drexel university
and the chemical heritage foundation of philadelphia
present:

stop making sense

a conversation between sensory and social science about food and drink

MARCH 10, 2017

The Chemical Heritage Foundation
315 Chestnut St.
Philadelphia, PA 19106
8 AM - 6:30 PM

Research on the senses, and on food and drink particularly, is too often done within narrow silos. To disrupt the status quo, we have brought together scholars from food-sensory science, humanities, and social science to provoke innovative and collaborative thinking about the senses and food. This one-day symposium will focus on sensory studies and science from interdisciplinary perspectives.

keynote speakers

Hildegarde Heymann
Distinguished Professor of Viticulture and Enology, University of California–Davis

Steven Shapin
Franklin L. Ford Research Professor of the History of Science, Harvard University

paper sessions

- Sensory Histories
- Sensory Epistemology
- Language and the Senses
- Social Tastes
- Teaching the Senses

event schedule

8:00 AM Coffee and Welcome Remarks

8:30 AM Session 1: Sensory Histories

Chair: David Barnes
Ai Hisano, Vision and Taste: Standardized Color and the Creation of Naturalness in the American Food Industry
Benjamin Cohen, Tasting Purity: Changing Values of Sensory Experience in the Age of Adulteration
Christy Spackman, Making Olfactory Road Maps: Sensory Labor Beyond the Food Lab
Ingemar Pettersson, Food Sensory Science: A History of Experiments

9:50 AM Session 2: Sensory Epistemologies

Chair: Kelly Joyce
Allison Brown, From Gene to Bean-to-Bar: An Integrative Approach to Characterizing Cocoa and Chocolate Quality
Luke Stark, Visual Privacy and Intuitive Data Toxicology
Sarah Tracy, Tasty Molecules: Umami, Big Food, and the Chemosenses
Alexios Tsigkas, How the Market Makes Sense: Taste as an Economic Fact

11:10 AM Coffee Break

11:40 AM Session 3: Language and The Senses

Chair: Marcia Pelchat
Jeannine Delwiche, Reconsidering Basic Tastes
Ella Butler, How to Talk about Taste?
Anna Nguyen, Consuming Knowledge: On the Possibility of Food Writing
Ana María Ulloa, What Flavor Calls For: Scientific and Technical Skills

1:00 PM Lunch

2:00 PM Session 4: Social Tastes

Chair: Nadia Berenstein
Penny Van Esterik, Taste Socialization and Infancy
Carole Counihan/Susanne Højlund, Sharing Taste: Anthropological perspectives on the sensory experience of food
Hayden Kantor, A Body Set Between Hot and Cold: Apprehending Sensations of Sustenance in Bihar, India
Christy Shields-Argelès, Tasting Comté Cheese: The Jury Terroir as Ritual Practice

3:40 PM Session 5: Teaching the Senses

Chair: Amy Trubek

Smag for Livet

Mikael Schneider, Taste for Life - A Case for Interdisciplinary Communication and Research on Taste
Mathias Skovmand-Larsen, Gastrophysics - Teaching with and about Taste
Liselotte Hedegaard, Learning through and about Taste - Experiences from a Thematic Week at a Public School
Taren Wistoft, Taste as Didactic Element in Food Education
Rikke Højer, Title TBA: Non-hegemonic Taste Education
Susanne Højlund, Interdisciplinary Dialogues about Taste: Creative Tastebuds Symposium

Helene Hopfer, Teaching Sensory Science beyond Sensory Evaluation

5:00 Keynote Speakers

Hildegarde Heymann

Steven Shapin

abstracts

Allison Brown, From Gene to Bean-to-Bar: An Integrative Approach to Characterizing Cocoa and Chocolate Quality

Sensory science has long been an integral part of determining bulk cocoa quality which is defined as having a consistent flavor and lack of defects. A new opportunity for cocoa sensory science is emerging—using it as a means to elucidate the diverse array of flavors present in fine flavor cocoa. In contrast to past studies, we take a new approach combining sensory science with flavor chemistry, plant genetics and rural sociology for a comprehensive understanding of the origins of fine flavor cocoa. As such, sensory-assisted breeding will inform future Theobroma cacao breeders and lead to improvements in cacao germplasm. This information will also be utilized by smallholder cocoa farmers who can decide which plant material or post-harvest processes will bring them the highest quality flavors which allows them to ask a higher selling price. Ultimately, the $100 million bean-to-bar chocolate industry and its consumers will benefit from the availability of more consistent and flavorful chocolate.

