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Consumers respond to a model for (re)building consumer trust in the food system

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- 1 Consumers respond to a model for (re)building consumer trust in the
- 2 food system
- 3 Abstract
- 4 Researchers and food system actors have developed a best practice model to assist with (re)building
- 5 or maintaining consumer trust in the food system in the event of a food incident. The aim of the
- 6 present study was to determine how well the model aligns with consumer views of the strategies
- 7 required to maintain consumer trust during and following a food incident. This qualitative public
- 8 deliberation study employed experimental, developmental vignettes during 2 full-day sessions in
- 9 May 2018. Following general discussion of the food incident scenario presented in the vignettes, 15
- 10 South Australian adults (in two groups) developed a collated and ranked list of key strategies to be
- used by food system actors during a food incident to assist in maintaining consumer trust.
- 12 Participants were then introduced to the existing model, and engaged in discussions about if and
- 13 how their strategies aligned with those in the existing model. Findings demonstrate broad
- 14 consistency between the two groups and the model in the strategies identified as key for
- 15 (re)building and maintaining consumer trust during a food incident. For example, timely
- 16 transparency was reported by consumers as the key strategy for maintaining consumer trust during
- and after a food incident. However, participants expressed pessimism regarding actors' ability to
- implement strategies. Although minimal, differences were noted in strategy descriptions between
- the groups and the Model. This study suggests that overall the model is highly consistent with
- 20 consumer views. If actors are to demonstrably apply the Model in the event of a food incident, our
- 21 data suggest that the identified strategies will successfully assist them in (re)building and/or
- 22 maintaining consumer trust in the food supply.
- 23 Keywords
- 24 Consumers, trust, food system, food incident, food regulator, food industry
- 25 1. Introduction
- 26 Consumer trust is essential for the functioning of food systems globally. For consumers, trust is one
- 27 pathway for reducing the complexity and uncertainty they are faced with in engaging with modern
- food systems (Bildtgard, 2008; Tonkin et al., 2016). The value of consumer trust to the market lies in
- 29 its fundamental role in enabling food markets to function with the general support of the
- 30 community, also known as social license (Arnot, 2011). Social license is maintained as long as public
- 31 trust is maintained, and must be supported by expensive, inflexible and onerous regulatory structure
- 32 when consumer trust is lost (Arnot, 2011). As such, the globalised food market is dependent on
- 33 consumer trust in a foundational sense, as well as for its obvious importance for individual
- 34 companies and brands. Further, because of their complexity, even with functional social license,
- 35 globalised food systems require extensive regulation and critical oversight, and consumer trust
- 36 legitimises the authority of governments to conduct these activities (Houghton et al., 2008; Wynne,
- 37 2002) (see also Henderson et al. (2012); Meyer et al. (2012); Tonkin et al. (2015)). Threats to
- 38 consumer trust can come from many sources, but food incidents, whether food safety incidents or
- 39 food fraud cases (Spink & Moyer, 2011), present a major and ongoing challenge (Cope et al., 2010).
- 40 Numerous high-profile food safety and fraud incidents have shaken consumer trust in food systems
- 41 globally over the last two decades; for example melamine in milk in China, the horsemeat scandal
- 42 across Europe, the plasticizer incident in Taiwan, food fraud in Brazil, the dioxin crisis in Ireland and

- 43 the notorious BSE crisis in the United Kingdom. The specific details of how these incidents came
- about and the resultant consumer purchasing behaviours and market outcomes have been highly
- 45 publicised and amply studied (Dey & Montet, 2017; Jacob et al., 2011; Regan et al., 2015; Regan et
- al., 2016; Thomson et al., 2012; Xiu & Klein, 2010; Yamoah & Yawson, 2014). A lesser focus of this
- 47 literature however is consumer perspectives of strategies for the management and repair of their
- 48 trust in the fallout from these incidents. Barnett et al. (2016) report that in the wake of the
- 49 horsemeat food fraud incident across Europe, consumers described needing tougher penalties for
- fraudsters, more information and transparency, as well as shorter food chains and improved use of
- food labels to rebuild their confidence in meat products, and therefore reinstate previous
- 52 purchasing behaviour. While these are useful practical suggestions, this literature in general lacks a
- 53 comprehensive and systematic examination of consumer opinion regarding how food system actors
- can (re)build or maintain consumer trust following food incidents more broadly.
- 55 Wilson et al. (2016) previously published an evidence-based best practice model for (re)building and
- 56 maintaining consumer trust in the food supply before, during and after food incidents (hereafter 'the
- 57 Model'). The Model was developed through eliciting the views of 105 food system actors including
- 58 food industry, food regulatory and media actors from the United Kingdom, Australia and New
- 59 Zealand regarding the strategies they saw as important for managing consumer trust around a food
- 60 incident. Fifty-eight participants went on to participate in a member-checking and strategy ranking
- 61 exercise. The Model centres on 10 strategies identified by the participants, including: (1) be
- 62 transparent, (2) have protocols and procedures in place, (3) be credible (4) be proactive, (5) put
- consumers first, (6) collaborate with stakeholders, (7) be consistent, (8) educate stakeholders and
- consumers, (9) build your reputation and (10) keep your promises. The Model includes a description
- for how each of the 10 strategies should be implemented by media, food industry and regulators.
- 66 Although the Model is thought to be best practice by food system actors in the regions studied and
- has also been supported in international comparison studies, no consumer input into the Model has
- 68 occurred to date. The aim of the present study was to address the lack of consumer-led direction for
- strategies to (re)build and maintain consumer trust during and following a food incident by both
- 70 eliciting consumer strategies and determining how well the Model aligns with consumer views. The
- 71 objectives therefore were to (1) determine the strategies consumers see as important to support
- 72 their trust in the management of a food incident, and (2) critique the Model using these.

