Take Care

*Food Risk Management and Gendered Household Roles Among Chinese Women*

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保管

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University of Oslo
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I also want to thank my informants, who shared so generously their time and reflections with a curious student of the China field.

Last but not least I want to thank my grandfather and the ant, for my life’s motto; Small, but brave.
ABSTRACT

The food safety problem in China poses a set of urgent, multifaceted and serious challenges to the Chinese public, society and state, with important ramifications for social justice and national health. The disproportionate share of household expenses and unpaid household labour that women in China administer means that Chinese women are an important demographic in the shaping of new patterns of household food consumption in the face of prevalent food safety risks. Drawing upon Ulrich Beck’s risk society thesis, this study investigates the food safety attitudes, knowledge and behaviours among Chinese women of different social backgrounds. Aiming to identify important factors of influence on the varying ability of women in China to manage food safety risks effectively, this study does a comparative analysis of the findings through triangulation of theory on health risk behaviours and gender roles, ethnographic data from 13 qualitative interviews, 60 quantitative survey questionnaires and participant observation from food outlets, and draws on existing ethnographic research on Chinese food consumption- and risk behaviours. The study finds that access to arable land, living situation and income are strong influences on the safety of food consumption among sample participants and that urban households with school age children, singletons, students and low income households are less able to safeguard household food consumption, causing an uneven distribution of food safety risk exposure among different social groups, with adverse consequences for social justice and equality of health. This poses the threat of risk mitigation apathy among more disadvantaged groups.

Key Words: food safety, risk management, gender roles, health, risk society
Chapter 1 Introduction

“Basically, the only thing you can be sure of, is that the food you are eating is poisonous.”

(-Lei Xun)

1.1 Background

Food safety is quickly emerging as a global issue of growing contention and concern to everyone in a contemporary age of increasingly globalised food trade.1 The displacement of people from food source along with new technologies for food production and processing is making the task of ascertaining correct, complete and comprehensible information about food stuffs increasingly difficult.2 The problem has become particularly pronounced in the People’s Republic of China,3 where a string of recent food safety incidents4 featuring poisonous and counterfeit food types have incited public fear and widespread ambivalences about the dangers that come with the modernisation of the food supply system.5 Given that food safety has been ranked as a top concern among the Chinese public every year since 2004,6 while women do most of the unpaid household labour and are largely in charge of household expenses,7 it stands to reason that their health attitudes and behaviour in reaction

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3 Hereinafter referred to as China.
to the food safety problem exerts considerable impact on patterns of household food consumption in China.

This study explores how Chinese women of different social backgrounds view the task of securing food safety and its impact on her household food consumption in the face of prevalent food safety risks. The thesis focuses on the correlation between food safety attitudes, and behaviours and indicators like age, income, education level and living situation.

In response to the food safety crisis, China’s government has made many efforts to remedy the situation, allocating more funds to the government bodies of food safety supervision and making numerous reforms to laws and regulations. However, their efforts are undermined by the severe fragmentation of the food chain, rendering supervision challenging and overlapping of supervisory responsibilities between different government departments. Thus, incidents involving counterfeit, unsafe and toxic foods remain rampant.

With government and institutions unable to vouch for and ensure the safety of foods in China, securing personal food safety becomes the task of the individual. This echoes the promulgations of reflexive modernity in Ulrich Beck’s (1992) Risk Society thesis. However, the way in which the risk burden is handled by individuals is not uniform across the population, as studies indicate tendencies of gender differences in risk behaviours, health behaviours, and towards dietary habits in particular. Research shows women as more likely to perceive health risks with heightened concern as compared to men. This gender disparity is even more pronounced when it comes to diet and environmental risks. Women are more averse to risk, more concerned with health issues, and make diet choices that are more in line with health recommendations.

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Many researchers investigating the cause of this gender disparity in risk behaviours suggest that gendered ideologies have a considerable hand in shaping the conducts, expectations and norms for men and women differently, so that men and women are likely to handle risks in a way that aligns with expected gender norms. For instance, it has been suggested that the nurturing care-provider role of women to secure the health and safety of those around her results in feelings of responsibility, heightened health focus and concern about environmental health risks.

The female demographic exerts a great influence over Chinese household food consumption. Women hold an estimated 60 percent of spending power in China and determine 78 percent of daily household purchases. Thus, understanding Chinese women’s reaction to the country’s current food safety crisis is crucial for outlining potential health disparities that may arise from their varying abilities to manage household food consumption in the face of prevalent food safety risks. Since many health studies point to the strong role of gendered ideology in shaping health behaviours for men and women differently, it also makes sense to investigate this from a gendered sociocultural perspective.

The correlation between diet and health is undeniably strong, and preferences in diet have been shown to remain largely constant throughout the average human lifespan. Therefore, differences in the way and degree to which information on food risks is sought, obtained, assessed and employed to shape dietary habits and preferences in China, and

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13 e.g., Finucane et al., “Gender, Race, and Perceived Risk: The 'White Male' Effect”: 170-171; Riechard and Peterson, “Perception of Environmental Risk Related To Gender, Community Socioeconomic Setting, Age, and Locus of Control,” 11.


15 Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, The Urban Chinese Consumer, 6.


underlying reasons for these differences, ought to be a subject of major interest to China researchers and social health policy makers, as it is likely that they incur important impacts on health in China.

1.2 Research Objective

The main goal of this thesis is to investigate the factors that influence Chinese women’s ability to manage food safety risks effectively, with a view to the broader social implications of the varying ability of women from different social backgrounds to do so.

My hypothesis is that access to private arable land, a general interest in and knowledge of health issues, and living situation are the most influential factors to Chinese women’s management of household food safety risks, with the implication that urbanites, lower income classes and singletons are more exposed to food safety risks in China than people from rural areas with access to arable land, higher income classes and those that are settled with families.

My research question is as follows: Which important factors influence the ability of women in China to manage household food safety risks effectively, and what are the social implications?

Significance of research. The study further aims to provide more knowledge about:

a. The distribution of food safety risks among Chinese women.
b. Chinese women’s roles and responsibilities in managing food safety risks in the household.
c. Strategies they employ for protecting themselves against food safety risks.
d. The distribution of knowledge among Chinese women on food safety risks and how best to avoid them.
e. The impact of women’s risk awareness on their household food consumption.
1.3 Methodology

The research methods employed in this study includes a literature review, participant observation, a quantitative questionnaire survey and semi-structured qualitative interviews.

1.3.1 Literature Review

Data for this thesis was collected throughout the length of this master’s program, beginning in September of 2014, and concluding in May of 2016. Among the documents used to provide background and analysis material in this study is a selection of articles and books by scholars both from within China and abroad as well as news stories in Chinese and international news media.

The literary sources belong to many different research fields, including public policy, psychology, sociology, and cultural- and social anthropology. The referenced books have provided a historical background and comprehensive look at both the global and Chinese food supply system and food safety issue, risk society theory, as well as gender discourses in Chinese society. The articles cover a wide range of topics, including health risk perceptions and behaviours, food consumption patterns and gender distribution of household labour in China and abroad, Chinese food safety incidents and risk management policies. I have also relied on official government websites, the China government National Bureau of Statistics web portal, and data from the World Bank to acquire certain statistics related to my topic. The accuracy of Chinese statistics is much debated. Data was missing for certain years and time periods, but wherever possible I have compared data sets from different channels before employing them and my data is further complemented by reports from private actors and independent organisations.

English language sources exceeds that of Chinese language sources, as reliable scholarly articles in Chinese proved difficult to locate. The ones that I planned on using turned out to have incomplete and several untraceable references and in the end had to be discarded. Chinese sources have still been especially important however as they are the bulk of my

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primary data, which is the focus of my thesis analysis, as well as for mapping media coverage on food safety incidents.

1.3.2 Participant Observation

To identify patterns of grocery shopping and learn which options are available to Chinese consumers in the domestic food market, participant observation was conducted in food outlets in three iterations in the Hangzhou city centre: a hypermarket,\textsuperscript{20} traditional market,\textsuperscript{21} a fruit shop and neighbourhood supermarket,\textsuperscript{22} to observe, buy groceries and acquire product information from the personnel.\textsuperscript{23}

In his guide for participant observation, James P. Spradley (1980)\textsuperscript{24} suggests four criteria for a suitable social situation to research, 1. Simplicity, 2. Accessibility, 3. Unobtrusiveness and 4. Permissibility.

Grocery shopping as an activity is simple to identify, and since food is bought and sold everywhere at all hours of the day in China access is excellent. Foreigners in China tend to be noticed more often and their presence is occasionally simply remarked upon, but for the most part customers were busy with their tasks and paid me no attention leaving me in effect mostly unobtrusive. Lastly, entry to the situation was entirely unprohibited as anyone could come and go as they pleased in all the locations. Thus, participant observation of such a social activity should be feasible.

Grocery shopping can be defined as an activity type social situation.\textsuperscript{25} An important factor was that I could engage in the activity, fulfilling the ‘dual purpose’\textsuperscript{26} of being an observer and participant. It must however be noted that as a current resident of China myself, my role of participant is in fact a daily one; I too consume food in China on a daily basis and must proceed to assess and manage the possible risks incurred along with everyone else I research.

\textsuperscript{20} Wal-Mart
\textsuperscript{21} Chinese: 菜场 caichang.
\textsuperscript{22} A smaller-sized supermarket, where prices are often a little above average but remain popular locally on part of their convenience for being at close proximity to their nearby residential area.
\textsuperscript{23} Locations described in more detail in chapter four.
\textsuperscript{25} Spradley, \textit{Participant Observation}, 41.
\textsuperscript{26} Spradley, \textit{Participant Observation}, 55.
Wanting to avoid the preconceptions I had of women both as more health-conscious and more avid grocery shoppers colouring my findings, the first phase of my participant observation began with adherence to Spradley’s (1980) ‘concrete principle’\textsuperscript{27} and Harry Wolcott’s (1994) strategy of trying to ‘record everything’, and may together be captured by the following sentiment: “I think the better observers are those who do not reflexively make sense out of what they see and hear (…), they distinguish between observed and inferred behaviour.”\textsuperscript{28} Notes were voice-recorded with a handset, allowing me to move around the location.

The exercise was not without challenges. After a short while I got a number of looks from staff members suggesting I was being suspected of unlawful activities.\textsuperscript{29} Keen to avoid adverse reactions from staff and management, each session was kept to around 10 to 15 minutes. As the time would not be sufficient to make any meaningful interpretations of observed patterns, the wide-lens method of observation to “discover bumps in the flat, familiar landscape”\textsuperscript{30} of a shop setting had to be abandoned. I noted the factors most salient to my topic: gender and approximate age of customers and what information about the goods on stand was readily available. The relatively small amount of time doing participant observation does not allow for wider generalisations. My findings may therefore be suggestive, but not conclusive.

### 1.3.3 Questionnaire Survey

In order to see whether there would be some powerful correlations in regression analysis, a paper questionnaire survey was conducted in Hangzhou,\textsuperscript{31} featuring questions about habits on cooking, grocery shopping and restaurant dining, knowledge and attitudes on food safety, and also included socio-economic indicators like age, household income and education.

\textsuperscript{27} Spradley, \textit{Participant Observation}, 68.


\textsuperscript{29} E.g. intellectual theft or similar.

\textsuperscript{30} Wolcott, \textit{Transforming Qualitative Data}, 162.

\textsuperscript{31} See next sub-chapter for more information about Hangzhou as a location. I do not have any participants from Qijie village included in the questionnaire sample because my visit here was in February of 2016 at which time the questionnaire had not yet been made.
level.\textsuperscript{32} It took participants 3-5 minutes to fill out.

Participants had to be women and over 18 years of age, and were recruited in different locations in Hangzhou city centre across a 3 week period in March/April 2016, in places where people would generally be sitting down, with time to spare for participation. Respondents were recruited near popular tourist attractions, scenic spots, public benches and inside public libraries. Interview subjects in Hangzhou were also asked to fill out the questionnaire\textsuperscript{33}, of which there were 60 respondents in total.\textsuperscript{34} 27 were from outside Hangzhou, and 13 of these 27 from rural areas. Women’s personalia data, their husband’s personalia data and the questions data had a 94.16, 99.35 and 96.80 percentage completion rate respectively.

The sample features some limitations. There is a very strong age bias towards younger women in the sample, with 66.1 percent of respondents belonging to the 21-30 age group,\textsuperscript{35} as older women were more reluctant to participate. Since I (born in 1989) and the older women were different both in age, ethnicity and nationality, the group might have found it difficult to identify with me and felt insecure about how the ensuing interaction might go. It has also been suggested that with the recent proliferation of research studies, the accumulation of requests to participate in surveys (greater with age) ultimately become a life intrusion and gradually lead to participation refusal.\textsuperscript{36} Given this bias, the survey results are not representative for all age demographics.

There is also an occupation bias towards students, with 24 of the women fulltime students and 24 fulltime workers. A likely reason is that some questionnaires were collected in the library, where a majority of visitors are students. Another could be that people with higher education are often more inclined to contribute to scientific research, a well-documented phenomenon.\textsuperscript{37} Most of the women surveyed had undergone tertiary

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32} Questionnaire spreadsheet and regression analysis models in appendix.
\item \textsuperscript{33} As previously mentioned, the questionnaire had not been made during my time of fieldwork in Qijie village, therefore these interviewees’ participation was not possible.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Questionnaire respondent data in appendix.
\item \textsuperscript{35} 60 and above: no respondents, 51-60: one respondent, six respondents in each of the 41-50, 31-40 and 18-20 age groups respectively, 21-30 age group: 40 respondents. One answered blank.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Sandro Galea and Melissa Tracy, “Participation Rates in Epidemiological Studies” \textit{Ann Epidemiol} 17, no. 9 (September 2007): 645.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Galea and Tracy, “Participation Rates in Epidemiological Studies,” 647.
\end{itemize}
education, as only eight reported educational backgrounds of high school or lower. Since most women in my sample had been students at one point in their lives, the most important difference between the working and student demographic of my sample I would therefore argue is the fact that most students’ living situation (shared accommodation, no kitchen) imposes strict limitations to their ability to manage food risks in their own lives, and since they live outside of a family additionally have no health risk management responsibilities beyond that unto themselves. In any case, it is a reasonable assumption that the occupation bias is not a major shortcoming, at least for the purposes of this thesis, since it may be helpful in illustrating the trends of this group relative to employed women.

Due to emerging considerations during the collection of questionnaires, the introduction to the questionnaire’s aim was altered along the way. The first 13 were told the project was food customs among Chinese women – as it was thought this would avoid cuing the participants towards food risk consciousness. During the first round however, it was felt that the questions, featuring direct probing about food safety awareness and habits, might lead the subject to feel ‘tricked’ into the survey, setting a tone of suspicion about my motives. Therefore, the introduction was altered after this pilot run, into it being specifically about Chinese women’s attitudes towards the food safety problem. The questionnaires of the first round were still used and analysed along with the others, because there did not seem to be any observable impact from the first introduction on their answers.

The initial goal was to collect 100 questionnaire surveys. Due to time constraints the end result was 60 and for this reason, some dependent variable questions were grouped together to cut down the number of variables so as to allow for meaningful regression analysis of results. The formulation of the survey and administering of the data collection of questionnaires I all executed on my own, while the regression analysis itself was performed by a top student and Zhejiang university PhD candidate of my supervisor there, as I am not myself proficient in regression models.

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38 43 women had four or more years of higher education, nine had 0-3 years of higher education, five had high school experience and three middle school experience.
1.3.4 Semi-Structured Interviews

The bulk of my primary research data comes from 13 qualitative semi-structured interviews conducted in two locations, namely Qijie village of Henan province and Hangzhou city of Zhejiang province, which are rural and urban areas respectively.39 As this thesis aims to explore how food safety is viewed among Chinese women, rather than how many women view food safety a given way,40 a qualitative research approach with a semi-structured interview model was selected.41

A problem with this model is the reliance on women’s self-reporting; in the case of interviews, all one can really conclude with is what interviewees themselves report to be their concerns, knowledge, and habits about food safety strategies and consumption and not the bare facts of them. Interviewees might have personal reasons to falsify their answers or withhold information, or not be as aware of their own habits and considerations so at represent them accurately when prompted. There is also the risk of accidentally priming subjects with cues that cause them to answer associatively, thereby jeopardising the integrity and validity of their answers.42 Thus interpretations must bear these considerations in mind.

All interviews were voice-recorded and transcribed,43 in keeping with the verbatim principle,44 and interviewees were given pseudonyms in the transcripts in order to respect their privacy.

1.3.4.1 Interview Sample

Given that the motive of the study is to learn of food risk attitudes with a view to impact on household food consumption, I could have chosen to focus on women in households of settled families. However, it was felt that this would lead to a biased understanding for how responsibilities of household duties are understood by women of different social situations.

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39 See the next segment for description of locations.
43 Transcripts in appendix.
44 Spradley, Participant Observation, 67.
Exclusively including women who are currently settled with families would ignore the perspectives and opinions of women who are not, and thus feature no comparison for analysis of how settling may alter a woman’s health behaviours. This would create a biased result of how the discourses on gender and social roles, norms and values modulates the roles of women along the stages of life, on matters of health risk perception and management responsibilities. Thus, the targeted sample group was women age 18 and over. A participant overview is illustrated in the table below:

Table 1.3.1 Interview Sample Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Ed. Level</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Hh Income</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>H Occupation</th>
<th>H Ed. Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fe Yi</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>3y HE</td>
<td>Rural Qijie</td>
<td>Rural Qijie</td>
<td>1 daughter</td>
<td>13y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rong Lei</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>3y HE</td>
<td>Urban Hebi</td>
<td>Rural Qijie</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sheng Liu</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>No job</td>
<td>3y HE</td>
<td>Rural Qijie</td>
<td>Rural Qijie</td>
<td>13y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fen Fen</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>3y HE</td>
<td>Rural Qijie</td>
<td>Rural Qijie</td>
<td>13y, 13y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jing</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Runs own business</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>9y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>420,000</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Business man</td>
<td>4y HE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Dai Dai</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kunni</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
<td>Urban Shazan</td>
<td>Urban Shazan</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>520,000</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Hong Kiang</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>English Teacher</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Wei Xuan</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Shazan</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mo Yun</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>College Professor</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>13y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Public worker</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mo Yu</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Freelance writer</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>13y</td>
<td>N</td>
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<td>Business man</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>Student</td>
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<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Hebeijiang</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Lei Han</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>College Teacher</td>
<td>4y y HE</td>
<td>Urban Hangzhou</td>
<td>Urban Shazan</td>
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Hangzhou was selected as a location because it is where I study and live, thus it is where I have most of my social network in China and could recruit participants with greater ease. Hangzhou is a prosperous city near the coast of Eastern China and the provincial capital of Zhejiang province, known for its green affiliations and home to several major environmental NGOs. For instance, many Zhejiang vegetable processing firms are export oriented and therefore tend to have higher food safety levels, see e.g. Zhou and Jin, Food Safety Management in China, 67-68. Qijie village was selected because I went there to visit the family of a personal connection of mine, which I thought could be helpful in an interviewee recruitment process for a tight knit rural community. Qijie is a small agricultural township with 51,000 residents located at the Eastern edge of Yuanyang county in Hebei province, where agricultural farming is the main production, with 41,000 square km of arable land and where corn, wheat, rice, peanuts, and an assortment

45 Such as 绿色浙江 lùse Zhejiang: Green Zhejiang.
46 For instance, many Zhejiang vegetable processing firms are export oriented and therefore tend to have higher food safety levels, see e.g. Zhou and Jin, Food Safety Management in China, 67-68.
47 河北省新乡市原阳县齐街镇 Hebei sheng Xinxiang shi Yuanyuang xian Qijie zhen.
of vegetables are the most commonly cultivated crops.\(^48\) It was decided not to pursue broadening the scope of data collection sites beyond these two, since this is a rather small thesis project and it would also not be necessary for answering its research objective.

There were quite a few challenges with the recruitment of interviewees in Qijie. As soon as we arrived an onset of acute illness of my host’s mother meant my fieldwork plans had to be postponed to the end of my stay, upon which I discovered that elder women in the village would not agree to participate. In rural areas, researchers are sometimes viewed with skepticism as tied to the government due to a history of government research conducted in rural households that sometimes had unfortunate consequences for those investigated.\(^49\) Their reluctance to participate could furthermore have been due to my affiliation to my host family, with which I eventually discovered that several of the nearby village rs had an ongoing feud. After some time spent “mingling” however I did manage to recruit a younger participant, after which the snowballing method was used, but in the end only four interviews could be conducted in Qijie before our departure was due.\(^50\)

Some elderly female villagers were present during the interviews,\(^51\) making remarks and contributing their views on the topic of debate. In some sense the interviews turned into unstructured focus groups that worked to reveal some of the commonly held beliefs and habits about food safety in the village as well as perspectives from the elder generation. Although income data from households of the Qijie women could also not be acquired of respect for my host’s wishes,\(^52\) given that the participants’ living conditions were of a low standard\(^53\) and per capita disposable income of rural households in Henan is relatively low,\(^54\) it is likely that the villagers in Qijie had low incomes.

Thus the interview sample has some limitations. Firstly there is an age bias, as most of the women are quite young, in part because of the happenings in Qijie and in part because my


\(^{50}\) Interviewee two was no longer a Qijie resident, as she lived a few hours away in the city of Hebi along with her husband and young son, and had only returned to visit. For this reason she can not be regarded as part of the rural sample.

\(^{51}\) Eight, one, three and four older women present respectively.

\(^{52}\) She said it might make interviewees ‘lose face’.

\(^{53}\) E.g. no indoor water source or heating, electricity used very sparsely, outdoor toilets.

\(^{54}\) Registered as just under 10,000 RMB yuan in 2014, which is both less than half of the national average and also somewhat less than the average for rural households nationwide for the same year: NBS, Income and Consumption Expenditure, 2014a; NBS, Income and Consumption Expenditure, 2014b.
personal connections had no ties to older women. Therefore, apart from those revealed by elder female spectators commenting during the interviews in Qijie, the perspectives of older women are relatively underrpresented. Secondly, women of low education backgrounds is lacking. Thirdly, the income data is incomplete and imperfect because it relies on the method of self reporting, which as discussed is not always accurate, and estimates, in the case of Qijie households. Men have also not been included, thus findings do not feature comparisons for how women’s attitudes on household responsibilities and the food safety issue relate to those of Chinese men.

The interview sample and qualitative research model does feature some strengths too however; Women of many different income levels are included in the sample, so too are married and unmarried women, with and without children, from rural and urban areas, women in nuclear family living arrangements, with three generations, women living in student dormitories, some women who have relocated from their birthplace and some who have not. Thus, despite age and occupation biases, the sample is broad in many other ways, offering perspectives of women from a wide range of different social backgrounds.

All in all, these qualitative interview findings may only tell us something about the interview subjects themselves. They can not represent other women in China, Qijie or Hangzhou as a whole, rather, they represent themselves and as such their identity as women in China. Thus their statements must be understood on their own terms. Results indicate possible trends that need further research to test applicability beyond the sample.

### 1.3.5 Application

With the data from the participant observation, survey and interviews, this study cross-analyses participants’ social backgrounds with their food safety knowledge, attitudes, behaviours and responsibilities within their household and looks for trends among Chinese women’s risk management strategies. My primary data findings are placed in the framework of selected theories on health and risk behaviours and their relation to gender and other indicators. It furthermore builds on existing research on food consumption behaviours and food safety attitudes within China. The study also considers the applicability of the risk
society thesis on mechanisms I uncover, contributing to the academic debate on the applicability of reflexive modernity to the case of the food safety issue in China. In linking my findings to a larger theoretical and epidemiological context in triangulation\textsuperscript{55} of different data sources, my case study may be used as a tool to uncover possible larger contexts of food risk behaviours and attitudes within China and indicate relevant questions for further research.

1.4 Thesis Structure

The organisation of this research is made in following structure: The next chapter covers the theoretical framework used for analysing my findings. It briefly explicates the risk society thesis and salient points most relevant to this investigation, theories on risk perception that may further our understanding of the processes that shape dietary preference formation in the face of prevalent food safety risks, and provides the angle of risk perception theories employed for this thesis. It discusses the role of gendered ideologies in China in shaping health behaviours and attitudes. Chapter three provides an overview of the food safety problems in China, current food market trends and consumer food safety concerns. These are based on scholarly articles and comprehensive analyses of the state of China’s food supply system with a view to the problems with food safety, consumer census reports from the Chinese food and beverage market, as well as public documents and news reports on the food safety issue in China. In chapter four I present my findings from the three methods of primary data collection and in chapter five discuss them in relation to the theoretical framework and relevant literature on the subject from the chapter two. Chapter six brings the question back to the study’s research goals and hypotheses and formulates a conclusion of its related findings.

Chapter 2 The Relationship Between Health, Gender and Food Risks

In this chapter I present the theoretical framework for this thesis, looking specifically at the relationship between gender roles, health beliefs and risk perceptions’ effect on risk behaviours.

2.1 The Theoretical Underpinning: Risk Society and Food Safety

Since its initial promulgation, the Risk Society thesis has been applied many times to the interpretation of food safety incidents and specifically to the Chinese case.

In the first publication of Risk Society in 1986, German sociologist Ulrich Beck was calling out for a new model of contemporary times. He claimed that understandings of modernity associated with the first bouts of industrialisation were no longer valid. While industrial society is structured through social classes, risk society is individualised. Greater diversity in expert assessments as compared with an earlier phase of modernity, with conflicting opinions and imperfect communication of risks leads to a lack of clarity about how to best guard against them. Following the advice of public institutions will not absolve you from risks to suffer under the loom of potential hazards. Rather, because different experts “dump their contradictions and conflicts at the feet of the individual.” people must find

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59 Beck, Risk Society, 144.

60 Beck, Risk Society, 137.
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their own biographical solutions to handle risks by creating personal ‘risk profiles’.

This has the implication that as people cannot determine which channel of risk information is dependable, they are left to rely on individual abilities and opportunities to estimate and avoid risks. The core theories of risk society have come to be very significant in the world of social science. Reverberations of the risk society thesis are also felt within the domain of social politics, bearing important new meanings and consequences for things like human rights, social equality and justice that the omnipresence and distribution of new manufactured risks have generated.

Though all the claims put forth by the risk society thesis are not without contention and have by no means gone undisputed, it is nonetheless widely applied and regarded in the world of social sciences as a useful tool for interpretation of some of the most fundamental processes that shape our present day modern society in the guise of new economic and technological feats, as well as estimating and predicting the social implications for newly emerged risks and their meanings.

According to David F. Smith (2007), Ulrich Beck himself referred to the case as a “textbook example” of the phenomenon of risk society when looking at the food safety incident of BSE in Great Britain during the 80s and 90s, and considered the public spells of controversy and reactions to Gene-Modified Foods (GMF) a perfect illustration of the reflexivity in new modernity, stating that the public uproar was an act of civic self reflection about the negative consequences that come with technological advancement in modern societies.

Yunxiang Yan (2012) argued that transactions in China increasingly occur between strangers, leading to a greater reliance on social trust (in institutions) and a relative loss of reliance on personal trust (in close relationship ties). Simultaneous with a shift toward greater reliance on social trust in government, institutions and experts to keep the situation under

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61 Almas, "Food Trust, Ethics and Safety in Risk Society," 2.5-2.8.
62 Later added to and backed notably in numerous scholarships by for instance British sociologist Anthony Giddens.
63 For a helpful review of risk society theory, see e.g. Ekberg 2007.
66 Bovine spongiform encephalopathy (mad cow disease).
67 Smith, "Food Panics in History: Corned Beef, Typhoid and “Risk Society”," 567.
control however, social trust is exacerbated and undermined by food safety problems to the point where it creates a new risk unto itself, namely the risk of social distrust.68

Looking at reactions to industrial pollution in rural China, Bryan Tilt (2013) found that people used the kind of “do-it-yourself” biography predicted by Beck to manage proliferating risks on an individual level amidst the unraveling of tight-knit communities and public safety nets characteristic to Chinese society before the reform and opening up era in 1978.69

In a study on urban Kunmingers’ food safety attitudes, Jakob A. Klein (2013) argues that discontent about the food supply reflected wider ambivalences about modernisation and that this was particularly pronounced among the urban poor and other disadvantaged groups, whose affordable food alternatives were being eradicated due to urban cleansing projects that took unregulated street vendors off the market.70

Based on food shopping observations and focus groups in four major cities in China, Ann Veeck, Hongyan Yu and Alvin C. Burns (2010) contends that reactions to changes in the food supply are not unambiguously guided by negative attitudes about newly emerged food safety risks, but rather accompanied by positive views about food abundance and increased consumption choices brought about by the market economisation of the food supply, which provided new strategies to actively manage food risks.71 The researchers couple this to the stage of China’s development and its recent history with famine and food shortages making it likely that ‘the good outweigh the bads’ of the modernised food supply system in the eyes of Chinese people, running opposite to what Beck proposed.72 Additionally, they assert that Chinese people attribute new food risks not to modernity, but to the deliberate and immoral actions of food handlers guided by profit motives in a poorly regulated food system, as Yunxiang Yan (2012) has also shown.73 Yan stated that while the thesis sets out a loss of faith in science and technology for their failure to provide more instead of less risk protection, its hand in the development of new food risks remains a blind spot in Chinese public opinion.

68 Yan, “Food Safety and Social Risk in Contemporary China.”
69 Tilt, “Industrial Pollution and Environmental Health in Rural China: Risk, Uncertainty and Individualization”; Klein, “Everyday Approaches to Food Safety in Kunming.”
70 Klein, “Everyday Approaches to Food Safety in Kunming.”
71 Veeck, Yu, and Burns, “Consumer Risks and New Food Systems in Urban China.”
as science and technology is seen as their very solution. In addition, risk distribution is not
democratic, as Beck proposed, but unequal, favouring the rich and powerful with more
pathways for risk avoidance.\(^{74}\)

Still in many ways, China’s food safety problem is a case that represents Ulrich Beck’s
main claim, namely that people who live in post-industrial societies must find personalised
ways to deal with a new set of incalculable, manufactured risks that are difficult to control
and estimate, against the backdrop of deteriorating social trust and imperfect risk information.
For this reason I believe, as Yunxiang Yan (2012) has shown, that the theories of risk society
can be useful for illustrating some of the mechanisms at play among people in China, who are
currently facing threats to their food safety that are – at least in part – owed to newly emerged
risks from technological developments in the food production, -processing, -transportation
and -storage sectors.

### 2.2 Behavioural Risk Responses

While most of the studies here reviewed have not been conducted in China specifically,
their aim is to explain basic human processes of reactions to risk, which are not inherently
relying on confined historical contexts or specific sociocultural traits. After all, all human
beings are subject to health risks and must find ways to mitigate their impacts, or in the very
least relate to proliferating risks and hazards. Therefore findings from health and risk studies
conducted outside of China can still be highly relevant to interpret health risk behaviours in
the context of the Chinese food safety crisis.

Every day we find ourselves surrounded by different kinds of risks and hazards, and
though it is commonly accepted that they exist, the way in which individuals interpret and
estimate them is subject to great diversity. While official risk assessments are statistics-based
predictions of risk probabilities, the social and psychological responses of individuals to risks
have been found to be highly subjective. Specifically, people will often tend toward their
over- or underestimation. This has to do with risk perception.\(^{75}\)

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\(^{74}\) Yan, "Food Safety and Social Risk in Contemporary China," 721-724.

As Lennart Sjöberg (2000) notes, risk perception is difficult to understand. Some of the available explanation models of risk perception theory alone may explain only a fraction of the underlying processes in individuals’ risk assessments, leaving much to be understood. Risk perception theories may take psychological, social or interdisciplinary approaches, each of which proposes a number of different factors to how and why reactions to risks and hazards vary among individuals. Therefore the complementation of different approaches can be beneficial.

The Social Amplification of Risk Framework (SARF) is an interdisciplinary approach that aims to explain how psychological, social, institutional, and cultural processes can all interact to influence perceptions of risk and behavioural responses. Specifically it tries to account for the underlying causes of gaps between actual or probable risk, as assessed by experts and scientists, and perceived risk, as estimated by individuals: why are some risks underestimated (risk attenuation), while others receive a lot of public attention despite involving low risk levels as calculated by experts (risk amplification)?

Psychological factors have been shown to shape behavioural responses to risk; for instance, individuals asked to evaluate a threat will tend towards overemphasis on those whose consequences are acute and short term. Long term or chronic risks, where the negative outcome is gradual, the possible contraction of a related illness is uncertain, and no immediate harm is attributable to a single event of exposure, have been shown to be less affected by expert assessments. In other words, decision making in long term health risk situations is more susceptible to subjective factors.

Cultural, social and structural factors also seem to affect the behavioural responses to risk perception among individuals. People lacking financial, social or informational
resources for example, may be unable to take suitable measures against perceived risks. Karen Bickerstaff (2004) uses the concept of agency (an individual’s perception of whether or not they have the ability to bring about change); how people will put amplified importance on risks within their agency, while a feeling of powerlessness will cause people to down prioritise problems as large and as ubiquitous as for example soil pollution.

Another deviation from rationality is shown in the tendency for people to underestimate their own health risks compared to those of others, the phenomenon of optimism bias. Related to this is the phenomenon of ‘neighborhood halo’, a term coined by Bickerstaff (2004) that describes the tendency to perceive the environment in one’s home area to be cleaner than that elsewhere.

In economic theory of risk perception, the wealthy are likely to have a positive view of technology and downplay the manufactured risks they cause because they reap most of the benefits from technological advancements while having privileged means to avoid suffering from adverse consequences. The poorer classes on the other hand will likely have mixed feelings about technology, since their means of defending against accompanying risks are comparatively limited. In another “postmaterialist” version of economic risk perception theory, the opposite holds true; as the rich fulfill their materialistic needs they will eventually move on to ‘nobler’ aspirations like interpersonal harmony, thus opposing environmental pollution.

There also tends to be gender differences in risk perception. Specifically, women exhibit greater sensitivities to risks than men, and especially towards environmental hazards.

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87 Wildavsky and Dake, “Theories of Risk Perception,” 43.
88 Finucane et al., “Gender, Race, and Perceived Risk: The ‘White Male’ Effect,”: 159-172; Flynn, Slovic, and Mertz, “Gender, Race, and Perception of Environmental Health Risks,” 1101-1108.
89 Riechard and Peterson, “Perception of Environmental Risk Related To Gender, Community Socioeconomic Setting, Age, and Locus of Control,” 17; Bickerstaff, “Risk Perception Research,” 832.
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Their sensitivities also seem to impact on behaviour, as women exhibit lower rates of risky behaviours than men and higher rates of healthy hygienic practices are widely documented phenomena.\(^90\) It has further been noted that the social role of women to take care of and protect the health and wellbeing of those around her might go towards explaining women’s sensitivity to environmental health risks,\(^91\) which in turn can be even more heightened for mothers and pregnant women, responsible for the health of their young.\(^92\)

Per Gustafson (1998) claimed that gender structures are mediated through gendered ideology and practices that shape the norms, values, conducts and expectations for men and women differently. As such, gender differences in risk behaviours are socially produced.\(^93\) Will H. Courtenay (2002) similarly argued that the driving mechanism behind gender differences in health behaviours are socially constructed gender roles that promote health risk behaviours in men and health protective behaviour in women. Furthermore, and salient to this study, is that this also seems to play an important role in preference formation surrounding diet choice.\(^94\)

### 2.3 Gender Roles and Health Risk Behaviour

Veritably, health differences between men and women have been found to be particularly pronounced.\(^95\) Women might delight in knowing they have an average life expectancy age seven years greater that of men for example,\(^96\) on the other hand and, somewhat more curious given their heightened concern for health issues, throughout women’s lives their overall

\(^90\) Wardle et al., "Gender Differences in Food Choice," 108.
\(^91\) Gustafson, "Gender Differences in Risk Perception," 808-810.
\(^92\) Gustafson, "Gender Differences in Risk Perception," 808; Lyerly et al., "Risk and the Pregnant Body."
\(^93\) Per E. Gustafson, "Gender Differences in Risk Perception: Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives," Risk Analysis 18, no. 6 (1998): 809.
\(^95\) Wardle et al., "Gender Differences in Food Choice," 107; Margaret Denton, Steven Prus, and Vivienne Walters, "Gender Differences in Health: A Canadian Study of the Psychosocial, Structural and Behavioural Determinants of Health." Social Science & Medicine 58, no. 12 (2004): 2585.
health condition will be inferior to males’. This holds true for China as well, while both longevity and the degree of gender discrepancies in life expectancy age fluctuates between regions. According to the China National Population census from 2010, men and women in Henan province for example may expect to live to age 71 and 77 respectively, while the same figures for Zhejiang province are 75 and 80.

Many studies on the reasons for health disparities point to social structures like gender, occupation and education as important determinants of health, with inequalities arising from differing social locations or contexts. For instance, parents might experience stressors related to household health management, and people with low incomes might experience financial stressors. In this way, people accumulate life stressors particular to their social location. This is sometimes referred to as the differential exposure hypothesis. Gender is a major factor of social positioning that not only results in different accumulation of life stressors between men and women, but also shape them as either more health-oriented or less so, which later translates to patterns of gendered health behaviours.

As Sally Macintyre points out however (1997), class differences are contributed to but may not be explained by variances in health behaviours in the population alone, as this only pushes the question back to why there are such clear links between socio-economic factors and health behaviours in the first place. The fact that the major chronic adult diseases seem to display such a strong connection with health behaviours that are ultimately linked with wider lifestyle choices begs the important question: why do some people become health conscious and others not?

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97 This paradox comes from women’s tendency to report higher levels of depression, psychiatric disorders, distress and a variety of chronic illnesses than men, while the gender difference is less apparent and reversed for a number of physical symptoms and conditions. For details, see articles referenced above.
98 NBS, Life Expectancy Age, 2010a; NBS, Life Expectancy Age, 2010b.
100 Denton, Prus, and Walters, "Gender Differences in Health," 2587.
101 Gustafson, "Gender Differences in Risk Perception," 809-810; Sally Macintyre, Kate Hunt, and Helen Sweeting, "Gender Differences in Health: Are Things Really as Simple as They Seem?," Social Science & Medicine 42, no. 4 (1996): 621; Denton et al., "Gender Differences in Health," 2585-2600.
103 Wardle et al., "Gender Differences in Food Choice," 107.
Courtenay (2000) stated that engagement in nutrition and cooking are socially constructed as typically feminine activities. Susan P. Phillips (2008) made a similar association, and suggests that a measurement of individuals’ acceptance of socially prescribed gender roles is included in health surveys, in order to determine the extent to which an internalisation of such roles impacts on the risk of illness.

Chinese notions of health are also intimately linked to diet, through more than 4,000 years of tradition of using food for disease ailments, which still remains strong today. This connection has been cemented into the Chinese language through such popularised sayings as “The source of food and medicine is one and the same” 药食同源 yao shi tong yuan, and “Illness enters via the mouth!” 病从口入 bing cong kou ru.

Traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) states that qi is the vital energy or life energy of living beings, which the body needs to survive, while yin and yang denotes the tension and balance between contrasted opposites in all things, including different foods and within the different organs of the body. TCM applies the notions of yin and yang to the properties of foods and their related health impact. For instance, an excess of energy in the body that is commonly referred to by laymen as warmth or “heat” 火 huo will result from a relative excess of yang foods, such as meat, eggs and dairy, while a relative deficiency will lead to a lack of energy, or weakened qi. After childbirth a woman may regain her strength through food therapy. Thus, maintaining a balance between yin and yang foods is how to keep in good health, and disease ailment consists of redirecting the diet towards restoration of this balance.