Ella Butler, How to Talk about Taste?

This paper concerns a problem of interdisciplinary translation. As an anthropologist whose research is about sensory scientists and their work, when I describe my project to colleagues I usually tell them I am interested in 'how sensory scientists understand taste.' This explanation serves to communicate my research to anthropologists in all contexts: from grant applications to Friday night drinks. However, when I am talking to sensory scientist interlocutors, I never tell them that my research is about 'taste,' because this term has a highly specific meaning for them. For sensory science, 'taste' is a sensory response to the signalling of taste receptors, located in sense organs called taste buds that interact with taste molecules. 'Taste' is technically distinguished here from flavor, aroma, texture/mouthfeel, chemesthesis, and so on. Thus, on the one hand, to tell a sensory scientist that I am interested in 'taste' would be to indicate to them that I am interested in a specific physiological function. On the other hand, for social scientists, 'taste' has a long genealogy in the philosophy, history and anthropology of the senses, so when I use this term I analytically invoke broader questions that are relevant to sensory science: questions of subjectivity and objectivity, of class and distinction, and of the relationship between and hierarchy of the senses themselves. 'Taste' is thus both theoretically rich and ethnographically confounding; this paper opens up a space for sensory science to trouble the logics that anthropologists and social scientists have used to study the senses. For the anthropology of the senses - if not 'taste' - what kind of analytic language can account for sensory science and its research practices? By delving into issues of interdisciplinary translation this paper explores problems of 'taste' as an ethnographic and theoretical term.

Benjamin Cohen, Tasting Purity: Changing Values of Sensory Experience in the Age of Adulteration

The biggest story of agriculture and food in the United States from the mid-1800s to early 1900s was about shifts in control from field to kitchen, from farm to city, from production to consumption. These reflected changes in environmental experience, urban demographics, and industrial economies. Those changes grew substantially across the 1900s, but their shape was put in place early in the century. At the macro-political scale the shifts were codified in a move from an agricultural agency (the USDA, 1862) to a food agency (the FDA, after 1906). At the scale of lived experience (for farmers, consumers, cookers, eaters), the shifts played a role in bringing the value of sensory experience into question. To that point, this paper examines the ways taste, smell, and appearance became points of conflict when adjudicating food identity during the late nineteenth century transition. In other words, how did people know what their food was? I focus on the Pure Food Crusades of the era with examples from the fats, oils, and sweeteners industries, since the anxiety of the so-called "age of adulteration" was pro-

duced by the changes in environmental experience, urban demographics, and industrial economies. The paper brings the history of science, technology, and the environmental together with the literature in STS and food studies to ask further: What role did sensory experience play in resolving the pure food debates? How did the value of sensory experience change as politicians and scientists sought to clarify and redefine what a "pure" food was? Addressing the questions offers a view of how pure food advocates defined, accessed, and understood sensory experience by drawing on historical archival evidence along with studies of trust, health and control.

Carole Counihan/Susanne Højlund, Sharing Taste: Anthropological Perspectives on the Sensory Experience of Food

We know that different cultures have different taste preferences and flavor principles embedded in cuisine, but how they become part of our sensorial apparatus and identity is still not clear. In this paper we argue that focusing on how taste is a medium for communication and exchange is a key to understanding how taste, social context, and culture are intertwined. While taste is often described in terms of personal preferences, as an individual perception of an outer world, it is seldom analyzed as something between us. But taste cannot become part of culture without acts of sharing. Through empirical examples from fieldwork in Denmark and Italy, the paper discusses how this sharing is practiced and conceptualized. We explore how taste is made public at different levels. One example comes from taste education programs for adolescents in Danish schools. We find that children bring taste into the school and modulate it within the context of the school in order to create and maintain social relations, which in turn contribute to constructing taste sensations. A second example comes from the role of taste in Italian food activism where it serves to raise awareness about the ills of the agro-industrial food system and promote change towards food democracy. Taste activism takes place in social, public spaces as people exchange food, knowledge, and sensory experiences, and engage minds and bodies holistically in a critical approach to food. The two cases explore the relationship between sensory experience and context to affirm the importance of public, social exchanges in the construction of taste and the meanings surrounding it.