2. Methods

- 74 2.1. Study design
- 75 This qualitative public deliberation study involved consumers participating in a full day (6.5 hours) of
- 76 structured democratic deliberation grouped within morning and afternoon sessions (Figure 1), in
- 77 May 2018. Participants and the research team were together throughout the day, including sharing
- 78 meals, morning and afternoon refreshment breaks. This immersive and intense approach is required
- 79 for participants to become acquainted and comfortable with each other, the content, the process of
- 80 a public deliberation and the researchers (Degeling et al., 2015; O'Doherty et al., 2012; Thomas et
- 81 al., 2017).
- The morning vignette discussion session (Figure 1) involved participants being presented with
- 83 experimental, developmental vignettes for group discussion. Vignettes are narrative scenarios
- presented to research participants to contextualise their responses in a research study (Grønhøj &
- 85 Bech-Larsen, 2010; Jenkins et al., 2010). They unfolded in a series of 3 stages, providing further
- 86 information and context about the scenarios as the morning progressed. Vignettes were used here
- 87 to situate the deliberations within a food incident scenario, and orient participants to previous food

incidents they had personally experienced. Participants were organised into two groups that conducted the day's activities concurrently in separate rooms to enable the presentation of two different vignettes (further described in 'Data collection'). Experimental manipulation of the details of vignettes is commonly used to determine the impact on the social behaviours described by participants (Grønhøj & Bech-Larsen, 2010), and was used here to explore whether different and contrasting food incident conditions impacted the key strategies thought by participants to support consumer trust in the food system during a food incident. The first session culminated in participants achieving consensus on a collated and ranked list of key strategies to be used by food system actors during a food incident to assist in maintaining consumer trust. This was done in order to preserve the power of the participants to constitute and elucidate their own strategies, rather than have researchers determine these after the fact based on transcripts. This is of central importance to the democratic method employed (Degeling et al., 2015; O'Doherty et al., 2012; Thomas et al., 2017). In the Model discussion session, participants were introduced to the Model developed by Wilson et al. (2016) mentioned above. Afternoon deliberations then focused on comparing the ranked lists of strategies developed in the morning session with, and critiquing, the Model.

Insert: Figure 1. Study components in chronological order about here

2.2. Data collection

The two food incident vignettes comprised three stages (Appendix A). Each outlined a series of events relating to a food safety incident involving black pepper, and were structured as follows: a vague introduction to the incident, a second part with extensive detail about the responses of food system actors, and a third part describing the resolution of the food incident. Group 1 received a vignette where the actions of the organisations named in the scenario were based on the Model; that is, the Group 1 vignette outlined a food incident where all food system actors conducted a 'best practice' response according to the Model. In the Group 2 vignette, food system actors behaved in the opposite way; that is, their response was the opposite of best practice according to the Model. The vignettes were developed by the research team in collaboration with a food regulatory agency to ensure both vignettes were realistic. Contaminated black pepper was chosen for the vignettes because it is widely consumed in the Australian community as an ingredient in many food products and at the table-top. Consumers from a wide diversity of cultural, religious and socio-economic groups eat black pepper making it relevant to all study participants.

All deliberations were facilitated by the same senior researcher for each group (JC and PW). This involved guiding the groups' discussion toward the study areas of interest, detailing instructions for the group tasks, as well as ensuring inclusive group dynamics made possible by the immersive environment. During the vignette deliberation session participants were presented with each stage of the vignette and asked to discuss their feelings and response in terms of who they would be looking to for information, and what information they would be seeking, their expectations of the people they identify as part of the management of the incident, as well as their own consumer behaviour in relation to the incident (see discussion schedule in Appendix A). Participants were then asked to individually write down on Post-It notes the actions/expectations (strategies) of food system actors they saw as most important to help maintain their trust given the food incident scenario. Strategies on Post-It notes were collated into similar concepts by the researchers during the morning tea break, and this was conducted in the same room and in full view of the participants. Each group then reviewed, debated and revised these groupings, and gave each concept group a