Scientific research has confirmed active ingredients beneficial to health within a number

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107 Yin/yang properties: cold/hot, rest/movement, inner/outer, moon/sun, dim/bright, winter/summer, moist/dry, feminine/masculine.
109 Yi, “Properties of Food from a TCM Perspective.”
110 Among other concepts (such as the five elements, which categorises people’s body types and health issues as owing to their belonging to one of five elements: water, metal, earth, fire, and wood). For an overview of TCM concepts, see e.g. Shen Nong http://www.shen-nong.com/eng/tcm/index.html.
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of TCM treatments.\textsuperscript{112} These traditional, holistic understandings of health and the gendered body, with opaque and ambiguous terminologies\textsuperscript{113} however, stand in sharp contrast to the straightforward evidence based health theories of modern medicine, yet remain widely propagated and adhered to by many people across China.\textsuperscript{114} Therefore, several health strategies in China are rooted in popular health understandings tied in with cultural heritage either in complementation with or instead of health advice from official channels.

In a Canadian study, T. Edward Hannah (1986) found that an immediate personal health concern and self rating of health status were the only factors in a number of variables bearing any significant correlation to health behaviour, and writes:

\begin{quote}
\textit{(...) health promoting behaviours are more a function of an individual’s immediate concern about their health as well as their assessment of health status than of either their value for health or their personality as has previously been argued.}\textsuperscript{115}
\end{quote}

The results indicated that people who are of poor health or who have recently fallen ill were the only ones notably concerned with optimising their health and likely to make significant changes to their behaviour.

In a study that had intended to add to existing work in support of gender differences as key determinants of health, Sally Macintyre and her group of researchers (1996) analysed results from the British National Health Survey (BNHS) of approximately 25,000 people and found themselves struck not by the consistency but by the lack of predicted patterns of gender variety and proceeded to investigate. They did a review of a number of studies on the topic each sampling a wide array of European and North-American countries. What they discovered was that in their different analyses, a lot of epidemiological and sociological researchers tend to generalise, downplay, even outright omit findings that presented anomalies with regards to the predicted gender gap.\textsuperscript{116} They warn about oversimplification of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{113} Ambiguous terminology about bodily processes, for instance “上火 shang huo:” to suffer from excessive inner heat or fire, believed to be connected with a number of health issues, such as constipation and nasal inflammations.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Such as the postnatal custom 坐月子 zuo yuezi (further discussed later in the chapter), see e.g. Holroyd et al., ”“Doing the Month”: An Exploration Of Postpartum Practices In Chinese Women,” 301-313.
\item \textsuperscript{116} Macintyre, Hunt, and Sweeting, ”Gender Differences in Health,” 617 and 621.
\end{itemize}
data interpretations in gender and health studies, since the direction and magnitude of sex differences in health vary greatly according to symptom, illness and life cycle stage.\textsuperscript{117}

In their paper on gender differences in health behaviours and outcomes, Jane Wardle and her collaborators (2004) discuss gender varieties in dietary preference formation. The discussion is based on an analysis of the results from the international health behavioural survey (IHBS) between 1991 and 2001 from 23 different countries across all five continents.\textsuperscript{118} Striking consistencies were found internationally in food choices, where women noted health as an important aspect and men were more likely to prioritise taste and convenience. Thus, women and men are on different life trajectories when it comes to accumulation of dietary health risks, and differences in beliefs about the importance of following a dietary regimen in line with health recommendations goes toward explaining the life expectancy gap between genders.\textsuperscript{119}

Concurrently, men do not seem to receive the same encouragement from a number of encounters with public health care providers to be particularly concerned about their health, as Courtenay (2000) has noted, healthy eating might be stereotyped as “feminine”, and TV, film and advertisement will tend to front smoking and drinking as typically male activities.\textsuperscript{120} Indeed, a worldwide analysis on tobacco use by the World Health Organisation in 2008 estimated that 61 percent of Chinese males were regular smokers, compared with only 4.2 percent of women.\textsuperscript{121}

Conversely, as women become mothers they can face substantial social pressure to act according to prevalent norms regarding the health and safety of her child, as a part of what makes up “good mothering”.\textsuperscript{122} These norms may or may not be in accordance with scientific data on health and safety, and often small, theoretical or imagined risks to the foetus are amplified. Anne Lyerly and collaborators (2009) argue that the abundance of health advice on how to avoid possible risk to the baby during this time induces a state of hyper vigilance, in

\textsuperscript{117} Macintyre, Hunt, and Sweeting, "Gender Differences in Health," 621.

\textsuperscript{118} E.g., Thailand, Japan, Korea, Romania, South Africa, the U.S., Venezuela, the Netherlands, England.

\textsuperscript{119} Wardle et al., "Gender Differences in Food Choice," 108.

\textsuperscript{120} Courtenay, "Engendering Health," 9 and 7.


\textsuperscript{122} Lyerly et al., “Risk and the pregnant body,” 40.
which every bite is checked. Pregnancy becomes an exercise of caution, restraint and fear," where the idea of a trade off in health benefit to the foetus in favour of the mother runs up against a cultural mandate."

If it is true that men and women’s behaviours and attitudes in relation to health risks are indeed shaped in large part by socially prescribed values and gendered ideologies of the surrounding culture, then it becomes important to take a look at what gendered expectations of behaviours, norms and responsibilities may apply for women in China.

2.4 Gender Roles in Chinese Society

There is and can of course not be a model for ‘the Chinese woman’, similarly nor do social or cultural demands converge for all women in China. Nevertheless it is clear that individuals construct their sense of self during an embeddedness in a social environment, which features prominent discourses on expectations related to gender and social roles. Though the degree to which contemporary gender discourses influences women’s construction of self-identity is not known, the point is simply that to some extent they do. All people form and modulate their own understanding of themselves within social contexts, and must find ways to relate to the surrounding discourses on gender roles and their social meanings. Therefore discussing prevalent features of the gender discourse in China is relevant with a view to understanding how Chinese women’s self-perception might be important influences on their social role and responsibilities to manage household food consumption in the face of modern day food safety risks.

Gender roles in the pre revolution era were to some extent guided by Confucian ideals that tended to place women in positions of subduedness to their husbands and outsiders to their marital family," though there are several known examples of Chinese women in pre-revolution times both holding and wielding great power. Generally, as illustrated in

123 Lyerly et al., Risk and the pregnant body,” 38.
124 Lyerly et al., Risk and the pregnant body,” 40.
125 Holroyd et al., “”Doing the Month”,” 302-303.
many popularised sayings in Chinese language, the expectations of women were to fulfill her duties as “virtuous wife and good mother,”\(^{127}\) and “mind the home while men tend to the external affairs.”\(^{128}\) Female tasks were denoted as ‘inner’, meaning indoors or home oriented, and distinctly contrasted from male activities, which were ‘outer’ and work oriented.\(^{129}\)

In China, a postnatal custom known as “doing the month,”\(^{130}\) imposes a strict diet and health regimen on new mothers for the first month after childbirth.\(^{131}\) The practice is widespread, with deep roots in Chinese history and tradition. It is considered important for rectifying an imbalance between \(yin\) and \(yang\) in the mother postnataally that renders her particularly susceptible to contraction of illness at this time, and straying from the practice is associated with risk of developing 月子病 \(yuezi\ bing\): all illnesses contracted in the month after childbirth, believed to never completely heal.\(^{132}\) Now, some of its methods are challenged by scientific health knowledge, with women running risks of developing nutrient deficiency or not restoring cell metabolism after childbirth should they follow the recommendations on diet and rest traditionally promulgated by the custom.\(^{133}\) Thus according to popular belief in China the condition of a woman’s life-long health will depend upon her ability to sit the month well, the particulars of which have been passed down through generations and that are based in popular understanding about good or proper health behaviours, which often conflict with advice of modern health experts in several aspects on maternal health, yet remain widespread.

Historically, Chinese women have shouldered a larger share in household labour than men, for all ages, income- and education levels and rural/urban divides.\(^{134}\) Meanwhile, the labour force participation rate of working age\(^{135}\) women has actually declined, from 79 to 64

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\(^{127}\)贤妻良母’ xianqi liangmu.

\(^{128}\)男主外，女主内’ nan zhu wai, nü zhu nei.

\(^{129}\)内 nei – inner, inside or indoors; 外 wai – outer, outside or outdoors.

\(^{130}\)坐月子 \(zuo\ yuezi\), translated as both “sitting the month” and “doing the month”.

\(^{131}\) Yanqun Liu, Marcia Petrini, and Judith A. Maloni. ““Doing the month”: Postpartum practices in Chinese women.” Nursing & health sciences 17, no. 1 (2015): 5-14; Holroyd et al., “‘Doing the Month’,” 303.

\(^{132}\) Holroyd et al., “‘Doing the Month’,” 303-304.


\(^{135}\) 15-64 years of age.
percent between 1990 and 2014, going from 10 percent below men’s work participation rate to 14 for the same time period.\textsuperscript{136} showing that the disadvantaged position of Chinese women in the work arena is highly persistent and that women are still closely tied to home activities.

Though segregation of genders in the labor market is widely observed also in Western industrialised economies, as Cindy Fan (2003) notes, the Chinese case must be interpreted in relation to institutional and sociocultural change during transition.\textsuperscript{137} Specifically, in the oscillating power dynamic between a strongly state regulated society and capitalism of the market economy, the floor has been opened to the resurfacing of sociocultural traditions rooted in Confucianism that endorse the subordination of women and peasants. Looking at the division of labour within marriage in the countryside, Fan found that peasant households were motivated by the awkward position between insecurity of urban residency and pursuit of economic favour in the cities to split division of labour by gender. This happens in such a way that women become tied to the household and countryside, caring for the home, elder family members and engaging in agricultural labor, while men pursue migrant work. Thus, the policies of the state have indirectly promoted gender and class stratification, with the undermining of countryside women’s status as a net effect.\textsuperscript{138}

Similarly, in a study of three generation households in rural China, Feinian Chen (2004) found that the arrangement of tasks between the generations of women in the household reflect the changes in the gender divisions of labour; Where wives used to do most household work, the elder generation has now assumed more household responsibilities in order to facilitate the younger women taking over the men’s agricultural duties in the fields, as economic reforms have created new economic opportunities. Men were free to chase lucrative wage work in new arenas.\textsuperscript{139} Interestingly, some researchers have remarked that a consequence of this shift might be a redefinition of ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ activities, with agricultural labour being reclassified as home oriented work. The fluid boundary of ‘inside’/’outside’ classifications demonstrate the patriarchal legacy from Confucian Chinese

\textsuperscript{136} The World Bank, 1990-2014a, 1990-2014b.
\textsuperscript{138} Fan, “Rural-Urban Migration And Gender Division Of Labor In Transitional China,” 44.
\textsuperscript{139} Chen, “The Division of Labor Between Generations of Women in Rural China,” 557-580.
ideology that values male and male activities and devalues women’s and peasants’.

The sex role ideology theory discusses how socialisation processes about proper conduct for men and women during childhood determine distributions of power within relationships of the household and in society. In societies that devalues female activities, wives doing more housework and husbands less or none at all for example might therefore be taken for granted. Research shows that individuals with more egalitarian attitudes are more likely to share an equal labor division in housework, which is often correlated to higher levels of education.

Under Mao, Marxist theory became public disseminator of new social roles and proposed not only equality but sameness between genders. Postulating that exclusion from production was the main culprit of female oppression, the solution lay in ensuring women equal access to work, in all the same fields as men, including industrial labor – from whence arose the famous expression *The Iron Girl*. Men did not simultaneously assume more responsibilities for domestic labour however, which presented women with a double burden, of both taking care of the house and children while also being expected to make equal work contributions outside the home. Researchers have since commented that the process was more one of the masculinisation of women than a de-genderisation of the sexes.

The development of gendered identities in the reform era may be summarised as an unraveling of the de-genderisation ideals formed under Mao, with a re-claim to the female self as “distinctly different from the male other.” In a return to Confucian ethics subject to new foreign and commercial influences, consumption and personal adornment of Chinese women began to recapture pre-Mao notions of femininity and reflect desires to adopt new

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140 Chen, "The Division of Labor Between Generations of Women in Rural China," 577.
144 钢铁少女 *gangtie shaonü*.
ideals of the cosmopolitan, bold and sexually liberated woman.¹⁴⁷

In a more recent study of division of household labour within marriages in urban China, Ellen Pimentel (2006) found generational disparities in attitudes about gender equality and domestic labour distribution. All women held egalitarian attitudes, even though there were more inequitable divisions of household labour in the older generations. Women were found to be increasingly unhappy in marriage and dissatisfied with the division of labour, despite meaningful change in the latter. The attitudes among men varied much more however. Men married during the Cultural Revolution exposed to the period’s push for gender equality held the most egalitarian attitudes and were most happy in their marriages, while those born before or after tended to be quite negative to ideals of gender equality. Increased pressure from wives to share the domestic burden was also found to cause younger men to react in a “backlash” and become less egalitarian in their attitudes than their elder counterparts.¹⁴⁸ The research suggests that despite progress, women are more progressive in their attitudes toward gender equality in domestic labour than how fast the development of a more equal labour division is happening.

In a return to Confucian ethics subject to new foreign and commercial influences in the reform era, consumption and personal adornment of Chinese women began to recapture pre-Mao notions of femininity and reflect desires to adopt new ideals of the cosmopolitan, bold and sexually liberated woman.¹⁴⁹ The development of gendered identities may be summarised as an unraveling of the de-genderisation ideals formed under Mao, with a re-claim to the female self as “distinctly different from the male other.”¹⁵⁰

After longitudinal fieldwork in the capital city Huhhot of Chinese Inner Mongolia investigating gender discourses, William Jankowiak (1993) noted that the essence of men and women are perceived as profoundly separate, and that this is fundamentally tied together with a cultural belief about the naturality of gendered differences from a biological standpoint.

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Notions of gendered identities in China sprout from a world view in which physical bodies of opposites give rise to naturally contrasted personality traits of men and women.\textsuperscript{151} Jankowiak also summarised recurring associations of attributes in men and women uncovered during the seven years of field research. For instance, men were viewed as work oriented, aggressive and secure, and women home-oriented, timid, anxious and fussy.\textsuperscript{152} Similar observations have been made in studies on attitudes in mainland China, with reported views about women as less committed to the workplace and with abilities inferior to those of men.\textsuperscript{153}

Not everyone has the view of Chinese women as passive norm takers of subjugating ideologies of a devalued female gender and their activities. In an urban case study of 39 couples in Beijing, Jiping Zuo and Yanjie Bian (2001) found that the husband’s role as breadwinner and wife’s as housekeeper retains the primary place in the family. However, although the women shouldered greater responsibilities for household chores, few considered the labour division in the home as unfair, but interestingly rather that one’s inability to perform the culturally prescribed role did.\textsuperscript{154} In fact, 14 out of 19 of the professional women explained that in taking care of their families by prioritising family matters before their career was how they showed their affection. Some even considered the pursuit of a career as sacrificing their womanhood.\textsuperscript{155} The researchers propose that women in China accept the unequal distribution of housework not as passive rule takers but as active agents with interests and stakes in maintaining a certain – traditional gender order – in which fulfilling maternal and domestic tasks gives them gendered resources of bargaining power.\textsuperscript{156}

2.5 Conclusion

The food safety problem in China poses a set of urgent, multifaceted and serious challenges to the Chinese people, society and state, with important ramifications for social

\textsuperscript{151} Jankowiak, \textit{Sex, Death, and Hierarchy in A Chinese City}, 166.
\textsuperscript{154} Zuo and Bian, ”Gendered Resources, Division of Housework and Perceived Fairness,” 1131.
\textsuperscript{155} Zuo and Bian, ”Gendered Resources, Division of Housework and Perceived Fairness,” 1128.
\textsuperscript{156} Zuo and Bian, ”Gendered Resources, Division of Housework and Perceived Fairness,” 1131.
justice and national health. As Ulrich Beck’s risk society thesis can help us to illustrate, the loss of social trust puts the burden of risk management upon the shoulders of the individual, while new, manufactured food risks are difficult to estimate and control. This can create great anxieties about the complex, high-technological and modernised food supply system.

As has been shown, women tend to be more risk averse than men and follow diets more in line with public health recommendations. While risk behaviours are also dependent on a number of subjective factors beyond that of gender, numerous scholarships outline the role of gendered ideologies in shaping risk behaviours differently between men and women. Chinese women have traditionally been tied to the home and domestic activities, and continue to play an important role in shaping dietary habits of the household.

For these reasons, Chinese women constitute a demographic that is highly meaningful to investigate with a view to understanding the impacts of perceived gender roles, health and risk attitudes on emerging patterns of household food consumption in China, in the face of new incalculable and manufactured risks as described in Beck’s risk society.
Chapter 3 The Food Market in China: An Overview

This chapter will provide a brief overview the recent historical development and core elements of the food supply in China that bring about food safety problems and shape food consumption attitudes, as well as a summary of current trends in food consumption and food safety attitudes among its domestic consumers.

3.1 Historical Background

During the period 1915-1975 no publications arose from the scientific world on the topic of food safety in China. This might be ascribed to the fact that from a historical perspective, for China, like most other countries throughout history, ensuring food security (i.e. enough food) rather than food safety (i.e. high quality food) has been the primary focus. China has suffered bouts of famine for centuries, most recently in the Great Chinese Famine during the Great Leap Forward campaign from 1958 to 61. Some researchers have suggested that current attitudes about the modernised food supply in China must be interpreted in light of its recent history with famine. As in the words of Lin and his collaborators (2009): “A hungry world does not need food safety, but food itself.”

Prior to the reform and opening up period, rules and regulations for inspection methods and food hygiene standards were formulated, enacted and implemented by the relevant departments of the Chinese government, of which there were a great many. Regulations on the food supply were also still focused on hygiene issues and had not yet been formulated

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160 Lin et al., “Economic Development is Ultimate Determinant of Food Safety,” 1185.
161 Take for example the 1965 Administrative Regulations on Food Hygiene for Trial Implementation, jointly formulated and implemented by the Ministry of Commerce (MOC), Ministry of Health (MOH), First Ministry of Light Industry, the All China Federation of Supply and Marketing Cooperatives (ACFSMC) and the Central Administration for Industry and Commerce [ref. Wu and Zhu, Food Safety in China, 169].
into law.

Since the reform and opening up period began under leadership of Deng Xiaoping in 1978, market oriented reforms brought about tumultuous shifts in food provisioning and consumption patterns across all of China.\textsuperscript{162} With the shift towards a new era of rapid economic growth so too came the first postulations of food safety into law, albeit still with food \textit{hygiene} rather than \textit{safety} in focus.\textsuperscript{163} The 1982 provisional Food Hygiene Law was the first official recognition of the prevalence of food borne diseases.\textsuperscript{164} Initially, unevenness in food availability lead to bouts of inadequate nutritional variety among urbanites in the early years of the reform.\textsuperscript{165} Many rounds of law reform since followed.\textsuperscript{166} The China Green Food Development Center (CGFDC) was set up in 1992, and in 1996 the Ministry of Agriculture enacted the \textit{Green Food Symbol Regulation}. This marked the beginning of a standardised track of green food labeling for agricultural products in China.\textsuperscript{167}

After China’s accession on December 10, 2001 into the World Trade Organisation (WTO), which imposed higher standards on their food quality control system, the number of publications on food \textit{safety} incidents increased very sharply.\textsuperscript{168} Most recently, the final draft of a law revision to China’s Food Safety Law of 2009 came into effect on October 1st 2015,\textsuperscript{169} featuring stricter punishments, specific clauses about baby milk formula after the 2008 melamine incident,\textsuperscript{170} higher cash penalties for food adulteration, better consumer rights protection, and accountability of online food retailers to document food origins.

Today food is both varied and in abundance, in fact China has become largely self-sufficient, in spite of early concerns about expected booms in food quantity demand

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{163} Yan, "Food Safety and Social Risk in Contemporary China," 708.
\item\textsuperscript{164} Yan, "Food Safety and Social Risk in Contemporary China," 708.
\item\textsuperscript{166} For an extensive review on the developments of China’s food legal system, see e.g. Wu and Zhu, \textit{Food Safety in China}, 169-196.
\item\textsuperscript{167} Wu and Zhu, \textit{Food Safety in China}, 18.
\item\textsuperscript{168} Lin et al., “Economic Development is Ultimate Determinant of Food Safety,” 1185; Yan, "Food Safety and Social Risk in Contemporary China," 708.
\item\textsuperscript{170} The melamine incident is a famous food safety disaster that occurred in 2008, causing the death of 6 infants and poisoned 300,000 and lead to strong public reactions. For more see e.g. Xiu and Klein, "Melamine in Milk Products in China."
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
potentially sparking a new food security crisis due to higher disposable incomes.\textsuperscript{171} Such a development has not unfolded, probably because most of China’s income growth has occurred in the upper 10\textsuperscript{th} percentile.\textsuperscript{172} This has influenced how income growth impacts on China’s food demand, since most of the increase in demand is coming from quality optimising and not quantity optimising high-income households.\textsuperscript{173} However, new abundance in the food supply has posed China with other challenges, one of which is that a growing consumption of meat, fat, sugar and salt has caused a spread of diet-related illnesses like diabetes, coronary heart disease and obesity.\textsuperscript{174} Beyond this are a new set of risks entirely. This has to do with new unsafe and poisonous food stuffs.

### 3.2 Current Food Supply System

Along all of the four stages of the “farm-to-fork” food supply chain – primary food production, processing, wholesale/distributor’s market and retail – there are problematic conditions that enable food contamination and adulteration.

Problems during the production stage arise mainly from an excessive use of pesticides and chemical fertilisers during crop farming and large scale soil pollution effects,\textsuperscript{175} as well as the use of illegal feed for poultry raising\textsuperscript{176} and fish breeding.\textsuperscript{177} Little supervision resources are afforded to that of the production sector in general, and with most resources awarded urban areas.\textsuperscript{178} In China’s agricultural sector the average application rate of chemical fertilisers has reached a level that is 1.93 times higher than the internationally recognised safe rate.\textsuperscript{179} Given that the ‘safety’ of the international standard is furthermore highly debatable, and that there are continuously upward floating limits for what is deemed

\textsuperscript{172} USDA, \textit{Demand for Food Quantity and Quality in China}, 4.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{176} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 15.
\textsuperscript{178} Bian, "The Challenges for Food Safety in China," 11.
\textsuperscript{179} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 15.
acceptable chemical contamination levels\textsuperscript{180} and rising cancer-rates and incidents of pesticide poisoning reaching the groundwater now common in Europe,\textsuperscript{181} this is worrisome. In 2013 the World Health Organization issued a report expressing deep concern about a category of chemicals called Endocrine Disrupting Chemicals (EDCs), whose hormonal disturbances in the body may be the culprit of a wave of cancer cases. Even at small doses they have negative impacts on health. Meanwhile, a lot of common pesticides belong to this category.\textsuperscript{182} Furthermore, many of the pesticides and fertilisers banned by both the EU and the Chinese government are still in use in China today.\textsuperscript{183}

The major culprit and statistical loser of food safety problems in China is the processing sector however. Hidden safety hazards from new production technologies, microbial contamination caused by dirty environments for processing, the use of chemical preservatives and illegal additives in the early and deep processing stage respectively are the main types of food safety issues in this sector.\textsuperscript{184} Deliberate food poisoning is, on the one hand, caused by the criminal acts of food processors who have economic profit motives to deliberately adulterate foods, but on the other, the failure in management of supervisory institutions to prevent low-quality and poisonous foods to trickle through to the consumer market.\textsuperscript{185}

Notably, not a lot of capital and technology is required for entry into the food sector. In China this has resulted in widespread penetration of a large number of very small food processing workshops; In the period of January to March 2011, small enterprises realised a total sales income of RMB 121 billion yuan, as compared with medium and large-sized companies averaging RMB 112 and 51 billion yuan respectively, thus small enterprises hold 42 percent of the national total of China’s food industry.\textsuperscript{186} This is a major challenge for timely supervision, which is rendered both costly and widely inefficient.

\textsuperscript{182} Geelmuyden, \textit{Sannheten På Bordet}, 42.
\textsuperscript{184} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 16.
\textsuperscript{185} Bian, ”Food Safety in China”: 11.
\textsuperscript{186} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 17.
The storage and transportation stage is marked by inefficient networks of transportation that reduce circulation speeds of foods to the jeopardisation of their quality, unhygienic storage spaces and the lack of adequate facility standards, specifically cold storage and transportation. The wholesale market has the same problems but is furthermore coloured by wholesellers’ excessive pursuits of economic efficiency rather than food safety motives, as demonstrated for example by the tendency to ignore safety supervision that may increase the wholeseller’s operating costs.\textsuperscript{187}

Jiehong Zhou and Shaosheng Jin (2013) assert that the consumption stage is statistically near irrelevant in terms of food safety incident occurrences, as the problems that arise are mainly unscientific cooking processes, irrational diet and unsanitary environment issues.\textsuperscript{188} However, a number of incidents featuring counterfeit and low quality restaurant foods passed off as safe, genuine and high quality, continues to cause great uneasiness among Chinese consumers about the safety of restaurant dining.\textsuperscript{189}

On the level of supervision, responsibilities are scattered and overlapping between various departments.\textsuperscript{190} This leads to a scramble for profitable matters and shying away from unprofitable ones. For this reason, not all food safety problems are handled with equal care nor in a timely manner.\textsuperscript{191} For instance, China is a major exporting country of agricultural products, making the sector an important source of government revenue. Food scandals have sparked quick government responses to improve quality controls on export oriented products due to the economic incentives to maintain foreign demand for Chinese agricultural products. This has also lead to disparities in the quality of export food items and those headed for the domestic market, as export oriented enterprises are more willing to adopt proper but costly safety measures due to higher profit margins.\textsuperscript{192}

There are two classes of ‘green’ foods in China: Class A and AA. Class AA is basically equivalent to organic food, prohibiting the use of chemical pesticides, fertilisers, veterinary

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{187} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 18-19.
  \item \textsuperscript{188} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 19.
  \item \textsuperscript{190} Bian, “The Challenges for Food Safety in China,” 11.
  \item \textsuperscript{191} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 16.
  \item \textsuperscript{192} Zhou and Jin, \textit{Food Safety Management in China}, 66 and 82.
\end{itemize}
drugs, food additives, feed additives, and other substances harmful to the environment and health during the production process, while class A allows for the limited use of chemosynthetic means of production. Between 1997 and 2011, crop fields certified for green food production has gone from 21 million hectares to 160 million. The number of certifications for organic food products have also increased rapidly in recent years. The figures from China Organic Food Certification Centre, which is the largest organic food certification body, were up from 520 organic certified enterprises to 1,366, between 2006 and the end of 2011.193

However, profit incentives and information asymmetry in the food market has allowed some organic food certification bodies to turn the review process into “paid certification,” as Linhai Wu and Dian Zhu (2015) have shown. Thus, label authenticities are unreliable and the organic food certification performs practically no function. Fake labeling similarly undermines green certifications and food safety incidents involving foreign brands have been commonplace in China for a long time as well.194

### 3.3 Food Safety Attitudes and Consumption Behaviours

Looking at Chinese food safety attitudes, a large scale cross-regional 2012 survey with 4289 respondents195 found that worries about food safety in the Chinese population is widespread, with urban residents reporting somewhat higher levels of concern however.196 In general, very few showed little to no concern on the issue (response distribution illustrated in figure 3.3.1.).

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194 Wu and Zhu, *Food Safety in China*, 278.
195 The survey was conducted in 96 sites across 12 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities on China Mainland over the course of four months. Survey limitations: 52.6 to 47.4 percent male-female ratio gender bias, 92.6 percent aged 55 or younger age bias, and 68.5 to 31.5 percent married-unmarried participant ratio marital status bias. For more details see Wu and Zhu, *Food Safety in China: A Comprehensive Review*, 143-147.
196 66.50 and 55.45 percent reporting to be ‘concerned or very concerned’ of urban and rural respondents respectively.
Interestingly, greater worry was reported by urban respondents than rural on all categories of food safety problems except for that of excessive pesticide and veterinary drug use. On this matter, rural participants were comparatively more concerned.\(^{197}\) Wu and Zhu (2015) attributes this trend to greater knowledge among rural participants about the methods, processes and scale of today’s pesticide and veterinary drug use,\(^{198}\) suggesting that the severity of rural people’s risk estimation of a given category of food safety risk, accompanies knowledge about that risk type.

In the midst of growing contention, Chinese diet choices are under revision. Consumers try to ensure quality and safety of foods by opting for big chain stores, top quality brands, or imported goods as alternatives to home produced food types perceived as less well regulated.\(^{199}\) Chinese consumers, believed to be very price sensitive in food purchasing decisions, are increasingly willing to pay modest premiums for food with safety-related certifications such as green, organic, ‘harm free’ and ‘reliable meat’\(^{200}\) as well as foods with purported health benefits.\(^{201}\)

\(^{197}\) 24.7 versus 22.4 percent respectively.
\(^{200}\) 绿色 lüse, 有机 youji, 无公害 wugonghai, 放心肉 fangxin rou.
However, evidence on consumers’ willingness to pay for such premiums is partial and contradictory, addressing different populations, times, methods and product items that limit the comparability of surveys conducted thus far. In particular, it may be that the increase in pay willingness is overestimated; Studies tend to target urban areas and first-tier cities, which ignores the trends in rural populations and more traditional sales venues such as wet markets.202

When it comes to food consumption in China, women are an important demographic; They are gaining more financial independence, are better educated than in the past, and it has further been estimated that women hold about 60 percent of spending power and determine 78 percent of daily household purchases.203 A potential driving force for food product demand in the future, the influence of female consumers is felt not only in their own households but in those of their parents when they belong to the same neighbourhood or live in the same house.204

Though imported foods to China are by no means exempt for risk,205 on a national level, Chinese imports of foods and beverages have increased tremendously. The General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine (AQSIQ) has reported a 7.3 percent year-on-year growth of food and beverage imports quantity and 3.3 percent in value.206

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202 FORHEAD, Food Safety in China, 55.
203 Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, The Urban Chinese Consumer, 6.
204 Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, The Urban Chinese Consumer, 6.
Figure 3.3.2: China’s Imported Food Trade Value 2005-2014 (in USD million)

Consumers of imported food in China are generally upper or middle income families, as these can afford the higher premiums for food safety assurances. Recent income growth has not been as large or as rapid in the countryside as in urban areas and rural households with low incomes have been found to be more price sensitive. This has lead to predictions about the poorer classes bearing the brunt of food safety problems, as they are less likely to accept premium price ups for foods certified as safe.\(^{207}\) Even so, there are signs of growth in the rural food and beverage market, namely in the dairy sector,\(^{208}\) which suggest that with time and continued economic growth, rural households will follow the trend and also shift toward more quality optimisation and dietary variety.

Imported Western-style products have a reputation for being high quality, nutritious and safe.\(^{209}\) Hypermarkets in China are generally dominated by foreign operators that are perceived as imposing stricter quality controls than most domestic retailers, thus more and more Chinese prefer to do their shopping in these stores as a common strategy to safeguard food consumption.\(^{210}\) As early as 2009, the proportion of grocery product purchases in hypermarkets was at 60 percent and steadily increasing.\(^{211}\)

It is interesting that foreign hypermarkets continually market themselves and retain their


\(^{208}\) EU SME Centre and CBBC, *China’s Food & Beverage Market*, 27.

\(^{209}\) EU SME Centre and CBBC, *China’s Food & Beverage Market*, 8.


image as safe sales venue alternatives, despite their recurring involvement in major food scandals, for instance the case of regular pork in Wal-Mart labelled as organic and sold at higher prices in several Chongqing outlets in 2011, their recall of “Five-Spice” donkey meat products sold discovered to contain fox meat in 2014, or the banned pesticide methamidophos found on vegetables sold at several Tescos and other well known foreign and domestic supermarkets in major Chinese cities.

Coinciding with new attitudes towards food risks in China, as incomes rise, Chinese consumers also generally work to optimise diets, dividing increased demand not only towards increased quantity of foods, but towards higher quality-, more convenient and exotic food types. The purchases of grains and vegetables have increased for urban households in the period of 1990 to 2007, while it has decreased overall for the same time period. This development reflects a transition of diet optimisation; as income rises in the countryside, low income rural households will prioritise great dietary variety towards more protein, while urban households are becoming more health oriented. Replacing the fast food chains in prime locations at Chinese shopping malls are restaurants that emphasise organic food and healthy dining.

Health and wellness foodstuffs are most popular in first- and second-tier cities, and sales are growing. Concurrently, hypermarkets and eCommerce are penetrating the lower-tier city markets and causing a similar shift. This is due not only to competitive prices but also diversified health and wellness options. Thus, despite internal variances, Chinese consumers are becoming more health concerned and quality optimising overall.

212 EU SME Centre and CBBC, China’s Food & Beverage Market, 27.
214 Tan, “Banned Pesticides Detected on Vegetables in Tesco and Other Supermarkets in China.”
215 USDA, Demand for Food Quantity and Quality in China.
216 Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, The Urban Chinese Consumer, 10
217 USDA, Demand for Food Quantity and Quality in China, 5.
218 USDA, Demand for Food Quantity and Quality in China, iii-iv.
220 EU SME Centre and CBBC, China’s Food & Beverage Market, 8.
221 USDA, China 2014 Annual Retail Report, 14.
3.4 Conclusion

In just a few decades, China’s food supply has gone from being marked by famine and malnutrition to abundance and plenty, which along with the emergence of a problem with unlawful food adulteration, has changed the issue focus from hygiene to safety. While China’s government has taken a series of steps to remedy the situation and a lot of progress has been made, their efforts are exacerbated by a number of loopholes. These are primarily the result of confusion in the supervision stage from the lack of one comprehensive food control system and an overlap in government responsibilities for food quality and label authenticity controls. This inevitably means that the Chinese food market still poses consumers with food risks of unknown proportion.

The Chinese public has shown that they are aware and concerned about food risks, which relates to certain new consumption patterns. These include trends to opt for top brands, foods with safety labels, import goods and shopping in large, standardised supermarkets. Higher and middle income families are more likely to use these strategies due to less sensitivity to price mark ups for ensurances of food quality. Additionally, urban households seem to be becoming more health oriented while low income households are prioritising greater dietary variety.

Together these shifts in demand suggest the emergence of more individualised, quality optimising, educated and conscious consumers.
Chapter 4 Respondents’ Food Safety Attitudes, Behaviours and Household Responsibilities

In this chapter I will present my independent research results from 1. the questionnaire survey, 2. participant observation and 3. interviews respectively, outlining significant findings. While making a few relevant considerations I leave the analysis and contextualisation into theoretical framework along with comparison with other scholars’ empirical data findings on this topic for chapter five.

4.1 Questionnaire Survey Findings

4.1.1 Aim of the Survey

The survey was made with a view to understanding on a quantitative level the distribution of knowledge and attitudes about food safety and food shopping behaviours among women of different social backgrounds, with which to supplement my findings from qualitative interviews. Questions were aimed at mapping habits, concerns, attitudes and knowledge pertaining to food safety that could be more easily answered by way of a quantitative questionnaire than through qualitative interviews. The questions and alternatives that have been analysed are displayed in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>ALTERNATIVES</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1: Primary household cook &amp; grocerie shopper</td>
<td>(me/other___)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2: Who does most of the other household chores</td>
<td>(me/other___)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3: How often do you eat out/takeaway?</td>
<td>(daily+/weekly+/monthly+/less than monthly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q4: Most important when choosing a restaurant</td>
<td>(it’s near/quick to deliver/cheap/recommended by others/high official score of</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cleanliness/standard/other___)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5: Buys gov.-backed-labelled ‘safe’ food products</td>
<td>(often/sometimes/rarely/never)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6: Understanding dev. of the food safety issues</td>
<td>(very/somewhat/not very/not at all - important to me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q7: Pesticide residues recently have...</td>
<td>(increased/gone down/don’t know)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8: Knowledge test</td>
<td>(7 possible correct answers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q9: Where food safety info comes from</td>
<td>(relatives/friends/news/government campaigns/independently seeking knowledge on line/other)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1.1 Survey Questions Overview
4.1.2 Survey Results

Due to space limitations, only some and the most protruding results of the survey will here be put forth.

Out of 60 responses to the question of who had primary household cooking and grocery shopping responsibilities, 33 reported a woman had the primary responsibility and only in 11 households did the primary cooking responsibility belong to a man. Thus, the results indicate that while women are not alone in the household food management responsibility, they tend to be the primary preparers of meals not in all, but most households.

The significant correlations revealed by regression analysis are illustrated in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variables</th>
<th>Significant independent variables</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Explanatory power of equation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>children(−)</td>
<td>The more children, the less likely men are to assume cooking responsibilities</td>
<td>20.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>income(+)</td>
<td>The more income, the more likely men are to do household chores</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>children(+)</td>
<td>The more children, the more often the family will eat out/takeaway food</td>
<td>16.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q5</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8b</td>
<td>income(+)</td>
<td>The more income, the more likely the person is to be knowledgeable about food safety risks</td>
<td>34.50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Men’s participation in household labour was found to depend negatively on the number of children in the household. In most cases this means it depended on whether or not there were any children in the household since the majority of participants with children had one child. Thus, in settled families with children, women tended to do most of the household chores, suggesting perhaps that women will assume more of the traditional “inner” tasks discussed in chapter 2.4 once they have children. Men’s participation in household labour was also found to depend positively on household income. This indicates that there are more equitable household labour distributions in high income households. Results also showed women in higher income households as more knowledgeable about food safety risks, though imperfect income data means that these results must be interpreted with some reservation.

The tendency for restaurant-dining was found to bear a correlation with the number of
children (again, whether or not there were any children in the household). In light of interview findings discussed in section 4.3.8, this could be a reflection that a temporality aspect is an important shaper of dining habits within households with school age children, since they may have many extra curricular activities to attend in the afternoons outside their homes; put briefly, families that have a more hectic lifestyle with busy schedules are likely to dine out more often.

The questionnaire also included a specific knowledge test, asking participants to pair up the correct connections between two word rows. The test questions were formed with a view to making ‘lucky guesses’ unlikely. They are based on information from publicised food safety incidents or recurring food safety problems that should have been available to anyone who follows the news, but were aimed at mapping how specific and intricate the knowledge of food dangers among participants was, as reported on by the Chinese media: *Melamine* traditionally used in plastic manufacture, *cadmium* in rice,\(^\text{221}\) the insecticide chemicals *methamidophos* and *rogor* in vegetables,\(^\text{222}\) *clenbuterol hydrochloride* fed to livestock (which causes them to burn fat), *SARS* in chicken poultry, *malachite green* in fish, and finally, as previously noted, the fact that the majority of food safety incidents in China are owed to microbial contamination.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
17. 将左边的单词与右边的正确匹配（7对子）
\hline
塑料 & 锰（化学）
蔬菜 & 铅
牲畜 & 萨斯
大米 & 微生物污染
鸡肉 & 盐酸克仑特罗
鱼 & 乐果+甲胺磷
中国多半的食品安全问题 & 孔雀石绿
有毒污染 & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
17. & 将左边的单词与右边的正确匹配（7对子）
塑料 & 锰（化学）
蔬菜 & 铅
牲畜 & 萨斯
大米 & 微生物污染
鸡肉 & 盐酸克仑特罗
鱼 & 乐果+甲胺磷
中国多半的食品安全问题 & 孔雀石绿
有毒污染 & \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Questionnaire Knowledge Test\(^{223}\)}
\end{table}


\(^{222}\) See e.g. Tan, “Banned Pesticides Detected on Vegetables in Tesco and Other Supermarkets in China.”