Jeannine Delwiche, Reconsidering Basic Tastes

While many are taught that taste is comprised of a limited set of "basic tastes," the definition of these "primaries" is typically vague or nonexistent. Possible definitions are explored and comparison is made to color primaries and color categories. The top-down influence of language and culture on categorical perception is explained. How experimental designs that neatly bucket stimuli into salient categories can limit understanding and potential mislead investigators is illustrated, using the "basic tastes" model as a cautionary tale.

Ai Hisano, Vision and Taste: Standardized Color and the Creation of Naturalness in the American Food Industry

Color became an obsession for American food businesses in the late nineteenth century, in both the agricultural and food-processing industries. Color was generally easier to control, reproduce, and commoditize than other sensory factors. The smell of foods, for instance, was difficult to advertise in print media or television. In contrast, color served as a powerful communication tool for food producers. Color-controlling technologies, including food dyes and color-measurement equipment, and new knowledge in color science afforded producers and retailers variant ways of manipulating food color economically, consistently, and conveniently, allowing for a new level of control and standardization. The bright, uniform coloring of foods offered consumers new kinds of food buying and eating experiences while constructing and standardizing consumer expectations about how food should look. Food companies utilized color as a marker of consistent quality and brand identity that would appeal

to consumers' eyes in the market transaction. The calibration of color was essential not only to satisfy, or create, consumers' insatiable appetite by expanding product variety, but also to "correct" natural variations and to convey standardized ideas of freshness and naturalness. Despite the crucial importance of color to food businesses and to people's food consuming patterns, scholars have not fully investigated the place of color in food production and marketing..
(ctnd.) This paper examines how American food processors and agricultural producers used standardized color as a marketing strategy between the 1870s and 1930s. In the emergent era of the extensive mass production and mass marketing, color standardization meant asserting the idea of naturalness, such as green canned peas or yellow butter, even as producers imposed a "natural" color through artificial means. Producers' desires to create sustained profits and streamline production created the "natural" color of foods as a hybrid of nature and technology, constructing naturalness as a complex characteristic of foods.

Helene Hopfer, Teaching Sensory Science beyond Sensory Evaluation

The majority of the products we use or consume daily have been optimized using sensory evaluation techniques. Sensory Science has been defined as the "scientific discipline used to evoke, measure, analyze and interpret those reactions to those characteristics of foods and materials as they are perceived by the senses of sight, smell, touch, taste and hearing." (Stone & Sidel, 1993). However, this definition is overly narrow in two critical ways. First, it elides the widespread use of sensory testing for non-food products. Second, sensory evaluation has classically focused on the product, whereas the broader field of Sensory Science also includes study of the person in their own right. That is, as an academic discipline, Sensory Science includes not only applied sensory evaluation, but also psychophysics, sensory neuroscience, affective neuroscience, sensory biology, and genetics (Prescott, Hayes & Byrnes 2014). Accordingly, as broadly trained multidisciplinary researchers, sensory scientists characterize interactions between users and products across cultures and countries. Critically, modern Sensory Science is not merely focused on product evaluation, but also includes study of the person in their own right. Thus, teaching Sensory Science purely as a "service" technique is insufficient – rather, one needs to treat the training of sensory scientists as an interdisciplinary educational challenge, where interactions between people (i.e., consumers) and both food and non-food products are studied from culturally sensitive perspectives, using methods of inquiry from multiple fields. As such, Sensory Science is a prime example of integration across agricultural sciences, natural sciences, and human sciences.

Hayden Kantor, A Body Set Between Hot and Cold: Apprehending Sensations of Sustenance in Bihar, India

How do people sense and achieve feelings of bodily sustenance as they confront the precarity of rural life? How is a sense of vulnerability inscribed at the level of bodily practice? And how might anthropologists apprehend what it means to care for the body under these conditions? In this paper, I draw on ethnographic fieldwork with small-scale farmers in Bihar, India to probe how they sense bodily wellness and strive to recover their strength. I present a local taxonomy of food that shape farming and eating practices in rural Bihar. Biharis understand the body and food through a humoral framework in which the body was set at equilibrium by balancing heating and cooling foods. They eat foods they consider cooling in summer and those they consider heating in winter. With grinding physical labor and houses open to the environment, they are sensitive to changes in temperature. In addition, Biharis believe that different types of labors necessitated different diets. Those engaged in strenuous manual labor required rich, heating foods like meat to restore the body. Meanwhile, studying for examinations required specialty foods that sharpened one's mental acuity. Sensations of fullness and hunger and ideologies of care emerge and are shaped by an environment of deep economic uncertainty. In my effort to understand these situated sensations of scarcity and wellness, I consider anthropology's methodological inheritance of ethnographic fieldwork and use of phenomenological approaches. Beneath the level of discourse, I sought to grasp local categories and norms on an embodied plain. The mis-

takes I made in that endeavor revealed to me the logics of local food rules. Over the course of fieldwork, my own body was transformed. Reflecting on that experience, I probe the epistemological limits that hindered me from fully apprehending the quotidian and persistent vulnerability that marks life in precarious Bihar.