- name agreed upon as representative by the group (for example, 'transparency'). Finally, the
- 134 concepts were then explicitly defined and ranked in order of importance. There was no limit placed
- on the number of strategies. Thus at the end of the vignette discussion session both groups had a
- ranked list of key strategies for food system actors during a food incident to support consumer trust,
- in the same format as that in the Model.
- 138 The Model discussion session began with a comprehensive presentation of the Model from the
- researcher co-ordinating its development (AW). This presentation was intentionally left until after
- the participants had developed their own ranked list of key strategies so as not to influence
- participants' responses. Preserving the original two groups, through facilitated deliberation
- participants then compared the 10 strategies within the Model with their own ranked list by merging
- strategies they considered similar under the same heading (hereafter we refer to this process as
- 'mapping'). Put simply, they matched strategies they thought generally had the same meaning. For
- example, Group 1 had a strategy they called 'openness and transparency' which they considered
- closely matched in meaning and scope the 'be transparent' strategy from the Model, and therefore
- mapped 'openness and transparency' to 'be transparent' (in Table 2 this is graphically presented
- using a solid line connecting the strategies from each list, presented below). Similarly, Group 2
- 149 concluded that taken together their two strategies of 'independent oversight' and 'information' had
- similar intent and actions to the Model strategy of 'be credible', therefore mapped these. Any
- strategies that were not mapped to the Model, or widely differing descriptions of mapped
- strategies, were then discussed in terms of a critique of the Model.
- 153 2.3. Sampling and recruitment
- 154 Participants were recruited using purposive, theoretical, stratified sampling through a market
- research company. This method prioritises sampling that reflects the diversity of the population of
- interest, rather than representativeness (Barbour, 2007), which is appropriate for deliberative
- democratic methods (O'Doherty, 2017). Adults older than 18 years from Adelaide, South Australia
- were invited to participate from a database of approximately 20,000 respondents. Stratification was
- used to ensure balanced sampling of a number of factors known to impact trust in the food system
- including: food market preferences (supermarket shoppers, organic/specialty store shoppers,
- farmer's market/own produce shoppers) (Ekici, 2004; Tonkin et al., 2016), age, gender,
- socioeconomic status (by suburb), country of birth (Australia/international), occupation and
- household makeup (single no children, couple no children in home, family with children under/over
- 164 12) (Henderson et al., 2011; Holmberg et al., 2010; Poppe & Kjaernes, 2003; A. Taylor et al., 2012; A.
- 165 W. Taylor et al., 2012). Additional recruitment was conducted at an organic market using flyers to
- 166 fulfil unmet sampling dimensions. Participants were placed into two groups for the day's activities
- using the same sampling dimensions, as having two groups with similar participant composition is
- thought to ensure data features are not simply those of a one-off group (Barbour, 2007; Scott &
- Garner, 2013). Additionally, having participants with different opinions in the group, and thus some
- disagreement in discussion, typically encourages participants to provide depth in their justification
- for their opinions enabling greater clarity on their perspectives (Barbour, 2007). All participants
- provided informed consent and were reimbursed \$100 for expenses associated with participating.
- 173 The recruitment target for this study was 16 participants, 8 per group, as this is generally considered
- the maximum number of participants for a group while still enabling depth in data collection and
- analysis (Barbour, 2007; Scott & Garner, 2013). Ethics approval was granted by the Flinders
- 176 University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC7567).

177	2.4. Analysis
178	All materials resulting from the day's activities were used in the analysis, including: audio recordings
179	of all group discussions, transcribed verbatim; each group's ranked list of strategies; the butchers
180	paper groupings of each individual participant's identified strategies; and the researchers' own notes
181	from the day. Analysis initially focused on comparing the outputs from each group (the ranked list of
182	strategies and description of each strategy) with the Model to determine how well it aligned with
183	consumer views. The first part of this comparison was of course part of data collection, and
184 185	therefore participant led. However, the Model presented to participants was not in ranked order of importance. Therefore, to enable comparisons of strategy rank, the Model strategies were ranked in
186	order of the 'average ranking following a food incident' approach used in the original paper, and
187	where scores were the same, they were ordered based on highest percentage agreement (Table 2,
188	p7, Wilson et al., 2016). This method of ranking the Model strategies was chosen as it most closely
189	matched what participants in the present study were asked to do during deliberations. Similarities
190	and differences were identified, and transcripts and researcher notes were then interrogated to
191	draw out further context for, and any implications of, inconsistencies. Transcripts were also openly
192	coded to accommodate any additional themes raised by consumers which were not captured in the
193	final outputs. The method of data collection enabled the participants themselves to map and
194 195	compare their strategies to those of the Model, therefore the results presented here were thoroughly participant led and their presentation member-checked by participants, ensuring
196	credibility and authenticity (Nicholls, 2009).
197	3. Results
198	3.1. Participant characteristics
199	Fourteen of the 15 participants recruited through the market research company, and one additional
200	participant from the organic market recruitment attended both deliberation sessions on the day
201	(Table 1).
202	
203	Insert Table 1. Characteristics of participants attending all sessions of the study, by group here
204	
205	3.2. Participants' overall response to the vignettes
206	In their response to vignette part 1 which opened the group deliberations, Groups 1 and 2 identified
207	industry (growers, suppliers, manufacturers, retailers and food outlets such as restaurants),
208	regulators (generally termed 'the health department', 'SA health' or 'Food Standards Australia') and
209	the media as key actors in a food incident, prior to any mention of these actors from researchers. In
210211	addition, participants in Group 1 thought hospitals were an important stakeholder in identifying the cause of the food incident.
212213	It was clear from participants' responses to the complete vignettes that the two vignettes elicited different trust reactions from the participants. The vignette based on the Model was highly
214	consistent with consumer expectations, while the other vignette violated these expectations. For
215	example, a Group 1 (best-practice scenario) participant in response to vignette part 2 said,
216	I think what has happened is what should happen. It's pretty consistent in terms
217	of what needs to be provided. (Michael)
218	While a Group 2 (non-best-practice scenario) participant response to vignette part 2 was,