\(^{223}\) 中国多半的食品安全问题－微生物污染 zhuongguo duoban de shipin anquan wenti－weishengwu wuran. 鱼 －孔雀石绿 yu－kongqueshi lü. 肌肉－萨斯 jirou－sasi. 大米－镉 (化学) dami－ge (huaxue). 牲畜－盐酸克仑特罗 shengchu－yansuan keluntelu. 蔬菜－乐果+甲胺磷 shucai－leguo+jia'anlin. 塑料－氰胺 suliao－qing'an.
4.2 Participant Observation Findings

The hypermarket visited was a Wal-Mart, which has a very wide selection of both processed and fresh foods and beverages from abroad as well as China. It was connected to a shopping centre with a large parking garage. Consistently in every round (spread across different times of the day and days of the week) shoppers were primarily people of the younger generations and a majority women. Relative to what I could see in other food outlets, people shopped in larger quanta, and there were many couples. All the foods were found to be labelled, and in the fresh produce section was general information about the production origins, such as the originating province or country, though specific locations on for instance a farm, village or district were not listed.

The neighbourhood shop I went to was situated inside a community of housing complexes. The shop was dimly lit and appeared less clean. It was run by a couple, who often consumed their meals by a fold-out table in the shopping aisles. The only fresh produce were eggs and apples, otherwise snacks and common household articles such as washing liquid and staple cooking ingredients were available. The store would stay open quite late, to 2.30 A.M., and a large majority of the customers I observed were young men buying a single pack of cigarettes. The rest were of different ages and both genders, and bought snacks and ice cream.

The traditional food market was very big, situated indoors and close to a residential area. It was divided into three main departments; seafood, vegetables and meat, and in between them were hallways of processed foods. In every section were several stalls, each with sales personnel wearing the same uniform but that at the same time competed for customers, many of them selling what often looked to be identical produce, perhaps even from the same wholeseller. The selection and standard of vegetables between stalls were unintelligible from each other, there was no information about the production origins, and oftentimes also pricing was lacking. Asking the sales personnel about production origins was met with hesitations, yielded opposing answers, and lead me to question whether the grocers actually knew where their produce specifically came from.

Interestingly, in the traditional food markets only rarely did I spot shoppers under the (based on a visual estimate) age of 50. In addition, male shoppers were in the majority.
People seemed to shop in meal-sized quanta. This could be suggestive that this market is frequented mostly by those who value freshness, cheapness and those that actually have the time available to shop on a daily basis. If it was a matter of people preferring to shop close to where they live that they came to the vegetable market, then I would expect to see a more even age-distribution of shoppers here, as there were people of all ages living in the area.

Finally, the fruit shop was an approximately 15 square metre shop close to the traditional food market, brightly-lit and appearing clean. Labels did not supply information about place of origin, only price. All ages and genders were represented among the customers, but too few customers were observed (one to two each time) to make meaningful statements about trends here.

In conclusion, the most popular grocery shopping locations were the wet market and hypermarket, with a relative prevalence of older and younger customers respectively, patterns consistent with what other studies from urban areas in China have found before me.\textsuperscript{224} No women were observed buying groceries in the neighbourhood shop, and only in Wal-Mart were they the majority, which suggests that young women in Hangzhou prefer to shop at large supermarkets. Another indication is that older people in Hangzhou prefer to shop at traditional markets. Interpretations need further data sampling from more locations to be tested. With the majority of women shoppers in only one location and a slight majority of men in another it is clear that in Hangzhou grocery shopping responsibilities are not protruding ‘a women’s burden’, like I had set out in the beginning of my investigation.

### 4.3 Interview Findings

#### 4.3.1 On Gendered Roles and Household Responsibility Distribution

To the aid of analysis there is good reason to split the interviewees into groups: in Group 1, the eight women of the interview sample who have married and settled down with their own families, and in Group 2 the remaining five women of the sample, who are unmarried but living away from home. This is useful because when asked about household responsibilities...
responsibilities of cooking and grocery shopping, the women in group 2 would answer in terms of the patterns in their childhood home, whereas those in group 1 would answer with those in their own established family households.

In all the households, primary cooking responsibilities in the household belonged to a woman. Of the eight women in group 1, six reported that the primary cooking responsibilities belonged to her, in one household it belonged to the mother-in-law, and one woman reported sharing the responsibility equally with her mother-in-law.

Upon being asked why women were absorbing most of the household chores instead of the men most simply offered ‘tradition’ as the reason: “I guess it’s due to the traditionality of China,” (–Mo Yun)225 “This has to do with the culture.” (–Hong Xiang)226 and even specified that this was the gendered role of men and women: “My husband’s main responsibility is earning money” (–Mo Yun)227 “The Chinese women cook the food, take care of the kids. They do everything.” (–Rong Lei)228 “Women will tend to lean towards the role of tending to the home and household” (–Hong Xiang)229 Lei Xun explained she took the responsibility because her husband did not know how to cook, as he had never learned.

When the single women in my interview sample were asked about why their mothers absorbed the household chores, they attributed it to the result of ‘tradition’ as well, and further noted that when the time came for them to settle down, they would likely assume the same role but be less alone in the tasks and share more of the burden with their husbands.230 One of them specifically brought in the discussion of changing times, towards more freedom, opportunity and greater equality between the genders: “I think I will do things somewhat differently from how my mother did them, because I will be more busy with work. In this day and age [...] men and women are more equal.” (–Wei Xuan)231

Women in the countryside seemed more burdened however and overall less content with

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225 中国比较传统的吧（–Mo Yun)
226 这是一个文化的问题（–Hong Xiang)
227 我丈夫可能主要是赚钱（–Mo Yun)
228 中国女人都做饭，做饭看孩子，什么都干。（–Rong Lei)
229 一般都是女性偏向于这个照顾家庭的角色（–Hong Xiang)
230 我应该会。会但是应该会叫我的丈夫帮我一起做。“I suppose I will. I will, but probably call on my husband to help do it.”（–Hong xiang)
231 可能跟我妈妈不一样，因为我可能会自己的工作会比较忙。而且现在，你可以请保姆啊，或者男女比较公平了，可能有说：星期一星期二我来做，星期三星期四可能我丈夫来做。然后周末，打扫除整个打扫我倾向于到保姆来做
their household chore responsibilities, statements denoting a touch of injustice about the double burden of duties on both the work- and home arena: “I’m the household “chef”. I have a job and I have to do the cooking.”

Among married women from the cities, while they also did the majority of housework, they expressed the distribution of responsibilities more frequently as more equitable and as the result of choice and not duty. Firstly, many highlighted that their husbands assisted with shopping and house cleaning. Some explicitly rejected the idea that household chores be divided responsibilities: “It is not like these responsibilities are all on me, he will also shoulder the burden on many aspects of household matters,”

Second of all, several of the married women attributed the chore distribution to a mutual agreement and cooperation rather than externally enforced gender roles, though gendered roles were part of it.

“I should say I am quite happy to do it, pretty happy to, yes. When it comes to household chores, I should say that in our house my husband helps out some too. Like, with the cleaning; he will wash the floor, or, he’ll share in the task of washing the dishes. It is usually he who takes our son out to play as well.”

Mo Yun highlighted that her husband would help out, but that his main responsibility is to earn money, while Lei Xun said she tends to take on ‘inside’ responsibilities, but that she was also in the process of gradually teaching her husband how to do more cooking and household work, which he had never learned growing up, and that she would in fact demand that he help out.

These attitudes suggest that, while the women interviewed in Hangzhou were aware of traditional gender ideologies historically tasking women with ‘inside’ homemaking responsibilities and men with ‘outside’ earning responsibilities, they also felt they had a high degree of choice in the extent to which to adhere to them. In many cases they were quite happy to or the burdens were not theirs alone, and no one seemed to think that women somehow should do all household and cooking chores.
4.3.2 Rural-Specific Trends: Access to Arable Land and More Trust

Women in Qijie reported that their food choices were based in local customs and traditional ways of life, guided by the way their parents had cooked before them and the ingredients that they had used. Many of the families in Qijie were not farmers but still grew their own vegetables in the courtyard, while those who farmed separated the crop for private consumption from that for sale.

The crop intended for private consumption was different from what farmers would sell on the market; Specifically, their own food would not be sprayed with pesticides and chemical fertilisers, since “Those [chemical fertilisers] are polluting, not good for your body, so we don’t tend to use them.”

The villagers were all aware that pesticides and chemical fertilisers had negative health impacts and used their available means – here arable land – to avoid such health hazards in their vegetable consumption. It is interesting that the concern for the health and wellbeing of oneself and one’s own was so naturally separate from those for strangers to which the ‘unhealthy’ crop was sold, especially since they themselves highlighted fake branding and willful food adulteration as problematic and unethical actions:

“So why do we have bird flu and those kinds of diseases? That is because, they will use drugs to make the meat look fresher and better. [...] He doesn’t care if you get sick, on the contrary he is just looking to make a sale. As long as he earns a profit he’s happy.”

(- Sheng Lai)

“Some things come from far away, new people, you’ll have some suspicion about them. Some of the things they send over here are fake, things like milk. There will also be instances of fake brand packaging.”

(- Fen Fen)

The quote above from Fen Fen illustrates that outsiders were viewed with suspicion, and she highlighted the fear about milk. This particular interviewee’s family used to own three cows a couple of years back. Therefore, a reliance on imported milk was new to her.

However, when I asked participants what they would pay attention to when buying groceries, the only food safety concern they reported was that of counterfeit branding.

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237 那种有污染么啊，对身体不好，一般都不用。
238 为什么会有那些禽流感种病？那就是因为，他们使用了那些药物，呃，会让肉更新鲜啦什么之类的，呃。[...] 他不管你吃的会不会生病，反正他是要卖的，只要有钱就行了。
239 一些小点儿近的东西，有些送的货远，货远令人不太靠谱。不知的人，新人的话所以说，心上怀疑会有一些。他送的东西有些东西是假的，那些像奶呀，又有些东西会是，会是那个，会是假的产品，所以一般都到大一点的超市去买。那种比较可靠一点儿。
Women in Qijie did not tend to expand on or articulate many fears related to the food safety problem. This alone does not warrant the conclusion that women in Qijie were unconcerned. It could be that the middle class women in Hangzhou were simply more used to debating topics like food safety and articulating their opinions about diet choices in the face of these risks, while the rural women either did not want to express their thoughts and feelings on these risks or know how to, but rather made sure to use foods that they felt they could control, such as brands they were used to and homegrown vegetables.

Fen Fen stated that she took care to check the label information on foods to ‘make sure’ it was not expired or counterfeit. In one sense, this indicates some degree of suspicion about the food supply by the simple awareness that the two scenarios (food item expired or counterfeit) is likely. In a different sense, it also indicates some trust by the fact that checking the label information was viewed as a way to ascertain whether the food was safe or not. Other women stated that they really only look at the expiration date. In other words, suspicion and concern was there, but so was a degree of trust.

When I then asked interviewee Fo Yi whether she trusted the information a seller provides her about the food she buys, her reply was simply, “Of course I trust it – what’s not to trust?” I also asked about whether they trusted the local farmers’ quality of the meat they sold was good, upon which the interview spiraled into an open discussion that included female village bystanders. One elderly villager stated “You don’t trust him – you just don’t eat it!” and laughed. By the simple fact that this option was available inherently requires that there is some level of choice in whether or not you eat unsafe food types, since for obvious reasons not eating is not an option, a feeling of agency is here implied.

This type of casual attitude about the challenges of modern food safety risks that some of the women displayed often appeared in conjunction with statements about the naturality of the process with which value (and risk) assessments about foods was made, which moreover appeared to be tied in with notions of a shared identity as people from the countryside, familiar with the workings of food and nature:

“We are all born from the soil and raised from the soil. (...) So we are truly all pretty

240 相信呀，有啥不相信呀。
241 不相信就不吃啊。
familiar with these kinds of things. Not like you (...) It’s elementary knowledge here, it’s not hard. [Talking about vegetables:] As soon as you look at it you know whether it’s fresh or not fresh, and thereby whether it is good or not good.”

“We grow a lot of vegetables ourselves, so we can feel safe eating, not like in the city, in the city the problem is much greater.”

In this way, attitudes on food safety were embedded in notions about the rural self as distinctly different from the urban other.

On the other hand, sometimes the direct access to safe food choices would not be taken advantage of. For example: My host’s mother fell ill shortly after we arrived. One of the family friends made a living raising chickens, and my host special ordered a batch of eggs from him to be ‘without antibiotics and drugs’. When I later wanted to help with the cooking she instructed: “Do not take from that batch of eggs, those are for my mom. She is sick so she has to have the healthy eggs. We will eat the regular ones.” – which were of course full of ‘antibiotics and drugs,’ suggesting the advertent choosing of the safest alternative was here the exception, instead of the rule.

For some, the identity of a 农村人 nongcumren – person from the countryside – explicitly entailed being less concerned with matters of food safety: “People from the countryside don’t care too much [about food safety], certainly not as much as people in the city” (- Fo Yi).

Following Fo Yi’s statement, for a few minutes the interview again turned into an open discussion among the female village onlookers. The statements that followed featured an element of local pride in the relative healthiness of the countryside, with one elderly villager exclaiming that the health of people from the countryside is good and robust, and another that countryside air is good while city pollution is comparatively more serious. Nobody mentioned the fact that chemical fertilisers and pesticides pollutes the soil and can seep into the groundwater, or that everyone in the village uses the cheapest and lowest quality coal as a

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242 我们都是这个，土生土长的人，然后又回到了自己老地方。所以说对这些东西实在就比较熟悉，没有什么，不像你们对于我们吃的青菜呀，不太熟悉，不太这个熟悉的条件是吧。我们都是在这儿生长的人，所以说那些，那些都是属于基本的常识。好像没有什么可条件的。一看就知道是新鲜不新鲜然后是好不好
243 我们...种菜也比较多，所以吃也挺放心的，不比城市里面，城市里面那些，就问题比较大。
244 Such as vegetables, eggs, chicken, pork and beef produced in the village, the production methods of which the villagers would have some choice of and idea about.
245 无激素 wu jisu, 无药 wu yao.
246 农村里也还是不太注重，是不是。没有市里面儿能注重。
247 看农村人的身体还可棒棒嘛!
248 也农村空气好，城市污染严重一点。
primary fuel source, toxifying the air of the entire neighbourhood.

In sum, among my rural participants, fears about food safety seemed overall less prominent than in the urban sample, in line with the trend found in the 2011 survey by Wu and Zhu (2015). While not without concern, they exhibited less risk conscious attitudes, which further seemed to be coupled with a higher degree of both social and personal trust as compared to those of interviewees from the cities.

4.3.3 Young Motherhood’s Impact on Food Risk Knowledge and Behaviour

Some evidence was found that pregnancy and young motherhood resulted in more risk awareness. Out of all the respondents to the questionnaire for example, the only woman with a full set of correct answers was pregnant. Then again, another pregnant questionnaire respondent acquired no such above average score.

Rong Lei said she never used to care about what she ate but after she learned of her pregnancy completely changed her diet. She highlighted it as a direct impact of her newfound motherhood:

“Especially when it comes to food I am really careful these days, to the point where even what I eat I am really careful about [...] I even don’t eat street barbecue anymore. All that started only after I had him.”

The other young mother interviewed had a 1.5 year old son and reported to be highly concerned about food safety and ‘increasingly afraid’. She was the only one in the rural sample to do so, and further asserted that she paid special consideration navigating the market with respect to protecting her child. When asked what sort of food he ate, her reply was paradoxically that ‘he can eat whatever he wants to eat’. She also asserted that she would certainly never buy milk powder from the Sanlu group, affiliated with the 2008 melamine milk incident, but also that when she came to think of it, she had not really seen the brand in a while. In actuality the Sanlu group quickly declared itself bankrupt after the melamine crisis

250 以前也没有, 以前这边谈呢, 我也挺喜欢吃的哈, 虽然不干净, 你这不干净, 但有了孩子之后, 真的就很关注这方面的东西了
251 特别食物方面就特别小心现在, 就连我自己吃得也很小心, 因为要喂母乳喂养嘛, 就很小心吃方面。烧烤一般现在也不吃了, 只从有了他之后。
and ensuing compensation claims and government fines eight years ago. She highlighted her anger about how unethical the actions of unlawful food peddlers were, stating that their complete disregard for the health and safety of others were the reason that bird flu and other food safety problems exist.

Both Sheng Lai and Rong Lei asserted that their concerns about food safety problems were directly related to the desire to protect their children. Meanwhile, mothers of older children did not speak in these terms, but described themselves as generally concerned in the case of urban mothers, and generally unconcerned in that of rural. Thus, pregnancy and newfound motherhood indeed did seem to incite some level of heightened concern about environmental health risks that furthermore lead to greater risk awareness and the acquirement of food risk knowledge relative to others.

4.3.4 Trend: The Well-Off as More Food Risk Knowledgeable

The questionnaire revealed that knowledge was correlated with income; specifically, those from higher-income households tended to get more correct pairings in the knowledge test question.

There was evidence of a correlation between income and knowledge in the interviews by the fact that women I encountered that were from higher income households would often spend more time generally reflecting on the issue, leading me to think they were more conscious of the problem and had given some thought about how it relates to their own life. Or it could be that the women from high income households that I interviewed were more used to discussing these matters and better at vocalising their feelings and concerns about food safety than people from low income or rural households.

A few other factors make it difficult to determine whether there was a direct correlation between food safety awareness and income. These women were mothers, and they were also older. Generally, high income is acquired with age, as is settling down and establishing a family. Therefore, the correlation may be as much a reflection of these three aspects as of income alone, to the ambiguity in cause and effect of the various indicators.

Another problem I had was with the interview sample income data of the students. For
instance, one of the interviewees who was a fulltime student reported to have RMB 10,000 yuan in annual household income yet her strategy of ensuring a safe diet entailed spending roughly RMB 50 yuan on each meal and upwards of RMB 100 yuan a day on food and beverages, which is a very high expenditure level what restaurant dining in China is concerned. Many younger people today receive substantial financial support from their parents\textsuperscript{252} and as a consequence may have more funds available than what their reported income level implies. Subsequently it is difficult to determine to what extent reported income in this group is a constraint on risk management agency, because of the ambiguities in the income level data.

Taking all of the above into consideration, regardless of whether knowledge was impacted by income for the sample group or not, it is reasonable to assume that income does have some effect on women’s ability to manage food safety risks. After all, inevitably food consumption choices of the wealthy include pricier high quality goods and options that go beyond those of the less well off. The alternatives offered give rise to incentives to actually educating oneself on food quality and food safety issues, since it is possible to apply that information to navigate the market more knowledgeably and consciously; And conversely, what is the use of learning about goods and options that lie outside your budget anyway?

4.3.5 Trend: Opposing Views on Wealth’s Relation to Risk Distribution

This topic was debated by many of the interviewees, some denoting a sense of unfairness about a distribution of risks in China today not exclusively related to foods, but also larger environmental health risks like air pollution. In an interview I conducted with three women at the same time, the two of them students and the third a successful and wealthy business owner, one young woman complained that wealthier people were less exposed, that they could even buy a house by the ocean to get away from air pollution. The other student agreed that there were some differences that also did not have to go to such extremes, for instance buying organic foods, getting an air purifier, were effective ways to avoid risk beyond the financial means of many people.

\textsuperscript{252} Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, \textit{The Urban Chinese Consumer}, 6.
The wealthier woman contended that these were not viable arguments, as wealthy people could not avoid risks altogether either due to the nature of risks today: Wealthy people still have to breathe and if a food is labelled organic it does not mean that it is truly organic. Another of the more well-off women similarly emphasised the basic democracy of risk distribution. “– I think it’s pretty equal; This guy can avoid one type of risk but cannot avoid another, while we might avoid this risk but are unable to avoid that one.”

Many stated that, while yes, some differences in the distribution of food risk are noticeable – like more consumption choices for the more well-off, but that at the same time, for nobody were they entirely unavoidable, and fair in that sense.

4.3.6 Trend: Health Interest Has No Impact on Safety of Food Consumption

One expected tendency was that people with an overall interest in health would be more likely to effectively manage food safety risks. However, I learned this is not generally true in and on itself, but rather dependent on other indicators. People with general health concerns might emphasise traditional standards for healthy lifestyles through ensuring a high-nutrition diet by eating enough vegetables and protein and maintaining a steady exercise regimen by taking regular jogging outdoors. It is now easy to conceive of a traditionally healthy lifestyle filled with exposure to modern risks: one might easily compose a traditionally ‘healthy’ diet with vegetables that are contaminated with pesticide residues, eggs that are high in antibiotics and so forth, and go jogging outside even on days when the air quality is hazardous to health.

In one such example, one of the rural women Fo Yi, aged 32, who herself reported to be entirely unworried about food safety issues also said she cared about her health, that it was important to take care of your health, and that she herself would follow a certain degree of a health regimen: “Nowadays I’ll sometimes drink a bit of tea, or, you know, exercise, eat meat with moderation.”

Thus, general health knowledge unless simultaneously coupled with food safety risk knowledge did not on its own necessarily create food safety consciousness.

253 我觉得, 风险的机会, 还是比较均等。他可能避免这一块, 但是他避免不了另一个, 我们这避免这一块, 我们也避免不了另一个。（－Mo Ya）

254 在这个养生方面儿应该注重养生方面儿, 是不是。注重就是说保健。

255 啊, 我现在有时候喝点儿茶也, 或者说是多运动吧, 少吃肉。
4.3.7 Trend: Older and Younger People More Exposed to Food Risks

Representation of the elder generation is comparatively lacking in my data beyond the comments during interviews of younger women in Qijie and some participation in the questionnaires. However, the women interviewed would report on the views and behaviours of their parents and the elder generation as perceived by them, by which some notable differences were revealed. The notes on the elder generation are therefore mostly based on the perceptions provided by my interview participants.

Notably, it was discussed that the elder generation would tend to minimise or downplay the younger generations’ concern about food safety risks today, putting their concerns into a historical context of China’s recent experiences with famine, confirming the claim put forth by Ann Veeck and Alvin C. Burns (2005) that differences in the changing food attitudes in China must be understood and interpreted in light of its relatively recent history of food shortage;256

“The previous generation, no matter how you try and explain it to them they’ll say, ‘the older generation of people here in China didn’t even have things to eat, while you nitpick and won’t eat this won’t eat that. Just wait and see if you went hungry for three days – you would eat anything’. It [the difference in modern food risk attitudes between the older and younger generation] comes from a way of thinking.” (-Dai Dai)257

This sort of diet pragmatism and “no fuss” food attitude of the elder generation may be further demonstrated by the observation of their habits of shopping in traditional food markets of sub-par labeling and food information standards. Here, shoppers’ food quality assessments could be made only through use of the senses to make individual judgements about relative freshness.

The free-lance journalist and mother of 40, Mo Ya, had her mother-in-law living with them about fifty percent of the time, and argued based on her experience and impression of her mother-in-law’s food risk knowledge and attitudes that the elder generation have been unable to transition into modern society, which has changed so much in their lifetime. She

257 得上一辈人，你怎么跟他解释他都会说，啊中国人啊以前老一辈的人，什么，都没有东西吃，你们现在还要这样子，这个不吃那个不吃，把你饿三天就可以，你就什么都吃，这是思想的原因。
reasoned that the world has become a chaotic place for them and that they cling to the simple food attitudes and habits they grew up with, which makes them a more vulnerable, less aware group of consumers resultantly easily exposed to modern risks that they do not comprehend.

The fact that older people were observed as the majority in the traditional food market where I did participant observation, may speak to such a strategy among the elder generation – stick to what you know. The problem with this is of course that the food system has changed so much that what the elder generation bases judgements on is certainly no longer the case. You may check that a head of cabbage has no soft or discoloured spots in order to ensure yourself of its freshness – but will you also be able to detect that it has not rotted only because its root was soaked in formaldehyde a few weeks ago and can stay fresh looking for a few months? Modern-day food risks are often invisible and signs of mischief untraceable to the naked eye, so those that rely entirely on the naked eye to determine food quality are possibly sticking to a savviness that really is also a certain expression of naivety that might not serve them well in the long run.

Other differences of risk behaviours in relation to age was the finding that the youngest urban women had less safe diets and their concern levels about food safety was less pronounced. Younger women would also describe themselves as having more limited means of ensuring safe food consumption. For example students who live in university dormitories have no kitchen access whereby to prepare home cooked meals. Furthermore, students are often subject to substantial financial constraints. Wei Xuan explained her restaurant dining habits in direct relation to the cooking constraints imposed by her living situation:

“I often dine out, because I can’t cook in the dorm, I can only make instant noodles […] but I can’t day-in and day-out eat only these kinds of things, so usually I eat in restaurants or the school canteen.”

Several student participants in the survey also underscored their total absence of cooking and grocery shopping activities with written remarks about this constraint. While the interviewed students themselves reasoned that the food in university canteens, being responsible for the food health of the students they serve, would surely be safe, a college professor voiced some
concerns that budget restraints might lead to economising efforts and cost-cuts resulting in low quality and unsafe foods in the school cafeteria. Additionally, she highlighted, the canteen will buy big quanta of wholesale foods, thus, if one food item is bad or toxic, all of them will be, therefore the risk is greater for students relying on canteen meals.\textsuperscript{259}

The two young urban women I interviewed who did not live in student dormitories displayed a higher level of food safety trust than most other interviewees. For instance, we would discuss food consumption habits in relation to the food safety issue, and a given strategy could come up that they would state to use whereby the safety of the food consumption as considered by them was pretty much guaranteed.

Hong Xiang, a young working woman who lived on her own, told me she preferred to shop rice online and would choose the seller that supplies the rice brand she likes with the highest sales volume. The strategy was to ‘follow the crowd’ so to speak. I also asked whether she trusted him; “I trust him firstly, and then I buy from him, yeah.”\textsuperscript{260} San San, a student who lived with her boyfriend in a private apartment, similarly preferred to buy rice online and was certain it was not counterfeit, because:

“\textit{When you buy it you will choose a standardised channel to shop through, like those with government-backing, or TianMao stores - they’ve already made sure on your behalf that it is the authentic brand - this type of investigation. Then you buy it. Yeah, then you can’t go wrong.}”\textsuperscript{261}

All of the youngest urban women would furthermore eat out daily, often several times a day. San San and Hong Xiang explained this by view of convenience and time management, whereas the student Wei Xuan emphasised her lack of choice in the matter on part of lacking kitchen access. Both San San and Hong Xiang would prioritise a lower price, while Wei Xuan spent quite a lot of money on each meal.

4.3.8 Trend: Busy People were More Food Risk Exposed

Where the women described themselves as very busy, the family dined out more often

\textsuperscript{259}一批食物买来食堂里面啊, 有的时候可能还会买的, 可能会不新鲜一点或者怎么样。或者如果有食物中毒的话, 他们的关联的风险就会更大的, 因为它是同样的一批原料买进来的。

\textsuperscript{260}信, 所以才去买。对。

\textsuperscript{261}因为你买的时候会选择正规的渠道去买啊，就是其他的说官方其实店啊，或者是天猫上面的超市啊。就是它已经，已经帮你做过它是正品这个检测然后再去买。对。就不会买错。
than of those who did not paint such a description. This especially applied to those with children of a public school age, many of whom have a hectic schedule in China due to pressures to keep up with the competitive race for academic excellency and skills. Specifically, these women explained that their dining out would often be in relation to their children’s excursions to various classes and extracurricular activities.

Interestingly, while not eating out or cooking from scratch was a food consumption safeguarding strategy raised by almost all my interviewees, the questionnaire revealed the crucial criterion for restaurant choice was convenience, concording with answers provided in interviews. This convenience priority finds further backing in recent reports on the Chinese consumer food market. Thus, while avoiding restaurant dining in general was an important implication of food safety concerns and extremely common strategy of risk avoidance, when it came down to the actual choice of restaurants, food safety concerns did not seem to have as big an impact as did the demand for convenience. The importance of convenience given by Chinese consumers, as revealed by many reports and supported by my questionnaire results, could possibly go toward explaining why people in Qijie claimed to consume 100% of their meals at home – there were no restaurants in the Qijie neighbourhood thus dining out was mostly inconvenient.

The ‘busy’ urban women with school-age children generally ate out a few times a week, and others who raised claims that they were busy ate out daily and even several times a day, thus a hectic lifestyle seemed to be found as infringing on their ability to manage food safety risk, the strictest temporality infringement defined being in households with school-age children that had jampacked schedules.

4.3.9 Risk Awareness and Feelings of Risk Management Agency

Wealthier people may have earned higher knowledge scores as compared to those less well off, albeit all of the women exhibited mostly unspecific knowledge about food safety and spoke in general terms about prevalent food risks. For example, several of the women noted that additives are a bad thing, the fewer ingredients listed the better, and if there were

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262 Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, The Urban Chinese Consumer; EU SME Centre and CBCC, China’s Food & Beverage Market. USDA, Demand for Food Quantity and Quality in China.
too many additives listed, best to leave it in the shopping aisle where it was found. On the one hand, the fact that this strategy was employed reflects a certain degree of health consciousness. But ‘additives’ is a name that covers many things, arguably not all are bad, at least not equally so.

On the other hand, the lack of specific knowledge could also be interpreted to actually reflect awareness about the extent of corruption in the food system making self-educating oneself futile. When the system cannot be trusted, with poor supervision, counterfeit and poisonous food stuffs continually reaching the market shelves and many with perfectly convincing brand packaging and labeling in reality fake, why bother educating oneself on what components stated on a food label supposedly means?

Regardless, people seemed to rely on labels. On the other hand, it may be simply for lack of alternatives. I asked one of the older interviewees, 40 year old urbanite and mother Mo Ya, whether she paid any attention to labels:

“This kind of – actually – I don’t know what your [Westerners] views are on it – [...] But truthfully, while we might choose the milk carton that states to have high nutritional value, to put it in brief we will be half believing half doubting [idiom] towards all things [food items].”

Generally women did employ the safeguarding strategies that were available to them, for instance washing vegetables thoroughly, sticking to big brands and shopping in regulated superstores, avoiding foods with many additives listed, opting for restaurants that look clean and appear to have a high hygiene standard. However, women would note the basic futility of these attempts, as no strategy nor any combination of them could ensure the safety of their consumption, as demonstrated in one example below:

“It is very hard [to know whether a restaurant is safe or not]. ‘Cause a lot of restaurants though they appear clean and you get the feeling they’re hygienic, how they are in actuality you will never know. It’s not like you can go into the back of the kitchen and check what ingredients they use.” (- Wei Xuan)

Upon reflection about the task of safeguarding personal food consumption, Rong Lei replied.

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263 Bian, “The Challenges for Food Safety in China.”

264 这一类其实，我不知道你们是什么概念，但是我们来说，像牛奶呀我们可能是会比较，但是说实话，我们可能会选择他写的营养价值更高的这一块儿。但是总之来说我们对所有的东西就是将信将疑 [idiom]，就信赖度不高。

265 挺难的。因为有些饭店你就算你看认就很干净，觉得挺卫主的，但实际上它怎么样你还是不知道。厨房又不能进去看，它用的是什么材料。

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“I am not sure that you can! But I buy from well-known brands, mass producers, [...] or people I know.”

San San voiced concerns about an increasingly complex food system and lengthy food chain making the consumer’s task of understanding food components impossible:

“It’s not too easy, I think. Because there are so many channels, from where it [the food] is produced to where it is processed, to further processing – and so on and so on – in the end the list of ingredients is extremely long. Then we really have no way to accomplish it – short of me getting my own field to grow crop on and do everything myself. [Pauses to think] But then again that too might be affected by the general pollution!”

As many of the interviewees noted, “In fact all of us have the same feeling – we are powerless.” It is very hard to ascertain dependable information and very hard to be sure that the food you eat is not poisonous, perhaps most sharply summarised by the young woman Lei Xun: “Basically, the only thing you can be sure of, is that the food you’re eating is poisonous.”

These are but a tiny share of a long list of similar statements encountered during the interviews that I could have picked from. Reflecting a deep sense of powerlessness and widespread insecurities about the scope of newly emerged food risks and ways to deal with them, in the face of what scholars have described as a declining trust in scientific experts and government institutions, the urban women’s attitudes perfectly align with what was predicted by Beck, and discussed by Yan (2012); an extremely high level of social distrust. It also supports findings from previous ethnographic research in China that people’s level of environmental risk knowledge and related health impacts is rather unspecific, with people talking in general terms about the risks they perceive around them.

266 那我不知道他们怎么能呢，我都是买那种大牌子肉，什么众品的那种哈双汇啊，那种放心肉，因为害怕有疾病么，常常是吧。它们都是不知道怎么卖的，它们应该都相信吧，而买熟人的，一般都买熟人的。

267 不太容易，我觉得。因为途径，就是它从，从你种植，从种植然后到处理到烧制，然后到货期造工等等等，它的成分是非常多的，那我们真的没有办法做到，除非我自己弄一块儿田地，自己种田，然后自己做，这样子。但是有可能受到环境的影响

268 其实每个人都会有同样的感觉，就很无力感 (- Mo Ya)

269 所以，基本上，只能确保自己吃是有毒的

4.4 Conclusion

Women were found to be in charge of the cooking in all interviewee households, and most but not all questionnaire respondent households, and in general shouldered larger shares of the burdens of household tasks. Apart from confirming what studies on household labour have already proven, the findings suggest that women have by far the greatest influence over the safety of household food consumption.

A set of trends were indicated that will be further analysed in the following chapter. These are: Greater social trust and personal agency in the form of access to homegrown foods in the countryside, heightened concern among recent mothers, a link between high incomes and knowledge about food safety issues, conflicting opinions among richer and poorer about relative exposure, age gaps in likelihood of exposure to the negative consequence of the oldest and youngest, a life temporality aspect as crucial to risk management agency, and lastly, an all-pervasive fear and feeling of hopelessness among urban women.
Chapter 5 Managing Food Health in a Chinese Risk Society

In this chapter I will analyse and discuss the primary data collection findings’ relation to the theoretical framework reviewed in chapter two, and compare them to what has been found in previous ethnographical research on food safety attitudes and habits among Chinese people.

5.1 Citizens of Chinese Risk Society

While modernisation of the food supply has occurred worldwide, China’s food market has undergone gigantic shifts in just a few brief decades. Where it used to be highly restricted, state regulated and subject to seasonal and locational constraints that kept local food customs in adherence with regional cuisine, it is now a market of great plenty increasingly exposed to global market forces and offering an abundance in quantity and variety year round.271

Under such rapid transformation, it has been noted by several scholars that concerns about the food risks Chinese people perceive as most threatening might be surrogates of threats to their traditional way of life.272 In support of what Klein (2013) found in urban Kunming – namely that food safety concerns are most prevalent for food types that have been subject to recent displacement by suddenly becoming an import item arriving from distant, unknown locations suggesting a temporality aspect was present among the Kunmingers’ relative risk evaluation of import foods.273 Such tendencies did appear in the findings from Qijie, as reflected in the quote by countryside woman Fen Fen on suspicions about milk supplied by outsiders, while her family had once reared cows themselves, this may be part of a broader phenomenon of reactions to modernity, as changes in the food system is experienced first hand beyond the city, in agricultural villages like Qijie.

273 Klein, "Everyday Approaches to Food Safety in Kunming": 383; Yan "The Chinese Path to Individualization."
Thus, suspicions among Qijie women about strangers and the new foods they supply could have been reflecting discontentment about the increasing reliance on people beyond their community. This is in support of Yan’s (2010) discussion on the loss of sense of security that the untying of individuals from communities along China’s path to modernity. Describing individualisation in risk society, Beck coined and applied the term ‘risky freedoms’ to the loss of security an individual can feel when he is tossed into the enforced process of making personal risk choices.274 When you believe that those around you know what is the correct thing to do, you do not need to make that many personal choices. Instead, they choose for you, and you feel safe. The ambivalence Fen Fen expressed about new food items arriving from far away, the relative safety and value of which her community is thus no more equipped than herself is to accurately assess, could be a mechanism as Beck described.

So why did the women in Qijie seem less concerned with food safety than women from urban areas? Most of the families in Qijie were farmers with their own crop and many would grow their own vegetables. Clearly this is a significant chance to secure safety of at least part of their household food consumption, arguably the healthiest part of any diet no less. If this is the major reason for a lesser degree of concern however, then the women in my sample who did not have access to arable land and did not grow their own vegetables should have exhibited different feelings, of more anxiety. However, they did not, in fact they might be said to be even more complacent. Therefore there must be other reasons.

A possible explanation for the lower levels of worry about food safety in Qijie is the argument about traditional continuity: modernity that imposes changes to local food customs can cause a feeling of displacement that forces the subject to think about new food options. This triggers a new need for consciousness about food choices. To a woman living in a village of tightknit kinship based relationships, who uses the same brands and ingredients her mother used to use, in general little change has occurred. As previously mentioned, Qijie residents also had homegrown pesticide-free vegetables as alternatives to those sold on the market. In this way, the absence of any sudden and broad scale discontinuity might spark little consciousness about food risks because there is no need for it. The fact that the Rong Lei, who exhibited the highest degree of knowledge about, concern for and awareness of food

274 Beck, Risk Society, 144.
safety risks was also the one woman among my interviewees from Qijie who had moved away and now lives in the city of Hebi speaks in favour of such a theory.

As illustrated by the story about my host mother and the ‘healthy eggs,’ knowledge about dietary health hazards were not enough to guide consumption choices towards health without there being an immediate health concern. Here, only the person with immediate health concerns altered her eating habits, which is congruent with Hannah’s (1986) main claim. I should say rather, that my host’s daughter altered them, while neglecting her own health, in a demonstration of the heightened concern for acute and short-term risk and the desire to caretake and nurture.

It is possible that the healthy eggs were pricier and the family could not generally afford to make these kinds of prioritisations. If so, the decision to knowingly make “bad” diet choices is the result of economic infringements on alternatives, not the lack of consciousness about food hazards. Another possibility is that my host was of the perception that drugs and antibiotics are not that harmful unless the body is already previously weakened. Such an attitude about the robustness of the body might be illustrated by the popular saying and sentiment: “百毒不侵” baidu buqin, meaning “Immune to 100 poisons.” Typically used to denote Chinese people in the face of health risks, yet not genuinely believed, and rather an attitude they turn to for lack of a better option, as noted by several interviewees. Such a view could merely be a coping strategy that helps persons lacking the means to secure against such hazards deal with the fear about health impacts that various restrictions may impose.

As explicated in chapter two, the tendency for people to underestimate their own health risks compared to those of others is a familiar phenomenon in risk perception theory known as ‘optimism bias.’ Related to this also is the phenomenon of ‘neighborhood halo,’ describing how people often perceive the environment in their home area to be cleaner than that elsewhere. The common agreement of the Qijie women that the countryside air was

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275 Svensson, "Intuitive Extrapolation of a Growth Function."
276 Gustafsson, "Gender Differences in Risk Perception," 808-810.
277 E.g.: 你也有这个意见，就是，你可以吃得惯就没关系吗? —这也不是，其实说的无奈嘛 (wunai, without choice) (Lei Xun)
278 Robert W. Jeffery, "Risk Behaviors and Health: Contrasting Individual and Population Perspectives," 1195; Crighton et al., "Perceptions and Experiences of Environmental Health Risks Among New Mothers: a Qualitative Study in Ontario, Canada," 298.
much cleaner and that people from the countryside are of better health are examples of these two phenomena. And it was not only people in the countryside who would display this tendency, as urban women could describe the people in the countryside as less risk aware and less knowledgeable, and thus less able to make good diet decisions compared to themselves.

Students that I interviewed were quite clear about the infringements of lack of kitchen access had on their ability to manage risks. However, they also put great faith in the safety of the foods in the university cafeteria, stating that it was likely that the institution did their best to ensure food safety, since they had a responsibility unto students’ health. As a recent case of food poisoning, just now before the university entrance exam in a high school cafeteria in Longxiang shows, safety in school cafeterias is in no way guaranteed, even in a time window where it should be a top priority, since the consequences a case of food poisoning at this time could go beyond health and be long term in terms of poorer exam scores among the students affected. The college professor Mo Yun also raised concerns about her college cafeteria having poor food storage- and reuse practices that did not serve the health of students well. Thus, the tendency of women from low income households, having fewer financial resources with which to take proper measures against food safety risks, and students, lacking kitchen access, to downplay food safety risks, speak in favour of such a mechanism being at play.