Anna Nguyen, Consuming Knowledge: On the Possibility of Food Writing

Humanities and the social sciences can supplement our understanding of perceptual knowledge in the context of food, but not every perspective is equally useful. Some perspectives seem to be incomplete because of the overemphasis on subjectivity. I address, in particular, the possibility of food writing and attempt to explicate sensory language and knowledge from three nested perspectives. Firstly, I introduce that we should try to understand how we talk about the self as explained by Maurice Merleau-Ponty's (2004) phenomenology. Merleau-Ponty uses phenomenology to reject the emphasis on scientific observation and observes that we cannot conceive anything that is not perceived or perceptible. He appeals to the lived experiences, where first-person sensory narratives are important and express embodied knowledge. I then turn my attention to the limitations of sensory language by discussing Ludwig Wittgenstein's (1967) representational language, which suggests that we first examine how we learn to express ideas verbally. Language, in Wittgenstein's mind, functions like a game, particularly when we try to communicate what we know to another. Wittgenstein reminds us to consider how we have learned to attribute such aesthetic ideals with descriptive language. His epistemic lessons thus expand on Merleau-Ponty's lived experiences. Finally I conclude with a sociopolitical perspective on the same research questions. In Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life, Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer (2011) considers the historical context of 17th-century science, the scientists' intentions, the experience of the reader, and the importance of "literary technology." The book is an account on science and credibility, based on the scientist Robert Boyle's use of the air pump and experimental testimony. The authors write that Boyle meticulously wrote and documented experimental phenomena as public knowledge for those who were not direct witnesses. Literary technology allowed Boyle to persuade the public to agree with his testimonies. The scientist used highly sensorial language in his experiment notes, assuming that if he wrote in such a lavish way the reader might think she was in the lab with him. This last perspective of sensory language as an authoritative and political way of persuasion completes the first-person narratives of phenomenology and the language games of Wittgenstein. We might ask ourselves why we trust a particular food critic or writers' tastes, and whether or not we change our opinions if we do allow ourselves to submit to their preferences and knowledges.

Ingemar Pettersson, Food Sensory Science: An Experimental History

The paper studies the emergence of food sensory science in the twentieth century by focusing on the development of methods and instruments for understanding food flavor. It is an "experimental history" concentrating on the interplay between a set of analytical practices within and without food sensory science, for instance: how individual taste experts were replaced by panels and surveys; how organoleptic analysis was formed as an assemblage of experimental techniques from pharmaceutics, psychophysics and chemistry; how human senses were mimicked through machinery; how techniques as gas chromatography were adopted as ways of bypassing human subjectivity in flavor studies; how the development of advanced techniques such as electronic noses responded to a need for "objective" knowledge but have never managed to replace human subjectivity in flavor analysis.

Christy Shields-Argelès, Tasting Comté Cheese: The Jury Terroir as Ritual Practice

Comté, a raw milk cheese produced in the Jura Massif region of eastern France, is recognized as an exemplary place-based product. This success is due in part to the work of the jury terroir (JT), a panel of trained volunteer tasters from the supply chain and the region that has met monthly for the past 25 years to describe the tastes of Comté cheese. Under the guidance of food scientist Florence Bérodi-

er, the JT is responsible for important objective demonstrations of the link between taste and place in Comté cheese. However, participants themselves stress the centrality of their sensorial subjectivities and their collaborative, intersubjective work. Bérodier, too, consistently claims that while gathering scientifically valid data in the jury is obviously important, an equally important goal has always been to create what she calls "une culture collective". Drawing from in-depth interviews and participant observation research, I argue that the JT must also be understood as a ritual practice that symbolically and structurally embeds actors in place by reiterating the whole and encouraging dialogical participation; all of which echoes the practices and values of other cultural sites such as the meal and the cooperative structures of the supply chain. The Comté example, and the work of the JT specifically, suggests that attending to these aspects of tasting practices can be adaptive as they help to promote a sense of solidary and holism among artisanal producers that helps them to respond to the fragmenting and alienating forces of an increasingly industrialized and globalized world.