219 220 221 222 223 224 225	But I'm serious, if we are taking the whole scenario as one thing there are a lot of conflicting issues which would bring about distrust in the companyAnd then I'll blame [government organisation] because they should be testing before it's brought to the consumers. So it means there's something that the government didn't do, there's a step that wasn't followed. So for me if you take the whole statement, the scenario on the whole I would basically think about sacking my pepper. (Andrew)
226227228229230231	3.3. Consumers' ranked strategies mapped to the Model Participants identified the key actions or expectations of food system actors they felt would be required for their trust to be maintained in the event of a food incident, gave them a single name (hereafter referred to as 'strategy'), ranked their listed strategies, and mapped them to the Model. Each ranked list is shown in Table 2, as well as how the participants mapped their strategies to the Model.
232	
233234	Insert <i>Table 2</i> about here
235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248	Transparency was independently ranked the number 1 strategy by Groups 1 and 2, and in the Model. Both Groups 1 and 2 also saw some repetition in the Model strategies of 'be credible' and 'build your reputation'. Eight of the 11 strategies identified by Group 1 (best practice vignette) were thought by participants to be captured within the top 5 strategies of the Model (Table 2). The strategies 'be transparent', 'be credible' and 'have protocols and procedures in place' mapped directly to Group 1 strategies that participants felt were equivalent and also ranked in the same position. All of the 10 strategies identified by Group 2 ('non-best practice' vignette) were thought by participants to be captured within the top 5 strategies of the Model (Table 2Table 2). The strategies 'be transparent', 'be credible' and 'put consumers first' mapped directly to Group 2 strategies that participants felt were equivalent and also ranked in the same position. Therefore, the top 5 strategies within the Model were thought by participants to capture 8/11 (Group 1) and 10/10 (Group 2) strategies they independently identified as important for (re)building or maintaining consumer trust in the food system in the event of a food incident, with many strategies mapping directly to equivalently ranked strategies within the Model.
249	3.4. Consumers' detailed critique of the description of the Model strategies 3.4.1. Be transparent
250 251 252 253 254 255 256	Group 1 mapped their strategy 'Openness and transparency' and Group 2 mapped 'Transparency' to the Model's 'Be transparent' (Table 2Table 2). The Model and both Groups 1 and 2 defined these strategies as transparency in food system actor actions in investigating and managing a food incident. Both Groups 1 and 2 expanded the definition of transparency provided in the Model however, particularly in relation to the media. Consumers emphasised the need for accuracy in all aspects of reporting, and Group 2 intertwined being transparent with being proactive for the media,
257 258 259 260	That's my point, being transparent doesn't just mean whatever someone hands it over you just accept it and pass it on. You have to do your own research and whatever you find out you give to the public and that means transparency. (Andrew)
261 262	Consumers were also sceptical as to whether industry 'know what consumers mean by transparencyfull disclosure' (Group 2 ranking table) including honesty about vested interests and

processes involved for industry when managing a food incident (for example cost-benefit analyses 263 264 for recalls). I'd want to see information that said we have consulted our lawyers and our 265 266 economists and our whatsit and we have formed this view. (Simon) 267 Both groups also discussed transparency in relation to regulatory documents detailing procedures 268 and protocols for food incidents being freely and easily accessible. Finally, Group 1 were also seeking 269 transparency from point-of-sale retailers, 270 I think where you purchased that produce from has a responsibility to tell you 271 [about food incidents]...But they probably don't want to do that because then 272 people are going to do exactly what I did, "Oh, I might not eat rockmelon this 273 week," and then they lose money too. (Jemima) 3.4.2. Be proactive 274 275 Group 1 mapped their two strategies 'Information' and 'Taking responsibility', and Group 2 mapped 276 'Communicating during the incident' and 'Expect companies to take responsibility and fix the issue' 277 to the Model's 'Be Proactive' (Table 2Table 2). For both Groups 1 and 2 being proactive meant all 278 food system actors providing information about a food incident to consumers quickly and in full. 279 Both groups specifically stated this needed to include information about the symptoms of the illness caused by the food. This represented a narrower description for the media and regulators, and a 280 281 slightly expanded description for industry compared to that presented in the Model. A critical part of 282 being proactive as seen by consumers was that food industry take responsibility for the incident, and 283 industry and regulators describe why it occurred, and how it will be prevented in future. 284 I think – just to follow what you just said there should be more proactive in that, 285 that the one who are bringing out the communication, I would like if such an 286 incident happened, I'd like maybe six months from now, the government come 287 out and say 'we actually have done this and this and this', not just put it in a 288 report somewhere.... (Andrew) 289 It was important to consumers that industry should not wait to be 'found out' by the media, but take initiative and voluntarily come forward to communicate all facets of the incident with consumers, 290 291 I do think, like using the Garibaldi example, because they were very actively 292 involved in that and they seemed to be very open and very honest about what 293 was going on, and I think that was an excellent response on their part. They knew 294 the damage that was happening, but they dealt with that. (Michael) 295 Finally, Group 2 identified that one-way regulators could be proactive was informing consumers 296 about existing food regulation and how it operates, 297 I think that as a proactive way, 'cause you're going to have the regulation, but if 298 the governments are actually doing what they're doing and they're showing us 299 that's a proactive way of us accepting that they're actually doing what they're 300 saying. (Andrew) 301 3.4.3. Be credible 302 Group 1 mapped their strategies 'Statements from relevant health governing body' and 303 'Information', and Group 2 mapped 'Independent oversight' and 'Information' to the Model's 'Be 304 Credible' (Table 2Table 2). With a greater focus on the type of information provided than in the 305 description in the Model, both Groups 1 and 2 related the 'be credible' strategy to their own 306 strategies about providing 'accurate, reliable, testable, easier to access, timely' (Group 2 strategy list 307 document) and 'evidence based...plain and simple' (Group 1 strategy list document) information to