It stands to reason that an underestimation of risk and oversimplification of current food safety problems results in less informed food choices and heightened vulnerability to food risk exposure, compared with those who take on the task of deliberate and conscious food risk management who will have more chances of avoiding risk. Take for instance one who takes the threat of poisonous additives in processed foods seriously and therefore chooses to avoid processed foods, relative to someone who chooses to ignore and downplay these threats and proceeds to eat whatever s/he likes. Similarly one can imagine a health conscious person who is uninformed about ‘food safety’ and is therefore unaware that greenbeans are not in season in the spring and those in stores by then are have been known to be rid with pesticide contamination, proceeding to eat them regularly in the belief it is good for them. Negative

\[280\] "合肥龙翔高复学校疑食品中毒 (Suspected Food Poisoning at Hefei Longxiang High School)."

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effects from (seeming) lack of interest in and knowledge about the food safety problems and implications for avoidance of personal risk management is mitigated in the households in Qijie with regular access to homegrown chemical-free vegetables, something which is not the case in urban households. For these reason, such an attitude will likely have negative health effects, and impact the strongest on households without access to arable land.

Since higher incomes, higher ages and mature motherhood often converged in indicators, an underlying link between correlations of high income and greater knowledge about food safety issues could in actuality be that between motherhood and more food risk knowledge, as responsibilities unto the health of your child have been shown to provide strong incentives to educate oneself on environmental risks. Conversely, childless younger women were found to be less risk conscious and more complacent about the risks around them. In line with this logic and as my informants of this demographic reported, prior to settling down with a family one might generally do less cooking, thereby inciting less need for considerations surrounding food management in the home, including food safety risks. If so, this is particularly relevant to students, who have no option to cook at home. Additionally, in the lives of unsettled young women, the absence of having people around them to care for might cause them to approach food safety risk with a more relaxed attitude than others.

A reason for the lower level of food safety concern among younger women could possibly also be the choice – conscious or not – to downplay food safety risks because the risks are beyond the scope of their personal agency to control. People lacking financial, social or informational resources may be unable to take suitable measures against perceived risks. Bickerstaff argues that people will put amplified importance on risks within their agency, while a feeling of powerlessness will cause people to down prioritise or downplay their health impact.

People with higher incomes were likely to be more health concerned and also likely to have make safer food consumption choices, on part of their inclination and ability to opt for higher quality food options. As previously discussed, it is debatable whether higher income levels were the direct cause of higher food safety risk knowledge levels, or just indirectly

282 Vaughan, “Chronic Exposure to an Environmental Hazard,” 74.
linked via the correlation between higher income levels and older age and having children. In light of evidence about the recent developments in the food and beverage consumption patterns in China however, I highlight two important explanations that support a (more or less) direct correlation:

1. As basal nutritional needs get covered, modern Chinese consumers will go on to optimise their diets, shifting excess food demand from quantity to quality.\textsuperscript{284} I would argue that the wider range market available to more well off individuals in terms of consumption possibilities further requires higher degrees of self education about products, with which to successively navigate the complex market of endless opportunities and choices, and that this incites a need for product awareness that creates more consciousness among wealthier consumers. There is no reason to suspect that this would not lead to a more food safety aware consumption behaviour as well, as ‘safety’ must surely be considered a wanted component in the ‘optimal’ diet.

2. When earning enough money is no longer a pressing concern, there is more time to think about other aspects of life to cultivate, such as health, beauty, travel, higher quality and luxury items like organic foods and import goods. The latter conforms with the postmaterialist version of economic theory on risk perception, predicting that as materialistic needs are met, the wealthy eventually move onto ‘nobler’ aspirations like interpersonal harmony and environmentalism.\textsuperscript{285} The traditional economic theory of risk perception predicts wealthy are likely to have a positive view of technology and downplay the manufactured risks they cause, because they reap most benefits from technological advancements while suffering little from adverse consequences. The poorer classes will be more conflicted about technology because they are more exposed to related risks with fewer means of defending against them.

In the case of both Rong Lei and Sheng Lai, newfound motherhood seemed to be a contributing factor of increased concerns about food risks. Sheng Lai was notably more concerned than other villagers, grantedly her level of knowledge was more general than that of now urbanite Rong Lei and the questionnaire participant with a perfect knowledge score

\textsuperscript{284} Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, \textit{The Urban Chinese Consumer}, 2-4; EU SME Centre & CBCC, \textit{China’s Food & Beverage Market}, 9-10.; USDA, \textit{Demand for Food Quantity and Quality in China}, 1.

\textsuperscript{285} Wildavsky and Dake, "Theories of Risk Perception," 43.
mentioned earlier, but this could be attributed to factors related to her living situation; firstly, the family had access to homegrown vegetables and organic eggs, as they also raised their own chickens. Second, she was not the household cook nor in charge of the grocery shopping, her mother-in-law and other family members were – as the family wanted Sheng Lai’s number one task to be minding her young son. This, I would argue, would incite less of a need for pronounced knowledge about food safety problems, since she has few occasions for their application.

There were adverse reactions to unequal opportunities to manage food safety risks on part of financial constraints. Some of the arguments in favour of fairness of risk distribution echoed a reminiscent theory put forth in the risk society thesis. In particular, well off women I interviewed insisted that nobody could escape modern risks – wealthy or not, because they were invisible, and omnipresent. Beck made the case that pollution effects work as a social equaliser; the wealthy must drink the same air, eat food from the same soil as the less well off, and therefore, environmental pollution concerns and affects the rich and the poor alike.

“Reduced to a formula: poverty is hierarchic, smog is democratic. With the expansion of modernisation risks – with the endangering of nature, health, nutrition and so on – the social differences and limits are relativised.”

This phenomenon is dubbed ‘the Boomerang Effect’, the essential meaning being that though the well-off (factory owners and government leaders) may reap most of the benefits from modernisation, but eventually environmental hazards (for which they are responsible) will come back to them in unavoidable exposures to environmental hazards.

But as some of the women interviewed remarked and the Chinese scholar and social scientist Yan Yunxiang (2012) also points out, the distribution of pollution risks is not equal in China, in contrast with the risk society thesis’ prediction. In a noteworthy example and practice known as 特供 tegong or ‘special supply,’ the government has been known to hire farmers to cultivate plots of land using production methods for their own food production that are higher than the national standard, thus securing a private supply of high quality organic foods for themselves and avoiding risk exposure from environmental pollution, while common people eat foods of questionable safety. Similarly, high end private schools in...
Beijing have the option to build enclosed gym rooms, use air purifiers, water filters, generally to employ a variety of methods that mitigate effects of environmental risks, whereas this is not the case for most other schools.\textsuperscript{288} Not only does this take away from the incentive among high standing government officials and departments to remedy the food safety situation quickly, it has incited anger about public tax funds’ allocation to benefit a select few, fostering feelings of hopelessness and furthering social distrust of government among Chinese people.\textsuperscript{289}

In support of the applicability of the risk society thesis to China’s food safety case, several studies (my own included) indicate that people from all walks of life in China have a limited understanding of changes in the technology and production methods to the food supply and exhibit generalised fears and anxieties about modernisation overall.\textsuperscript{290} One example of this is the fact that even though people report food safety to be a top concern, almost no one was able to get the correct answer on what is the main cause of China’s food safety incidents, namely microbial contamination owed to poor hygiene standards and inadequate storage and transportation facilities and methods, suggesting flaws or biases in the public dissemination of food risk information, which was predicted by Beck.\textsuperscript{291}

When discussing the risks of modern day food consumption, the majority of people would seldom mention these risks. Instead statements about broader developments of the food supply were made, such as the displacement of people from food source or ‘unnatural’ production methods like the usage of agricultural farm chemicals. People also had basic ideas about what was unsafe, but few possessed intricate knowledge about harmful chemicals. Rather, people would have concerns about ‘additives’ in the foods in general, without being able to recount any particular one. In congruence with what was found by Ann Veeck and her research partners (2010), who conducted qualitative fieldwork on shopping behaviours among urban residents in four major cities, I found that women had a kind of understanding

\textsuperscript{288} Ruohan Li, “Parents Demand Air Purifiers be Installed in Schools, Not All Successful,” \textit{Global Times}, December 28, 2015, accessed May 21 2016, \url{http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/960926.shtml}.

\textsuperscript{289} Yan, “Food Safety and Social Risk in Contemporary China,” 723.

\textsuperscript{290} Yan, “Food Safety and Social Risk in Contemporary China,” 723; Klein, “Everyday Approaches to Food Safety in Kunming,” 384; Tilt, “Industrial Pollution and Environmental Health in Rural China,” 11; Veeck, Yu, and Burns, “Consumer Risks and New Food Systems in Urban China,” 228.

\textsuperscript{291} Smith, “Food Panics in History: Corned Beef, Typhoid and Risk Society,” 567.
of the issue that supports Claude Fischler’s (1980)\textsuperscript{292} claim; that changes in technology and production are beyond the comprehension of the average consumer.\textsuperscript{293}

Knowledge is an important differentiator because oftentimes, brands are faked or label information is lacking and may not truly reflect actual contents. For this reason, relying on brands and labels can be a false refuge. Generalised knowledge with lack of awareness thus leads to a risk management strategy that may carry a label of safety but may and may not be aboveboard. Therefore some knowledge (i.e. “additives are bad”) could have a fairly insignificant influence on actual food safety in comparison to what one might initially estimate. Whereas intricate knowledge acquired through the accumulation of information about current food safety problems through news media, along with a willingness to educate oneself on different food production companies and their policies and processing methods, would albeit not guarantee but significantly raise your chances to navigate food risks effectively.

The study findings suggested that older people might be less informed and more inclined to make poor diet decisions not for a lack of personal health concern, but for a lack of priority of potential food safety risks, possibly owed to lacking awareness and knowledge about the issue. In another possible mechanism of the downplaying of risks outside one’s agency, the tendency for people who experienced famine in their younger years to prioritise pragmatism and economisation of food consumption could also be a coping mechanism, to deal with feelings about being part of a new modern food chain that they do not comprehend, and never developed the skills to navigate. Then, simply ensuring and being grateful that food is on the table is a way to put a greater feeling of control back in their experience of life in the modern world.

It has been argued by Klein (2013) that reactions to food safety risks are not individualised but informed by a cuisine. In his view, perceptions of food safety risks are necessarily inseparable from and embedded in local traditions and broader discourses about health, tastes and regional cooking styles, and that responses are far more coloured by


\textsuperscript{293} Veeck, Yu, and Burns, “Consumer Risks and New Food Systems in Urban China,” 228.
Applying this to the older generation as a disseminator and preserver of food values and traditions of an earlier age, then discourse among people of the elder generation might enforce a belief that the younger generation’s concerns are unwarranted, because they look at food safety through the lens of a history of famine as a food security (quantity) issue. If this is the case, then any household relying a lot on the help of a person of the elder generation with these tendencies to cook and shop for groceries is also liable to be exposed to risks incurred in this manner.

Mo Ya said that her mother-in-law used old fashioned and commonsensical strategies to protect herself, such as determining the safety of vegetables by the presence of bug traces, while, as she also noted, the food safety problems in China in actuality constitute a set of risks that are complex and often invisible through modern food processing techniques. People of the older generation preferred to frequent the traditional food shopping channel of wet markets, where the lack of labeling arguably means makes them more susceptible to food safety problems due to lacking traceability and therefore sellers’ accountability. Thus, reliance on traditional techniques for the ascertainment of food quality makes people of the older generation vulnerable.

Also discussed were the gendered roles of household food risk mitigation responsibilities in China. The homemaker role was found to be generally accepted by the women encountered during fieldwork and mostly attributed to ‘tradition,’ echoing Phillips (2008) argument that an internalisation of socially prescribed gender roles increases the likelihood of adherence to predicted patterns of gendered behaviour. However, among urban women, women’s ‘inner’ role as primary homemaker and its meanings appeared to be continually mediated by changing discourses on gendered ideologies about gender equality, and household task division was reached by way of mutual agreement. This was different from sentiments by rural women in charge of the household chores, who denoted such in negative terms as externally placed, with discontentment about the double burden of both having to work and manage household tasks, while the men did not participate in domestic labour.

Interestingly, it is possible that the low level of voluntariness in the role of homemaker

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294 Klein, ”Everyday Approaches to Food Safety in Kunming,” 384.
and primary household cook had a negative effect on the seriousness with which food safety management responsibilities were handled, as the rural women Fo Yi and Fen Fen, exhibiting the least positive attitude towards their household responsibilities also voiced the least interest in and concern about food safety issues and how to deal with related risks. But, since the sample is much too small to validate this interpretation, it is only tentative and rather suggestive of a highly interesting topic for later research.

5.2 Conclusion

The results show support for a number of mechanisms of risk attenuation and amplification according to predictions by theories of risk perception from various approaches, including economic theory, psychological approaches and risk perception theories pointing to social, cultural, structural reasons for variances in behavioural risk responses. Findings suggest that underlying reasons are multifaceted and rather than relying on single indicators, are highly correlated and work to reinforce each other, to the ambiguity of some result interpretations, such as those between motherhood, age, and high income. A few notable trends appearing from correlations vis-a-vis indicators suggest, however, that women who had relatively low agency to manage proliferating risks were more likely to downplay the severity of their health impacts. This was evident in the case of young ‘unsettled’ women and students.

The risk society thesis has proved itself very useful for interpreting the Chinese case of food safety risks amidst declining social trust and heightened reliance on personal risk management on the individual level. The new risks related to the food safety issue are marked by a strong sense of uncertainty, about their scope, severity and probabilities, rendering it difficult for individuals to modulate ‘proper’ risk responses, since experts and institutions in China are unable to provide adequately assuring information on what these should be. Chinese individuals must therefore find their own methods of assessing and dealing with food risks.
Conclusion

My own primary data results asserts what market analyses estimates and previous scholarships have shown; namely that Chinese women constitute a key demographic with great influence over the outcome of household diets, and that their risk attitudes, knowledge and behaviours are important shapers of health within their families.

At the onset this study began with the aim of pinpointing important factors of influence on the ability of women in China to manage household food risks effectively. It aimed to provide insights about the causes of variances in distribution among women of different social backgrounds of food risk exposures, mitigation responsibilities, -strategies, and risk knowledge, along with impacts of awareness about food risks on household food consumption. Its main hypotheses were that access to arable land, living situation and a general interest in and knowledge of health issues were among the more influential factors to women’s effective risk mitigation, the latter of which was disproven while the two former finds notable backing in the research results from both the interviews and survey.

In sum my findings point to a set of disparities in the risk management agency of women of different social backgrounds; specifically, women in low income households, older women (grandparent generation or older), younger women (mainly unsettled singletons and students), as well as mothers of school-age children with hectic schedules, were more exposed to food risks. The study’s limitations mean that results are indicative, but not conclusive.

Looking at the many influences uncovered with a particular view to those with the largest real and direct impact on diets of social situations, among the most striking findings is that singletons, who live alone without food risk management responsibilities unto anyone but themselves, and students, who often lack access to kitchens, are less likely to be proactive in risk management due respectively to fewer caretaking incentives and a strong constraint on risk management agency. Students are furthermore dependent on their educational institutions to safeguard most of their food consumption. They are as such particularly vulnerable to possible long-term repeated health risks, should their institution economise operations at the expense of food safety priorities.
Many rural households have access to arable land and possibilities to grow their own chemical-free vegetables. Given that among the most common causes of food poisoning are agricultural chemical residues in vegetables, which includes the effects of underlying diseases as well as acute and long term consequences, this is a very strong resource in terms of food risk mitigation possibilities. Simultaneously, lower incomes in the countryside impose other constraints on diet, which dampens the positive effect on food risk management agency.

While there were much internal variance in women’s food risk severity assessments, women were mostly alike, in that for all demographics, concerns about food safety were widespread, and lent themselves to feelings of disempowerment about a complex and poorly guarded food supply system that the incalculable and invisible risks of which lay mostly outside their realm of agency to predict and to protect against. As noted by one young woman, “There is no way [to safeguard personal food safety] – short of getting my own patch of land and making it all from scratch by myself! Even then it might be contaminated by large scale pollution” The danger of such a profound sense of powerlessness is that is may lead to apathy in risk mitigation, more likely among disadvantaged groups with the strictest infringements upon their food risk management agencies, such as singletons, students and low income households. This means that the food safety problem in China can exacerbate existing wedges of health inequalities among the population. Organic, safety-labelled and government backed food alternatives tend to have price mark ups that low income households may not afford.

The food safety issue is a deep seated, multifaceted problem with far-reaching consequences the full effect of which are ultimately yet unforeseen. The imperfect regulation of the food market puts management responsibilities of related risks on the level of individuals. The problems are a long way away from its successful corrections, not only in China but in the whole world of globalised food trade – which challenges the notion that it actually is possible to effectively manage food safety risks. It is of my opinion however that through inquiry and a willingness to educate oneself and others about today’s food system
and how to navigate it knowledgeably and consciously, it *is* – to some extent – and that with willingness to accept responsibility for patterns of consumption, conscientious suppliers will emerge to meet new demands for food quality and safety.

On this note, Chinese market trends point to optimisation of diets and increased quality and safety demands. Studies indicating that willingness to pay for traceability and organic products is higher among younger demographics, as well as dependent on disposable incomes, which have been steadily growing in China, suggest that willingness to pay will increase over time. If so, suppliers will face demand for more accountability in the future, hopefully leading to improved traceability and food quality. This will depend greatly, however, on the continued progress and successes of the government’s efforts to improve safety supervision, and a rectification of manipulations in label certification authenticity controls.

Until such time, Chinese women, indeed anyone, might be advised to continue to ‘*take care*’ when navigating today’s food markets.

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Epilogue

“Statistics show that of those who contract the habit of eating, very few survive”

- George Bernard Shaw
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Appendix

1. Interview Transcripts

Interview 1: Fo Yi

Duration: 11 minutes 52 seconds

Interviewee: “Fo Yi”

32 yo, married, secondary school teacher, son 10, son 8, teacher, villager, 3 years of higher education.

Setting: Small village in the township of Qijie. In the living room of her home, before noon. About 8 women are standing around observing the interview while snacking on sunflower seeds, adding comments along the way.

Notes:
- *It is right after the Spring Festival, specifically the 2nd day after the end of the public new year holiday.*
- *Judging by the state of her home, her family appears to be slightly more well off than other villagers.*
- *The interviewee was recruited through random chit-chat with the local elder women, who attributed their own reluctance to having poor putonghua, whereupon they urged this younger woman who is a high school teacher to participate in an interview.*
- *I do not know her personally, don’t live close by and thus had no way of later returning the favour really, which is how guanxi in China works, so she had little to no incentive to partake in the interview, let alone answer extensively, possibly explaining why the interview was so short.*

你多大了？
Fo Yi: 32 了。

你有什么教育水平？
Fo Yi: 本科。

你有什么工作和其他的经济来源？
Fo Yi: 教师。
哦是嘛? 偶尔会不会去外面吃饭呢?
Fo Yi: 少半。她说得多好普通话哦 (villagers talk)。
你平时给你家人做什么样的饭吃?
Fo Yi: 家常面粉, 平时都家常面粉。
为什么?
Fo Yi: 不为啥, 不就是, 不就是, 每天不就是这样儿的吗, 但。家常面粉也懂啥意思。
面粉知道。(old lady: 面粉, 你说普通话说得这么标准)
Fo Yi: 就是每天早上就是, 主食吧, 馒, 米, 是不是。
为什么呢, 是因为方便吗还是?
Fo Yi: 嗯, 方便。
方便。
Fo Yi: 习惯。
还有别的?
Fo Yi: 习惯。
习惯。你用哪种油香粉和草本植物做饭?
Fo Yi: 哪种油, 金龙鱼油, 嗯, 就是金龙鱼油吧, 大豆油。
为什么?
Fo Yi: 也为啥的问题。(old lady: 那个油不错啊) 那个油不错。
是因为味道吗还是便宜还是?
Fo Yi: 嗯, 价钱比较接受都呢。也不贵。质量也都。
你觉得用它们的理由来自于哪些顾及, 就是价格吗?
Fo Yi: 嗯, 价格理由, 比较合适。
OK。你怎么学习到你的烹饪?
Fo Yi: 怎么样学习到... 从小都, 从小都跟着我, 小这个, 跟着我, 这个, 父母, 受受受了影响吧。
嗯。是你的母亲吗还是父亲?
Fo Yi: 啊, 母亲。
那你们俩的用料是同样的吗?
Fo Yi: 差不多吧。
差不多。为什么不试试使用别的用料呢?
Fo Yi: 别的用料。
如果是差不多的话?
Fo Yi: 都是习惯成自然了吧。
家里买大部分的食物的人是谁?
Fo Yi: 家里买的食物...
是你去买菜吗还是丈夫还是你母亲或者什么的?
Fo Yi: 啊, 都买, 都买。
都买。一个礼拜以内一般去几次买食物?
Fo Yi: 我在这儿就每天就买的基本上就超市里儿哦。啥儿就需要, 啥儿买。
是这边去吗还是去齐街?
Fo Yi: 去这边儿的。(ladies talk up about knowing about the Qijie village market 这个女儿真不简单的哦)
你为什么不去更少或者更多次?
Fo Yi: 啊?
就是, 如果你说需要什么就去, 是不是?
Fo Yi: 哎儿需要啥儿买, 不就这意思。
嗯, 那为什么, 比如说, 提前多买一点?
Fo Yi: 因为我平常也没有一个家。我平常不在家。
哦是吗? 那你去哪里?
Fo Yi: 嗯。没有, 反正没有一个家 xiangtong了 jiaoqilemingle (? ) 住宿舍这是平常事。
没有个家。
你在哪里买你的食物就是这边。有一个／几个买食物的地方你比较喜欢去吗?
Fo Yi: 啊, 喜欢。... 她说 啥意思?
就是, 有一个地方你比较倾向于去, 因为你表
喜欢去那边？就是，比如说，你认识卖家，或者他们的菜非常的新鲜，或者什么的。（old woman：不认识）

Fo Yi：不认识（laughs）

你比较喜欢去不认识的一个地方吗？

Fo Yi：嗯，哪儿都行，啊，都可以，哦都可以。去哪儿都可以。（old woman：诶，喜欢买什么就买什么。）

你比较喜欢去不认识的地方吗？

（old woman：诶，喜欢买什么就买什么。）

Fo Yi：不认识（laughs）

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你比较喜欢去不认识的一个地方吗？

（old woman：诶，喜欢买什么就买什么。）

Fo Yi：不认识（laughs）

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Fo Yi：不认识（laughs）

你比较喜欢去不认识的一个地方吗？

（old woman：诶，喜欢买什么就买什么。）
对，所以也没有影响到你的买食物的行为和习惯？

Fo Yi: 啊？

这个，这些，那个，中国的食品安全问题就是也没有影响到你买食物的习惯。

Fo Yi: 没有没有。

那你觉得食品安全问题是谁的错误和责任？

Fo Yi: 谁的责任... (old lady: 吃毒了吃坏的的责任) 不是，讨论这个... 那谁的责任呢 (lady: 她婆婆的责任 everyone laughs 她婆婆是买的，只能是婆婆 we laugh more 就是，就是她男朋友的妈咪 everyone laughs) 谁的责任，这个问题没法解释。

你觉得食品安全问题在农村跟城市里是不是同样的？

Fo Yi: 农村里也还是不是太注重，是不是。没有市里面能注重。

城市里还是农村的问题更大？

Fo Yi: 应该是农村里问题更大吧。

嗯哼，为什么？

Fo Yi: 为啥，因为这，这，这农村人都不咋注重这个，不讲究，是不是 (lady: 看农村人的身体还可棒棒嘛) 可是他它是，就是，跟来源也不远吧。

Fo Yi: 啊？

你买的东西跟来源不是很远 (ladies: 也农村空气好。也农村空气好。城市污染严重一点)。对，还有，你不知道你买的东西来自哪里，到底来自哪里，是不是？在这边一般可以，一般更容易看得出来是不是来自这里，是不是？因为大家都是种菜

(ladies talk: 最近嘛，农村人不会说，不会说吃白吃，是不是。你都是 lingyuan 的 renchen 的东西啊。市里人他不要吃烧烤吃是特别严重是不是，还是比较这个简单吃法)

那为了好好的保护自己和自己的家人对食品沾染的危险，你觉得人应该做什么？

Fo Yi: 应该做啥。她的问题就不知道咋回答啊，有一点。首先，这个，在这个养生方面儿应该注重养生方面儿，是不是。注重就是说保健。你自己也总是会这么做呢？

Fo Yi: 啊，我现在有时候喝点儿茶也，或者说多运动吧，少吃肉。

End of Interview 1.
Interview 2: Rong Lei

Duration: 23 minutes 12 seconds

Interviewee: “Rong Lei”
26 yo, married, secondary school teacher, 9 month old son, the village is her hometown but she lives in the city of Hebi 鹤壁市, 3 years of higher education, 3 person household.

Setting: In her family’s courtyard, noon. Also present: her mother-in-law and young son.

Notes:
- Turned out to belong to the arch enemy family of my host family.
- They kept interrupting, trying to talk about my host family during the interview, which I in retrospect have understood to perhaps be an attempt to get gossip about their arch enemy, my host, out of me.
- I did not get the impression that this situation compromised the integrity of the interview however.

你多大了?
Rong Lei: 26 了吧

26，跟我一样。你有什么教育水平?
Rong Lei: 本科
本科，啊。你有什么工作和其他的经济来源?
Rong Lei: 我是老师
你也是老师啊，跟昨天的一样吧。
Rong Lei: 是是
是初中吗
Rong Lei: 初中
啊，那挺好的。

谁住你的家?
Rong Lei: 谁住，我家有什么人吧？也住他爸爸(points to child)我们三口。

这个— (I look at interviewee’s mother)
Rong Lei: 他的姥姥，孩子的姥姥。

你不住这边吧?
Rong Lei: 这个是她(interviewee’s mother)家。
（姥姥：我就住这边）

那你们在这儿四个人吗?
Rong Lei: 不是。

（姥姥：他们那个那个咋说了）
Rong Lei: 婆婆家，这是，这是姥姥。

哦。好。那他们几岁，你是26，然后你的老公是...
Rong Lei：而已26，跟我一般的。

他(the child)是，我猜，一年半吧。
Rong Lei: 九个月

九个月了！已经长得胖胖的哦，可爱。好。他们之中 有需要抚养帮助吗? 当然有他(the child)

Rong Lei: 没有，他奶奶看着他呢么，时常我上班儿，给奶奶看着他。

那你一般不在家吗?
Rong Lei: 没有，对我哺乳家，然后中天都回来，上午一个半小时，下午一个半小时，我来喂奶。

抚养责任包括哪些方面?
Rong Lei: 抚养责任 那肯定要 yishi 就需要就这样负责了。

你们家里一般做，你们家做饭者一般是谁?
Rong Lei: 做饭者。我，我一般做饭。

你们平时，你平时吃的菜有百分之多少是自己做的?
Rong Lei: 都是自己做。一般星期天的话，就
会出去吃点好的哈，吃点儿好的。平常一到
五周都是在家做，如果不来客人的话。来客
人的话，会到外面饭店里去吃。

那去齐街吗还是去更远的一个地方?
Rong Lei: 没有，我家里是鹤壁（he4bi4 = another
town northeast of Zhengzhou）的，不在这儿。
我是过，回家过年的，还没走呢。（姥姥：嗯，
齐街就是老家，他是跟）我是鹤壁市的。

鹤壁市，啊。
（姥姥：一个城市）

到那边要几个小时?
Rong Lei: 两个小，一个多小时吧，两个小时，
这样间。

人口多少，知道吗?
Rong Lei: 也，也不少吧，不知道多少。

中国都是这样吧（mother laughs）。你平时给
你家人做什么样的饭吃?
Rong Lei: 早上都是蒸鸡蛋，然后喝牛奶，我
们在鹤壁的时候。然后中午一般都是大米，蒸
米，或者面条。然后晚上就是菜。馍菜汤，煮
粥。

OK
Rong Lei: 煮粥喝。中国人的习惯都是这样的。

为什么做这个呢，是习惯吗，还是?
Rong Lei: 那比较符合中国人的习惯吧。早上
喝洗得好是吧。早上的话就是都爱睡懒觉，然
后做饭的话时间不够，所以热点儿粥然后蒸个
鸡蛋很快的，然后一吃就走了。

你用哪些，哪种油香粉和草本植物做饭?
Rong Lei: 那都是那个花生油，做菜用花生油。

真的?
Rong Lei: 嗯，比较香味，吃哟，也有大豆油。
然后植物，没有好像，没有怎么用，粉的话那
就是味精，盐。一般都是味精够了。那不是，
那个鸡精嘛。

是全部做的菜吗，还是百分之多少用味精，
用...
Rong Lei: 做哪一道菜都需要味精，盐，油，
这三个必不可少。其他可以再放呢，比如说，
zeran 粉啊，什么呢，也是根据这个菜，然后
往里放调料嘛，还有那个酱油啊，什么了啥。
醋啊那一类的。

你觉得用它们的理由来自于哪些顾及?
Rong Lei: 啊？我没听懂。

就是，用它们的背景嘛，比如说，你的母亲会
这么做，或者你觉得，你自己是感觉味道很棒，
或者，为什么用味精?
Rong Lei: 因为你那个提味儿的，没有那个味道，
不好。有没有酒味道好。

你怎么学习到你的烹饪?
Rong Lei: 哎，一般用，在网上查，然后也有
了就是买了一本儿书。我也是不大会做饭嘛，
然后买了一本儿书教着作为。有的时候看哪个
电视，电视上有这种栏目。

OK。
Rong Lei: 可以看。你能听懂我说的吗?
能听懂。（chatting）

你有时候会试试使用别的用料吗?
Rong Lei: 会啊，有时候我们也会吃牛排然后
自己，自己做嘛。有那种超市弄好的，直接回
家一煎就可以。其他调料的话... 好像没有太多，
用太多。太麻烦了。

对，时间不够。
Rong Lei: 而简简单单就好。对。

家里买大部分的食物的人是谁?
Rong Lei: 我呀。

也是你。
Rong Lei: 中国女人都是做饭，做饭看孩子，
什么都干。

嗯。一个礼拜以内一般去几次呢，买食物?
Rong Lei: 一半呢，嗯，两到三次吧，两三次的这个样子。然后饭米香多买一点，省了再跑了。
对。为什么不去更少更多次呢？
（姥姥：时间不够吧）
Rong Lei: 哦，有的时候，闲了星期天会多采购一些，去超市，然后买好多好多。那个啥，就是要平常忙的时候就什么时候还不去呢，比较忙，反正是比较懒吧，一次多买一点儿，少去几次。
那那个时候，如果你是很忙的话，那么你的老公会去买菜吗？或者你们会...
Rong Lei: 他，很少，我怕她买不好嘛，不想让他买。
他的知识不够吗？
Rong Lei: 不，男的嘛，比较粗心哈。不会挑菜呀，干什么的。
你在哪里买你的食物？
Rong Lei: 超市
超市。
Rong Lei: 对，大超市里面。一站食购物，到哪儿都买起的。有时候也会去菜市场。
有一个买食物的地方你比较喜欢去吗，为什么？
Rong Lei: 会有，我们家门口儿，因为我们家门口儿有一个小，小一点儿的卖菜的啊，比较方便。回家方便买东西。
那买的东西好吗？
Rong Lei: 东西也可以吧，价钱会稍贵一点儿吧反正，比较方便不过。
买食物的时候比较注重到哪些性状？
Rong Lei: 比较新鲜，要新鲜的。然后比较健康的，比较绿色的吧，绿色蔬菜，多吃绿色的。
如果是绿色的你会相信是，它是，那种，对身体好吗？
Rong Lei: 会相信啊，不是提倡案吃绿色食物吗，少吃肉。
嗯，对。
Rong Lei: 或者是买一点儿哪种黄瓜呀，西红柿，还有菠菜，这些比较有营养的吧。青菜。
那个“少吃肉”是谁给你推荐的？
Rong Lei: 这个呀，网上吧，在网上看的。那种电视呀也听听眼少吃肉，吃多了脂肪多。
为什么肉对身体不好？
Rong Lei: 因为肉容易发胖，人胖了就容易得病，所以说绿色蔬菜有注意消化，然后它营养也很多嘛，比如的营养要多。
关于食物的性状卖家跟你说的信息你会相信吗？
Rong Lei: 嗯...也会吧。没有，一般都没有推销，没有人跟你说什么什么，都是自己在那儿随便就，它全部摆在那儿，然后你自己去买。
一般不给你推销。
那那个主要原料标签会不会看？
Rong Lei: 啊会，会看。
营养素参考值标签也会看吗？
Rong Lei: 会的会的。
为什么？
Rong Lei: 因为有的都不新鲜的么，然后会会看，看看什么时候的菜啊，然后多少斤。能够吃呀，人够吃不够。买多了也不好，然后，有的菜没见过的就会看一看里面营养成分啊，看看什么含量比较高，会尝试一些新的菜种。
还有吗？
Rong Lei: 没有了吧
已经是很多的。然后，你觉得那儿的信息全部都是可靠的吗？
Rong Lei: 啊...我觉得应该差不多吧，现在卫生这方面儿我们国家管的还，还算挺严的吧。而且我买的一般都是大牌子的，就是牌子的东西我相交会可靠一些。没有听过名字的那种品牌
的，一般我不买。就是那种大牌子的。
你这边有土地吗？
Rong Lei: 土地？
就是种菜的？
Rong Lei: 啊有，有，有，有。
有。有几亩？
Rong Lei: 无亩，会在院子里种，然后地里面都是种庄稼，种那个小麦，玉米。就跟着一样（points to a vegetable patch in the courtyard）就在家里自己种一点儿菜。这样种的。这样的够吃了。
一年种几季？
Rong Lei: 两季。
这是都是自己吃的吗，还是也会卖一些？
Rong Lei: 不卖，都是自己吃，这样太少了，就只，只够自己吃。
（姥姥: 13:36 无害的 (?) bu da yi wan you le）
OK，那用什么肥料吗？
（姥姥: 啊，就是，那-）
Rong Lei: 什么也不用吧。
（姥姥: 颗粒体尿吧，就是尿素）
Rong Lei: 会撒一些肥料。
（姥姥: 少撒一点儿体 ting2mi 了）
什么杀虫剂呢？
（姥姥: 不用，其他都不用）
OK。
Rong Lei: 那种有污染么啊，对身体不好，一般都不用。
对，但是有的也会用。
Rong Lei: 啊，是。
-然后如果注意洗好蔬菜呢，就-
（姥姥: 对，大面子用，但在家自己吃的都不用，自家种的吃来不用。）
你们也养动物吗？
Rong Lei: 有时，有的人家会，我们家没有。
有的养鸡，养鸭。我们家没有。
你家没有。（chatting）
你相信别的农家的肉质量高吗？
Rong Lei: 嗯.... 自己种的，不是，自己喂的可以。我觉得外面儿卖，卖的就不太干净，不相信。我不相信。
嗯，那你有什么方法保护自己的饭吃就是健康的？
Rong Lei: 那我不知道他们怎么能呢，我都是买那种大牌子肉，什么众品的那种哈。双汇啊，那种放心肉，因为害怕有疾病么，常常是吧。它们都是不知到怎么卖的，它们应该都相信吧，而买熟人的，一般都买熟人的。
经常看新闻吗？
Rong Lei: 那个主要新闻还是什么？
什么都可以。
Rong Lei: 嗯，我经常在手机上看，然后在电视上很少看新闻。
你对中国的食品安全有什么意见？
Rong Lei: 意见太大了，太大。
真的吗？
Rong Lei: 造假的太多了。就是饭店里吧，然后调味放太多。就是我觉得对身体不好，少吃会好，还是自己做比较好。然后那食物吧，不干净，他都给你洗得不干净。而且，人造的东西比较多，假的东西太多了。那食品安全真的好多中毒么，对小朋友。所以说，能不吃都不让这小孩儿们吃。都是自己做食物吃，哎哟，中国的市场啊。我们意见很大。太不干净了，管理也不规范。
你听说过什么食品安全事故吗？
Rong Lei: 有啊。昨天还在新闻不经意间看到一个新闻说，那个小孩儿就吃了那个那个那个路边的那个烧东西嘛，烤的，烧烤的东西。然后就中毒了，然后有的喝雪碧中毒了，然后...
哎，可多了，就是食品安全可严重在我国。你们国家应该管地很严吧？
对，但是...

Rong Lei: 反正我们国家食品安全是一个大问题。然后现在也不是太规范。有的那商家—
（老姥：这是什么，就是啥了。银的？）
（Mother-in-law interrupts by asking about my necklace）
听到那些事故发生了以后，你对食物的感想有什么改变了？
Rong Lei: 感想啊。就是很少吃吧。禁止自己，少吃。然后，呃，避免之类事情发生吧哈。尽量吃得，吃得健康一点儿。就是买那种牌子的吧，大厂家生产的东西。小商家的那种尽量不买吧。
你觉得食品安全问题是谁的错误和责任？
Rong Lei: 嗯都有吧。首先说国家吧，尽管力度还是不严。是吧哈。然后再说商家吧，就是，那个啥。广消报率（the accelerated rate of market expansion？) 也不顾老百姓的那个安全嘛哈，身体安全。然后再说买家吧，就是消费者吧。消费者有的光图便宜，是吧。然后买一点儿那种劣质的，民知道有时候还会去买。然后都有责任吧。我觉得还是主要是商家的责任，是不是。没有买卖就没有伤害么。再说，不过，我感觉食品安全事业不想点儿劣质的东西来吃是吧，就是花小钱，花的钱少一点愿意买健康。是商家太谋取暴力了。我觉得，应该，责任大部分归于商家吧。
你觉得这个问题在农村跟城市里是不是同样的？
Rong Lei: 嗯都有吧。首先说国家吧，尽管力度还是不严。是吧哈。然后再说商家吧，就是，那个啥。广消报率。也不顾老百姓的那个安全嘛哈，身体安全。然后再说买家吧，就是消费者吧。消费者有的光图便宜，是吧。然后买一点儿那种劣质的，民知道有时候还会去买。然后都有责任吧。我觉得还是主要是商家的责任，是不是。没有买卖就没有伤害么。再说，不过，我感觉食品安全事业不想点儿劣质的东西来吃是吧，就是花小钱，花的钱少一点愿意买健康。是商家太谋取暴力了。我觉得，应该，责任大部分归于商家吧。
你觉得这个问题在农村跟城市里是不是同样的吗？
Rong Lei: 嗯，农村也会有这个。城市也有这个问题，但是比农村要好。我发现好多东西没有听过的牌子都在农村卖。在城市里很少很少卖。也估计管了严，城市里管得比农村要严。然后好多东西都没见过，然后包装也不好。反正，我一般都是喜欢在超市买吃的，在我们那儿买。也喜欢去那大超市买东西，因为那是连锁的，放心一点儿。有有有，那有那个牌子呢。
那你怎么知道这个牌子是可靠的呢？
Rong Lei: 可靠一般是网络上知道，还有电视上做广告啊。然后，也是听同学，周围的朋友介绍啊，哪个牌子好啊，是这样获得的。然后，为了好好的保护自己和自己的家人对食品污染的危险，你觉得人应该做什么？
Rong Lei: 少买那种... 不要，不要，不要太便宜。然后就是，怎么说呢，多吃绿色蔬菜我感觉哈。不要吃太多的肉。然后如果有条件的话，尽量还是自己种点儿菜，是吧。如果没有条件的话，也要到正规的地方买东西。不要那小摊小摊（feng）儿啦，小的地方来买。然后，还要多多投诉，遇到这种情况虽然自己没有受到伤害但是偷偷向那个有关部门投诉，投诉他们。然后，维护自己的权益吧。
好，那就没有啦。
Rong Lei: 好。
我发现你对那个中国食品安全的意见真的很大。
Rong Lei: 以前也没有，以前这边谈呢，我也挺喜欢吃的哈，虽然不干净，你这不干净，但有了孩子之后，真的就很关注这方面的东西了。是发现你怀孕了以后就改变了？
Rong Lei: 对，特别食物方面就特别小心现在。就连我自己吃的也小心，因为要喂母乳喂养嘛，就很小心吃的东西。烧烤一般现在也不吃了，只从有了他（the son）之后。
都是为了孩子吧？
Rong Lei: 有的没有生出来—
（姥姥：都是为了孩子健康）
Rong Lei: 啊有的时候他，在肚子里的时候，然后你吃地不好也会对他有影响，所以从一有他之后，就开始注重这个食品安全方面了。
以前也是觉得吃点儿花了钱少一点儿，吃一点儿赖一点儿也没事儿，想对身体健康。现在都很注重。

那他开始吃自己的饭以后你也会这么做吗？
Rong Lei: 对。更会给予注意啦。
那你自己吃的呢？
Rong Lei: 自己吃的好像也已经养成习惯了，也是吃好的。就是好像一个饮食已经变了，观念已经变了。

已经变成了好习惯为什么改变呢（I laugh）
Rong Lei: 对对对，向过夜菜一般都不吃，哈哈！都会吃得好一些。

End of Interview 2.
Interview 3: Sheng Lai

Duration: 26 minutes 36 seconds
Interviewee: “Sheng Lai”

23 yo, married, stay-at-home-mom, husband runs a TCM business and their family also grows crops, 1.5 year old son, villager, 3 years of higher education, 5 person household.