Christy Spackman, Making Olfactory Road Maps: Sensory Labor Beyond the Food Lab

Gas chromatography (GC), introduced in the 1950s, was heralded by researchers across multiple fields as a watershed technology in understanding the molecular world. However, researchers interested in sensory experience soon found the results of GC inadequate for establishing the sensory importance of various identified molecules, pairing human sensors with gas chromatographs in the 1960s to overcome this hurdle. Despite the importance of this technology in contemporary practices of flavor and odor research, little work has examined the role of GC + a human sensor in guiding late-twentieth century approaches to solving flavor and odor problems. This paper takes the work of sensory researcher Andrew Dravnieks as a case study for how the epistemological link between molecular identity and smell has reshaped sensory labor, arguing that thinking of sensory experience through a molecular lens has shifted whose sensing is allowed to have political effect.

Luke Stark, Visual Privacy and Intuitive Data Toxicology

Much current scholarship examining online privacy and surveillance suggests narrowly legal and/or technical solutions to contemporary anxieties around digital tracking, aggregation, and "Big Data" analytics. In these discussions, human privacy is not always understood as an embodied, subjective phenomenon. In this presentation I will argue for a new focus on the visceral aspects of privacy as a prompt for both research and design, grounded in the broader history of how human emotions have been classified by digital technologies and incorporated into the lived experience of digital media. This emphasis on what I term "the emotional politics of interfaces" will draw attention to the ways in which contemporary interaction and user experience (UX) design is a crucial site where normative, ethical, and political values are contested through users' embodied, felt engagement with digital systems and with each other. In the paper, I unpack how online privacy can by supported by Privacy by Design (PbD) principles that make use of an analogous concept from environmental science, "intuitive toxicology," or interventions for mobilizing visceral responses to warn against contaminated air, water, and food. Using a variety of extant examples of intuitive toxicology in practice, I advocate for a greater attention to the social and political implications of digital interfaces, and for making data more viscerally appreciable via novel privacy-preserving and enhancing technologies.

Taste for Life (Smag for Livet): An exemplary research and communication collaboration of scientists and practitioners within the humanities, natural and social sciences

"Taste for Life" ("Smag for Livet" in Danish) is a unique interdisciplinary research and communication center with focus on taste, food and the senses. The center involves researchers from the humanities (pedagogical and didactical scientists), natural sciences (sensory scientists and gastrophysicists), and social sciences (anthropologists) as well as educators (preschool, elementary, secondary and vocational schools, colleges and universities) and chefs. Through interdisciplinary research collaboration and

communication we attempt to span the perceived chasm separating food-sensory science and the humanities and social sciences. We do so by engaging scholars from different disciplines in a close, collaborative effort hereby generating new knowledge on taste. The center thus includes researchers from several universities and colleges, chefs from innovation kitchens, and teachers from elementary schools, high schools and vocational educations. By integrating research, taste, learning, didactics and communication, our projects focus on three main areas: sensory sciences and didactics; gastrophysics and the integration of scientific disciplines; and innovation and honing of culinary skills. While we teach pupils, students and the broader public in educational institutions and festivals about and through taste, we also study their use of taste, taste preferences, and learning processes by gathering empirical data for anthropological, sensory and pedagogical research. At the conference, we wish to present selected examples of our work to serve as case-studies of interdisciplinary research and teaching on how we taste food and why it matters. For example, we have completed a theme week on taste in an elementary school covering all grades from 0-8 and all subject matters by teaching about and through taste, while at the same time gathering data on children's taste preferences and learning skills. Taste for Life is non-profit, has no walls, and is funded for a 4-year period by Nordea-fonden, a Danish foundation that supports non-profit, public and charitable purposes. The knowledge and results as well as educational material are publicly available and communicated to the general public using a wide range of means, including the website www.smagforlivet.dk (and to some extent www.taste-for-life.org).