308 309 310 311 312 313	consumers during a food incident. Importantly, and consistent with the Model, both groups also identified the need for information to be either validated or provided by a trusted, <i>independent</i> body, providing examples like chief medical officers or hospitals. Group 2 specifically identified 'not just the media/industry/regulators' (Group 2 strategy list document), while SA Health were seen as a credible organisation for Group 1. Not only did an independent body need to be involved in communication, but in all parts of the incident investigation and management,
314 315 316 317	Jemima: Because they have a business and if they can make another shortcut around it or make it not look as bad as it truly is, I think there's someone else that needs to be the voice of reason in there. Brenda: Independent.
318 319	Both groups also emphasised the importance of the timeline of the incident and when information is provided to consumers impacting on the credibility of organisations involved,
320 321 322	And if this is happening 48 hours after the initial report well understandably we don't have enough information but if this is a month down the track it's like 'hang on a second, SA Health you're not doing your job'. So it's a time thing. (Peter)
323 324 325 326 327 328	3.4.4. Put consumers first Group 1 mapped their strategy 'Recall', and Group 2 mapped 'Consumer education and critical awareness' to the Model's 'Put consumers first' (Table 2Table 2). For both Groups 1 and 2 food system actors could demonstrate that consumers are the priority by implementing the earlier strategies as defined by them; that is, by providing timely, consistent and comprehensive information regardless of its impact on reputation.
329 330 331	Conservative actions that may result in loss of income/reputation for industry were also mentioned by both groups, such as early recalls and 'naming and shaming' industry performing poorly in routine regulatory investigations.
332 333 334 335	Aaron: Yeah. And I suppose I'd expect them to be conservative, that it's better that they throw away twice as much food then perhaps was necessary. Shane: More than needed, yeah. Aaron: Rather than have people get sick, type of thing.
336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345	3.4.5. Have protocols and procedures in place Group 1 mapped their three strategies 'Investigation', 'Systems in place' and 'Evaluation', and Group 2 mapped their four strategies 'Testing', 'Action in the wake of an incident', 'Protocols/procedures in place' and 'Identifying the source of the incident' to the Model's 'Have protocols and procedures in place' (Table 2Table 2). This strategy was considered by both Groups 1 and 2 to encompass the investigation of the incident (testing, how it occurred), as well as protocols and procedures for communicating responses to the incident during and once resolved. Importantly, both groups emphasised the need for a demonstrably systematic process in all parts of incident management and including options for punitive actions taken in the wake (with an expectation of severe penalties for industry found to be deliberately risking public health).
346 347	Both groups reported that simply knowing that food incident protocols existed and could rapidly be implemented would impact positively on trust in the food system,
348 349 350	I like the idea that there is a food incident protocol. I've never considered what that would be, but I assumed that there would be something like that. It's good to know that there is, and it seems to have a name. (Mark)

- For Groups 1 and 2 this strategy incorporated both having protocols to prevent food incidents, as
- well as those to action systematic investigation of, and responses to, food incidents when they
- occur, which overall is consistent with the definition provided in the Model.
- 3.4.6. Collaborate with stakeholders and be consistent
- 355 Group 1 mapped their strategy 'Independent oversight' to the Model's 'Collaborate with
- 356 stakeholders' and 'Be consistent', while Group 2 did not feel any of their strategies were like these.
- On face value, both Groups 1 and 2 had reservations about the inclusion of 'Collaborate with
- 358 stakeholders' in the Model. Both groups deliberated at length about whether there is a need for
- relationships between food industry, the media and regulators, and how knowledge of these
- relationships might impact both their trust in the food system generally, as well as information
- received by the public during a food incident. Group 1 ultimately saw their strategies as being
- implemented together and in the sense that a range of stakeholders should work together to
- 363 provide consistent information and to the goal of completing the investigation of a food incident
- quickly; that is, all stakeholders are involved in ensuring information is accurate and all stakeholders
- 365 commenting on the incident provide consistent information for consumers to consider when
- 366 choosing their own actions in response to the incident,

Because I follow social media and all that, SA Health brought out a statement saying that it's been cleared. Woolworths had a sign saying that these rock melons have been cleared, you can eat them. And what was the other one? There was another association that said, yes, you can eat it, as well. (Penny)

- This was also discussed as consistency in how separate food incidents are managed, even to the
- point of having a standard location for and presentation of advertised announcements about food
- incidents. Although not explicitly stated, much of the conversation from Group 2 members in
- 374 response to vignette Part 2 revolved around the consistency between public statements and
- organisation's actions, as well as the consistency of information between actors. This description is
- 376 highly consistent with the definitions provided in the Model. As previously mentioned, both groups
- 377 raised concerns regarding vested interests in food regulation, and therefore explicitly expressed this
- 378 strategy would only support consumer trust if there was transparency about food system
- interrelationships, and also that the media was exclusively independent of these.
- 3.4.7. Keep your promises

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- Neither group explicitly identified 'keep your promises' as a key strategy, primarily because they
- thought it was implied by the strategies previously discussed. It was however identified as of critical
- importance for actors to be considered trustworthy;

Facilitator: What would that look like if you were to think, so in my head an untrustworthy person would exhibit these behaviours or an untrustworthy organisation would exhibit these behaviours? What would that look like to be untrustworthy?