Setting: First half of the interview: In the courtyard of her family house, from where they also run a TCM business. Also present: 4-5 women chatting, sunbathing and eating sunflower seeds. Customers coming in and out of the TCM-office of her husband. Noisy, with loud-mouthed grandmother generation chatting in the background during the first half of the interview. Second half of the interview: just us two alone in the living room of her house.

Notes:
- First half of the interview: Loud environment, onlookers. I often couldn’t hear what the interviewee said but had to play along because it was too busy and loud so I could not ask meaningful follow-up questions.
- Half-way through the interview I interrupted to ask that we move inside, which we did.

你多大了？
Sheng Lai: 23。

23。你有什么教育水平？
Sheng Lai: 啊?呃,大专。

你有什么工作和其他的经济来源？
Sheng Lai: 目前经济来源就是家里,我老公。

老公?
Sheng Lai: 哦他有提供

他的工作室就是...?
Sheng Lai: 数控

数控?
Sheng Lai: 噢，奇羡。

你们家做饭者一般是谁？
Sheng Lai: 啊?

做饭的。
Sheng Lai: 做饭的,呃我婆婆。

你婆婆?
Sheng Lai: 嗯,有时候我嫂子。

她做菜很棒的吗？
Sheng Lai: 对很棒。

你们平时吃的菜有百分之多少是自己做的？
Sheng Lai: 百分之百。

好。你平时给你家人做什么样的饭吃，或者你婆婆给你们吃什么？
Sheng Lai: 米饭,米汤。我们家做能力挺少的。就蒸的那种米,然后晚饭或者早饭一般都是那种稀饭,大米饭呀,小米稀饭呀,还有那个玉米面之类的,或者白面,那种。

那给孩子做饭也是你的婆婆吗?
Sheng Lai: 一般,就是吃饭的时候,也让他吃点,他会吃。啊,而且孩子下一页要大一点,要给他断奶了,会吃那个奶粉。一般,一般吃奶粉比较多。

那孩子吃什么是谁来确定的呢,是你还是你婆婆还是,是谁？
Sheng Lai: 啊?感觉他自己吃,他直接来吃什
么。
真的吗?
Sheng Lai: 对，他有时候不吃什么，他都吐了。
你做饭的时候你用哪种油，香粉和草本植物做
饭?
Sheng Lai: 菜籽油菜籽油／菜籽油，一般。买的那种花生油。
因为味道吗?
Sheng Lai: 呀?
味道棒吗?
Sheng Lai: 呕，一般都吃这种吧，然后炒出来
菜也挺香的。
那个香粉呢?
Sheng Lai: 香粉？你说那种香料是吧。
对。
Sheng Lai: 十三香，还有鸡精，味精，盐，对，
就这些。
你觉得用它们的理由来自于哪些顾及？为什么用这些?
Sheng Lai: 家人教的。从小就受，家人都做饭
在旁看着，就知道。
你怎么学习到你的烹饪?
Sheng Lai: 看着家人做然后自己尝试去做。
就是看了吗然后他们是不是跟你讲过?
Sheng Lai: 讲过，也讲过。
那就是你的母亲吗还是父亲还是都有?
Sheng Lai: 我父亲很少做饭，一般都是母亲。
那跟你母亲用的用料是同样的吗?
Sheng Lai: 大概就是那个样子吧。有时候做成
啊，或者蘸啊。做成了的话那可以再，再放一
点儿菜然后给它中和一下，是吧。蘸了的话再
放一点儿盐，就这样子。慢慢自己琢磨琢磨。
慢慢自己就会丈稳那个用料。
就是根据自己的想法去做?
Sheng Lai: 对。
你有时候会试试使用没试试过的用料?
Sheng Lai: 这不败因为太得少了，没味儿，自
己吃就没味儿不好吃，太多了太咸了也不好吃，
对吧。
对，就会变成浪费吗?
Sheng Lai: 太多就浪费掉了。尽量就给它做好。
家里买大部分的食物的人是谁?
Sheng Lai: 一般，比如说，就是，买这些食物
的人，我公公婆婆。
OK，所以你也不会出去买菜?
Sheng Lai: 不是不要，一般就是我抱着孩子也
不方便嘛，这附近卖菜卖菜的也少。就有时候
如果需要的话，我可以抱着孩子到旁边那个小
超市，当然它因为菜也不全，是吧，比如说，
需要吃其他菜了，都要去，你知道那个齐街是
吧，还有隔壁那个村庄，有机会了就都会去买
一点。
一个礼拜以内一般去买几次买食物?
Sheng Lai: 一次吧。
一次，一次买菜?
Sheng Lai: 嗯，因为我们家就是，一次买菜挺
多的，现在还有。
谁住在你的家?
Sheng Lai: 嗯?
谁主宰你的家，除了你跟孩子跟婆婆?
Sheng Lai: 还有我的老公。我嫂子，你知道昨
天你不是哪个医院儿么，她白天一般都是在这
医院儿玩儿哈，然后跟我们一起一块儿吃饭，然后
晚上就是去医院而睡觉。
嗯，但是住在你的家就是你们四个吧。你，你
的老公，孩子，还有婆婆。
Sheng Lai: 对，对。5 个。
5 个吗?
Sheng Lai: 公公，婆婆，我跟我老公还有孩子。
哦哦，公公，还有公公，好的。那你在这--不
对...有一个买食物的地方你比较喜欢去吗？
就是，可能不是你常常会去但是比较喜欢去那边？
Sheng Lai: 买什么？
买食物。
Sheng Lai: 买食物啊，那就去齐街。
为什么喜欢那边？
Sheng Lai: 因为那边超市比较多，东西也比较多。可以买到很多自己想吃的东西。
嗯，因为选择很伟大吗？
Sheng Lai: 嗯，选择很多！
好，买食物的时候比较注重到哪些性状？
Sheng Lai: 呢...注重什么呀？
哪些形状。
Sheng Lai: 形状？
嗯。
Sheng Lai: ...我比较看重我的口味，我比较喜欢吃甜的。
买菜的时候呢？
Sheng Lai: 买菜...到处比价，看哪个比较实惠，或者想换口味啊换个菜，可以买点其他的。
如果是买肉呢？
Sheng Lai: 买肉...
嗯，什么形状是你特别会注意到的？
Sheng Lai: 比方，我不怎么买肉的。买肉的话我也就没有注重过其他，就比较看重是做什么饭，买什么样的肉，瘦的，肥的，还是要丝的，片儿的。根据做的饭。
那，那个，你买的肉一般是冻的吗还是新鲜的或者...？
Sheng Lai: 新鲜的，一般新鲜的。
嗯，来自哪里？
Sheng Lai: 超市。
就是超市里的肉来自哪里？...有没有想过？
Sheng Lai: 那它可能通过经销商或者通过哪个猪肉场购物的吧。
主要原料标签会不会看？
Sheng Lai: 哎？
主要原料标签
Sheng Lai: 标签，一般，原料标签我很少看，一般我都看它生产日期，比较注重它的日期保鲜，保鲜期，保鲜程度。
那个营养素参考值，会不会看那个标签？
Sheng Lai: 很少看。
很少看。如果，看的时候。
Sheng Lai: 我如果，就是，走亲戚吧哈，我给我，就去娘家哈，走亲戚就带那个礼哈，然后给我妈妈买那个奶的话，我会比较看它的那个成份，看哪种涵盖呀，含它哪一支就比较多，我会选择那种的。
OK，还有别的形状吗，这个奶油的形状？
Sheng Lai: 一般都是买那超市，像，你知道那个城镇哈，城镇哈，看 piao/pian 儿啊，就去选的。一般就买这种乡的，城乡的。
你觉得那儿的信息全部都是可靠的吗？那儿的那个标签就是可靠的吗？
Sheng Lai: 这就不知道，我感觉它那个标签写的不是太全，它就把主要成份写了一下。
你们家的土地，呃，有吗？
Sheng Lai: 有有，这边有，还有我娘家也都有。
有几亩？
Sheng Lai: 啊四分半，这边，我婆婆家。我娘家的话，有七八亩。
种什么样的菜？
Sheng Lai: 一般都是，向快到冬天吧，然后种的就是那个麦。
还有吗？
Sheng Lai: 然后收获过麦就种那个玉米。
一年种几季？
Sheng Lai: 就这两季，麦跟这个玉米。
一年就是一次。

卖一斤麦会赚多少钱？
Sheng Lai: 嗯，这种我不太清楚。
那个玉米也不清楚吗？
Sheng Lai: 嗯，这个我不清楚。
这不是你管的吗？
Sheng Lai: 嗯。

卖一斤麦会赚多少钱？
Sheng Lai: 嗯。

谁？
Sheng Lai: 一般都家里人，这个来。
你跟孩子？你们用什么肥料？
Sheng Lai: 肥料，我也不清楚，不知道。

那个杀虫剂也不注意吧。
Sheng Lai: 啊？
插绳记？
Sheng Lai: 什么？
嗯不是！杀虫剂。
Sheng Lai: 杀虫剂！
对。

Sheng Lai: 不知道，一般我公公婆婆种地，这种一般都会他们弄。

你们也养动物吗？
Sheng Lai: 动物。那里有几只鸡（points at a chicken house in the courtyard）。

吃多少？
Sheng Lai: 三只。

就是给自己吃的鸡蛋吗？
Sheng Lai: 对，就是吃它鸡蛋。

不是卖给别人。

Sheng Lai: 对，它像这鸡也老了，也没法儿吃，不好吃。

（I laugh）真的？它们吃什么饭呢？
Sheng Lai: 一般我们家里也吃剩饭，然后给它倒一点它都会吃。

OK。肉也会吃吗？
Sheng Lai: 肉不会吃，稀饭啦，菜了，蔬菜。

它们的饮食包含什么样的化学品和抗菌素？
Sheng Lai: 没用了，这些。就像你刚刚说的那些抗菌素啊什么的，一般都是一些养鸡场用的那边，对不对，用地比较多。想我们常给它稍微一点点饭吃它都会下蛋。

那你们在这边也会种，就是，种自己吃的饭吗，吃的菜？
Sheng Lai: 一般我们家院子也有土，前两年种过。因为这边也有，你看你看，这个干干的这个葡萄架，然后葡萄树，还有这个，这这个树就是那个柿子树。

那这边会不会放那个肥料？(older woman observer: 不放)
Sheng Lai: 就是，就是给那个地的打药的时候哈，然后稍给这个打 liang 一下，打 liang 一下药 pai dao sheng chu。

那这些鸡，到几岁才把它屠宰？
Sheng Lai: 这个不知道

不知道。
Sheng Lai: 一般现在主要下鸡蛋，不会杀它。

如果杀它也是，呢就是它不老的时候，就鸡长的比较嫩，然后好 dun4 也好吃，就比较嫩。

（I laugh）如果变老了呢，会吃吗？
Sheng Lai: 不会，就不烂不好吃。

所以就会把它扔掉吗？
Sheng Lai: 那可能，它死的情况，就是病死啊或者老死，在自然情况下死。

为什么不呢，如果是病死？
Sheng Lai: 病死吃不下去，可能怕那个吃的话对身体不好。

屠宰的时候必须注意到哪些方面？
Sheng Lai: 这种，我不会杀。
我也没有杀过。
Sheng Lai: 今年过年么啥，我公公就杀了一只鱼，一条鱼，就先从它的15:13 sai wang 那里，开始着手，然后从 15:17 开始，然后把它张全部 15:20 tao／tou lu(o)。不过杀鸡，呃。我小时候嘛，我姨妈那边就是我爸爸我爷爷杀过的，先杀它的脖子。
在什么地方呢？很卫生的一个一个桌子还是？
Sheng Lai: 一般就找个袋子或者找一个垃圾堆，然后杀它。或者拿个袋子拿什么然后给它弄上。
就把那个鸡放在袋子里面吗？
Sheng Lai: 阿不是不是，就在下面坡什么东西然后把它东西都弄上去然后一打包，好打包，或者是直接在垃圾堆旁边整条，然后，也好弄。
你也是，如果有吃它的打算，也会这么傻吗？
Sheng Lai: 哦？
就是，你杀鸡的时候（loudmouthed ayis in the background）我们可以去安静一点的地方吗？有吗？比如说在门口。
Sheng Lai: 那可以来屋里嘛。你要不要喝水啊，我给你弄一点水。
你有没有经历过你们的肉被沾染了？
Sheng Lai: 肉被怎么样啊？
沾染了。
Sheng Lai: 这是什么？再解释一下... 呢，肉被沾染了，就是有病菌，是吧？
嗯哼。
Sheng Lai: 这个目前我们没有，一般我们买的肉也就是从超市买的，然后然后放冰箱里面因为，像，呢，我们家人多。一般都是买一大块几肉然后慢慢吃嘛。放冰箱里面，存着慢慢吃。
我去过了齐街的时候，我也看过在街上...--
Sheng Lai: 对，街上有卖肉。
Sheng Lai: 那意见太大了。现在中国人有的嘛，有的开那个小饭店，就像那种小零食啦，或者有些养猪场啊或者。为什么会有那些禽流感病? 那就是因为，他们使用了那些药物啊，呃，会让肉更鲜美啦什么之类的，呃。这是肉方面儿的。然后还有一些食品方面儿的，也会就是，打一些药。种菜也会打那些农药啊，什么杀虫药啊，你不管你，他不管你吃的会不会生病，反正他是要卖的，只要有赚钱就行了。那你怎么好好的保护自己和你家人的--

Sheng Lai: 有时候我们种菜吃， 我们能种菜就种菜了。有时候会，就是，就是在我们这边买餐。

还有别的办法，比如说，去超-

Sheng Lai: 我们这边地也多，然后种菜的，我家也有大棚，你应该见了吧。啊，种菜也比较多，所以吃也挺放心的，不比城市里面，城市里面那些，就问题比较大。

为什么更大?

Sheng Lai: 因为城市里面，就是，呃，吃不到这些东西新鲜的东西，都，人家也不知道是从哪儿拉过来的菜呀，肉啊。

你一听到那些，就是，食品安全事故发生后，你对食物的感想有改变了吗，或者你的买食物的习惯和行为有变了吗?

Sheng Lai: 嗯举个最典型的例子吧。就是，前几年前有一个那个三鹿奶粉事件，知道吧。嗯，所以我们现在选择这个奶粉肯定不会用这个。现在我也没有见过这个牌子。然后我们现在都喝的（22:35 jin1 lin2 guan4）伊利的。伊利跟蒙牛的都可以。都比较，也算是大牌，然后都比较信赖。

你觉得食品安全问题是谁的错误和责任?

Sheng Lai: 我觉得吧。呃.... 监管部门也有一些责任吧，还有监管力度不大。还有就是有些人私心太重了，不考虑别人的健康，只管自己赚钱。他们也不想要，如果他们吃到这样菜影响他们的健康，那到时候他们后悔也没有办法。吃出什么病，癌症或者什么，有起来症。

那你觉得那些人，就是，什么样的，是超市里的商家?

Sheng Lai: 超市里面的商家呢，我感觉，不是他的错，因为它只是卖的。他也不知道这个产品有问题。

那是谁?

Sheng Lai: 制造这些的，工场啊，或者小作坊啊。小作坊问题太大了。卫生条件儿差。如果是大场的话，他有那个条件儿。卫生条件儿会少一点。

呃... 这个你已经说过了，好像.... 因为我还没到问题你已经回答了。还有什么办法保护健康?

Sheng Lai: 呢，保护健康的话，多喝水吧。

自来水吗?

Sheng Lai: 白开水自来水我不喝，我都喝温过的水，喝热水。

这边的水质高吗?

Sheng Lai: 哦，这儿这儿很好，比我们老家，比我娘家那边还要好，我知道那个兴祥吧，我们就是离兴祥比较近，算是兴祥市区边儿的一个镇。我们那儿乡儿也发展起来了，道路也挺平坦的，跟市区也差不多。就是，那边现在越发展起来嘛，空气质量啊还有水质量啊，都没有以前好了。

嗯，所以这边好。

Sheng Lai: 以前我妈，呃，说我们那边有，那条河非常清澈，还有鱼还有吓什么，她那时候，年轻的时候还在那里玩，下河摸鱼，不过现在那一条都已经被污染了，很丑。

那这边的问题，你觉得相比之下怎么样?

Sheng Lai: 跟我们那边好，空气也好。这边，呃，我上楼上嘛，望前那边地，哇可以看好远。看星空 shei yi 那种感觉。End of Interview 3.
Interview 4: Fen Fen

Duration: 13 minutes 53 seconds

Interviewee: “Fen Fen”

36 yo, married, secondary school teacher, husband is also a teacher, son 13, son 11, villager, 3 years of higher education, 6 person household.

Setting: Same as the first half of interview 3.

Notes:
- She abruptly left mid-interview as her friend (interviewee 1) was wanting to hang out with her.
- I got the feeling that she did not take the interview seriously and just wanted to check it out to have something to gossip about with her friends later.
- Friend of interviewee 1 and 3, probably also interviewee 2 in which case the arch enemy problem mentioned in transcript 2 might have been relevant.

你多大了?
Fen Fen: 我37了，36吧。
36。你有什么教育水平?
Fen Fen: 哼（big sigh）没什么教育水平，一般一般就是到哪里呢?
Fen Fen: 大专（大专院校）或者本科，都可以都可以?
Fen Fen: 啊。自修的是本科。
你有什么工作和其他的经济来源?
Fen Fen: 其他就是一项工作，教育。
你是初中老师吗?
Fen Fen: 初中
你结了婚吗?
Fen Fen: 嗯。
你的老公?
Fen Fen: 嗯哼，他也是。他教育。
你住这里吗?
Fen Fen: 是的。
别的经济来源有吗，比如说卖菜?
Fen Fen: 其他没有。我们一般都是买菜，不卖菜。不卖，我们家不种菜。
除了你和你的老公以外，还有谁住你的家?
Fen Fen: 还有，还有公公婆婆也就是爸爸妈妈，孩子。我们几个人，六口人。
他们几岁?
Fen Fen: 他们都是六七十，我们都是三四十。孩子?
Fen Fen: 孩子是十一二岁十三四岁，大大的。
两个吗?
Fen Fen: 对。
他们之中 有需要抚养帮助吗?
Fen Fen: 其他的在这不需要，现在。都有这个能力还。
那孩子也是吗?
Fen Fen: 呀自己都能照顾自己，都能自立。
那在家做饭的是谁?
Fen Fen: 在家一般都是婆婆，工作上面我做饭。
那一个礼拜以内你做几次饭呢?
Fen Fen: 我在学校就是一天三次做饭。一星期都是我做的。
就是你自己给你吃的吗？
Fen Fen: 我们四个，他们都在我们那个地方上学嘛，所以我都是主要去做饭，家庭妇女。有工作又要做饭。

那你们在你的家平时吃的菜有百分之多少是自己做的?
Fen Fen: 吃的菜，吃的菜一般一般都是他们两个在家，他们两个在家都是一般就是，大多情况都不买菜。我们，我们在那个，在各地哪个村儿，这个地方里面一般都是买菜，不种菜，我们自己种。在家里稍微种一点儿。

你平时给你家人做什么样的饭吃？或者你的婆婆?
Fen Fen: 我们在家一般都是婆婆做饭，我从来没有做过饭，很抱歉（laughs）。

那他们给你吃的是什么?
Fen Fen: 一般都是家里的平常饭，稀饭。白菜，萝卜，冬天是萝卜。啊，其他各种的菜，青菜。

那你吃的菜是跟他们一样的吗?
Fen Fen: 还好，ok了，都可以。 (Sheng Lai: 你可以先来你觉得最重要地问)

那你用什么用料做饭，材料，什么油，什么香料?
Fen Fen: 油，一般都是大豆油。材料我现在什么都不用。鸡精味精全部都不用。（my friend：都不用？）

Fen Fen: 就用一点儿生抽（Sheng Lai：盐？）就盐，那是最基本的。其他的我什么都不用。真的吗？那辣椒也不用?

Fen Fen: 辣椒用。辣椒，花椒，那个，八角。就是出来那种鸡精啊，味精啊，那种现在不用。

为什么不?
Fen Fen: 不喜欢啦。

不喜欢？ok
Fen Fen: 就喜欢生抽，其他的都不太用。

因为味道吧，不喜欢？
Fen Fen: 不喜欢吃那种味精太大的东西。

因为健康吗?
Fen Fen: 一般大多数都是因为健康嘛，不太喜欢吃那种，不用那些东西，那个菜味道也可以，所以就不用了。

好。

家里买大部分的食物的人是谁?
Fen Fen: 在家里面我们，就是来家的时候都是和我们这儿搞点菜，搞买一点儿。然后在学校一般都是买菜，我买，去买菜。

一个礼拜以内一般去几次买食物呢?
Fen Fen: 如果要买的话，天天得买。如果我们，呃对，天天买。我们附近就是，学校附近有，有那个卖菜的。天天，每天都要买。如果是肉去超市买一次的话，就是一般会吃一个星期。

那你比较喜欢去哪一个地方买菜?
Fen Fen: 就是要去这个地方。我们属于齐街镇。知道吧你。
知道。你为什么喜欢去那边？

Fen Fen：习惯嘛，比较方便，比较近。或者去延津，延津也比较近一点儿。如果去购物的话，买衣服的话，什么，更愿意去延津。附近再近一点儿就是，就是齐街。

为什么不更少更多次？你说天天都买，为什么不提前买更多一点？

Fen Fen：现在买更多一点那不储存是一个方面问题。另外菜这也不新鲜嘛，是不是。比较方便所以说随吃随买。

买食物的时候比较注重到哪些性状？

Fen Fen：形状我们都是，我们都是这个，土生土长的人，然后又回到了自己老地方。所以说对这些东西实在就比较熟悉，没有什么，不像你们对于我们吃的青菜呀，不太熟悉，不太这个熟悉的条件是吧。我们都是在这儿生长的人，所以说那些，那些都是属于基本的常识。好像没有什么可条件的。一看就知道是新鲜不新鲜然后是好不好。

那关于食物的性状卖家跟你说的信息你会相信吗？

Fen Fen：卖家基本上是都是，都还可以。不会不理说忽高忽低。卖家，他不是往往怎么有货比三家（的这个思想嘛，是不是。他一般都是，或者一家店在卖，而且隔壁附近的都有卖，所以他的价格一般的话比较稳定。再说，你买一块钱两块钱的青菜，也没有必要去搞价。而且是天天要买的话，也不是天天搞价太麻烦。

主要原料标签会不会看？

Fen Fen：标签平常青菜都不会看。像那种有标签，有这个油。比较容易过期的那些东西就不看，是不是。有些特大品买了那些，或者是真假食货了，变，这个分析变维了哪些东西，是不是重维啊，肯定会留心一点儿，是不是。

营养素参考值标签会不会看？

Fen Fen：营养素，我没有过分，没有过分的。没有过分，有一点点吗？

Fen Fen：会有那么一点点在意。

在意到什么？

Fen Fen：在意那些哪些会有利于我们的健康肯定会多考虑一些，是不是。

你觉得那儿（原料跟营养素标签）的信息是可靠的吗？

Fen Fen：有些东西也不可靠。

为什么？

Fen Fen：因为有些东西--

怎么知道哪些东西是可靠不可靠的？

Fen Fen：一些小点儿近的东西，有些送的货远。货远令人不太靠谱。不知的人，新人的话所以说，心上怀疑会有一些。他送的东西有些东西是假的，那些像奶茶，又有些东西会是，会是那个，会是假的产品。所以一般都到大一点的超市去买。那种比较可靠一点儿。

对，你们不种菜？

Fen Fen：我们种菜就是不因而不以种菜为生，不以种菜为主要的经济来源。主要是自己自著那种。

OK，那种什么样的菜？

Fen Fen：菠菜啦，青菜，那种还有韭菜，白菜。

这么多？

Fen Fen：萝卜。

哎哟

Fen Fen：分季节，啊，分季节种。比方说冬天啊，有储存地 白菜都是自己种的，萝卜，是不是。哦对你，像春天了那个温度高了，会重一些怎么样，小青菜儿，这个，上海菜上海青儿，还有什么？

全都都是你家吗？种这么多。

Fen Fen：对呀。我不是我家，每家每户都有这样的打算，如果有片碰地的话，像这样（points to a small greenhouse）种，是嘛！
当然，我现在就说你的吧。

Fen Fen: 都自己吃，都自己一个家庭吃。会少少买一点儿
一年种几季?

Fen Fen: 菜呀，菜儿都春天，两季，一般都是两季。
你们用什么肥料?

Fen Fen: 肥呀！肥料，化肥, ji1 fen4, 人造分，
还有那个 zhong1 fen4。

什么杀虫剂?

Fen Fen: 杀虫剂, 杀虫剂就是。现在自己家的，
特别是自己家里吃菜一般都不用，一般都不喷
撒农药的。

为什么不? 或者为什么用你刚才说的那个肥
料，为什么不用别的?

Fen Fen: 因为这是绿色原声拍了，现在用肥料
了，是不是，少用。能不用的什么就不用了。

你们养动物吗 (laughs)?

Fen Fen: 原来养。
原来养，现在不养。

Fen Fen: 你如果早三年，早五年在来的花，我
们家有三头大牛回来再聊啊！

啊.. 好的..

Fen Fen: 我要走啊！回流加你微信啊！

嗯。

Fen Fen: 跟你说美啊！

好的。

End of Interview 4.
Interview 5 6 7: Ling, Dai Dai and Xunmei

Duration: 32 minutes 15 seconds

Interviewees:

“Ling”: 28 yo, married, son 5 yo, Hangzhou resident, owns her own beauty company, high school graduate, husband 4+ years of higher education, husband works full-time in private business venture, high household income.

“Dai Dai”: 23 yo, single and living in a student dorm, Hangzhou resident, part-time student and part-time worker in the private sector, 4+ years of higher education, low household income.

“Xunmei”: 20 yo, single and living in a student dorm in Shaanxi province, resident of a city in Shaanxi, part-time student and part-time worker in the private sector, 4+ years of higher education, high-to-very high household income.

Setting: Coffee shop. Background music. The women are enjoying sweet drinks and a shared dessert, and the mood is relaxed and casual.

Notes:
- Dai Dai is a personal acquaintance, the other two her friends.
- Dai Dai is a vegetarian
- I interviewed all three at the same time so it became almost like a mini-focus group.
- Everyone’s various opinions might not have been voiced for all questions, as sometimes they would be content with just one person answering.
- Everyone is represented as individuals in the interview however, as they all expressed views that both differed from and were alike each other’s in various aspects.

先问你一下。在你的家庭里,你有哪些责任?
Ling: 我的责任... 工作, 赚钱, 养孩子。

为什么是你有这些责任,而不是比如说你丈夫有这些责任?
Ling: 我们家不是分工非常明细,就是一个家庭的组成一定是泛泛的。不是说这个责任在我,在我身上的,他也会更多地来承担家庭的其他的很多方面的责任。

那你们怎么商量你会做什么,他会做什么?
Ling: 不需要商量啊。其实是什么事情,就是自然而然的吧。如果你今天就去工作来了一些其他事情,那就是你来帮忙,我来解决家里一些其他事情。
还有一个就是要自己喜欢的格调一点。
到外面去吃饭一般由什么原因?
Ling：原因就是朋友聚餐。偶尔地跟老公浪漫
的一下。
你们吃的饭有百分之多少是在家里吃的
Ling：百分之七八是在家里吃的
你们自己种菜吗?
Ling：不种菜。
早餐 中餐 晚餐 宵夜 一般吃什么?
Ling：早餐吃一点营养茶，五谷杂粮，粥。中午的话就是吃一些米饭，菜类的，都会有。
在你的家庭里大家吃的一样吗还是吃地不
同?
Ling：差不多。中国家庭都差不多。
那你和你的孩子，他吃的跟你的也一样吗?
Ling：差不多。
如果经济上不成问题，你会吃的跟现在怎么不
一样?
Ling：不一样吗?
会吗?
Ling：不太会。我觉得现在中国人吃已经不成
问题了，平时怎么吃也怎么吃。
你已经比较满意吗?
Ling：还可以。
你在哪里买你的蔬菜 肉大米 之类的事?
Ling：都会在菜场。
购买各种的食物的时候有什么条件?
Ling：新鲜，好看。
有一个买食物的地方你比较喜欢去吗？哪儿
有什么好处?
Ling：我喜欢喝茶，去的那个地方如果说平时
工作累了，或者是烦恼了，就去那个地方喝杯
茶静一静。偶尔地喝喝咖啡厅这种。
就是，你要买蔬菜比如说，有一个比较喜欢
去的那个地方吗?
Ling：购买蔬菜呀，那市场吧，因为不太买这
些东西。
就是，有一个，你每次会去那边？或者有各种
的市场吗?
Ling：各哦只有一个市场。
为什么去那边么?
Ling：方便嘛。快。
嗯，离你很-
Ling：近，对。
你对卖家熟悉了吗？信不信卖家?
Ling：嗯信吧。当然可能他对我挺熟悉的，我
可能对他不是很熟。
食物的主要原料标签会不会看?
Ling：会。
营养素参考值标签会不会看?
Ling：会。
看它看什么方面?
Ling：都会看它一些一个是保质期或者一些都
会看。
你信那儿的信息吗?
Ling：其实也不是百分之百信，看了心里还是
会唤醒一点，比不看要好。
为什么不信?
Ling：因为现在我觉得就是说，中国的现在的
一些环境啊，所造就的，就是说，我们吃的东西
就是，不可能存在就是像他们所说的那种
没有任何的添加，或者是这种这种说，都可能
的，肯定会有的。可能是在人体的，人体允许
环卫内这种添加。但是我们也只能默认。
有的牌子你比较喜欢买吗？为什么
Ling：品牌，嗯，吃的东西会讲品牌。如果
chong1 的东西不太会，我只选择东西好的和自
己喜欢就行，不太任何就去买。
哪些品牌是你经常买的?
Ling: 吃的东西吗？呃，吃的比如说，牛奶，我会选择伊利或者再好一点就是选择一些这种巴黎贝甜种，东西比较好一点的。

那你觉得哪些品牌是可靠的吗？
Ling: 只能说他品牌大，那用的人多，那可能就是，如果说都死也不是毒唯一个，大家一起死吧。

你觉得哪些牌子是可靠的？因为买的人多然后可靠？
Ling: 对。就是买的人多。
因为政府会管他们吗？
Ling: 对啊。是的。

放心肉 绿色 有机 无公害 这些标签什么意思？我不太清楚。
Ling: 标签啊。

Xunmei: 无公害啊
Ling: 哦无公害我懂。无公害就是没有添加，没有添加 农药 或者一些激素或者一些回料（maybe she means 肥料?）就是自然长的这种就叫无公害。
完全自然的吗？
Ling: 嗯。

真的啊？那跟有机有什么不一样吗？
Xunmei: 我觉得培养出来的。
Ling: 嗯，有机不是培养出来的。有机其实就是所谓的无公害么，就是极品的东西。
Xunmei: 要好一点儿。
Ling: 比较好的。

那，跟绿色有什么不一样吗？
Xunmei: 它这个绿色是抽象的意思，说这个绿色，可能绿色有机物还是指这个，绿色还抽象了一点儿吃我觉得最新鲜好好么，质量比较好一点，质量比较高一点儿，是一个抽象牌，比如说这个东西是绿色的（points at their green bean drinks and waffle with ice cream）一个是代表绿色蔬菜，一个是代表有那个啥的，新鲜，抽象意义吧。
Ling: 嗯，对。

我觉得他们有点相似，我分不开。
Ling: 嗯，有点相似。

那个放心肉呢，跟一般肉有什么差别吗？
Ling: 放心的肉是没有注水，也没有打激素。
这个肉是活的时候健康的就把它给宰了。不是他死的那种才宰得吗？
Ling: 会，死猪杀的肉很多。

这是不犯罪的吗？
Ling: 那不知道嘛，那偷偷对嘛（laughs）。中国的每动物也有这么坏。

那你一般会不会买这么标签的食物？
Ling: 会。

你也会吗？
Xunmei: 我关于我们,我不是那种,没有在家，不是做这种事儿，然后一般做这种都是我妈干的。我在那儿吃的也少，我在外面吃饭。

你问过她吗，她买什么？
Xunmei: 呃，以前就是放假的时候，去超市或者去那个蔬菜市场嘛，去买菜嘛。目睹都经常买嘛，都认识那状，都买那种差不多的。

那你妈对卖家熟悉了吗？
Xunmei: 熟悉了。因为经常去了嘛。做家庭职务的就是每天都买菜做饭，或者隔一天买吧。
有一些东西需要在超市里边儿买，有一些东西是较少买嘛。当然说实话，就隔到住这边儿的话，隔到中国话，一般超市里边儿买的东西稍微贵一点儿，但它又要可能就是新鲜嘛，并且就是早上特别早就进来的，超市要能保证比较新鲜。

你们和朋友以前谈过食品安全问题了吗？
Ling: 谈。
谈什么方面？

Ling：谈现在的鸡肉有激素，西红柿有，有，有，这种催红素，包括鱼呀，虾呀，都会有一些病，病药，这些会谈论。

你呢？

Dai Dai：食品问题... 他说比较多的就是肉类的，还有蔬菜上面农药残留。对，这些会经常谈。

可以举一个例子吗？

Dai Dai：就比如说，因为我身边，嗯美国朋友比较多，然后他们也比较在意这种，他们觉得在中国吃饭基本上都有肉。而且，但是他们很多在自己的国家都是吃素的，但是他们发现在中国吃素很难做的。然后还有，还有就是，蔬菜农药残留他们会觉得就是不安全。还有就是，可能在饭店吃会觉得那个油，地沟油，就是，他们会觉得，就是，我们会觉得在外面吃的话就不好。然后我同学都会在，因为我们住在宿舍，会自己做饭，做菜。对。

那你们还有别的措施吗，就是，防止那个风险？

Dai Dai：呃，比如说我们洗菜的时候，用洗素打泡那个蔬菜，然后让它就是农药可以没有，减少一点。

泡是多少时间呢？

Dai Dai：大概 5 分钟。然后再用清水冲。对，然后，肉的话我们都是少吃，尽量不吃，这样。

你们呢，有一样的措施吗？

Ling：有，也是浸泡。

你们的朋友的意见跟你的一样吗？

Ling：嗯，差不多。

你会注意食品安全的什么方面？

Ling：举一个例子看。

就是，在你的生活中你会对这个问题有什么意见，就，每天会想这些吗？
肯定啊，就这个是首先考虑。还有就是那个啥，还有朋友推荐吧。但是朋友推荐我一般很少看，因为不如，先它不如是有美团嘛，那美团看大家评价，好评处也会去考虑的。

你们的父亲跟你们说了关于食品安全问题的什么吗?

Ling：没有。

母亲呢?

Ling：母亲农村的。农村的都是有机的。

啊？他们跟你们说过的是...？

Dai Dai：农村都是有机的。

Ling：对，因为我们父母都是农村的。农村的蔬菜是自己种的，所以那里的蔬菜都是有机的，都是好的。

你们的父母都是来自农村吗?

Xunmei：不是，我们说，就是，可能就是，呃，比如说，不是说，不，可能就这一阵儿哪个问题比较严重，可能就是说网上或者新闻报道比较多，家人也告诉你呀，这不要乱吃这个东西，还是怎么样不好，就这个样子。可能他们也，这一事儿不会买这个东西，都会围着食品安全问题过来事儿之后，它重现被处理好之后大家才回去考虑再吃嘛，对嘛。

你的父亲跟你的母亲有什么不一样的意见吗?

Dai Dai：我爸爸比较不在意食品安全。他觉得什么都要吃一点。然后他对素食也不是很赞同，因为他说做人如果不吃肉还有什么意思，就是。而且他说不能太偏激(pian1ji1 extreme)，应该都吃一点。但是，他说，他比较不在乎健康这方面，他比较在意吃得开心，这种。但是我妈妈比较在意食品安全或者吃得健康，这些。

他推荐你做什么吗?

Dai Dai：谁？我妈妈吗？我妈妈也说吃素比较好，但是她也希望我能有时候可以吃肉。对。我觉得中国人对素食不是很接受。因为他们觉得只有- 不少多的人都不。

Dai Dai：不接受，对。但是我觉得素食在中国还比，没有想在国外那么多人知道。就很多人可能会觉得，啊你为什么，你是不是信佛。第一个反应都是这个，对。

你们感觉确保自己吃的饭菜的安全性是容易的吗?

Ling：不容易，很不容易。

在你们看来，中国人有什么机会防止关联的风险？人人都的机会一样多吗？

Ling：不多。我觉得中国的贫富相差的还是满大的。

Xuanmei：我也觉得。

Ling：太给力了，我说，她都倍。

你们觉得风险在中国人口之中是公平的分布了吗？

Ling：公平，对，我觉得很公平。

很公平，大家都受影响？

Ling：太公平，尤其是空气跟水。有钱的也呼吸这空气，没钱也呼吸同的。有钱的也喝这个不健康的水，没钱的喝不健康。这些就特别公平，对吗。

同意吗？

Xunmei：同意。

同意？

Dai Dai：但是也不一样，我觉得有钱人可以买空气净化器，他可以买水的净化器，他也可以享受到比别人比较好一点的食物种。

你们是什么样的，你们买到那些绿色有机无公害的食物吗？

Ling：偶尔可以，不是有之百能买。

Xunmei：嗯，对。现在不是说在，就是有那个啥，就有国外的产食了嘛，他们买国外的事儿，他是直线，那个，忽然可以进行买的，所在里
边儿的，也可以买包好一点儿的农食品嘛，对吧，绿色无公害的农村食品。还有一点就是空气，不好的空气。有钱人可以换城市支付嘛，对吧。你可以在海南买一套房么。

Dai Dai：对啊，你要是。

Xunmei：对啊，有钱人早就在外边儿把房，可以在别的城市把房子买了。

Ling：可是买贵买嘛。环境没有去住吗?

