pleasures? Transgressive intentions are now clearly embedded in Slow Food’s politics, but one of the things that still needs urgently to be explored—and answered—is the extent to which the ‘everyday spaces’ of Slow Food consumption cultures remain privileged and exclusive. Questions about everyday spaces also make an appearance in Holloway et al’s chapter where, in the case of the geneticisation of livestock rearing, they describe how knowledge practices of breeding become transgressed and entangled with the interests of laboratories, scientists and their institutions as well as with the supermarkets where the meat is eventually sold. Part of their story is also how these everyday spaces become the sites of resistance to this geneticisation and where the resulting bio-politics are played out.

For Dixon et al, the Australian and Thai cases provide contrasting but complementary illustrations of the spatial transgressions of supermarkets. In Australia the two retail chains that enjoy a dominant position in market-share are well-placed to continue to shape the retail foodscape there, while in Thailand a more novel, rapidly changing food provisioning system also presents a number of dietary, nutritional, ecological and socio-economic challenges. One of the key observations of the authors is the relative ease of the supermarkets to embark upon and achieve this transgressing without regulatory restriction, thus illustrating their growing power in shaping everyday foodscapes. And part of this power, as detailed in Sage’s chapter on meat production and consumption, is the ways that supermarkets and food service companies have been

able to make the provision of meat a truly everyday and ubiquitous item. As meat production becomes more expensive in human health and ecological terms, the transgressive potential of different and alternative proteins grows. What Sage points to is the need for less ecological and geographical transgression—perhaps built around more locally-just and locally-sustainable, integrated agro-ecological farming systems—but also, paradoxically, more transgression in terms of consumption with the development of novel forms of protein. There are echoes of Sage’s underlying arguments in Caraher and Dowler’s suggestion for the geographical transgression of anti-hunger movements by those with a more traditional AFN approach. And, while they see potential in these practical and discursive transgressions of food poverty movements and those of AFNs, what might result from these continuing discussions and trials might be like nothing we have seen before and, indeed, provide potential for confronting the spaces of hunger and development that Young (2012) sees stalking the globe. The key of course, will be a series of boundary-crossing projects and parallel movements that begin to tackle issues related, not only to food deficiencies, but also those more generally of ‘malconsumption’ (Sage 2012b, c; see also Sage 2012a) and that might become truly transgressively global in focus and local in character.

### **Transgressive Endings and Beginnings**

The chapters in this volume work to explore the ways that food—and its co-incident politics, spatialities and histories—can be found to transgress a multiplicity of boundaries and borders including those of bodies, cultures, economies, materialities, ideologies, ethics, geographies, politics, technologies, knowledges and ecologies, as well as current theoretical and disciplinary-based analysis of food. The chapters detail food’s transgressive qualities, the specific ways it has transgressed boundaries, but how

it has also built boundaries anew through these crossings. Our own and the authors' use of the terms transgression and transgressive is not only designed to get at food's fluidities, liminalities, flows, entanglements and travels, but to do so in a way that documents the intentions and questions the expressions of power in these transgressions. Ultimately, what we see as the contemporary politics and geographies that define these transgressions can be located on the scale from the everyday and local through to the global and structural. In this, the individual chapters of the volume—and, indeed, the volume itself—not only add to debates about the politics, spatialities and power of food, but we believe that by conceptualising and detailing cases of food transgressions and transgressive foods provides a novel theoretical window on the state and expression of contemporary food politics and geographies. We see, then, this volume as only the first word in opening up discussion and exploration about food transgressions, boundary-crossing and border-(re)making in a world in need of more debate on creating sustainable and just food futures through all forms of theoretical and empirical engagement and at all manner of scales. We, along with the contributors to this volume, look forward to engaging in dialogue on these matters here and further into the future.

## References

- Barnett, C., Cloke, P., Clarke, N. and Malpass, A. (2005). Consuming Ethics: Articulating the Subjects and Spaces of Ethical Consumption. *Antipode* 37, 23-45.
- Bell, D. and Valentine, G. (1997). *Consuming Geographies: We Are Where We Eat*. London: Routledge.
- Bennett, J. (2010). *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. London: Duke University Press.
- Busch, L. and Juska, A. (1997). Beyond Political Economy: Actor Networks and the Globalization of Agriculture. *Review of International Political Economy* 4 (688-708).
- Carolan, M. (2011). *Embodied Food Politics*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Cloke, P. and Johnston, R. (Eds.). (2005). *Spaces of Geographical Thought*. London: Sage.