388 Clarise: Not following through on promises.

- 389 3.4.8. Educate stakeholders and/or consumers
- 390 Group 1 mapped their strategies 'Information' and 'Systems/protocols in place', and Group 2
- mapped 'Consumer education and critical awareness' to the Model's 'Educate stakeholders and/or
- 392 consumers'. While generally finding their definition similar to that of the Model, Group 1 thought
- the implementation of this strategy should be extended to also making consumers aware of the
- 394 protocols and procedures that exist in terms of how food is regulated during both business-as-usual,
- and during a food incident;

396 Facilitator: So if I'm going to put that into the language that we've been 397 playing with here, would it say something like, "I would have more trust in food 398 supply if I had a better understanding of the food system."? 399 Michael: Yeah. 400 Facilitator: *Is that, you know, not just the incident itself, but the food system.* 401 Michael: Yeah. 402 Jemima: 403 Brenda: And my responsibilities when interacting with the food system. 404 Group 2 defined this strategy quite differently to both the Model and Group 1, focussing on food 405 system actors facilitating consumers to educate themselves and develop a critical awareness of food 406 matters, 407 When you're talking about educating stakeholders and consumers, do you think 408 the five basic points [referring to the Top 5 ranked Model strategies], if you don't 409 educate them, then the other five become null and void because you can set up 410 the protocols and the procedures, but if the consumers don't actually know how 411 to go about them, how to get - how to put on their views, how to bring it out to 412 the regulatory bodies, how are they supposed to actually - how are they supposed 413 to complain or do anything? (Andrew) 414 3.4.9. Build your reputation 415 Group 1 mapped their three strategies 'Statements from relevant health governing body', 416 'Independent oversight' and 'Action in the wake of an incident', and Group 2 mapped their strategy 417 'Independent oversight' to the Model's 'Build your reputation'. Both Groups 1 and 2 linked this to 418 the previously mentioned strategies within 'be credible', citing that implementing all other strategies 419 fully would assist in building a reputation for being trustworthy. The definition provided in the 420 Model also heavily features themes around credibility. Both Groups 1 and 2 also discussed 'build 421 your reputation' as industry and regulators clearly communicating remedial or punitive actions taken 422 in the wake of a food incident. 4. Discussion 423 424 Our data strongly supports the conclusion that timely transparency is the key strategy for 425 maintaining consumer trust during and after a food incident. The other strategies identified by the 426 participants were also highly consistent with the Model developed by Wilson et al. (2016); eight of 427 the eleven strategies from Group 1, and all 10 Group 2 strategies were mapped by the participants 428 to the top five ranked Model strategies. Therefore, the Model in its current form is fundamentally 429 supported by consumer opinion. Despite the groups receiving very different vignettes to 430 contextualise their deliberations and having different trust reactions to these, the findings 431 demonstrate broad consistency between groups and with the Model in the descriptions of the 432 strategies they identified as key for maintaining consumer trust during a food incident, albeit with 433 some differences in emphasis. This suggests that different food incident conditions do not appear to 434 affect the types of strategies thought to be beneficial by consumers to (re)build or maintain their 435 trust during, and following a food incident 436 The value placed by consumers on timely transparency and its importance during a food incident 437 found here echoes that reported by Barnett et al. (2016) in their study of consumer responses to the 438 horsemeat scandal in the UK. Participants in both studies also suggested tougher penalties and 439 accountability, and greater information sharing with consumers to be strategies supporting

consumer trust (Barnett et al., 2016). These strategies, and many others identified by participants in

the present study, are congruous with best-practice risk communication literature. For example, in