Xunmei：但是他会隔一阵儿时间，就是说，就是他在海南买房就会隔了冬天因为比较暖和嘛，然后他也会隔了冬天也会在那儿去住房子。

Ling：那我们安全的别素更好嘞，对吗。但这不是解决一个问题的。这都是这样子的。

你觉得农村跟城市的问题一样大吗?

Ling：我觉得农村好。

Xunmei：空气比较好。

Ling：啊空气比这这里好其实一样的道理。就比如说，你农村有房子，和你有钱到，比如说，到海南到三亚去买房子，其实性质是一样的。

你解决的只是一个心理安慰的。安慰的是什么：我比你有钱，我就比你多了个心而已。但是其实你生活的，天天还是生活在城市里面，对不对。其实根本性的问题没解决。只是找了个心里寄托心里安慰。

Xunmei：就是空气没有解决，就反而就在中国来说，就比如说，跟我们家来说，就是还有说，我爸这一些朋友，就父母有一些朋友，然后就属于那种，年龄越来越大稍微想里面好一点儿，就会把自己看的特别重要，就把自己的健康看的特别重要。然后就说，吃，就不会吃吃怎么样，仅稍微年龄大一点，他可能只会说少吃肉，因为那些有高血压就我爸比如，他就尽量不能去吃肥肉。我们家可能会先说，爸，吃点儿啥，反而他们都把自己的看的特别重要啊，就这样子。因为不吃肉对身体也不好。也不是说食品安全的问题，他本身就对哪个方面不太好嘛。血压高。

Ling：应该是这么说的，就是，中国人因为他只是说重不重的，因为他并不以的，因为他的身体条件不允许的，他本身没有那么注重。所以说中国人的缺乏是保健的意识。

Xunmei：观念，就没有这个观念。他就对身体不好才需要去做，他就查出来的。就我爸，查出有过啥，现在才说不抽烟啦，不喝酒啦，早上就要去跑个步。你说啥他就这样去喝酒抽烟，然后现在查出来的是吃什么东西。一开始是我还是自己弄好，然后问题出现了才解决了。

Dai Dai：对，我爸就算知道小龙虾什么很恶心，新闻报道出来说不能吃，或者很脏，但是他会因为好吃，所以他才会去吃。然后他相信的一句话就是不干不净吃了没病。因为他觉得中国人这么多年都吃过来啦，也没什么事。他说如果会生病，迟早的会生病，所以他，没有，无所谓。

那就是跟年龄有关系吗?

Dai Dai：对跟，我觉得跟跟年代。

Ling：年代。

Dai Dai：年代有关系。就像我身边的那些朋友可能就比较在意身体健康，身体稍微，呃可能体重稍微改变了一点，她们就会想慢慢去运动或者怎么样。然后大家也会知道吃肉其实是不好的，可以接受这个观念。但是我觉得上一辈，你怎么跟他解释他都会说，啊中国人啊，以前老一辈的人，什么，都没有东西吃，你现在还要这样子，这个不吃那个不吃，那你饿三天就可以，你就什么都吃。这是思想的原因。

Ling：观念，观念。

你们在这个情况之下怎么解决要怎么做，你们会听你们父母的话，还是。

Ling：我们不会听。我们会建议他，就是给他就很多种，呃，观念上的，会改变他。但是如果他坚持不改变，那我们也就算了。

在你们看来，在一个普通的家庭里，谁应该确保孩子不收到影响呢?
Ling：谁应该确保，应该是老公，爸爸。
爸爸？
Ling：爸爸确保孩子不受影响。
母亲呢？
Ling：在中国的家庭里面，相对来说，母亲的责任性永远比父亲的责任性要强一点。
那为什么是父亲有这个责任，你觉得？
Ling：也不是为什么，可能是，我觉得是传统观念，还是男性和女性的区别。我觉得责任感这一块的话，我觉得女人的责任比男人的要大。可能是中国的传统观念有关系。
但是你刚才说是爸爸要确保这些吗。
Ling：这个爸爸要确保只是我们作为女人也好，作为孩子的妈妈也好，只是希望把这个家庭的责任在爸爸身上多一点。
哦，就是一种希望？
Ling：对。
所以你在你的家庭里也是这样？
Ling：不一样，因为我们的观念还是比较前卫一点，我们还是相对比较平等的。就是都希望双方把这个家庭给组建起来，然后给他喂哺地很好。但这还是，每个家庭不同，对吗。
负好这个责任有什么挑战？
Ling：负好这个责任挑战很大。那就是要，第一要确保孩子的一些，首先就是经济，包括他成长过程的一些培养教育都是很大的问题。
你们对中国的食品安全问题有什么意见？食品安全问题是谁的错误和责任？
Dai Dai：政府的。
Ling：你又被权责了，权责出国。
Dai Dai：肯定是政府的问题。社会问题都是政府管理问题。
Ling：有一点点，大大的问题肯定是要政府来改变。一般老百姓个人力量是改变不了的。
政府应该怎么做呢？
Xuanmei：加强监管力度呀。它可能又是那种别人想做不好的食品他得花儿一点钱么，然后当然有人不顾不愿意管了，他就是，可能给监管的人的钱嘛。应该就这样睁一只眼，闭一只眼就这样过去嘛。那还是那个人的问题。
现在中国就是这个样子，搞什么就搞此就垄断了你们产业。
Dai Dai：适度要完善。主要是制度的漏洞太多。
消费者呢？
Dai Dai：我觉得消费者自己，就是，有些消费者只可能就睁一只眼，闭一只眼就算了。就是他觉得，哦这不是我的事情，我没有义务要去为这个事情尽一份力，但其实每一个人如果都自觉地发现一个事情有问题了就不去买或者不去消费，那就这种不好的食品也会没有。但是很多人可能就是抱着大事化小的心态，所以很多事情就很难。
Ling：就是，就是大事化小是觉得我不买花的，你也会买的，那你买了，那我也得买了。对吗？
Dai Dai：就觉得自己一个人的力量没什么的，做不了什么。
那商家呢？
Ling：商家就是觉得没有关系啊，我做我的，你不买那别人会买呀。
大家都是这样子的吗？
Ling：基本上都是这样子的。
Dai Dai：力趋势，我觉得是力趋势的。
政府现在做的有什么缺乏呢，如果是政府的错误？
Dai Dai：我觉得，第一呀，政府没有一套的那种食品安全还有食品监管的一套完全的体系。然后还有很多的漏洞，比如说绿色食品，那些标签，那些商家自己都可以买到，自己可以贴。然后，对，所以这就是一个很大的问题，所以它没有一个权威性。而且，没有人去监管这个事情，比如说后期，比如说，政府可以派任去查那些伪造的或者造假的。惩罚力度可以加
大。因为如果惩罚力度不大，商家觉得，哦没有什么损失对我的利益，跟利益相比起来。那我回去追寻我的利益，因为就算被查到也没有什么很严重的惩罚。所以说还是法律体系啊，还有一套管理体系应该加强。

End of Interview 5 6 7.
Interview 8: Hong Xiang

Duration: 17 minutes 25 seconds

Interviewee: “Hong Xiang”
28 yo, single, private English teacher, lives with a room mate, Hangzhou resident, 4+ years of higher education, low income.

Setting: Coffee shop, mid-day. Casual.

Notes: None

在你现在的生活中你有哪些责任?
Hong Xiang: 你指的是什么方面的责任?
比如说，买食物，打扫房子。
Hong Xiang: 啊！呃，呃，呃，呃，我就需要打扫房子，你说的是家务了，对吧，说哪些家务要做。需要打扫房子，然后，偶尔做饭，然后其他就没有了。

为什么你有哪些责任，而不是别人有哪些责任或者你有不同的责任，你是跟别人合住对吧?
Hong Xiang: 啊我们是共同献，共同分担的。基本上就是一个星期论一次这样子。对。但是在你的家庭里都是你妈妈做的吗?
Hong Xiang: 如果是在嗯自己家的话都是妈妈做的比较多。

为什么会这么选择而不是你爸爸?
Hong Xiang: 因为在，这是一个文化的问题，一般都是女性偏向于这个照顾家庭的角色所以男性，传统概念里面会就出去外面工作，这样子，女性偏向于家庭。所以家务一般都是妈妈做。

那当你变成妈妈的时候你也会跟你妈妈一样的去做吗?
Hong Xiang: 我应该会。会但是应该会叫我的丈夫帮我一起做。

你每天花的时间做家务多少?
Hong Xiang: 很少，对一般，有可能就十分钟，啊。但是，我们是会选择一个星期打扫主一次。如果打扫的时候时间会比较长，对就可能半个到一个小时吧，但是每天的话酒话的不多。

你经常去外面吃饭吗?
Hong Xiang: 对。

选饭店的时候有什么条件?
Hong Xiang: 基本上就选人气高的。然后看朋友推荐的一般就会比较多，然后味道。

你吃的饭有百分之多少是在家里吃的?
Hong Xiang: 百分之十吧。

真的啊。但是你在家里有厨房吗?
Hong Xiang: 有。

你为什么不更常常自己去做饭?
Hong Xiang: 因为比较忙。没有时间做。

除了工作以外，你还会做什么?
Hong Xiang: 嗯，因为我们，像我一周就有可能休息一天，那一天的话有可能会出去与朋友去玩。玩的内容就不太一样。所以先下来周一到有可能周六都在工作，现在一天的话有可能出去玩一下。

那早餐 中餐 晚餐 宵夜 一般吃什么?
Hong Xiang: 早餐我比较喜欢吃的是粥，包子和茶叶蛋。中餐一般会选择是公司的食堂。晚餐就比较随意一点，比较多的会在外面吃。

如果经济上不成问题，你会吃得跟现在怎么的不一样?
Hong Xiang: 会吃得更好。

哪里更好?

Hong Xiang: 吃大餐，觉得去饭店更多。

你认为的饭店会不同的吗?

Hong Xiang: 对。就会选择档次高一点。

你认为的饭店会不同的吗?

Hong Xiang: 以前的话会在，就是那个叫什么，菜场。然后现在的饭店什么的我会在网上买。

网上?

Hong Xiang: 对，淘宝，然后剩下的蔬菜，我们小区前面有一个小的蔬菜的店，会在那里买。

有什么好处?

Hong Xiang: 快，方便，因为就在楼下。

你怎么选择那个网络上的饭店呢?

Hong Xiang: 不是饭店是大米，因为就像有牌子的。对。有品牌的。

你信那边的卖家吗?

Hong Xiang: 呃，信，所以才去买。对。

你对那个蔬菜市场的卖家很熟悉了吗?

Hong Xiang: 不熟悉。但是我家小区下面的两家蔬菜店的老板比较熟悉。

你对哪个蔬菜市场的卖家很熟悉了吗?

Hong Xiang: 呃，百分之九十地信。

他们不会骗你吗?

Hong Xiang: 就在他们骗我，我也不知道。因为这个，我觉得食品的安全问题，因为他们没有标示然后，我不是很会挑这个看看有没有，包括新鲜不新鲜我也有可能挑不出来。所以就也没有办法去挑选。因为只有这样的两个选择。

你问过他们吗，如果你是分不出来他是不是新鲜的一个水果或者什么的，你会去问卖家一下吗?

Hong Xiang: 你就问他：这个新不新鲜是吗?

嗯，问他可不可以帮你

Hong Xiang: 帮我弄更新鲜的是吗？有的时候

会问。对，因为有的时候看看明显地如果是不好的，那我就会跟她说。

那个主要原料标签会不会看?

Hong Xiang: 不会。

那那个营养素参考值。

Hong Xiang: 不会。

有的牌子你比较会喜欢买吗?

Hong Xiang: 对，有了牌子会比较喜欢买。

哪些品牌?

Hong Xiang: 你要看买什么东西?

买东西的那些品牌。

Hong Xiang: 可是食物有很多呀，比如说有肉啊，有乱七八的，大米啊。

什么都可以，比方说肉呢

Hong Xiang: 肉没有品牌。肉一般我们都是切的。然后比如说我上网站需要买那个大米的时候，我就会看比如说有品牌，怎么金龙鱼的品牌。因为那个品牌啊我是知道的所以就会，可能，比较信任。对。比如说买油，然后油的话也会有一些品牌。我就会有品牌的。对。

所以你信的那些品牌，它们的名字就是...

Hong Xiang: 比如说像大米，就会叫金龙鱼，这是品牌的名称。所以就会比较相信。对。像对，还有，会看销量。

那是什么?

Hong Xiang: 销量就是有多少人买。比如说这个买的人多，在网络上，对那我就知道，有可能大家会比较喜欢这个，我就会买这个。

放心肉绿色 无公害有机 这些标签是什么意思？我不太清楚。

Hong Xiang: 呃，绿色食品... 绿色食品，我觉得这就差不多吧，都一样的意思，就是没有化学添加物质。

你一般会不会买这些这么标签的食物?

Hong Xiang: 如果有这些标签，呢以前的时候,
如果有这标签我会倾向于买这些标签的食物。后来发现有了这些标签的食物并不是真正的这个意思，我就没有这个倾向性了。

就觉得既然不可以相信这个是真正的- 
Hong Xiang: 真正的一个无公害的。有的时候它就，其实它这个，比如说鸡蛋，它这个其实，差别，一样的鸡蛋，但是呢他只要贴一个无公害的标示，它可能会买得很贵。但其实这个鸡蛋和没有贴的差不多的。所以后来我就没有这样的一个倾向性。

因为卖家也可以随便去贴
Hong Xiang: 因为我，在，我感觉在中国他没有一个监管，就是有一个法律的效应，比如说你这个，如果是呢，本来，如果是假的，去贴上这个标签他没有监管。所以说对我们老百
姓来说不是很可信。

你和朋友以前谈过食品安全问题吗?
Hong Xiang: 很少。

很少。
Hong Xiang: 哦，很多！因为，是这样子的，我有时候，自己主动是不谈，但是经常会有新闻说食品安全有问题，所以我们就会谈论。对，我想起来了。

那是因为要互相让知道吗?
Hong Xiang: 就是，看到新闻会讨论这个新闻。而有的新闻是关于食品安全的这个新闻。

你们有同一个意见吗?
Hong Xiang: 就是，有啊，就是食品真的不让人放心。这是我们意见。

你会不会谈一些可以防止危险的措施?
Hong Xiang: 会，就从，就自己种。比如说，我在这里，但我爸爸妈妈在那个，家里。然后爸爸妈妈的，比如说，爷爷奶奶这样子他们都
会自己种。然后自己种的蔬菜就会比较的安全。

所以你的爷爷奶奶会自己去种菜吗?
Hong Xiang: 奶奶会，但是我奶奶现在不在。

你的父亲跟你说了关于食品安全问题的什么吗?
Hong Xiang: 不这么说。因为我跟我父母住的比较远。

你的母亲有吗?
Hong Xiang: 也住得比较远。

对，但是她，你不是经常互相给打电话
Hong Xiang: 啊啊，嗯很少。

所以她关于食品安全问题有没有
Hong Xiang: 没有说。

没有。感觉确保自己吃的饭的安全性是一个很容易的吗?
Hong Xiang: 不容易，不容易。

你自己用什么措施防止关联的风险? 比如说，泡蔬菜几分钟，买放心肉。
Hong Xiang: 就很少。很少，因为我可能知道会有食品安全的问题，但是呢，首先自己做饭比较少，呢... 所以说好像很少会去有措施。

在你看来，中国人有什么机会防止关联的风险?
Hong Xiang: 监管。就要有一个法律的这个监管，会要好很多。

但是老百姓呢？要怎么做?
Hong Xiang: 老百姓啊，自己种。

觉得人人有机会一样多吗?
Hong Xiang: 什么机会？

防止风险，比如说，你的机会跟有钱的机会一样多吗?
Hong Xiang: 你有钱人和没有钱的？

比如说，打个比方。
Hong Xiang: 我觉得是这样子，就是，首先我们去买食品我是不知道它是好的还是不好的。

所以说如果我知道它是不好的有可能会有一些手段去防止。但如果我不知道它是好还是不
好有可能我就会比较仓促地就用这个食物了。对，是这样子的。

所以是看一下有没有知识，是吧。

Hong Xiang: 对，就是，我是觉得还是，觉得国家的问题吧，就因为现在食品安全会比较的严重嘛，所以我们有的时候会觉得，反正，都已经严重我也阻止不了。对吧，所以就有的时候就没有，法治没有想到要去监管么。对。

那你觉得有土地的人的机会更多吗？可以种菜的那些人。

Hong Xiang: 对，住在农村的人会一点。对。

所以城市里这个问题比较严格？

Hong Xiang: 对，因为城市里面的人，他们首先没有时间啊，就没有太多的时间去做饭啊，什么的。所以他们更多地就是在，就是，在外面吃。所以在外面吃的话呢，你自己就没有这个全的，怎么说，自己就很难去确保这个食品是安全或者不安全的。

你的食品安全信息和措施是从哪儿学习到的？

Hong Xiang: 食品安全...新闻。

在你看来，在一个普通的家庭里，谁应该确保孩子不收到影响？

Hong Xiang: 国家呀。对呀。首先肯定是国家呀。因为我们，因为本来，食品是有问题的，当大家要去买的时候，有可能只要考到这些背什么的知识，对吧。但是如果整个国家，整个食品安全都是很高的，那我去挑任何的事物的时候，就没有太大问题，对吧，所以就这个问题。

那就是谁的错误，这个问题，在中国？

Hong Xiang: 国家和商人。对，因为商人的话，有可能他们需要赚钱，所以他有可能就不会，就会比如说把不好的肉当成是好的肉，或者说会，会有水果，他们会吹熟啊，等等的，因为他们有这钱可以赚。但是呢，在价格情况，才有可能有些政府部门，他们也没有很严密地去打击。所以说，我是觉得是国家和商人。

End of Interview 8.
Interview 9: Wei Xuan

Duration: 18 minutes 11 seconds

Interviewee: “Wei Xuan”

26 yo, single, master student, student dorm, different city resident, 4+ years of higher education, low income.

Setting: Coffee shop, mid-day. Casual.

Notes: Has noted a very low income, yet appears to have rather high expenses, leading me to think she might be getting a substantial amount of financial support from her parents.

在你现在住的那个地方，你有哪些家务?
Wei Xuan: 因为我现在还是学生，住在学校里的宿舍，所以家务的话，一般都是我一个人的一些，洗衣物啊，或者... 吃饭的话，我一般可能会在外面或者在食堂解决，偶尔的话会自己泡面，除了这些方面的东西。所以家务可能就是个人洗衣服方面的家务。

在你的家庭里呢?
Wei Xuan: 在我的家庭，你指的是跟我的爸爸妈妈一起吗？爸爸妈妈家务的话，主要的是我妈妈做的比较多。烧饭 洗衣服。我个人的话就是打扫自己房间的卫生，还有自己的一些衣服的清洗需要，我在做。

为什么在你的家庭里是你妈妈来做这些的?
Wei Xuan: 因为中国传统的家庭模式来说的话，一般任务家庭的事情都是由女性主任来做。然后现在，如果跟爸爸妈妈生活在一起的话，这样的事情一般都是有女主任我妈妈来做。爸爸在外面上班比较忙。妈妈的话，上班比较轻松一点的话，然后呢，她可能整个家庭的打扫卫生啊，或者洗衣物做饭。她就已经比较习惯于做这些事情。而我的话，做一个孩子，回家一天，因为我在外面读书一年回家可能次数很少，所以说一回家我妈妈不会让我做这些事情，还是她自己来做得比较多。

当你会开你自己的一个家庭的时候你也会跟你的妈妈一样地去做吗?
Wei Xuan: 呢我觉得，应该会，但是我觉得，可能跟我妈妈不一样。因为我可能会自己的工作会比较忙。而且现在，你可以请保姆啊，或者男女比较公平了，可能有说：星期一星期二我来做，星期三星期四可能我丈夫来做。然后周末，打扫除整个打扫我倾向于到保姆来做，这样子。

你每天花的时间做家务多少?
Wei Xuan: 每天的时间的话，很少很少。十分钟嘛。

经常去外面吃饭吗?
Wei Xuan: 经常，因为在学校不能做饭，只能泡面 煮松面包啊 就是很简单的。但是不能每天都吃这些东西，所以一般的话都是在外面的小饭店里吃或者学校食堂吃。

选饭店的时候有什么条件?
Wei Xuan: 选饭店的条件的话，一般是卫生，然后食物的口味要是我喜欢的味道。卫生是很重要，因为你知道在中国她的一个食品安全问题还是很严峻的，特别你会有一些地沟油啊，什么的，不卫生的地方，特别是那些路边的小店，我肯定不会去吃。因为我觉得自己身体不好，负责人对自己。所以一般可能还会去选择那种看看是很干净的，然后评价好的，然后食物卫生的那种店会去吃的。
你买的那些饭一般会花费多少钱？

Wei Xuan: 因为你要去重卫生的条件要好的会像，会比你一般一边，旁边店贵一些。呃，一餐大概 40 块 50 块左右吧。然后我会点那种一份米饭，然后再点一个炒的菜，然后再点一份肉，的样子。群众小饭店里，不是吃那种快餐。

所以你大概每天花的钱是多少？

Wei Xuan: 每天花一百左右。挺多的，其实。相对于我学生来讲是挺贵的。

对，我也觉得。早餐 中餐 晚餐 宵夜 一般吃什么？

Wei Xuan: 我一般不吃早餐因为急不来。所以中餐- 而且不会吃宵夜我觉得宵夜很不卫生，而且中国的宵夜一般都是烧烤啊，你懂的，就很不卫生。然后一般都是吃午饭会吃得比较多一点，然后晚饭吃得少因为我减肥呀，健身肥晚饭吃不太多。午饭的话就是外面饭店吃或者学校食堂。其实学校的食堂相对于外面来说卫生很多。因为它它需要保证你整个学校学生的一个食品安全问题，所以它肯定会比外面卫生很多。所以可能，食堂只是的话，可能，15 块钱差不多的，还可以。

如果经济上不成问题，你会吃的跟现在怎么办一样？

Wei Xuan: 啊经济上不成问题的话那肯定会吃得 选择饭店会档次更高一点。然后，因为可能你选择食材，比如说你就去那种大超市那种有机的蔬菜或者有机的水果。水果其实很贵，现在在中国。有时候有些水果比肉还要贵。你随便慢慢选果的话，有时候就花三四十块钱，然后这只是一个零食而已啊，不是正餐。那可能如果经济上符合的话，会选择一些品质高一点的，好一点的食物。

你喜欢吃肉的吗？

Wei Xuan: 一般都在附近的大超市里面。比如说沃尔玛啊，世纪联华啊，这些超市里面。因为它这种潮湿买的人很多，它肯定每天都保证很新鲜，而且它的质量肯定会没有问题的。我不喜欢去那种菜场买菜，因为我觉得 很脏，很乱，人很多。

你有一个比较喜欢去的一个地方买菜吗？

Wei Xuan: 菜场的话，那就是沃尔玛吧，因为离学校近一点。

你对卖家熟悉了吗？

Wei Xuan: 卖家？超市员工吗？不熟悉！

你信不信卖家？

Wei Xuan: 应该还是比较相信的。既然我选择他肯定还是会相信他，但是你买回来的东西还是要经过自己的清洗啊或者煮啊，过程中就是要注意，毕竟不是说每样东西都能保证它的卫生安全的。

食物的主要原料标签会不会看？

Wei Xuan: 会看，特别会看卡路里的热量。

营养素参考值也会看？

Wei Xuan: 营养素这些偶尔看一下。呃，可能会看一下那种，嗯我要讲一点什么，不会看得很仔细，因为它里面有一些化学成分我自己也不认识，但是如果有很多添加剂的话，我就不会去买它。我一般会选择比较少的添加剂，比较 simple 的那种简单的东西。

看得出来是比较自然的

Wei Xuan: 对，original 的那种，fresh

有的牌子或者食物的品牌你会比较会相信吗？

Wei Xuan: 对吧，会相信一个大牌子的东西。一些，呃，比如说蔬菜的话可能这些没有什么牌子的。但是是吃的一些面包啊，或者什么饼干啊，这些东西肯定会认为一些相对品，然后麦片我可能会选择都是进口的。国产的一些东西我可能 会买得比较少一点。

放心肉绿色有机无公害这么标签的食物，就是什么意思？我不太清楚。

Wei Xuan: 因为我家在中国背景下它很多，比
比如说，新闻，比如说，有些事物它都是不安全的，所以在这种情况下有些商家会做一些标签说，我们的食物是放心的。他的猪的养殖过程，然后它的包装和运作都是合格未经过检疫的。所以他会贴这些标签，呢绿色 无公害，然而信任一些买家的主意。然后当然，可能他确实比一些小作坊啊或者那种小的工场出来的东西质量好。但是是不是完全符合了他所贴的那个标签的要求的话，我觉得还是值得去研究的。并不说完全地相信他。

那你研究过了什么?
Wei Xuan: 没有研究过。

但是它们之间有没有什么差别吗，比如说我不知道这个绿色跟无公害有什么差别吗?
Wei Xuan: 无公害的话可能就是，嗯比如说你的塑料，它能不能够降解，英文我不知道，忘记怎么说。就是塑料的话它是 not recycling。它可能，所以说，它的那个食物的包装的话，它可能用的不是塑料，是其他的一些东西，这样你把它扔到地下的时候，它可能就会，自己的就会慢慢地腐烂，这样子。这种方面的可能是无公害。绿色的话就是蔬菜啊，又记得一下东西会比较多一点，有机蔬菜，这些可能是绿色的。

那有机跟绿色有什么差别呢?
Wei Xuan: 有机的话...
我不知道为什么有这么多标签，就说明它...
Wei Xuan: 有机的话，有机就是不是一种，有几跟无机。具体我也不很清楚啊，我就需要 google 一下。

你经常会买这种标签的食物吗?
Wei Xuan: 哦对，我会买这种，这些方面的食物。

你和朋友以前谈过食品安全问题了吗?
Wei Xuan: 嗯谈论过。

你们同意吗，有同一个意见?
Wei Xuan: 嗯对，我们大体是相通的。比如说，我们以前谈过在中国全是有很多，呃。在外国，因为我们国外生活过知道国外的很多蔬菜水果都是非常新鲜。而且是觉得是，比我，像，有 not toxic 无毒的，就是比较健康的。但是在中国你因为中国人实在太多了，然后有很多小的那种 factory，他们会生产一些不健康的食物，然后地沟油啊。可能很多的中国人已经习惯地沟油了。他们都觉得，呃，没有那么危险吗?

Wei Xuan: 对，没有那么危险，因为他们都觉得他们从小都是吃到大的，觉得身体已经习惯了，但是我觉得这是一个很可怕的一件事情。在最，因为你从超越能来说，你对一件事情，一件安安事情坏事的事情你习惯的话，呃你，你的身体可能在你慢慢到时候能守好你的身体我就不知道所以，所以很多中国人是亚健康的。不是很健康，是亚健康的。所以...

你的朋友有这个意见吗，就是，已经习惯了
Wei Xuan: 对，朋友他说他已经习惯了，呃，他说地沟油我们习惯啦我们身体不，不会害怕这些东西啊。然后我就觉得那我就无法啊，你肯定要去，不能说你以前是这样子，你意识到这个事情不好就也不去改变它。所以说你就尽量要去选择好的餐馆，呃然后然后或者自己家里自己做饭。这样健康一些。

你和你的朋友用一样的措施来防止这些风险吗?
Wei Xuan: 没有。我朋友觉得地沟油很香，很好吃。他很喜欢吃夜宵。

但是有的朋友有这个意见，有的跟一样吧
Wei Xuan: 哦对，有的跟我一样。特别是到国外去来的朋友，他们以后都是跟我一样，他们喜欢吃那种沙拉新鲜的，然后牛排自己煎一下就比较卫生，或者用橄榄油自己家里做饭。

你的父亲跟你说过了关于食品安全问题的什么吗?
Wei Xuan: 爸爸没有说，但是妈妈在杭州生活学习，我爸妈在宁波上班。他们就会说，啊你不要去外面吃东西，外面都不卫生不健康，最好在学校食堂吃，因为食堂的话它会有一个很高的标准，要保证你学生的一个身体的健康，嗯，所以说它会相对有比外面卫生一点。他会跟你说这些事情。

感觉确保自己吃的饭的安全性是容易的吗?
Wei Xuan: 呃，呃......挺难的。因为有些饭店你看你不觉得很干净，觉得挺卫生的，但实际上它怎么样你还是不知道。厨房也不能进去看，它用的是什么材料。

你用什么错事防止风险呢?
Wei Xuan: 尽量不去外面吃嘛。

但是你不是跟我一样的？每天都去外面吃饭。
Wei Xuan: 对，要外面吃，那我就只能选，或者全家 family mart 会有那种新鲜的沙拉蔬菜啊。这些可能健康一些。

在你看来，中国人口之中有什么机会防止关联的风险？人人机会一样多吗?
Wei Xuan: 首先你处在哪个城市又是不一样。比如说，北京上海的话，可能相对于这些方面更注意一些。然后在一些不是很发达的城市的话，呢，可能就没有那么多重视这方面的东西，然后，主要是人们的观念。可能你受的教育程度不一样。然后，你对这些方面的重视程度也是不一样的。比如说，你可能是一个只读过小学初中的人，可能这方面的意识，那你受过高中的教育，你去过国外你知道国外的食品安全是怎么样的一个标准的话，你可能就会对自己有一个更高的要求，然后对自己所选择的东西更高的要求。我觉得每个人的机会都是不一样的。

你觉得这个风险是公平的分布的吗？
Wei Xuan: 应该不是

哪里觉得不是？
Wei Xuan: 比如说，如果你是一个领导，政府里的人，你的食物的来源肯定就是比外面一般普通的人，他们的来源更好一些。对不对。这是肯定的，（laughs）是工的。

我也听说过。你的食品安全信息是从哪儿学习到的？
Wei Xuan: 媒体网络，然后自己慢慢一点积累起来的吧。

在你看来，在一个普通家庭里，谁应该确保孩子的健康?
Wei Xuan: 父母嘛。在家庭里面的话，应该是父母。然后是在外面的孩子的话，那肯定在外面看就是学校的。

富豪这个责任有什么挑战？
Wei Xuan: 啊，因为我还没有孩子，但是呢我觉得挑战应该就是有啊。你每天如果要保证孩子的食物健康，那肯定要从开始买菜做饭全部都是自己来做这些事情。你可能一天两天一个星期觉得可能还好。时间一久了会觉得很累很麻烦，讨厌。（I laugh）自己家里到外面上班了回到家还要做饭。

有那些阿姨可以帮你么
Wei Xuan: 对，如果经济条件好的话，可能就请阿姨，对吧。所以这样就不公平啊，你看有钱人就可以请阿姨，然后买那种好的贵的食材。那一般的人他们没有这个条件，他们只能在外面吃那种十块二十块那种快餐。

不公平。
Wei Xuan: 不公平。那没有办法。

你对中国的食品安全问题有什么意见？食品安全问题是谁的错误和责任？
Wei Xuan: 呃，我觉得也不能说是谁的错误和责任。因为你有这样的人去选择吃这些东西他才会吃这样的市场，是不是。如果你每个人都，啊不要吃地沟油了，那人家也不会去做这方面的东西。

End of Interview 9.
Interview 10: Mo Yun

Duration: 26 minutes 33 seconds

Interviewee: “Mo Yun”

42, married, 10 yo son, public college teacher, husband full-time public employee
Hangzhou resident, 4+ years of higher education, middle class income.

Setting: Park bench outside a city centre Church, mid-day. Casual.

Notes: Interviewee 11 Mo Ya’s older sister

你结了婚吗?
Mo Yun: 是的。

在你的家庭里你有哪些责任?
Mo Yun: 在我的家里面主要的责任是那个, 就是,照顾好家里的人,比如说要管孩子的学习啊, 还有, 还有做家务啊。嗯。

大概是你来主这些责任吗?
Mo Yun: 对, 主要的责任应该是管理家庭嘛, 让家里人吃得好, 那个, 环境更漂亮一点, 啊, 就是生活得更舒适一点, 啊。

你的家庭里有几位?
Mo Yun: 三个, 我丈夫, 我孩子, 还有我。

为什么这些是你的责任, 而不是比如说你的丈夫的责任?
Mo Yun: 哦, 应该说我, 中国比较传统的吧, 我丈夫可能主要是赚钱, 啊。呃, 当然他也有责任照顾孩子啊。比如说, 我觉得现在就是一个比较完美的一个家庭嘛, 应该特别是小孩子叫应该是父亲来参与进来, 那会是更好一些。啊。

所以你是很乐意地去做吗?
Mo Yun: 应该说我还是乐意的, 应该乐意的。但家务呢, 我们家里啊, 应该说我丈夫也是分担一些的。呢比如说搞卫生擦地, 那个, 拖地板, 啊, 洗碗他会参与的。平时他也会带孩子出去玩。

你的家庭的责任是一个很容易的事情吗?
有什么挑战?
Mo Yun: 啊, 也不太容易的啊。嗯, 比如说, 可能现在可能更大的是对孩子的教育啊, 我们要呢, 要呢, 要给就是负责起来啊。比如说他成绩不好了或者说, 或说季节的变化, 那个, 身体容易感冒啊生病啊, 就是这方面都是要考虑到, 就是所谓家长让他健康方面啊也要。就健康的成长啊, 同时学业也要比较好。

你每天花的时间做家务多少?
Mo Yun: 每天家务三个小时有的, 三个小时。

那也是包括做饭吗?
Mo Yun: 包括做饭, 这个当然不包括给孩子辅导功课, 不包括。

不包括吗?
Mo Yun: 对, 包括那会更多。

哇塞, 真厉害。那如果你忙没时间买菜或者做饭, 你们吃什么?
Mo Yun: 没有时间可能就去外面那个餐馆吃一些, 嗯。

你的丈夫会做饭吗?
Mo Yun: 他偶尔会做, 他做饭很少, 但他可能更喜欢搞卫生方面。

你经常去外面吃饭吗?
Mo Yun: 没有经常, 但一周可能会一到两次。

那是你自己还是你跟你的家人一起去?
Mo Yun: 一般跟家人一起吧，嗯。
一般有什么原因?
Mo Yun: 一般可能，比如说，比如说现在孩子
在外面上课了，我们可能都在外面忙了，那么
就在外面吃饭了再回家。
选饭店的时候有什么条件?
Mo Yun: 嗯，应该是，就是，环境比较好，比
较，卫生方面比较干净啊，嗯比较干净增杰。
你有什么方法看得出来它是干净还是不干
净?
Mo Yun: 一般回旋经常去的那一家餐馆啊。再
还有一个，也要，看有时候会看一下那个手
机上，那个 app 上有大众点评啊什么的。
看它的评分是高然后可以去?
Mo Yun: 对。
你们自己种菜吗?
Mo Yun: 我很想自己种菜啊，但是现在没有条
件（laughs）。
种菜有什么方法，是在家里去种菜还是要去租
一个小土地的那个?
Mo Yun: 我有听说过人家好到乡下租一块地，
有，但是我现在条件不允许呢。但但是我想可
能在你阳台种些葱啊，呢种几个辣椒什么的
的可行的。
但是现在没有。
Mo Yun: 现在没有。以前种过但种不好，都死
掉了。
你们都吃一样的菜或者都吃地不同?
Mo Yun: 每天？你指的是全家人吧?
嗯。
Mo Yun: 应该差不多吧，应该都吃的。但每天
的菜尽量不同，每天尽量吃不同的菜。
早餐 中餐 晚餐 夜宵 一般吃什么?
Mo Yun: 早餐呢，一般是稀饭）啊。那么稀饭
一般有一个蔬菜，一般我一个早餐会做一个鸡
蛋炒黄瓜，或者鸡蛋炒莴笋，或者白煮蛋，就
是鸡蛋肯定是要有的啊这个稀饭。然后呢，加
分面包，有的时候是面包跟那个，面包牛奶哈。
有的时候呢是豆浆加一些馒头，这样。
你在哪里买你的食物?
Mo Yun: 我一般是超市里买的。
是一个特色的超市么?
Mo Yun: 就是世纪联华，因为我们家旁边有一
个很大的 supermarket。
世纪联华是很大的吗，我的。
Mo Yun: 是的，它是比较大的。因为这一家它
好像是政府部门投资开的一家超市。
真的?
Mo Yun: 嗯，它有大有小，一般就是有很多
连锁店。
那个菜市场会去吗?
Mo Yun: 菜市场，我取得比较少，一般是那个
肉类的，哈，在超市买，然后像蔬菜青菜叶类
的菜，有叶子的菜，我是到那个菜场里面去的。
如果经济上不成问题你会吃根它现在怎么不一
样?
Mo Yun: 那可能，吃地不一样可能会应该会更
多样化一点啊。一个是经济上，还有一个是时
间上啊。其实我也很想学会做一些西式的典型
啊，比如说烤蛋糕啊什么的。但我现在还没有
时间去学，我有时间我想会做这一些啊。比如说
自己烤一个披萨。我以前也做过，但是好像
做得不是太好。
那你现在大部分的时间使用做什么?
Mo Yun: 现在呢，学英语呗考试，哈哈哈。
但是平时?
Mo Yun: 平时的话我工作上面啊，要那个上课
呑，要备课啊，什么也很挺忙的。还要带那个
毕业生带实习生。像现在蛮忙地给他们带他们
那个毕业实习毕业设计修改论文啊什么的。
所以不仅是一个经济方面的-
Mo Yun: 对，是的。

购买各种食物的时候有什么条件?
Mo Yun: 购买食物最主要的还是食品安全啊。所以我是要尽量买有品牌的啊，但是现在食品安全这个话题说起来真的很难说啊。有的有品牌的呃，像一些肉啊什么，好像也会有新闻爆出来说是存在食品安全问题。所以也很难说。反正我就是一般去超市去买。感觉放心一点，但是也为必要也不一定就是一定没有问题了，哈哈。。。

那，你吃的那些蔬菜呢，有没有什么标签?
Mo Yun: 蔬菜我好像也很少在超市里买蔬菜啊，但有时候会买。比如说在一个礼拜去一次超市那就带一点蔬菜回来。但蔬菜我觉得还是新鲜为主吧。

所以去那个菜场?
Mo Yun: 对对

那边的卖家你认识吗？你对他熟悉了吗?
Mo Yun: 卖家认识，熟悉。

所以信不信他?
Mo Yun: 还是比较相信的，还有我看，那个，买的人特别多，所以我就去他那边买。

他是农家吗？还是只是卖家?
Mo Yun: 卖家，也是卖家。他就专门做蔬菜批发销售的。

但是是他们种的吗，种的菜?
Mo Yun: 应该不是，应该也是批发市场的。哈，也有一家是，就像你说的，他们在一村长里面种的送过来定点销售也有。

你平时会问卖家这些蔬菜来自哪里吗?
Mo Yun: 呢，会问吧，但是熟悉了也就不问啦反正就是这样的。

食物的主要原料标签会不会看?
Mo Yun: 会看，会看。

营养素参考值呢?
Mo Yun: 那个一般不看（laughs）一般不看。

那看你原料标签是为了看到什么的?
Mo Yun: 也要看熟悉的东西。我看一些不熟悉的食品会看。主要比如说看它，那个，食品的添加剂啊成分多不多。尽量是不买那个有添加剂的，少吃哈。

你信标签的信息吗?
Mo Yun: 应该说还是信吧，还是信。

有的牌子你喜欢买吗，为什么?
Mo Yun: 呢，就是买固定的品牌是吧？一般会买固定的牌子。

什么品牌呢?
Mo Yun: 像，比如说，肌肉啊，超市里面就，什么，就，一个叫 tai4shen1 品牌，像牛肉吧反正，那个联华超市现在也没有什么好选择，就是有一家卖牛肉的。猪肉有两家品牌。这样。