Sarah Tracy, Tasty Molecules: Umami, Big Food, and the Chemosenses

Over the last twenty-odd years molecular techniques of mapping chemosensation (the chemical senses of taste and smell) have been woven into a universalizing, evolutionary biology explanation for human eating behaviour. In a prominent example, umami (translated from Japanese as "tastiness" or "savory deliciousness") has come to be understood as the fifth taste, elicited by several chemicals the most prominent of which being glutamate (Chaudhari, et al., 2000, 2002). Meanwhile, multisensory research has figured eating as an effect of both cognition and sensory mechanisms (e.g. Spence 2013). In other words, memory and socialized associations of desirability or undesirability, pleasure, and disgust have come to be interrogated on a molecular level—in the brain, and throughout the gastrointestinal tract. In this paper I present umami as a case study in the molecularization of eating among scientists, and the resonances of that shift in popular food culture in late industrial societies, particularly the United States. The knowledge of how to engineer 'tasty molecules' is thus a valuable attribute of professionals competing for a seat at the laboratory bench, as well as companies competing ruthlessly for 'stomach share' of consumer markets. Umami taste also rides the wave of a renewed investment among culinary taste-makers and 'foodies' in the proposition of better eating through science and through cosmopolitan exposure to diverse cuisines. Umami's molecular mechanisms make universal (a.k.a. objective) a Japanese concept and applied technology, one effect of which is the naturalization of commercial biotechnologies (e.g. flavor enhancers MSG, GMP, IMP) for making cheap, highly processed foods taste delicious.

Alexios Tsigkas, How the Market Makes Sense: Taste as an Economic Fact

Probing Ceylon tea as an ethnographic object, this paper will explore the ways in which aesthetic judgment, as exemplified in the practices and discourses that comprise tea tasting, intersects with market rationality in order to create value. In Sri Lanka, and elsewhere, tea is one of few commodities the production of which is structured around an intricate system of sensory evaluation: every day, in preparation for Colombo's weekly auction sale, tea 'brokers' and 'buyers' taste several hundred samples of tea in order to discern their quality and flavor profile, and ultimately assign each an estimated price—a quantifiable measure of its market potential. Their professional practice constitutes a field of expertise in which tasting and valuation appear to correspond so seamlessly and in a manner so direct that blurs the line between qualification and quantification, transforming taste into an altogether hybrid object that oscillates between the economic and aesthetic registers. Tea tasting is doubly im-

plemented by Ceylon tea industry professionals as a means of knowing their object of expertise and a mode of market speculation. Yet at the same time, "the market" assumes an epistemic function as it inflects knowledge of tea as both a commodity and focus of taste expertise and therefore the manner in which it is tasted and assessed. Therefore, this paper asks how tea tasting translates sensory input into expert knowledge and, in turn, economic value, transforming thus the tasted object into a market entity. In doing so, it simultaneously questions the very object of the tasters' expertise: what precisely becomes "known" through the act of tasting—tea itself, in its myriad subtle variations or the "market," a way of codifying the unpredictable flux between demand and supply? In other words, how does taste become an economic fact?

Ana María Ulloa, What Flavor Calls For: Scientific and Technical Skills

Skills, generally understood as trained and tacit practices, are equally found in science and industry, and are not the exclusive terrain of gastronomy as craft. The skills that scientists and flavorists acquire with their practice reveal different aspects of flavor as an object of study and creation; such activities are clear indicators of the different orientations an object like flavor calls for. In this presentation I will focus on the similitudes and differences of skills that scientists working on the chemical senses and flavorists acquire in their practices. Using the work of scientist and philosopher Michael Polanyi and historian of science Steven Shapin, I tell ethnographic stories that speak of the benefits of considering scientific and technical judgment along with connoisseurship. Together these skills tell us something about how are sensory experiences generally shared but also remit us to differences about what counts as valid knowledge when dealing with individual perceptions and judgments about those perceptions.

Penny Van Esterik, Taste Socialization and Infancy

This paper explores how taste is developed over an individual's lifetime and transformed across generations. The point of departure is the taste transfers begun in utero between mother and fetus. Building on the taste experiments of Julie Mennella from the Monell Chemical Senses Center on taste and infancy, this paper adds an anthropological perspective to a field shaped by psychological work on taste perception and biochemical work on flavour transfer. The paper raises the question of how adult taste perception might be influenced by infant feeding practices. Based on Mennella's work, we should expect significant differences in taste experiences between infants whose connection to the tastes experienced in utero continues through breastfeeding, and infants whose connection to those tastes ends at birth with the introduction of milk or soy-based substitutes. Ethnographic methods to address these questions are limited because infants cannot be experimented on, nor can they talk about taste. By adding information on mothers' perceptions about their infants' taste preferences and examining food preferences across the generations, we can learn more about how context shapes taste perception. Based on these varied and often contradictory sources of evidence, the paper develops a model