- Coles, B. and Crang, P. (2011). Placing Alternative Consumption: Commodity Fetishism in Borough Fine Foods Market, London. In T. Lewis and E. Potter (Eds.), *Ethical Consumption: A Critical Introduction* (pp. 87-102). London: Routledge.
- Colls, R. (2007). Materialising Bodily Matter: Intra-Action and the Embodiment of 'Fat'. *Geoforum* 38, 353-365.
- Cook et al. (2008). Geographies of Food: Mixing. *Progress in Human Geography* 32 (6), 821-833.
- Cook, I., Crang, M. and Thorpe, M. (1998). Biographies and Geographies: Consumer Understandings of the Origins of Foods. *British Food Journal* 100 (3), 162-.
- Cook, I. and Crang, P. (1996). The World on a Plate: Culinary Culture, Displacement, and Geographical Knowledges. *Journal of Material Culture* 1, 131-153.
- Cook, I., Crang, P. and Thorpe, M. (1999). Eating into Britishness: Multicultural Imaginaries and the Identity Politics of Food. In S. Roseneil and J. Seymour (Eds.), *Practising Identities* (pp. 223-248). London: Macmillian Press.
- DuPuis, E. M. and Goodman, D. (2005). Should We Go Home to Eat?: Towards a Reflexive Politics of Localism. *Journal of Rural Studies* 21 (3), 359-371.
- Duruz, J. (2005). Eating at the Borders: Culinary Journeys. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, 51-69.
- Evans, A. and Miele, M. (2012). Between Food and Flesh: How Animals Are Made to Matter (and Not Matter) within Food Consumption Practices. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 30, 298-314.
- Goodman, D. (1999). Agro-Food Studies in the 'Age of Ecology': Nature, Corporeality, Bio-Politics. *Sociologia Ruralis* 39, 17-38.
- Goodman, D., DuPuis, E. M. and Goodman, M. (2012). *Alternative Food Networks: Knowledge, Practice and Politics*. London: Routledge.
- Goodman, D. and Goodman, M. (2001). Sustaining Foods: Organic Consumption and the Socio-Ecological Imaginary. In M. Cohen and J. Murphy (Eds.), *Exploring Sustainable Consumption: Environmental Policy and the Social Sciences* (pp. 97-119). Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Goodman, M., Goodman, D. and Redclift, M. (2010a). Introduction: Consuming Space and Place in Perspective. In M. Goodman, D. Goodman and M. Redclift (Eds.), *Consuming Space: Placing Consumption in Perspective* (pp.). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Goodman, M., Maye, D. and Holloway, L. (2010b). Ethical Foodscapes?: Premises, Promises and Possibilities. *Environment and Planning A* 42, 1782-1796.
- Hayes-Conroy, A. and Hayes-Conroy, J. (2010a). Visceral Difference: Variations in Feeling (Slow) Food. *Environment and Planning A* 42, 2956-2971.
- Hayes-Conroy, J. and Hayes-Conroy, A. (2010b). Visceral Geographies: Mattering, Relating and Defying. *Geography Compass* 4 (9), 1273-1282.
- Jenks, C. (2003). *Transgression*. London: Routledge.
- Johnston, J. and Baumann, S. (2010). *Foodies: Democracy and Distinction in the Gourmet Foodscape*. London: Routledge.
- Lang, T. and Heasman, M. (2004). *Food Wars: The Global Battle for the Mouths, Minds, and Markets*. London: Earthscan.
- Latour, B. (1993). *We Have Never Been Modern*. Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Latour, B. (2010). An Attempt at a "Compositionist Manifesto". *New Literary History* 41 (3), 471-490.

- Law, J. (1994). *Organising Modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lind, D. and Barham, E. (2004). The Social Life of the Tortilla: Food, Cultural Politics, and Contested Commodification. *Agriculture and Human Values* 21, 47-60.
- Lorimer, J. (2012). Multinatural Geographies for the Anthropocene. *Progress in Human Geography* 36 (5), 593-612.
- Lupton, D. (1996). *Food, the Body and the Self*. London: Sage.
- Miele, M. and Evans, A. (2010). When Foods Become Animals: Ruminations on Ethics and Responsibility in Care-Full Practices of Consumption. *Ethics, Place and Environment* 13 (2).
- Mol, A. (2008). I Eat and Apple. On Theorising Subjectives. *Subjectivity* 22, 28-37.
- Mol, A. and Law, J. (2005). Boundary Variations: An Introduction. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, 637-642.
- Murdoch, J. (2000). Networks: A New Paradigm for Rural Development? *Journal of Rural Studies* 16 (4), 407-419.
- Probyn, E. (2000). *Carnal Appetites: Food, Sex, Identities*. London: Routledge.
- Roe, E. (2006a). Material Connectivity, the Immaterial and the Aesthetic of Eating Practices: An Argument for How Genetically Modified Foodstuff Becomes Inedible. *Environment and Planning A* 38, 465-481.
- Roe, E. (2006b). Things Becoming Food and the Embodied, Material Practices of an Organic Food Consumer. *Sociologia Ruralis* 46 (2), 104-121.
- Sage, C. (2003). Social Embeddedness and Relations of Regard: Alternative 'Good Food' Networks in South-West Ireland. *Journal of Rural Studies* 19, 47-60.
- Sage, C. (2010). Re-Imagining the Irish Foodscape. *Irish Geography* 43 (2), 93-104.
- Sage, C. (2012a). *Environment and Food*. London: Routledge.
- Sage, C. (2012b). Addressing the Faustian Bargain of the Modern Food System: Connecting Sustainable Agriculture with Sustainable Consumption. *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability* 10 (3).
- Sage, C. (2012c). The Inter-Connected Challenges for Food Security from a Food Regimes Perspective: Energy, Climate and Malconsumption. *Journal of Rural Studies*.
- Steinfeld, H., Gerber, P., Wassenaar, T., Castel, V., Rosales, M. and de Haan, C. (2006). *Livestock's Long Shadow: Environmental Issues and Options*. Rome: FAO.
- Whatmore, S. (1997). Dissecting the Autonomous Self: Hybrid Cartographies for a Relational Ethics. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15, 37-53.
- Whatmore, S. (2002). *Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces*. London: Sage.
- Whatmore, S. and Thorne, L. (1997). Nourishing Networks: Alternative Geographies of Food. In D. Goodman and M. Watts (Eds.), *Globalising Food: Agrarian Questions and Global Restructuring* (pp. 287-304). London: Routledge.
- Young, E. (2012). *Food and Development*. London: Routledge.