那你是怎么选择这些品牌的?
Mo Yun: 其实，其实品牌说起来也不太多啊，其实也没有很多的选择余地（yu2di4 room, leeway, margin）。像世纪联华吧，它尽量就是这么三四的品牌。反正就换得吃比如今天吃这个，明天吃那个，就换的牌子子。

你有没有听说过自己对食品安全问题？有没有了解过?
Mo Yun: 会了解吧，有的是新闻里面啊了解一些。

但是，比如说，你有没有去上过网搜索那些品牌的?
Mo Yun: 货品过程存在过什么问题？这个好像没有特异性的搜索搜索。

放心肉绿色有机无公害这些标签是什么意思？我不太清楚。
Mo Yun: 呢，放心肉啊。像杭州吧，有两个牌子：联合抗抗，还有一个 san4bo2shi4 啊。这两个，反正超市里面应该把关的，所以我还是信很大超市，就信很大超市。
但是这个标签是什么意思?
Mo Yun: 它的意思就是，比如说有的肉它可能
会有比较多的激素，成长的激素。或者有的牛
肉听说什么注水牛肉啊。那么至少放心肉的话
就是不存在这样的。如果有的话。
那你平时是买这个放心肉的吗?
Mo Yun: 对对对。
绿色呢?
Mo Yun: 绿色的话，指的是绿色食品哦? 呢，
有的就是，有，像蔬菜吧，有机的养殖的，所
以有机，我想就是，应该没有放那种，呢... 比
如说，也是添加激素的，有的蔬菜会被打死很
多的农药的，呃应该或者说是，即使它打了农
药也是到了这个农药的挥发的限期以后才踩
在的。那应该还算绿色的，放心吧。哦，绿
色的应该是不打农药的！嗯，应该是不打农药
的。或者说我比我讲的打农药的过的那个农药有
有效期，这个还算放心吧。应该，我想到了夏
天啊，其实，很多蔬菜都是要打农药的。
但是它跟有机有什么不一样的吗?
Mo Yun: 有机应该是不放农药的，就是，它可
能会放一些化肥，也是就是天然的化肥，不是
合成的那种。
你和朋友以前谈过食品安全问题了吗?
Mo Yun: 也谈过吧。主要是，主要是因为小孩
子小，可能特别会注意这方面问题啊。呃，对。
他们说什么? 和你的意见一样吗?
Mo Yun: 对，反正就是，比如说，买蔬菜不能
买那个反季节蔬菜啊。所谓的反季节就是说，
比如说黄瓜一般是夏天生长的啊自然生长的，
那么冬天买的或者春天买的黄瓜可能是放了
很多的激素了，就要少吃，就要尽量不吃。
那你也是随季节的去买蔬菜吗?
Mo Yun: 对尽量要买，就是，自然环境下生长
的，自然的蔬菜。
你们用的措施也是一样吗? 比如说，这个也是
个措施，然后别的人会说他们会把那些蔬菜泡
在水里面一段时间
Mo Yun: 嗯，对，这个呢，其实，像刚才说反
季节蔬菜肯定是没有用的啊，我想。但是有的
放了农药了泡到水里，应该会有一点用嘛，特
别是有叶子的这种蔬菜啊。
有别的措施吗，防止关联的风险?
Mo Yun: 就买来的菜的风险了是吧?
就是，食品安全的大问题，基本上的问题的风
险，就有没有什么措施来防止受到影响?
Mo Yun: 就是买来的菜尽量的比较健康了，或者说买
来不安全的话，我尽量给它吃下去安全一点了。
这个措施，这个好像也没有更多的措施啦，就
像你说的吧，泡在水里泡一下。或者，我听说
是放点那个食盐啊，就是，盐，
可以。
Mo Yun: 呃，还有有的时候放点小苏打，说那
个农药是酸性的，好像要放一点小苏打是有碱
性的嘛，然后可能会取出农药，有这个作用。
但是我也没这么去做。
为什么?
Mo Yun: 可能还是没有这个习惯吧。
那你是怎么听到这个措施?
Mo Yun: 对对对，有看到过一些报纸啊，什么
的，有一些新闻上会这么说。
你的父亲跟你说过了关于食品安全的说法
吗?
Mo Yun: 也有吧。有。比如说，尽量去外面的
那个，吃一些，外面的餐馆吃要少。到外面吃，
老人肯定，一个是节约啊，还有一个是确实可
能外面的餐馆有的时候会有质量问题，就是。比
如说牛肉吧，他可能会加了很多色素，或者
有的甚至是假的肉，那个，比如说其他的一
些肉，或者人工合成的什么东西当作牛肉来卖，
可能有这个情况。
所以你的父亲会这么说?
Mo Yun: 嗯对

你的母亲呢？她的意见一样吗？

Mo Yun: 差不多吧，是。

有没有什么差别？

Mo Yun: 好像，目前想不起来没有什么。

感觉确保自己吃的饭的安全性是容易的吗？

Mo Yun: 哎呀，其实也不是太容易了，有的时候防不胜防，所以人家说我们中国人是百度不清啊，呃读的东西太多了我们有的时候集体已经有了这两个意识，已经有了一定的免疫力，可能。

在你看来中国人有什么机会防止这风险，人人都有机会一样多吗？

Mo Yun: 觉得最好是一自做的食品，自己采购自己做的食品会，相对来说，稍微好一点吧。人人都有机会是一样多的吗？

Mo Yun: 应该不一样嘛，我觉得像我们学校里的学生，其实可能存在的风险会大一些。因为他们，比如说，一批食物买来食堂里面啊，有的时候可能会买的，可能会不新鲜一点或者怎么样。或者如果有食物中毒的话，他们的关联的风险就会大的，因为它是同样的一批原料买进来的。啊或者夏天，那个，怎么，哪一环节消毒工作没有做好可能是，一些食品受到污染了，或者剩菜啊，剩的肉，它有重新加热了给学生吃啊。那么可能这个风险会更大一些吧。我就是有这个。

你觉得学生又只是没有成人的一样多吗？

Mo Yun: 对，而且学生有的时候他没的选择，他可能他都在外面吃。一个是学校的食堂，还有可能觉得外面的一些快餐店什么的。一个是考虑到价格的原因，而且这些快餐店可能餐厅啊，什么，消毒都不是太好。所以我觉得他们的风险比较大。而且的关联风险是不是这样的呀。比如说食堂里面出现了问题，可能一批人都会受到食物的比如说中毒的话，那么有一批人可能都会产生那个关联的风险了，我是这么理解。

你觉得风险在中国人口之中是公平的分布了吗？

Mo Yun: 对，这个，我就是刚才的这个问题，我觉得可能，不公平，可能就是说学校的食堂管理，就是学生可能风险会更大一些。

还有吗？有学生，...

Mo Yun: 嗯，对。那像我们家，相对来说我们自己家庭的，自己采购的可能风险会小一些吧。比如说，城市跟农村有没有不一样的

Mo Yun: 哦城市跟农村，农村的话，呃，可能如果自己种的菜自己吃那我觉得应该会降低很多风险的，会更好一些。

你的食品安全信息和措施是从哪儿学习到的？

Mo Yun: 那可能，新闻啊，网上啊，反正就自己，或者跟别人就交流啊。

在你看来，在一个普通家庭里谁应该确保孩子不受影响？

Mo Yun: 这个主要应该是，就是，呃，家庭主妇吧，谁管采购的啊，买采购食品的。

负责这个责任有什么挑战？

Mo Yun: 买的东西要买好一点的食品啊。质量要过关的。现在像做，主要也就是超市买就是个途径啊，超市还有那个菜场啊。

你觉得中国的食品安全问题有什么意见？食品安全问题是谁的错误和责任？

Mo Yun: 食品监管问题的话，我觉得这个应该就是政府部门肯定是有责任的。像有的猪肉，它的饲养过程当中添加的一些药物一些激素，或者像一些肉啊，为他长得更快啊，那么，他会加一些激素啊什么的让它，就是缩短它的成长期，那么像这些问题我们普通百姓是不可能去控制的。那只由通过政府部门地去监管。

End of Interview 10.
Interview 11: Mo Ya

Duration: 28 minutes 2 seconds

Interviewee: “Mo Ya”

40 yo, married, 6 yo son, part-time self-employed journalist, husband full-time in private sector, Hangzhou resident, 4+ years of higher education.

Setting: Park bench outside a city centre Church, mid-day. Casual.

Notes: Interviewee 10 Mo Yun’s younger sister

你结了婚吗?
Mo Ya: 嗯, 结了婚。

在你的家庭里有几位?
Mo Ya: 三位, 我，我先生，然后我们儿子。

在你的家庭里你有哪些责任?
Mo Ya: 这个，好像比较难回答，家庭责任可能一个是夫妻之间会有，跟先生之间会有互相的一个责任。然后还有，对，我们中国可能是对于孩子责任可能会多一点，因为毕竟很小很多东西需要你去，生活上还有其他的对他的各方面的，就这方面的，对孩子责任。

所以孩子的那些责任比较多。
Mo Ya: 相对来说会多一点，然后，还有就是说像我父母，因为现在年纪大了，所以身体不好，那么可能还有对父母可能还有一点的照顾。

所以你也会偶尔去，偶尔陪她去医院吗?
Mo Ya: 他现在是，像我父母，其实生活在家，那么可能会，跟我弟弟一起生活，那么可能会稍微少一点。如果他回杭州来，在杭州，那么可能我们就会更多的去陪伴他。

那，你在你的家庭里是谁来做饭还有买食物?
Mo Ya: 买食物做饭... 我们还有，就是说，有时候就，还有它孩子奶奶有时候会跟我

你们吃的饭有百分之多少是在家里吃的?
Mo Ya: 那应该还是在家里吃的，因为如果奶奶在的话，应该可能还是在家里吃的时间更多一点。

那你比如说一个星期或者一个月几次会去外面吃饭?
Mo Ya: 一个星期会有三四次吧。

选饭店的时候有什么条件?
Mo Ya: 条件，可能，还是简单方便店更多吧。简单方便就是什么?

因为她不在的时候你们，就是，一般是你会做饭还是你们会去外面吃饭?
Mo Ya: 都有可能，因为像，如果好像两个人都比较空，或者三个人都会在家里，那么可能是在家里吃饭。然后不来的话，可能就去外面吃饭。

你经常不在吗?
Mo Ya: 呃... 也... 在的相对来说，在的时间多一点，不在的时间少一点。

那你不在的时候你们，就是，一般是你会做饭还是你们会去外面吃饭?
Mo Ya: 都有可能，因为像，如果好像两个人都比较空，或者三个人都会在家里，那么可能是在家里吃饭。然后不来的话，可能就去外面吃饭。

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Mo Ya: 一个应该还是在家里吃的，因为如果奶奶在的话，应该可能还是在家里吃的时间更多一点。

那你比如说一个星期或者一个月几次会去外面吃饭?
Mo Ya: 一个星期会有三四次吧。

三四次。一般由什么原因?
Mo Ya: 一般可能因为小孩子可能带出去上课啊什么，时间不及，那肯定就这外面吃饭。

选饭店的时候有什么条件?
Mo Ya: 条件，可能，还是简单方便店更多吧。简单方便就是什么?

因为他们3:18 shang4 nian2 gong1学，那可能会选择 shangniangong 附近的简单的餐厅。
那简单就是,比如说,味道好吗?
Mo Ya: 味道,味道说实话,味道味道,这个东西-
或者你注重的方面是什么,是,呢,方便去就是离你很近吗?
Mo Ya: 一个是离学生地方近。另外一个,就是说,可能还是干净更主要的,干净安全更重要,因为你也知道中国的食品卫生食品安全问题比较严重所以我们尽量避免在外面吃饭,那如果没办法可能得选一件,不一定是讲究口味,那口味可能,就是,会意味着调味添加剂啊,各方面的,会放得更多。
那你怎么样看得出来一个地方干净的?有什么方法?
Mo Ya: 这就是看不出来,就是说依凭感觉。眼睛看起来相对来说比较干净一点,可能是这种,仅仅是这种感觉而已。
对了,那个微生物就看不到。
Mo Ya: 那肯定看不到。
你出去吃饭花的钱一般是多少?
Mo Ya: 一般像他们我跟小朋友两个人一起,跟孩子两个人一起的话,那么就是一百块左右吧。那人多,肯定会增加。那我们两个人其实很多,可能就是旁边去上课啊什么的吃一点快餐,所以说什么类的。
你们自己种菜吗?
Mo Ya: 不种菜。
你们都能吃一样的菜或者都吃得不同?
Mo Ya: 基本上我,不是很接近吧,小孩子可能不太喜欢吃蔬菜类的,蔬菜类吃得不多一些。那我个人可能更倾向于蔬菜类的东西,蔬菜这一类的东西。
早餐 中餐 晚餐 一般吃什么?
Mo Ya: 早餐我们家因为先生胃不是很好,所以他可能吃粥比较多一点,吃粥比较多一点。然后我们儿子可能喜欢吃三文治啊这一类的,面包这一类可能更多一点。
你呢?
Mo Ya: 我好想介乎两的中间嘛有时候吃粥,有时候跟着他吃。
所以你们是一起吃,但是你们吃的菜不一样?
Mo Ya: 因为早餐一个时间都不同,就是孩子早一点可能就每个人时间短也不一样。也就是说晚餐其实我们晚餐才会大家一起吃饭。
那就是他的奶奶给你们做的吗?
Mo Ya: 他奶奶在的话是奶奶做。他奶奶可能就是做粥啊什么的,如果孩子要其他的那可能让我来做。
在你的家庭里买菜的一半是谁?
Mo Ya: 菜要么是奶奶,要么是我。
有一个地方你比较喜欢去吗?
Mo Ya: 买菜啊,买,什么意思?
比如说你比较喜欢去那个菜场或者一个大超市或者一个小超市?
Mo Ya: 可能还是菜场多一点,因为我们家超市可能距离还是有点,比较,大的超市离我们家有点远。然后我们楼下也有一个超市,但是那边因为比较小它卖的菜不是很新鲜。
如果经济上不成问题,你会吃得怎么样不一?
Mo Ya: 不一样?
会吗?
Mo Ya: 不一样,是不是?一般都是尽量会每餐都会尽量有点不一样。
我的意思是你会吃的跟现在什么的不一样吗,如果经济上不成问题,你会改变自己的饭?
Mo Ya: 我想,可能好像变化不太大的。
所以你现在挺满意的吧?
Mo Ya: 挺满意的?
对你现在吃的饭就挺满意的,就喜欢你吃的-
得很重要，也不是这样吧。
你看的重要是什么，在你生活中？
Mo Ya: 在我生活中觉得重要的... 重要我们可能... 这个很难描述的一个问题。
对，就是比较大的一个问题。
Mo Ya: 对... 先重要... 对啊，我都 (laughs) 这个问题我真的没有好好的想过。可能希望生活，可能更重要，其实想开了都不是很重要。就没一个剪断可能会不一样，现在的剪断可能一个是身体健康方面可能会比较看重。另外就孩子的教育，孩子的重要也就是单单重要的，其实教育也可以包括他的成长啊。这一方面很重要，然后希望就是说，呃... 还有呢...
你是怎么保护你的健康？
Mo Ya: 健康其实最重要的可能还是休息的时间的保证吧。每天很多事情，像手机呀，这些方面的都会占有你很多时间。可能最后能要说可能就是睡眠时间。其实我觉得最重要可能还是睡眠比较重要的。
那你现在在你的生活中觉得忙吗？
Mo Ya: 我... 应该还不算很忙吧。
你有工作吗？
Mo Ya: 我的工作是自己，应该说时间比较自由就是说，我是撰稿人，就写稿子
写稿？
Mo Ya: 这个， 写文章，或者说哦。你在一个星期上班吗？
Mo Ya: 没有，没有。就是说，我是会给报社，像杂志社提供稿件，这样子。
那你一个月一般上几天班？
Mo Ya: 这个没有确定，一般我会每天送孩子送完，呃，送孩子上学，然后以后家里可能家务事情做一点，然后完了以后结束这些事情，大概是九点半左右，差不多我就开始自己来工作。然后一般到下午小孩子回来大概四点左右
就是说过了关于食品安全问题的什么吗？

Mo Ya: 我父亲的对这方面可能更加若一点, 
他可能更加很辨识吧。这个, 这个东西并比, 
其实, 其实我觉得就像, 呢, 我先生的妈妈他 
原来是农村里生活, 她有, 自己种过菜, 但是 
她对这方面的, 这个东西并比, 也不一定能识别。因 
为这种东西都是, 而农药啊, 这类都是化学, 
这种, 其实是肉也是很难识别。那他们茶品肉 
他也会觉得有虫子咬过的他可能会觉得更好 
但事实上其实也不是一定, 对呀, 对不对。

你觉得前一年代的意见跟你是一样的吗?

Mo Ya: 那肯定会有不一样。

关于那个食品安全问题

Mo Ya: 食品安全, 其实要防御我们谈的就会... 
其实每个人都会有同样的感觉, 就很无力感, 
就是说不会, 我们知道安全或者不安全, 但是 
我们知道没有办法去改变它。很多手指能被动 
的举携手。

你有牌子或者, 那个, 品牌你会比较相信吗? 
或者喜欢买

Mo Ya: 一般可能去超市里买, 那么菜场里没 
有这方面的概念, 如过去超市里买, 那么有时 
候会选下所谓的有机产品, 但是这类也是很难 
疑虽然它价格会贵很多但是感觉还是不是很 
可信的。

（interrupted by her son）

食物的原料标签会不会看?

Mo Ya: 一般是会看 
那个营养价值参考值?

Mo Ya: 一般还是会选择, 其实我们吃东西还 
是比较, 可能是不太愿意特别的越来越不愿意 
优先尝试先新的东西, 可能会经常买的一些品 
牌, 那么信赖度稍微高一点, 经常买的东西会 
重复够的。

你有没有教育过自己一些品牌的产生方法?

Mo Ya: 好像我, 那个, 一般可能就是经常买 
的, 或者是, 其实很多东西还是可能受广告的 
潜移默化的一些东西, 然后还有就是说我们大 
家就是说相对说这民族比较广一点的这些品 
牌, 可能还是会这样子。

你和你的朋友以前谈过食品安全问题了吗?

Mo Ya: 这个问题经常谈, 但是基本上大家都 
觉得这个... 我们中国是无解的一个问题。。。 就 
像我们今天早上我们跟一个日本人朋友对谈, 
然后他说他买了一颗青菜, 他这几天在 daban 旅行 
啊, 进度旅行的时候因为这旅 
途中吃的东西可能, 就是说, 他觉得蔬菜的 蔬 
菜水果吃地不够多, 然后他说 今天买了一颗 
生菜。然后把它洗干净以后放在报纸上面, 然 
后他说他就把它吃掉了。然后我们听得都觉得 
很难。因为在我们的概念里, 生菜, 虽然是生 
菜是可以生吃但是我们一般是不敢生的吃, 不 
敢直接吃生菜, 会觉得很那个。然后像他躺那 
抱着上, 那我们的报纸是油墨是含 
铅量很高的, 
有毒的油墨, 那对我们来说就是很忌讳很忌讳 
的, 但是他们的油墨跟我们的就是完全是不 
一样所以说整个概念是完全不一样。

感觉确保自己吃的饭是容易的事情吗?

Mo Ya: 不容易, 肯定是不容易。包括这外面 
吃就我们不放心, 实际说实话我们在家里吃也 
是不放心。不要说蔬菜类的, 那么就像大米, 
那我有朋友是东北人, 就是说黑龙江那边, 黑 
龙江省, 黑龙江那边是中国大米的主要菜区。 
然后他说你们没有看过大米的加工过程, 你们 
看了以后你们大米也吃不下了。但是他们每
个人都反正都会自己想，他们自己地主管自己主管因为他他自己是主管农业方面的官员，那么像他们都会有特别的来来供应他们自己。所以说我们这里就是这么一个转告了。

食品问题所以说是很难谈的一个问题。

对，我以前跟他们谈过这个问题的人，跟你也是说同意的，觉得问题真的不让他们放心。

Mo Ya: 所以我们想，我们如果不要说是这国内或者是国外，那么其实就想去香港这一块这些地方，那么大家以到供应的，虽然它来自大陆供应，但是大陆是另外特别供应的，还是跟我们是有差别的。

你觉得国外的一些事物是更安全的吗?

Mo Ya: 相对来说吧。所以现在其实买进口食品的人也很多，包括我们可能也是很多就是说，那么一般还是通过网购比较多一点，这一块就比较网购比较多一点。

那你说相对，就表示你觉得国外食品也有可能会有问题啊?

Mo Ya: 也不仅仅是国外，国外我们就很难很难追数了，但是国内其实购网站里面也会有很多很多陷阱，然后还有就是像末质期啊各方面啊都会有很多问题所以说嗯，所以说，嗯，很难那个。

你觉得食品安全问题是谁的责任和错误?

Mo Ya: 一个是一个整体的环境啊，因为我们现在，整体的环境就很糟糕。不是说，像我们婆婆，像，就是说他孩子奶奶，他们会觉得农村里可能环境会更好一点，他们会觉得空气会比城市好，但其实像我们其实很清楚，农村，特别是我们浙江这一代的，农村其实污染也非常的严重。这个整体的，像他们就整个经济完全追求就是说一个经济的发展。其实大家都已经看的到了，就是说，都是意识其实环境空气，这些质量为代价的。还有，就是政府的不作为大家也都是永永公毒的，但是对我们来说也没有任何改变的方法。

你觉得是值得吗，这个?

Mo Ya: 这个不是，这个跟我们完全，不是我说能控制，我们当然觉得不值得但是我们是无能为力的。

在你看来，中国人有什么机会防止这个风险? 人人的机会一样多吗?

Mo Ya: 机会，这个机会，这个机会，对我们身边的一些朋友大多数的那机会就是说把孩子送到国外去。

这样太开玩笑的，因为我们在国内也有这个食品安全问题其实，其实上，但是很多人就不知道这个，他们有这个感觉他们吃的饭是完全安全的，但是其实，去研究的时候，就可以很容易地发现不是。所以这个真的是世界，全世界的一个老大问题。但是，你觉得那个风险是公平的分布了吗?

Mo Ya: 基本上还是比较公平的，因为现在，这个东西，怎么说呢。讲居然今天也一样的，今天新闻上也有一个食品就管食品安全，就是说，有一种，是有一点像那种大白菜一样的就很小小我们的叫娃娃菜，然后一般超市里卖都是会一个一组装起来的。然后它的，它为了保鲜，把它保鲜，起码在我们概念你卖的说好保鲜很好只有能放好几天，包括你买回来能放好几天，放在冰箱里放很久的都会很新鲜。然后她现在做的他是把根部就泡过甲醛农液。然后用这种方法来进行保鲜。然后甲醛不可能它停留这根部，会，一直会发到整个，整颗菜里面都是等一说都是有甲醛染过。

那，就是，大家会有这个风险? 是这个意思吗?

Mo Ya: 风险，这个风险其实可能，一个是一个是大的环境啊，然后，比如像政府啊，各界各方面。另外一个，就是说，其实，还有就一个道德24:20 cheng2lian4shang4 也是很重要的。农村里面也不是我们想象中像这种菜的，就种植户，他可能为了追求利益啊，他其实也不是
我们想象的这么淳朴或者很安全地提供给人家其实不是这样的。甚至他们很多人他为自己，其实现在很明显就很多就自己吃的跟卖给人家的是不一样的。

你觉得农村人跟城市里的人是一样多的风险吗？

Mo Ya: 风险其实我觉得还是比较均等的。他们可能食物上面可能会摄入会更安全，相对来说，会安全一点，可能是这样子。但是其他方面可能因为了解的欠缺啊，可能会，相对来说，比较狭隘的，可能其实接受的也会有很多那个。而且还有一个就是说，起码城市里面你不可能在你家附近，比如，放一个化工厂什么什么的，那么这一类他还是会比较好来说有一定的监管，但在农村里面就完全不是这样。他可能就是说一个村庄旁边他可能会有一家很高污染的，就像我们杭州周边的，就是说，杭嘉湖地区，让它，像一些皮革企业，这一类的企业，还有 yin(g)4 lan3，这些都是高污染的，而且他们用的，采用的手段还有排污这些都是跟不上，但它都可以放在你旁边。但在城市里面相对来说这一类的风险会相对低一点，所以说没有这个风险可能会有另外的风险。会有就像农村里面其实水的污染可能比我们喝到的水，可能污染更严重，所以说它因为地下水，都是很浅的地表水那污染都是非常严重。其实这一类就是说你去农村可能你喝到水你可能感觉到口感上就能直接感觉得到了。所以说我觉得没有哪一个地方可能，机会，其实，我觉得，风险的机会还是比较均等的。他可能避免这一块，但是他避免不了另一个，我们这避免这一块，我们也避免不了另一个。

嗯。那有钱人和没有太多的钱的人之间呢？

Mo Ya: 有钱人没钱人之间那应该还是有差距的吧！

什么差距，在这个方面，这是最后的一个问题

Mo Ya: 差距，一个饮食上面，那就，像你有机的，它是贵很多，它不一定是安全但它一定相对来说它比很便宜其实相对来说会安全其实就是会高一点。特别是进入一些大的超市说你不能完全保证，但它检出上面可能会更加相对来说会严格一点。然后他们，然后就想买还会就是说，像我们这里，还有个污染很严重就是防止的装修一个方面。那么你材料选择高的贵的，就是说，可能也是有污染，但相对来说你选择很便宜的，污染肯定是就是说机率会更高那是绝对的。总之来说，有钱相对来说还是会规避一点儿一定风险，但是呢，也不会规避一点儿太多。

好的，那我应该没有什么问题了。感谢你。

End of Interview 11.
Interview 12: San San

Duration: 31 minutes

Interviewee: “San San”

26 yo, unmarried, master student, lives with her Dutch boyfriend, city hukou in Heilongjiang, 4+ years of higher education, low income.

Setting: A restaurant outdoors in the 青芝坞 dining street outside ZJU Yuquan campus about 6 PM night. The interviewee, her boyfriend and I had just had a meal at the restaurant together.

Notes: I know her through her boyfriend

在你的家里你有哪些责任，你现在住的那个地方有哪些责任?
San San: 我的家庭 or 我们的这个 family (points to her and her boyfriend)你们的。
San San: 我们的。

对。

San San: 呃，责任。按时起床，有没有什么责任。好好写论文，按时起床按时瞌睡。我还有什么责任呢?

比如说，谁来做饭?

San San: 呃，这个，可以一起，一起做饭。一起做饭，一起打扫卫生，呃，洗衣服，但是大部分都是他做得多一点，我做的少一点。为什么会是他有这些责任，而不是，不是你?

San San: 呃，在我们之间 its not 不，可以不用责任来做这些，就觉得哦我愿意去做一点然后，或者我现在很忙，然后我来做，然后大部分时间我们一起去做。

作者些家务有什么挑战吗?

San San: 没有什么挑战，有一个挑战，就是我不想做，有时候还是会想说啊应该做了，这样子。然后尤其是做卫生的时候会会会，其他的没有。

你每天花的时间做家务多少?

San San: 几乎没有。不太多，很少。

你现在觉得忙吗，在你的生活中?

San San: 反对，忙，但是很少是忙于就是家庭这种家务啊，都是忙学习工作这方面。

那你每天的闲时多少?

San San: 什么?

每天的闲时，就说。

San San: 闲了的时候?

嗯。

San San: 呃。上午的时间大多数时间睡觉，因为我晚上的时候喜欢工作到晚一点。然后，白天会一直工作然后，只是在学习的时候空隙会打一会儿游戏这样子。

你们吃的饭有百分之多少是在家里吃的?

San San: 百分之五六七。一周可能，最近几个月没有。如果是，如果不是特别忙的时候一周可以在家做一次或两次饭或晚饭。呃，如果是忙的时，就一般不会这样做饭，所以就是很少很少，非常少。

那你们经常去外面吃饭吧。

San San: 百分之五六七。一周可能，最近几个月没有。如果是，如果不是特别忙的时候一周可以在家做一次或两次饭或晚饭。呃，如果是忙的时，就一般不会这样做饭，所以就是很少很少，非常少。

那你经常去外面吃饭吧。

San San: 如果是在学校会选择去食堂吃，或者吃外卖。如果忙的时候在外卖，如果不是特别忙就出去，呃，食堂吃。然后每周会有固定的几次饭，和周末，呃或者是，有几次是去饭
店吃，非离家里一点远，就是，不是特别方便但是也会这样。

那你们选饭店的时候或者选外卖的时候有什么条件吗?

San San: 选外卖的条件就是，可能，我吃的比较舒服，然后也，呃，觉得这家送得比较快一点。然后也还是比较干净比较卫生，就是又快又好吃，然后又有可能优惠券。然后出去吃的话，基本上会选择口味，口味和饭店的，就是，档次稍微高一点然后口味很，比较适合我们的口味，所以今天想吃川菜了，或者我现在偏向去吃帕尼尼，这样，去那个法国...区，所以才决定去吃这样子吧。

已经对他们熟悉了一点点。

San San: 对对对然后也会偶尔去一些朋友推荐的没有去过的，但是不会特别多，呃，可能一般特殊的日子会去吃，或者是确实好像有些时候没有吃到好吃的。

那你们去外面吃饭的时候一般，就是，花费得多少?

San San: 去外面吃饭的话，两百左右吧，两百以内或者两百左右，如果是出去吃。

两个人吗?

San San: 对，两个人。啊，基本上都会一百大点儿吧，打点儿。

那你怎么可以看得出来一个地方是干净的呢?

San San: 其实，非常清楚的后面的灶屋可能看不出来，那可以看，根据它的这个饭店的外面的形式啊，还有走进去的一些桌子啊，还有茶具啊，碗啊，这些，啊还有服务员，她是不是端东西的时候，那个手有没有注意啊，这些可以看一下。对。

你们自己种菜吗?

San San: 不种。哦种，种菜！

种菜。

San San: 但是不是吃的，是种来看的。因为我们的花都死了，所以才开始种菜。

什么菜呢?

San San: 就就一种特别容易活的小青菜，对。但是，但是就种过几次吧，但始终到一半儿的时候都被虫子给吃啊，然后。对，现在还有长出来，去年的它有长到这么高，不是特别高。

以后会吃它吗?

San San: 不会吃。

就像你们小孩儿一样。

San San: 对，就是看着（laughs）。

你们两个吃的一样吗还是吃地不同?

San San: 一样的。

早餐 中餐 晚餐 都吃什么?

San San: 早餐的话，我一般不太会吃。然后，他的话，如果我起床的话会跟他吃的差不多一样。然后他会吃两种早餐，一种会自己做，每天自己做一烤面包早餐，然后还有一种就是也会去下面的那个早餐店去吃。包子啊，油条啊，然后豆浆啊，这些。

中餐呢?

San San: 中餐的话就是外卖或者就是食堂，嗯。然后十点才的那种食堂。

如果经济上不成问题，你会吃的跟现在怎么样不一样?

San San: 就是健康吗，我觉得，就是，放呢，可能不会，如果经济上没有问题的话，还是怎么答，因为我觉得现在我吃东西也没有考虑到经济方面，我想一下。就是吃，还是觉得舒服吧，吃得舒服，就是我，就是我去选一个餐厅就会觉得啊，很舒服，而不是觉得很难受方面跟经济也没有... 还是我要

所以现在你不觉得你必须去控制自己因为经济上好像不成问题了?

San San: 没有（laughs）没有想过控制嘛，没有。
那你现在是不是挺满意的吧？
San San：没有挺满意的，就是因为我，我们吃的也没有会要求很高所以必须每个人要吃很贵的东西。然后说是我们想吃这样说，每天想来，今天稍微贵一点（referring to the restaurant we are in now），但是平时我们的每个人的餐标价格是二十块钱。嗯然后今天说哦我想吃一点那个，可能要五十块钱每个人，但是也不会觉得，哦我没有钱就不去吃了，就没有这种想法就是哦我想去吃那我直接去吃。因为，也没有说我每天都想吃这种...

你在哪里买你的菜 肉 大米之类的？
San San：大米的话我一般在网上买，就去网上的...店。然后大米一般来说还是比较高高的品牌因为我是北方人，我觉得那个米蒸发很想我很喜欢吃，如果不好吃的米，南方的米，就不会吃，所以会比较好一点。然后蔬菜的话，就是，我们小区的那个菜市场，农贸市场，所以好几次我们那种。然后肉的话也是在那边因为肉是一层都是，当然它也分，也分，就是绿色窗口和普通窗口，还有那些什么，但是所有的农贸市场猪肉都是经过检测，安全的猪肉。

你对卖家熟悉了吗？比如说，你买蔬菜的那个地方？
San San：对对对，会去经常去那市场去卖。比较相信他吗？
San San：对，他人很好，经常会给我几次免费的葱。

你会不会看那个市区主要原料标签？
San San：会看但是看不懂。

看不懂。为什么？
San San：就是，照说，呃，就是可能有几个主要的看得懂，但是后面的一些比较细的一些专业方面的科学化学之类的名字就会看不懂。然后你可能知道具体有几个，知道里面是什么成分，因为你学过化学，你会知道他成分，但是具体这个成分有什么作用就不特别清楚。

你一看到，就是，一个事物有很多的那些会不会有什么感觉呢？
San San：会觉得，应该没事吧。比较放心。

San San：就是，没有想那么多。对。但是也会拒绝吃，什么，味精啊鸡精啊，这些东西会不会吃，然或者是酱油放一点啊，就也有会注意这些，盐啊，少放一点，这些也会注意。但是具体地就去研究它没有那么深入。
那个营养素参考值标签也是这样的吗?
San San: 就是有多少维他命有多少什么什么的哪个?
对。
San San: 会看吧, 会看, 但是就很多时不会,就是说, 特别因为这些去吃一个什么东西。呃,也有可能会说: 我今天吃维他命啊, 吃一颗维他命片儿啊或者怎么样，但是不会, 但在食物上有的时候会觉得, 啊这一秒我很, 觉得我嘴里面好像缺一点可乐味, 然后就去买可乐。但也是也会注重说里面是有多少什么什么成分啊糖分啊, 这些不会, 没有那么特别注重。
当你看它的时候是要看到什么的方面? 比较注重什么方面? 你为什么看它?
San San: 看里面而有多少脂肪, 不会变胖。
看卡路里吗?
San San: 嗯对。
你买的那些品牌你觉得是可靠的吗?
San San: 呗对，但是其实, 你具体他有什么可靠的东西也没有去调研 (调查研究) 它, 就可能是广告效应啊, 或者是他的知名度高一点啊, 就觉得没有那么麻烦去和一些没有听过的品牌就对比, 就会省掉很多麻烦, 觉得很方便这样做, 就觉得哦这个品牌, 呗, 可能有一个品牌效应觉得它有一点点保证, 这样子。
那你相信它吗?
San San: 算是吧，算是的，对。
放心肉 绿色 有机 无公害 这些标签知道是什么意思吗?
San San: 我都听过，趋势都听过，但是具体是什么意思的话，没有弄得非常清楚。可能绿色我会觉得食品它没有, 没有农药, 然后是比较好天然的这样子的东西, 然后我觉得还是绿色的。呢，然后无公害的话, 可能就觉得它没有什么什么什么几种害处, 但是具体什么害处不知道。(we laugh)
那个有机知道是什么意思吗?
San San: 就是... 健康。然后, 绿色, 无公害的，总成叫有机。
放心肉呢?
San San: 放心肉应该... 应该不算有机, 有机食物。应该不算有机吧。
那放心肉到底是什么意思?
San San: 就是说这个猪肉，这个猪是健康的没有病的，然后它，它这个猪吃的这个东西也是健康的, 不是用一些，呃，就是过分的激素的饲料还为大的。然后这个猪也没有什么，就是病啊这些。然后，也比较新鲜啊。
没错! (both laugh) 你一般会不会买这么标签的食物?
San San: 控买的。
为什么买?
San San: 因为其实，我可能会觉得他是健康但是我的时候就觉得它因为这些东西它, 相对来说比普通的包装会好看一点，我有的时候就觉得, 哟这个包装好看一点我就找这个东西肯定是比较好的比较健康的, 然后就会买一点。这样的子。
你觉得你最重要的条件就是什么，买食物的时候?
San San: 肯定就是
你刚才说的是不是口味? 是口味吗?
San San: 就吃饭的时候去外面吃的时候可能口味，但如果是买食材，材料的话，呃肯定是新鲜健康这是为主的。在它的层面上在去进行对比，可能要对比一下，啊哪家哪个老板的人比较好一点然后去那家便宜一点啊，但是这个健康和新鲜的这个基础是不可以，不会动的，就是，是一个，一个 basic 这个东西，然后再在它下面去进行对比其他复杂的条件。
你和朋友以前谈过食品安全问题了吗?
San San: 有谈过。对。照说去饭店的油啊地沟
油啊，或者说这种饭店是不是生菜怎么处理啊，然后这些餐具不消毒干净啊就是，因为口的东西嘛。或者是在，哦，也会看到一些新闻说：已经，饭，应该怎么说，贩卖蔬菜的这个这个老板，已经把它觉得不新鲜的菜丢掉了。丢掉的时候被别人捡回来然后以低价再卖给去使用。这种情况就是会很多，就会觉得很，不太好啊，对。包括餐具啊，呃，前一点儿看的新闻说，那个我们我们用的一次性的杯子啊，就是塑料的那种杯子，然后奶茶杯等等，她们是会不会有一个窝点，那个她回收医疗产品，医疗产品你会吗？医院的那些点滴啊，带血的那种罐儿啊，药品啊，然后进行直接，都没有进行任何处理，然后制成为作为一种餐具，然后给我们使用这些，就会觉得不太健康。

你的朋友跟你你的意见是同样的吗？
San San: 嗯。

那你们都用一样的措施来防止这个风险吗？
San San: 措施...可能，这个要怎么说

你用什么方法确保你的健康安全？
San San: 我有的朋友是非常注重这些东西，就是他买了一个什么东西会把里面所有的成分都研究清楚，然后他会进行对比，然后... 照说像我，我去买同厂的两个牛奶或者是同样的两个什么一个食品，我可能觉得我不知道它是不是哪儿好。还是同样的不一样的品牌的我就买的，因为我觉得，不知道哪好，我就觉得可能贵得好，然后就会买的。但是我的朋友或者是我的男朋友，他会对比到后面里面有什么东西，觉得其实不见得是贵的好，那便宜的更健康那个，因为里面的那个表更健康。然后他就会选择另外一个。所以我们在在抢着最严，就是，食品安全的角度去出发，但是我们可能个人的，个人的，叫 19:03 知识 shubei 有限，所以我们用不同的方法在做这些事情。

嗯。那他们都是信那个标签的信息吗？
San San: 对。对。对。就是，因为也没有其他的东西可以去看。

那就是，没有其他的东西可以看，那就表示，可能，觉得，不是太可靠的吗？
San San: 有可能它是不可靠的，对，是的。然后，包括，我有很多的朋友会研究食品上面的那个标志一个像绿色的叶子，一个 ai2 什么，这些检测标志他也会去研究什么意思啊，这些东西。然后，我以前也在大学里有学过一门课叫食品安全课，然后也会讲这些标志是什么然后

有一个食品安全课？
San San: 对，我们有这种公开课去叫你，去辨别食品上面的这些标志，然后还有里面的成分，但是呢，呢，在大学吗？
San San: 在大学的时候，对。就是，呢，在大学室友那种公共课，就是不属于我专业的，但是你必须修满这个学分去选择其他学员的公共课。然后我选择这个公共课因为我觉得还比较有用，但是去学的时候发现有的也听不懂（laughs）。

其实有一点复杂了吧。
San San: 对。

它是什么时候开始的？
San San: 开始什么，这种课吗？

那个课。
San San: 就是这种一直都有，大体里面就有这种专业的呀，食品安全专业。

它是很多年已经有的吗？
San San: 嗯。

有意思，没听过。你会注重或者你会注意食品安全问题的什么东西？
San San: 是不是过期，嗯。或者是，嗯，里面是不是有什么成分会对你非常。小的时候我们以前喝的一种奶，叫，叫，叫什么奶来的，叫，叫一个什么奶来这。然后，我忘记了叫什
么奶来的，酸酸的，还，特别好喝，小孩儿很喜欢喝。然后有一个人就发了食品说这个奶放在什么 gan1 zhi4，gan1 zhi4 就是晾，晾了一会儿，上面会有一松蘑，松蘑就像 jiao1 一，jiao1 一样的东西，而且是非常多的坚固的，然后小孩子这个会不会对身体有什么不好啊，这种或者我们在喝的那个果粒橙，然后也会有这些说果粒橙里面的东西是致癌的等等等等。然后也会去关注这些。然后，嗯就是说关注，要关注的就是最基本的，是不是没有过期哦，去买牛奶第一买要看他有没有过期。然后第二个就是看它是不是非常非常地对身体有害的东西我们能够查得到的。因为如果是太，太专业的我可能不知道，但如果是非常，假如像味精这种东西我就知道它里面是对身体不好，那我就这样不干吃的。

嗯。你的父亲跟你说过了关于食品安全问题的什么吗？
San San: 有。
有。
什么？
San San: 我记得我，现在不太回家，但是我很小的时候煮方便面的时候，方便面你知道吗？嗯。
San San: 那我煮方便面的时候，他里面不是有个调料吗，调料包，不同的料包，然后我在上初中的时候，好像，然后我爸就告诉我：那个调料包不要全都放进去，放一半，因为你吃多了会给癌症或者对身体不好。然后还有，呢，还有那个，泡面的那个盒子，纸的盒子，他也不允许我用那个去泡方便面，还是要用碗，因为那个盒子里有一层什么东西好像，然后也对身体不好。啊，然后我煮的时候他会站在旁边看着我。然后我一不小心全部倒了让他生气了。他说：不让你放你碗儿了！
那他是比较注重健康的吗，相对来说？
San San: 呃，相对来说，他还是有这个概念的。
但是也没有说非常，研究得很透啊，这些，他只是有个概念。对对对。都是有的。
其他的方面还会跟你说吗？或者特别是这个方便面？
San San: 因为这个记忆深刻，因为她生气了嘛，然后就不让我吃。然后还有其他的方面...应该也有。早说去买一些，呃，动物的内脏，这些食物，然后我妈妈，家里其他人就会制止说不让我买这种东西，不可以经常吃。然后包括，就是我们做菜的这种油，在中国这种油是用动物提炼的，叫做我们叫荤油。然后，我从小到大，我家都没有吃过。因为那个油就是，吃的东西会很油腻（you2 ni4）然后很，很，很好吃，这个食物，然后也很便宜。但是我从，我们周围的人可能也要吃的，但是我，就是会经常选择这种，现在我也听到我的朋友会说，哎哎啊那个什么什么油做什么什么菜，但是我从小到大里面都没有吃过，因为我妈妈觉得对身体不好。会，对我脑子不好，所以就不给吃。
你对食品安全问题有什么意见？
San San: 意见... 诚信吧，就是很多事物其实，它存不存在问题你，作为，我们消费者普通的这个来说，其实他没有更多的知识去鉴别这个食品是不是安全的。他没有那么多知识也没有那么多经历去做。毕竟食物的种类太多了，特别特别的多，然后品牌也很多，什么都很多，然后就是有很多不诚信的商家会通过一些手段去吸引消费者，但是有没有很民主的标，这种它还具体是不是对你身体有健康啊怎么样来这些。所以我觉得其实还是，呃，或者是在共，呃，大家都能了解的，公共方面去普及这样的知识，就是非常真实的普通这样的知识。然后在食品安全监督方面，然后，也要做到非常诚信的每个商家的这个食品备案。因为我知道这样的一种，就是说，找了一个食品其中是有没有毛重成分是没有办法进行备案，就是，我们那个叫，呃，监督局，食品监督局是不会给你出这个，这个，让你伤心会不
给你这种公告的，但是有的商家就会变一变，或者把这个成分删除，然后再把这个食品，然后去食品安全那边去备案然后在进行出来。我觉得这种其实，那消费者根本就不知道这，我们不可能买一个食物或者做一下实验有没有成分。

是的。

San San：对对对，所以就是这样。

你觉得确保吃的饭的安全性是不是容易的一件事情？

San San：不太容易，我觉得。因为途径，就是它从，从你种植，从种植然后到处理到烧制，然后到货运造工等等等，它的成分是非常多的，那我们真的没有办法做到，除非我自己弄一块儿田地，自己种田，然后自己做，这样子，但是有可能受到环境的影响。

那就真的没有办法。

San San：对。

你觉得人有什么机会来防止这个风险？人人的机会一样多吗？

San San：人和人... 什么意思？就是说我有，我有...