event information

$30 Admission

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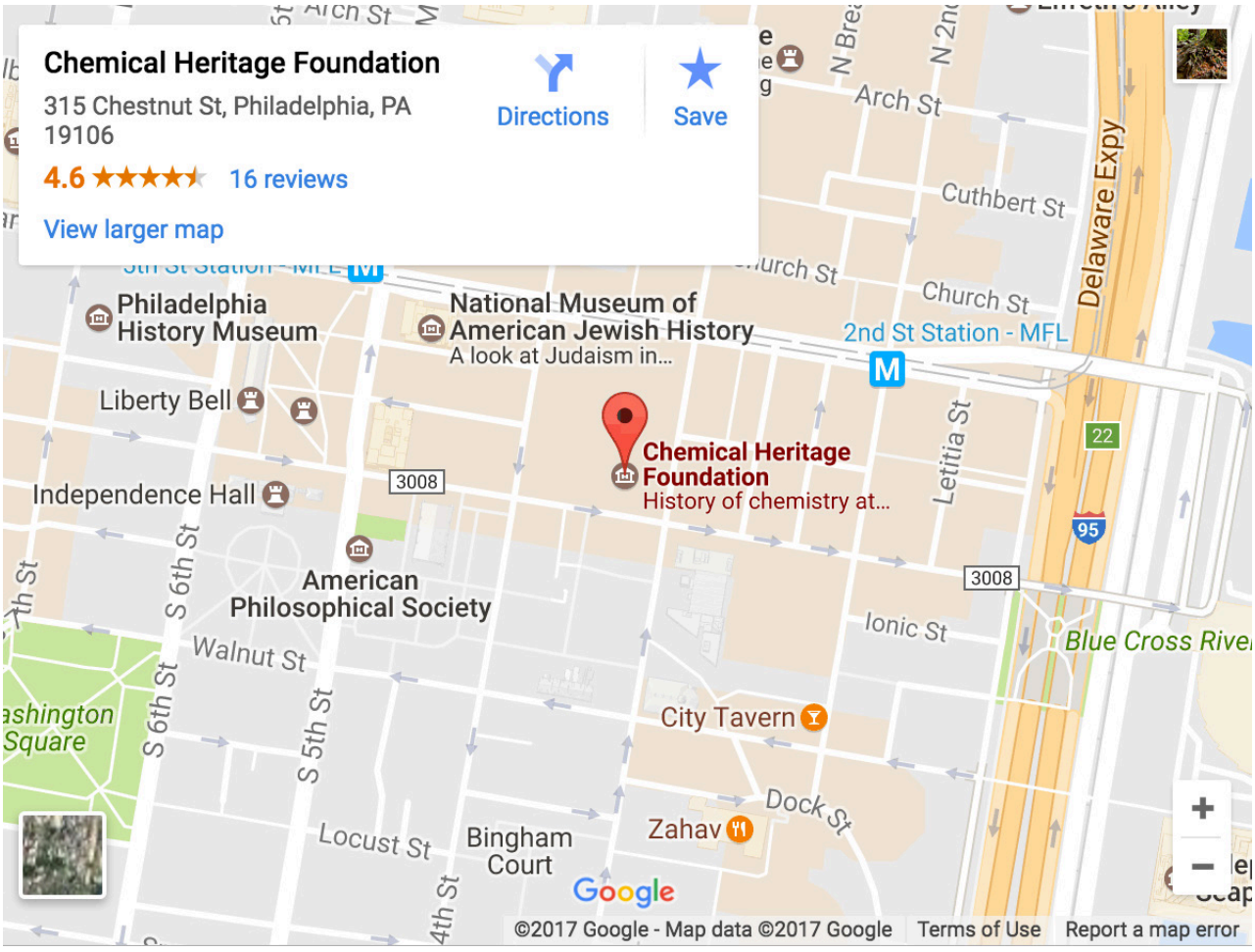

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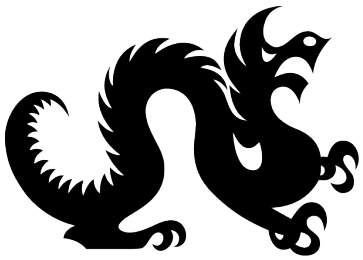

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