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442 their 'core risk communication strategy' Charlebois and Summan (2015) include openness, 443 transparency, independence, and timeliness/responsiveness as key. This importantly includes 444 transparency and timely communication with consumers in circumstances of uncertainty as stressed 445 by both participants in the present study and risk communication literature (Barnett et al., 2016; 446 Charlebois & Summan, 2015; Cope et al., 2010; van Kleef et al., 2009). These findings support 447 literature suggesting consumers appear to be willing to tolerate uncertainty about risk if it is 448 presented transparently and is the most up-to-date information available at the time. However, if 449 inappropriate food system relationships prevent the public receiving full and accurate, and timely 450 information, consumer trust will be jeopardised (McGloin et al., 2009). Timeliness can be seen from 451 the findings to permeate many of the strategies, most especially be proactive, transparent and 452 credible. The same information delivered at different time points was suggested by these 453 participants to have very different impacts on consumer trust and perceived credibility of system 454 actors. As such, food system actors would do well to incorporate in food incident management plans 455 communication strategies prioritising rapid and transparent communication about what is known 456 about the incident at any timepoint based on best practice risk communication literature. 457 There was a very high degree of consistency in the strategies and descriptions of strategies provided 458 by consumers and the Model, and therefore perhaps the implication is actors need to demonstrably 459 carry out the strategies. Like others (Cope et al., 2010; van Kleef et al., 2009), our data shows 460 participants to be sceptical of food system actors' intention in the case of industry and media, or 461 capacity in the case of regulators, to carry out the strategies, due to inevitable competing priorities 462 and pressures in their work. However, many of the strategies participants were sceptical about are 463 already being carried out in Australia unbeknownst to these participants. While the problem of consumers' sensitivity to industry interests impacting policy and regulation is potentially intractable, 464 465 perhaps communicating more effectively, more broadly, and with more depth about how food regulation works during business-as-usual and during a food incident, with an emphasis on simple 466 467 explanations of what regulation exists and how it can be applied, may assist in providing the 468 education requested by participants in the present study, and therefore in setting realistic consumer 469 expectations. Similar to these findings, Cope et al. (2010) report consumers seeking information 470 about the operationalisation of risk in food systems, and Barnett et al. (2016) that consumers seek 471 tougher penalties and accountability for industry. In communicating about a food incident therefore, 472 emphasising the existence of pre-planned protocols, the systematic nature of the investigative 473 process and incident management plan, the steps that will be taken to resolve the matter and what 474 corrective action is possible is likely to instil public confidence and trust. Indeed our data suggest in 475 some cases a specific incident does not necessarily result in diminution of trust in the system, but 476 may well provide an opportunity to demonstrate the preparedness of the system, potentially 477 contributing to the maintenance of trust in the system overall. 478 The novel method employed in this study sets it apart from previous literature in the area as it 479 reports true deliberative democratic public opinion; the immersive nature of the process allowed full 480 participation and engagement. As O'Doherty (2017) states, there is 'no meaningful theoretical 481 foundation for the construct of public opinion as it is typically measured in surveys, polls, or focus 482 groups', with true public opinion elicited through deliberative democratic methods. This study 483 therefore provides data representing genuine public opinion from which the recommendations for 484 practice have been drawn. While there were fewer participants under the age of 30 who attended 485 on the day than were recruited, those present were actively drawn into the deliberations by the 486 facilitators, and the member checking inherent in the design of the study provides further 487 confidence in the findings. This method of public deliberation could feasibly have numerous

- 488 applications, including using similar ranking procedures for research priority setting in areas
- involving experts as well as consumer groups.

490 5. Conclusion

- We found that public opinion was consistent with the best practice model for food system actors to
- 492 use in the event of a food incident to assist with (re)building or maintaining consumer trust (the
- 493 Model) proposed by Wilson et al. (2016). If food system actors are to demonstrably carry out the
- 494 Model in the event of a food incident, these actions are consistent with those consumers state will
- support the maintenance of consumer trust in the food supply. This study could be repeated in other
- regions to determine whether the Model is transferrable. The next step in this work in Australia is to
- determine whether food system actors do carry out their practice in line with the Model, both
- during a food incident and business-as-usual, and whether this does indeed support consumer trust
- in the food system.

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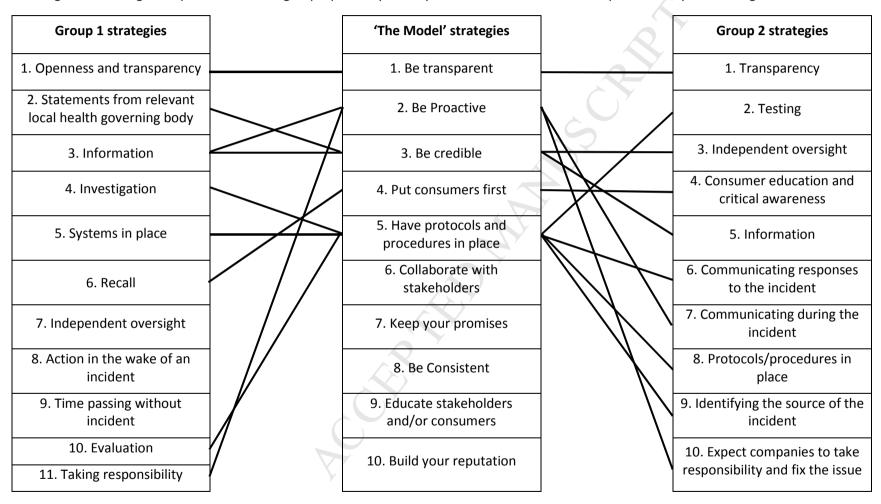
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Table 1. Characteristics of participants attending all sessions of the study, by group