不同的人有一样的机会吗？

San San：应该没有。应该是没有。我想一下你的问题。呢，就是说，我们通过什么途径可以去，就是，在哪些方面可以能够注视到，不同的人是不是多。我觉得，呢，没有，不会不一样。

哪里，哪里不一样呢？

San San：假如说，打个比方说不同的人他选择食物的途径不一样，然后可能，我其自己回家烧制的，那然后，呢，或者另外的人呢是进行外卖购买，然后我失去饭店购买的。那我，比方说，烧制的和外面吃的肯定是不一样。然后去外面吃的不同的餐馆的水平，或者是，它，它肯定也是不一样的。对，然后包括我们去坚定食物的时候我们自身的，自身的这个，就是储备对，它坚定的能力也是不一样。所以我觉得对食品安全讲过的这个就是，不同人的机会机率）也不一样。

那，风险是不是公平地分布了？

San San： ....... 觉得什么问题，是不是公平地分布，这个要怎么说呢... 嗯，应该不公平嘛，应该，这个样怎么去说，如果说，嗯... 单纯不考，不考虑基本条件来说，那肯定是不公平的是嘛。因为，但是如果去考虑你的这个，你的这个环境，嗯，你的这个行为的话，肯定是公平的。就说我一直在家做饭，那我肯定一直是健康的。你一直出去吃，我一直去这种 level，这种层次的餐馆，那我肯定就享受这种健康的，这个，标准。我可能高档一点，我就一直去享受这种，这种标准。那对于这样的来说你的，呢，你所付出的和你得到的肯定是公平的。但是如果按个体来说，那肯定是，就是不公平的。就是不一样的，呢，不能说不公平的，是不平等的。

食品安全问题是谁的错误和责任？

San San：哎呀，这个真没法说。觉得错误，觉得，嗯，每个人肯定他的初中都是想吃到健康的食物，然后对于谁的错误和责任，应该可以分几方面去想吧。一方面呢，可能就是，小一点说就是商家的贪婪执行和不诚信，然后，造成了这样的问题。往大的说，我觉得是政府有关部门它的监管制度是不清晰的。或者是有很多孔钻可以钻。就是，这个其实，一个是它工作的适度。第二个是它可能毕竟确实没有那么多能力去做到把每一个都监管的分那么。呢，就打一个比方说，我今天来检查这个餐馆，可能我已经跟你讲说我经常来检查，所以我把卫生打得打扫得特别好，但是然你走了之后我可以有较长的这种。所以它的监控力度，呢，我们只能说它的监控力度不够，但是具体要怎么够其实也是一个问题。所以我觉得都有关系。

所包括商家和相关的有关部门都有关系。

End of Interview 12.
Interview 13: Lei Xun

Duration: 31 minutes

Interviewee: “Lei Xun”

29 yo, married, no children, public college teacher, Hangzhou resident, 4+ years of higher education, low-middle class income.

Setting: Hangzhou library, outdoors, at night.

Notes: Felt kind of rushed towards the end since 1. it started to rain mid-interview and 2. she seemed eager to get home after a long day.

你结了婚吗?

Lei Xun: 嗯，对。

你们家里有几个人?

Lei Xun: 两个，我跟我老公。

在你的家里你有哪些责任?

Lei Xun: 责任啊。责任就是，呃，主要是家庭内部的一些事情，比如说洗衣服啊烧饭啊之类的一些琐事，其他的应该都是各自管各自的吧，自己管自己。一般就是。

那为什么是你有这些责任而不是比如说你丈夫来

Lei Xun: 他不会做?

他不会做?

Lei Xun: 他从小都没做过。啊。然后我现在会让他学的做一些，回过头来开始结婚的时候好一点，就慢慢它是一个孩子我在教他。

好的，你们之间的那个目的是百分之五十做的吗，还是怎么样?

Lei Xun: 基本上是必要我，我如果要烧饭的话他就洗碗，这样。反正就是，一般就是两个人在家里面的时候会各自会做一点嘛。他在我家里，我会要求他做的。（I laugh）要不来他没有事情做。

对，要平等的吧。

Lei Xun: 嗯。

负你的家庭的责任是一个很容易的事情吗?有什么挑战?

Lei Xun: 哦。这个。应该不容易吧，因为你觉得你做的很好的时候，你在家庭的其他成员可能会不认为这是一个很好的一个解决方式或者说不是一个很好的一个做的一个结果，不是别人都满意的结果所以这并不是一个很容易的事情，因为每个人，就像是一个家庭里面每个人的，她的那种，呃，想法啊或者他的需求都不一样嘛，所以还是有难度的。要满足所，尽可能的是大家都满意，这是比较难的。

买食物做饭的一般就是你来做吗?

Lei Xun: 买食物一般我老公会买。

那，就是，他会自己去选择买什么蔬菜什么水果买什么样的肉之类的，还是你让他去买?

Lei Xun: 那会商量一下吧，因为两个人吃的东西都不一样。所以大家各自喜欢都会买一点。那你们有什么条件，买食物的时候?

Lei Xun: 买食物啊，那肯定要又便宜又新鲜又好吃啊（both laugh）

那看得出来它是新鲜是一个很容易的事情吗?

Lei Xun: 啊，这个是比较容易的，但是看它有没有毒就不知道了，就是新鲜应该还是比较容易判断的。

你们吃的饭有百分之多少是在家里吃的?
Lei Xun: 三分之一碗饭，啊。

你们经常去外面吃饭吗？

Lei Xun: 偶尔吧，就是有朋友来的时候，就是需要去聚餐的时候。

那大概，比如说，一个星期里
Lei Xun: 一个月一次吧。

一个月一次，这么少？

Lei Xun: 这不是平常不去外面，很少。学校里面不算吧，单位你不算吧，啊，那就是参观的话一个月一到两次吧。

那很厉害。

Lei Xun: 这样的？

对。那你们到外面吃饭一半会花多少钱？

Lei Xun: 人均的话估计 50 左右吧。

你选饭店有什么条件？

Lei Xun: 一般都会看这个网络评价，大众点评网或者其他一些评价。评价比较好的就会去一下。

评价一般是什么方面，味道吗？

Lei Xun: 评价啊，主要是味道环境啊，之类的，口味吧。

早餐中餐晚餐宵夜一般吃什么？

Lei Xun: 呕，一般不吃宵夜，然后早饭一般 04:30 zhongcan 中餐，然后中饭也是中餐，晚饭也是中餐，除非是去外面吃会吃其他的一些东西。一般都是米饭或者粥啊或者是菜啊之类的。

你们在哪里买你的食物？

Lei Xun: 在菜场。

菜场。那你们对卖家熟悉了吗？

Lei Xun: 呕... 不是特别熟悉，就是一般的熟悉。

你们在哪里买你的食物？

Lei Xun: 这样子，你为什么喜欢去那个菜场买食物而不是去——

Lei Xun: 方便，方便。

所以离你很近吗？

Lei Xun: 就在我家楼下。然后还有一个菜场是在我老公的，呃单位边上，所以，呃，他那边的那个菜场会便宜一点。如果不是很着急的情况下会让他在那边买好了带回去。

肉 还有 大米也会到那个菜场去买吗？

Lei Xun: 不是。那个肉一半是，一般在一个，就是，卖肉专门卖肉的一个地方买的，所以不在那个菜场。

专卖肉的？

Lei Xun: 嗯，他单位边上，因为单位边上就是老校区，就是年纪很大的人很多，然后他们那边的话有专门有几家店铺，然后它就是卖这些食品蔬菜之类的。而且好像看上去还是还不错。

那里买的人是不是比较贵的？

Lei Xun: 不贵，对，因为都是老年人买的所以，呃，一般这个质量也可以，因为老年人他们比较懂嘛。所以价格也不贵，质量也还可以，所以说那边，那边买的会比较多点。

那为什么到那边去买？

Lei Xun: 就在我老公单位边上。方便。

方便。

Lei Xun: 呓，其实我觉得，呃，不管哪里买，就是，都是看哪里方便吧，主要，还是。一般很少去超市因为超市都要做好多路啊。

食物的主要原料标签会不会看？

Lei Xun: 呓，如果是在超市买的话会看一下。不是在超市买的话一般都没有标签。

看它的话看什么方面？

Lei Xun: 呓，产地啊，日期啊，之类的。其他好像没有了吧。产地和日期，价格，还有。

嗯，看产地看什么产地？
Lei Xun: 看看是本地的，本地一般会选本地的多一点。
Lei Xun: 浙江省的吧。
Lei Xun: 有什么营养那肯定会考虑呀。就是，比如说买菜的时候，你要红色的菜买一点然后绿色的也买一点，肉类蛋白质也要买一点，就是，还是要区分一下嘛，跟其他几个菜搭配一下吧。

你是怎么确保你的健康？
Lei Xun: 确保健康啊，健康一般都是就是吃吃素一点，然后不要太油腻的，清淡一点就好了。吃得不要太饱吧。

有的牌子你喜欢去买吗？就是说，品牌，食物的品牌。
Lei Xun: 没有。

放心肉 绿色 有机 无公害 这些标签是什么意思？知道吗？
Lei Xun: 就是农药比较少的有机的那种，化肥啊，什么之类的用的都比较少的这些，那应该就是比较绿色的吧，比较健康的吧。

你平时会买这种食物吗？
Lei Xun: 呦... 应该会比其他的东西要放心一点吧，相比较其他的那种摊位像的要放心一点嘛。

(Lei Xun: 据说是真的。)
Lei Xun: 有，经常，尤其是女人跟女人之间。或者是朋友聚会的时候，会谈一些这种话题。因为，就吃嘛，比一个相对其他方面的来说都是生活中比较占的比重比较大的嘛，很重要的一部分。所以经常会谈一些吃的东西。除了这些平常吃菜意外，其他的人想一下小孩子吃的或者是一些营养品之类的都问一下。

他们有什么意见呢？
Lei Xun: 这个问题啊。就说：中国人百度不清啊，然后就是每天都吃地有毒的东西啊，然后，就是说，以后的话，呃，如果世界上其他人中都灭亡的话，可能中国人是不会灭亡的，因为他的抗毒的历史上实在是太强了。然后说，有一个笑话嘛，呃，有两个中国学生啊，去，要去国外学嘛，在美国，然后玩了以后他们在餐厅吃饭。呃，那一拨，那一拨吃饭的时候呢，就是说，那个菜可能是已经变质，或者是什么，反正，就出了问题。结果吃这本饭的其它的学生都发生了一些，就是，身体上的状况了可能有一点呕吐了晕倒了或者什么样的。结果，那两个学生还很健康的，在那个，这个网球上还打网球，然后那个，就是，因为学校里面一些相关的委员认定是这些，把那一批学生通过记录上监控或者是刷卡的，刷这个饭卡的那些记录，把这些学生，都把他隔离一起，就是帮他们去接受治疗嘛。其他的学生都去接受吃药了，然后最终，就是，早来找这两个中国学生找不到嘛，然后就会在球场找到了，然后跟他们说：你们是吃了有毒害的，这个东西，问他们：你们吃的觉得那个，这个食物怎么样？然后，他们说OK 呀，很好吃啊！那你们还是必须去，得去医院做一下检查好。然后就把他们压到去做检查，就去了，很搞笑。

你和朋友以前谈过食品安全问题了吗？
Lei Xun: 有，经常，尤其是女人跟女人之间。
那你也有这个意见，就是，你可以吃得惯就没关系吗？

Lei Xun：那也不是，其实说很无奈嘛。就是，但是，很无奈，你没有办法改变，那你就是接受啊。就比方说你现在，呃，生活，比方说，杭州有时候它会空气很差嘛，但是，呃，这个空气差，你也没有太大的一个，很好的一个，办法去解决它。那你只能接受，如果你要，就是，生活在这里的话，你只能接受啊，或者说你自己做一些自己13:07 nishiwurenji？逆的事情还是可以。

那你有什么方法来防止风险？

Lei Xun：呃没有办法。

Lei Xun：对的。

你的父亲有没有跟你说过关于食品安全问题的什么呢？

Lei Xun：一般他们都会吃的比较素一点，然后，因为他们自己，那边自己种那些菜，然后，所以他们可能存在那个问题会比我们，呃，住在城市里面的人要小一点，因为他们自己会自己种一些蔬菜或者是其他的一些粮食之类的。

所以你的父母就是农村人吗？

Lei Xun：呃

或者他们自己有一块地？

Lei Xun：对，他们自己有一块地，然后自己，或者说，呃，他们平常，呃，不种的话，不种菜的话其他的，就是，像，其他有一些比方说，有一些人他们自己家里面种的，就是，他们也会，有时候会拿一些的，比方说，亲戚啊或者他们会拿一些菜到我们家。啊，所以，他们可能吃得跟，比我们，就是在城市里面吃得更健康一点嘛。

那他们是不是推荐你去做什么？

Lei Xun：比方说，我每次回去他们都会让我带一些菜回来，就这样。但是其他就没有办法啦。
Lei Xun: 啊, 就是, 他们那边吃的可能, 就是, (says liang4 with 4th tone, which could be air-dried 晾 but if she means second tone it would be grain 粮)啊, 还有, 就是, 吃吃地会比较多一点, 因为他们那边蔬菜少。呃, 而且,我以前有去, 就是, 北方去旅游嘛, 他们那边水果也少, 呃, 然后菜也少, 猪肉很多,这种这种。然后这边这的话可能蔬菜更多一点水果也可能会, 所以还是有区别的。如果你到四川你有听说过吗?

Lei Xun: 有。四川那边就会, 因为它那边可能是一个盆地, 啊, 湿气很重, 所以他们会吃一些辣的东西, 麻辣的东西。如, 过去, 如果你去广东的话, 可能那边的, 更, 他们那边, 广东很热嘛, 跟, 更接近香港那边的饮食习惯, 所以每个地方都不一样。他们的特色会不会影响到他们的饭的安全性呢?

Lei Xun: 哦会的。

Lei Xun: 除非是把我们人到一个完全陌生的环境里面, 这样可能会, 因为你找不到你原来的东西, 但是, 你现在到中国来了, 那么你们, 你上次说的那个面包这便是没有的, 所以你就不可能在吃这个东西了。但是, 如, 像我们的话, 呃, 这个, 还是在环境里面,然后你原来的时候喜欢的这些食物你还是能找到的, 所以就一直会, 就是, 眼取的是一个, 原来, 就是, 从小带来平安起来的这个习惯。

那你现在用的哪些材料是你母亲以前用过的吗?

Lei Xun: 对啊。差不多, 每个。

Lei Xun: 嗯, 差不多都是这样。基本上, 每个家庭, 它的习惯都不一样。就是, 比方说, 一些家常的菜啊, 每家每户都不一样。有些, 像杭州本地的, 其实也不多, 它有很多也可能, 就是, 有些是从小接受过来的, 呃, 那么它们在杭州以后, 他们还是喜欢吃海鲜。啊, 我有一个同事, 我有一个同事他自已是在黑龙江的。然后他老公是宁波的, 然后现在两个都都在杭州嘛。然后她老公家它婆婆, 就是, 她老公的妈妈, 然后一过来做菜的话, 就是, 做的反正都是那种宁波人爱吃的一些东西。

OK。

Lei Xun: 对, 然后, 我那个黑龙江的, 就是,
东北的这个姑娘，啊，她就是吃不太惯。然后，就是，还是就喜欢吃很难改掉的。

嗯。但是你觉得如果你有更多的钱，会不会改变你选的哪些蔬菜或者什么的？

Lei Xun: 你就是说，会选择有机还是什么？

嗯。

Lei Xun: 我觉得也不太会。嗯，像，呃，我的这个，像我老公家，他们其实现在不缺钱，但是他们就是平常买菜的时候，或者说，平常出去坐车啊，或者说，是旅行的时候，那他们还是会比较节俭。呃，呃，我觉得不太会去影响到这些。

那你觉得什么会影响到，可能没有办法吧，什么都不会影响到你原来的那个口味还有选择的习惯。

Lei Xun: 就很难改变，很难。就除非把我人到一个完全，完全陌生的一个环境里面。要不在，不在这里生活了。(...)

在你看来，中国人有什么机会防止这个风险？他们的机会一样多吗？

Lei Xun: 机会，不多，呃，有机会的话，也要可能是，要从这个农业上去改善吧。就是从生产商去改善。只有生产它提供的就只有有机的可以给我们选择的话，啊，那么我们就去，会去选择有机的，对吧。只要是有，就是，呃，呃，就是只要市场上大部分还是，就是，跟现在一样的话，那么我们选择还是一样，因为我们无处可以选。

嗯。

Lei Xun: 就像你说的，既是是有一些他说是有机的，但你也不能百分之百地去确定它就是有机的。所以，还是要从源头上，这个可能还是要，国家，政府啊，他们去，就是说，制定一些法，法律法规啊。然后，让这些，就是说，生产的一些流程，或者说，一些食物的一些标准，给它进一个提高。这样我们，到我们这个市场上，市场上的一些产品，都是无公害的话，那我我我们的饮食就不会那么毒害。

那你觉得这个风险是，在中国人口之中，就是，平均地分布了吗？

Lei Xun: 呢，应该是在工业比较发达的地方风险更大吧。那么那在，有一些，比方说，有一些地区它可能比，经济比较落后的，反而自己是自己自主的，自己生产自己吃自己助的，反而风险很小。但是在工业化程度，或者说，经济发达的地方，他可能，就是，这种选择，就，自己的选择就没有了。

嗯。

Lei Xun: 所以，啊，这个风险还是不均等。

那你是不是现在打算生孩子

Lei Xun: 啊对啊。

在你的未来

Lei Xun: 啊

那如果是生过孩子以后，你愿意去，就是，搬到农村吗？

Lei Xun: 应，应该不会。呃，因为就是，农村他受教育的这个，这个条件，或者说是，优势会比城里里面，会差一些。所以，呃，不会把他放到农村嘛。就，基本上，除非是不上学的时候，小的时候，还不需要上学的时候，他，可能会放在农村呆一段时间。但是如果上学了的话，肯定是到市区啊，或者是，到城市里面啦。因为这边的，设施条件肯定是这边好。

对。

Lei Xun: 嗯。

对对对。你对中国的食品安全问题有什么意见，是谁的错误和责任？

Lei Xun: 国家！政府。对呀。那你说，这比方说，为什么农民或者说一些工厂食品差哈，他为什么生产的这种产品都是一些，呃，就是质量比较差的一些，或者说，安全等级比较低的现实。那它工厂肯定是赚钱的嘛，那它肯定是利于去想，只要有是国家去规范他了，然后说，
给他一些，比方说，生产有机的这些农民或者企业，它有国家的贴，他自然而然他就会去，就是，有国家 26:24 yin(g)2 gan(g)3 的话，它就会去做那些产业。但现在它，比方说，去做那些产业的话，它可能，就是，效益可能并没有现在它生产有毒有害的低差的这种产品来的效益比较高一点吧，所以就这样。还是政府比较重要吧。

啊。现在的这个问题你觉得它来自于哪里?

Lei Xun: 来自于啊，来自于就是，最干，就是，生产和 27:00 xiagong 环境嘛，生产环境。主要 是源头就不好，原料又不好，然后土地也不好。这土地里面，因为好像他们说，就是，这个农 药你失到这个土地里面以后，它就会堆积 起 来一直会累积在里面。就算是过了很多年，它还是会有一下材料在里面。生产出来的东西 还是会有毒 诶。农药用的太多。有机的他们 很多都是不会用农药不用花费的嘛，都是一些 天然的什么肥料之类的嘛。是的。

Lei Xun: 所以感觉，就是，还是，就是说，化工的成分太多了。但是如果你不用这些的话，它的产量就没有那么高。产量没有那么高那么它效益就不好。然后他们没有赚钱的机会，然后，啊。他们也要做生意。

Lei Xun: 对，是的。所以还是要国家去进行调控嘛。

你学习到的那个食品安全问题的信息是从哪儿学习到的?

Lei Xun: 从一些健康杂志啊，新闻啊，然后以前嘛，就是上学的时候也有啊，呃学校里面，或者是朋友之间。学校里面怎么样?

Lei Xun: 学校，我们从小到大，上课是有上过的呀。就跟这种卫生啊，就生物啊，食品啊。这种，其实，化学啊，我们都有学的嘛。啊，所以，还是学校里面也有学到，然后完了以后到社会上就是新闻啊，报纸啊，杂志啊之类的，呃，朋友之间的一些，就一些交流之类的。这个地方还是比较多的。

那你觉得对这个食品卫生有够多的知识吗?

Lei Xun: 对这个食品安全没有太多的一些知识，因为这个，很多都是要有这种专业的机构来鉴别过你才知道它到底是有没有毒嘛。但是对你新不新鲜啊或者说的为不卫生，可能是可以自己鉴别的。啊，还有对于它的营养成分到底 是包含哪些，就是，各种食物的搭配，这个可能是了解的。主要是在于安不安全这个问题上是自己是很难判断的。

那你觉得为什么没有更多的人自己去教育给 自己这些比较专家的一些东西，因为问题，既 然问题毕竟就是这么大?

Lei Xun: 就自己去检测吗？自己检测要花钱 呀。

或者，不是检测，但是可以去了解一下那些化学的名字就到底是什么意思。

Lei Xun: 化学名字啊，化学名字的话估计大部分人都会知道一点吧，因为以前上学，高中啊，或者是什么的，初中啊，都有学过化学的课。化学这些东西，名称叫不全但是可以去知道，呃，它是属于哪一类的，肯定会有一定的了解，但不是很专业。但是你了解这个名字并不代表 你知道这个食物里面就有这个东西。因为你要是知道这食物里面有没有这个东西的话那你还 是要去专门的这种检测，要检测出来的，是嘛。嗯，太麻烦了吧。

Lei Xun: 对啊！个人没有那个条件嘛。
2. Questionnaire Data

2.1 Spreadsheet

2.1.1 Habits and Attitudes Questions (1-18)
2.2.2 Personalia Questions (A-Q)

A-H 个人信息
A. 出生年份：__________
B. 本地户口：是 / 否 （否）来自农村：是 / 否
C. 教育：
   □ 4 年+ 大学/职业学院
   □ 0-3 年 大学/职业学院
   □ 高中
   □ 初中
   □ 小学
   □ 没受过教育
D. 工作：
   □ 专任
   □ 兼任
   □ 失业
   □ 全职学生
   □ 兼职学生
E. 工作部门：
   □ 私营部门
   □ 公共部门
F. 上班时间：
   每个月上__天班，每天__个小时

G. 我有__个孩子
   □ 我正在怀孕

H-I 家庭信息
H. 家庭人口数：______
I. 他们的年龄
   1. __  2. __  3. __
   4. __  5. __  6. __
   7. __  8. __  9. __
J. 家庭年收入：
   □ 0
   □ < 10,000
   □ 10,000
   □ 50,000
   □ 75,000
   □ 100,000
   □ 175,000
   □ 250,000
   □ 425,000
   □ 500,000
   □ ≥ 500,000
K. 结了婚：是 / 否
   □ 我离婚了

(结了婚) L-O 丈夫信息
L. 出生年份：__________
M. 本地户口：是 / 否 （否）来自农村：是 / 否
N. 教育：
   □ 4 年+ 大学/职业学院
   □ 0-3 年 大学/职业学院
   □ 高中
   □ 初中
   □ 小学
   □ 没受过教育
O. 工作：
   □ 专任
   □ 兼任
   □ 失业
   □ 全职学生
   □ 兼职学生
P. 工作部门：
   □ 私营部门
   □ 公共部门
Q. 上班时间：
   每个月上__天班，每天__个小时。

结束  感谢参加调查
2.2 Responses

2.2.1 Participants’ personalia:
3.1.2 Participants' husbands' personalia:

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3.1.3 Participants' Answers:

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***note: supervision is not strong***

153
## 3.2 Variables and Coding

### Dependent variables

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<td><strong>Q1:</strong> Primary household cook &amp; grocery shopper:</td>
<td>(female: mother/mother-in-law/housekeeper = 1/2/3/4, male: husband/father/grandfather = 5/6/7, unidentified: other/equal between BF &amp; me = 8/9)</td>
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<td><strong>Q2:</strong> Who does most of the other household chores?</td>
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<td><strong>Q3:</strong> How often do you eat out/takeaway?</td>
<td>(daily/weekly/monthly/less than monthly = 1/2/3/4)</td>
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<td><strong>Q4A:</strong> Most important when choosing a restaurant:</td>
<td>(it’s near/quick to deliver/cheap/recommended by others/high official score of cleanliness/standard/other = 1/2/3/4/5/6/7)</td>
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<td><strong>Q4B:</strong> <em>(multiple choice)</em></td>
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<td><strong>Q5:</strong> Buys govt.-backed-labelled ‘safe’ food products</td>
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<td><strong>Q6:</strong> Understanding dev. of the food safety issue:</td>
<td>(very/worsened/not very/not at all - important to me = 1/2/3/4)</td>
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<td><strong>Q7:</strong> Perceived risk/recently have...</td>
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<td><strong>Q8A:</strong> Knowledge test, 7 possible correct answers</td>
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<td><strong>Q8B:</strong> Thinks most of China’s PFP are toxic foods</td>
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<td><strong>Q9A:</strong> Where food safety info comes from</td>
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### Independent variables

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<td><strong>BB:</strong> If no Hangzhou hulou, from the rural area</td>
<td>(yes/no = 1/0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C:</strong> Level of Education</td>
<td>(4+y higher ed./0-3 years of higher education/high school/middle school/elementary or no education = 4/3/2/1/0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D:</strong> Occupation</td>
<td>(full-time/full-time student/part-time/part-time student/retired = 1/2/3/4/5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E:</strong> Department</td>
<td>(private sector/public sector = 1/0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F:</strong> Number of work hours per month</td>
<td>actual number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G:</strong> Children</td>
<td>(1 child/2 children/childless/pregnant = 1/2/3/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H:</strong> Number of people in the household</td>
<td>actual number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I:</strong> Child in the household age 3 or under</td>
<td>(yes/no = 1/0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>J:</strong> Yearly household income</td>
<td>complete figure in rmb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>K:</strong> Marital Status</td>
<td>(married/unmarried = 1/0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**[If married] Participant’s husband personal:**

| **L:** Year of Birth                                                    | year of birth, four digits                                                       |
| **MA:** Hangzhou Hulou                                                   | (yes/no = 1/0)                                                                   |
| **MB:** If no Hangzhou hulou, from the rural area                        | (yes/no = 1/0)                                                                   |

| **N:** Level of Education                                                | (4+y higher ed./0-3 years of higher education/high school/middle school/elementary or no education = 4/3/2/1/0) |
| **O:** Occupation                                                        | (full-time/full-time student/part-time/part-time student/retired = 1/2/3/4/5)     |
| **P:** Department                                                        | (private sector/public sector = 1/0)                                             |
| **Q:** Number of work hours per month                                   | actual number                                                                    |
3.3 Regression Models

### Dependent Variable: Q1
Method: ML - Censored Normal (TOBIT) [Quadratic hill climbing]
Date: 04/26/16  Time: 00:11  Sample (adjusted): 12 47  
Included observations: 21 after adjustments  
Left censoring (value) at zero  
Convergence achieved after 4 iterations  
Covariance matrix computed using second derivatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
<td>-8.72E-07</td>
<td>1.02E-06</td>
<td>0.85980336</td>
<td>0.389897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>0.067755317</td>
<td>0.212180672</td>
<td>0.319323412</td>
<td>0.749477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPARTMENT</td>
<td>0.218109261</td>
<td>0.285942644</td>
<td>0.753020160</td>
<td>0.451347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
<td>-0.236161016</td>
<td>0.111996094</td>
<td>1.951201977</td>
<td>0.050914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.647667476</td>
<td>0.868485426</td>
<td>1.897173431</td>
<td>0.057805</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Error Distribution

| SCALE:C(6)  | 0.623755685 | 0.096249518 | 6.480714925 | 9.13E-11 |

Mean dependent var 1.285714286  
S.D. dependent var 0.717137  
S.E. of regression 0.739460834  
Sum squared resid 8.157772733  
Log likelihood -19.86611883  
Log likelihood -0.946958035  
R-squared 0.205688 |

### Left censored obs 0  
Right censored obs 0  
Uncensored obs 21  Total obs 21

### Dependent Variable: Q2
Method: ML - Censored Normal (TOBIT) [Quadratic hill climbing]
Date: 04/26/16  Time: 00:11  Sample (adjusted): 12 47  
Included observations: 25 after adjustments  
Left censoring (value) at zero  
Convergence achieved after 4 iterations  
Covariance matrix computed using second derivatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>INCOME</td>
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<td>8.95E-07</td>
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<td>0.041</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
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<td>0.197518</td>
<td>-0.545897</td>
<td>0.5851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPARTMENT</td>
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<td>0.235217</td>
<td>-0.230798</td>
<td>0.8175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
<td>-0.075783</td>
<td>0.106488</td>
<td>-0.71166</td>
<td>0.4767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.582445</td>
<td>0.798463</td>
<td>1.981864</td>
<td>0.0475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Error Distribution

| SCALE:C(6)  | 0.593209    | 0.083894   | 7.070934    | 0       |

Mean dependent var 1.24  
S.D. dependent var 0.663325  
S.E. of regression 0.680332  
Sum squared resid 8.7941778  
Log likelihood -22.41826  
Log likelihood -0.89673  
R-squared 0.167218 |

### Left censored obs 0  
Right censored obs 0  
Uncensored obs 25  Total obs 25
### Appendix

**Dependent Variable:** Q3  
**Method:** ML - Censored Normal (TV3/T) (Quadratic hill climbing)  
**Date:** 04/26/16  
**Time:** 00:10  
**Sample (adjusted):** 1247  
**Included observations:** 25 after adjustments  
**Left censoring (value) at zero**  
**Convergence achieved after 4 iterations**  
**Covariance matrix computed using second derivatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
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<td>EDUCATION</td>
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<td>0.266574</td>
<td>0.314933</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEPARTMENT</td>
<td>0.282157</td>
<td>0.315084</td>
<td>0.856089</td>
<td>0.3698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
<td>0.315019</td>
<td>0.142348</td>
<td>2.213015</td>
<td>0.0269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>1.623156</td>
<td>1.091033</td>
<td>1.48785</td>
<td>0.1368</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Error Distribution**

| SCALE:C(S) | 0.777614 | 0.107837 | 7.211018 | 0        |

| Mean dependent var | 2.846154 | S.D. dependent var | 0.800509 |
| S.E. of regression  | 0.085607 | Akaike info criterion | 2.739603 |
| Sum squared resid   | 15.72140 | Schwarz criterion    | 3.086695 |
| Log likelihood      | -30.35274 | Hannan-Quinn criter. | 0.879969 |
| Avg. log likelihood | -1.167413 | R-squared             | 0.097235 |

**Dependent Variable:** Q5  
**Method:** ML - Censored Normal (TV3/T) (Quadratic hill climbing)  
**Date:** 04/26/16  
**Time:** 00:15  
**Sample (adjusted):** 1247  
**Included observations:** 27 after adjustments  
**Left censoring (value) at zero**  
**Convergence achieved after 5 iterations**  
**Covariance matrix computed using second derivatives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
<td>0.005754</td>
<td>0.143792</td>
<td>0.046023</td>
<td>0.9681</td>
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<td>DEPARTMENT</td>
<td>0.0525</td>
<td>0.180933</td>
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<td>0.7298</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
<td>-0.125794</td>
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<td>-1.621416</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>0.580066</td>
<td>4.99191</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Error Distribution**

| SCALE:C(S) | 0.447895 | 0.060951 | 7.348658 | 0        |

| Mean dependent var | 2.666667 | S.D. dependent var | 0.480384 |
| S.E. of regression  | 0.507865 | Akaike info criterion | 1.675929 |
| Sum squared resid   | 5.416468 | Schwarz criterion    | 1.963892 |
| Log likelihood      | -16.62304 | Hannan-Quinn criter. | 1.761335 |
| Avg. log likelihood | -6.613742 | R-squared             | 0.097235 |

**Left censored obs**  
**Right censored obs**  
**Uncensored obs**  
**Total obs**
Dependent Variable: Q6
Method: ML - Censored Normal (TOBIT) [Quadratic hill climbing]
Date: 04/26/16  Time: 00:14
Sample (adjusted): 12 47
Included observations: 27 after adjustments
Left censoring (value) at zero
Convergence achieved after 5 iterations
Covariance matrix computed using second derivatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>1.461-06</td>
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<tr>
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<td>DEPARTMENT</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Error Distribution

| SCALE-C(6) | 0.724248 | 0.098358 | 7.348409 | 0 |

Mean dependent var | 3.296296 | S.D. dependent var | 0.775332 |
S.E. of regression  | 0.82122  | Akaike info criterion | 2.63708 |
Sum squared resid   | 111.1246 | Schwarz criterion    | 2.92543 |
Log likelihood      | -29.00657| Hannan-Quinn criter. | 2.72706 |
Avg. log likelihood | -1.096318| R-squared             | 0.093871 |

Left censored obs   | 0         | Right censored obs   | 0         |
Uncensored obs      | 27        | Total obs            | 27        |

Dependent Variable: Q8A
Method: ML - Censored Normal (TOBIT) [Quadratic hill climbing]
Date: 04/26/16  Time: 00:17
Sample (adjusted): 12 47
Included observations: 23 after adjustments
Left censoring (value) at zero
Convergence achieved after 7 iterations
Covariance matrix computed using second derivatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
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<td>3.991-06</td>
<td>2.492924</td>
<td>0.0127</td>
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<td>0.478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
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<td>-1.32003</td>
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</tr>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>6.482227</td>
<td>2.18854</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Error Distribution

| SCALE-C(6) | 2.583106 | 0.393121 | 6.570727 | 0 |

Mean dependent var | 4.217391 | S.D. dependent var | 3.147243 |
S.E. of regression  | 2.897721  | Akaike info criterion | 5.146115 |
Sum squared resid   | 192.7454  | Schwarz criterion    | 5.442331 |
Log likelihood      | -33.18032 | Hannan-Quinn criter. | 5.220613 |
Avg. log likelihood | -2.312188 | R-squared             | 0.344943 |

Left censored obs   | 1         | Right censored obs   | 0         |
Uncensored obs      | 22        | Total obs            | 23        |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>z-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
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<td>0.22E-07</td>
<td>-2.06733</td>
<td>0.0387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCATION</td>
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<td>0.7794</td>
</tr>
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<td>DEPARTMENT</td>
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<td>0.1325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
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<td>-1.51751</td>
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<td>C</td>
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<td>5.906005</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Error Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scale(C(6))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Mean dependent var: 2.807592
- S.D. dependent var: 0.491466
- S.E. of regression: 0.475129
- Sum squared resid: 4.510495
- Log likelihood: 14.13326
- Akaikes info criterion: 1.048712
- Schwarz criterion: 1.899042
- Hannan-Quinn criterion: 1.883116
- R-squared: 0.543537 0.252302

| Left censored obs | 0 |
| Right censored obs | 0 |
| Uncensored obs | 26 |
| Total obs | 26 |

END OF APPENDIX