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Market preference	Country of birth	Household makeup
Group 1, 8 pc	articipants				
Shane	Male	30-34	Supermarket	Australia	Family, child <12
Aaron	Male	55-59	Supermarket	Australia	Family, child >12
Penny	Female	18-24	Supermarket	Australia	Single, no children
Brenda	Female	65+	Organic/Specialty	Australia	Couple, adult child
Mark	Male	30-34	Organic/Specialty	Australia	Couple, no children
Athira	Female	40-44	Farmer's markets	International	Single, no children
Michael	Male	65+	Farmer's markets	International	Couple, adult child
Jemima	Female	30-34	Farmer's markets	Australia	Family, child <12
Group 2, 7 pc	articipants			4	
Peter	Male	45-49	Supermarket	Australia	Family, child <12
Janice	Female	45-49	Supermarket	Australia	Family, child >12
Simon	Male	65+	Organic/Specialty	Australia	Couple, adult child
Clarise	Female	40-44	Organic/Specialty	Australia	Family, child <12
Marie	Female	65+	Farmer's markets	International	Couple, adult child
Andrew	Male	30-34	Farmer's markets	International	Single, no children
Rebecca	Female	25-30	Farmer's markets	International	Family, child <12

Table 2. The strategies required to be actioned by food system actors to ensure consumer trust is maintained during and after a food incident determined by Groups 1 and 2. Strategies are presented in the order of importance identified by participants (1 = most important). Participants' mapping of their strategies to the original top-5 ranked strategies proposed by food system actors in the Model is represented by connecting lines.



Appendix A

Group 1 vignette and question schedule

Part 1

'You see a news report in SA in the past week that three people have been hospitalised from an illness associated we think with consuming pepper.'

Questions and prompts:

- 1. Given this session is about trust, what does trust look like to you?
- 2. What questions would you have about the incident? What would you want to know?
- 3. Where would you expect to find out more information about this? Who would you be looking to for details?
- 4. Who are you thinking should be involved in managing this incident? (Both communicating with the public and making sure the contaminated foods are eliminated)
- 5. What types of things would you be expecting these people to do, if they were to do the *right* thing?
- 6. What would you personally be doing to manage the risk, if anything?
- 7. What do you think the best possible outcome for you personally would be?
 - a. If this was managed successfully, what would you be doing in response?

Part 2

• 'SA Health states the illness is salmonella, and confirms the Food Incident Protocol has been initiated.

- The Chief Medical Officer, Director of Public Health, and food safety information council make statements to the media about testing being done on pepper sauces to identify the source of the salmonella, and that more information will be released as it is available.
- SA Health make a statement that the Imported Food Association has worked with them to proactively trace distribution chains and the country of origin of the potentially contaminated pepper.
- Industry has stated they will voluntarily recall affected products.
- Regular updates are given on the number of cases reported to hospital, patient recovery outcomes, and incident management actions by the same spokesperson from each organisation.
- Information is clear and easily understood, released via TV news, radio, newspapers, and online.
- Previous incidents have been managed well by the companies involved.
- An incident hotline for consumer questions is set up and incident fact sheets are provided and updated.'

Questions and prompts:

- 1. Let's summarise what's happened.
- 2. How do you feel about what is happening now?

- 3. Is there anything more you would want in terms of the management of this situation?
 - a. Is there anything else you would like to know?
- 4. What would you personally be doing to manage the risk, if anything?
- 5. What would it take for you to feel comfortable eating the affected foods again?

Part 3

'One month later the number of hospitalisations is confirmed to be 25 people, all of the relevant food products are identified and recalled, the source is traced and is no longer imported, and it is confirmed that domestic product is not involved.'

Questions and prompts:

- 1. Let's summarise what's happened.
- 2. How do you feel about what is happening now?
- 3. Is there anything more you would want in terms of the management of this situation?
 - a. Is there anything else you would like to know?
- 4. What would you personally be doing to manage the risk, if anything?
- 5. What would it take for you to feel comfortable eating the affected foods again?

Group 2 vignette

Part 1

'You see a news report in SA in the past week that three people have been hospitalised from an illness associated we think with consuming pepper.'

Questions and prompts:

See Group 1 above.

Part 2

- 'There is a delay in SA Health making a statement and they cannot officially confirm what the illness is, saying "We are not sure what the cause is and we are still investigating".
- The media reports industry have taken no action as they await test results.
- The media reports that industry are saying they do not believe that pepper is the source of the problem, and companies release statements saying their products are not involved.
- Different spokespeople provide information, and industry and health departments issue conflicting information about which products are being recalled in SA, Vic and NSW.
- The information released provides lots of technical information about the testing done, but no key messages and is released through radio and newspapers.
- Previous incidents have been managed poorly by the companies involved.
- Information only becomes available irregularly, and statements are not followed up.
- There is no central consumer hotline for questions.

Questions and prompts:

See Group 1 above.

Part 3

'One month later, the media reports that the illness was salmonella affecting 25 people, but then the reports become less frequent and eventually you hear nothing more about it.'

Questions and prompts:

See Group 1 above.

Vignette discussion session (morning) Vignette Part 1 presentation and discussion Vignette Part 2 presentation and discussion Vignette Part 3 presentation and discussion Participants individually identify the key strategies for consumer trust during a food incident Small groups collate the key strategies and rank them in order of importance Model discussion session (afternoon) The Model is presented and explained to participants

Figure 1. Study components in chronological order

Small groups map their own strategies to those of the Model

Small groups critique the Model in light of their strategies

Highlights

- Timely transparency is the key strategy for consumer trust during a food incident.
- Consumers and food actors propose similar strategies for maintaining consumer trust.
- Consumers express pessimism regarding food actors' ability to implement strategies.