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The Rise and Fall of Bread in America

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Honors Thesis

The Rise and Fall of Bread in America

Amanda Benson

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Chef Mitch Stamm

Abstract:

Over the last century bread has gone through cycles of acceptance and popularity in the United States. The pressure exerted on the American bread market by manufacturers' advertising campaigns and various dietary trends has caused it to go through periods of acceptance and rejection. Before the industrialization of bread making, consumers held few negative views on bread and perceived it primarily as a form of sustenance. After its industrialization, the battle between the manufacturers and the neighborhood bakeries over consumers began. With manufacturers, such as Wonder Bread, trying to maximize profits and dominate the market, corporate leaders aimed to discourage consumers from purchasing from smaller bakeries.

Though industrial bread manufacturers came out on top, they too faced challenges as consumers began to disapprove of all bread, not just locally baked loaves. Carb Free diets and, most recently, Gluten free diets have influenced people to remove bread from their diets. With the drop in bakers' profits, they had to come up with trends to drive consumers back to the staple. Whole wheat bread once thrown aside for white bread was welcomed back as a better and healthier choice to the processed packaged bread. Movements, such as Artisan Bread and Locally Made, help consumers return to neighborhood bakeries. With the shift back to traditional bread, Wonder Bread was forced to close, showing that consumers do value quality over cost. When looking at the big picture of bread it shows that no matter how many waves the staple food goes through it can stand the test of time.

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Introduction:

Simply described, bread is a traditional mixture of flour, water, yeast, and salt combined and baked to create a nourishing food. Societies, cultures, nations, and economies have risen and fallen due to an abundance or lack of it. Bread, a staple of many cultures has been the center of meals and caloric intake for millennia. It was consumed in such large amounts by the Greeks that they were called “artophagoi” or “bread eaters.” In the Middle Ages hard slabs of bread were used as edible plates that would soften as the food soaked through it, resulting in the “plate” becoming edible (Adler).

From being baked at home, to being produced by the town baker, to having an entire aisle dedicated to it in American supermarkets, bread has evolved through the ages. As the bread industry in the United States became more efficient, the intake of bread began to be influenced by Americans’ shifting perception over the years. Some trends have even influenced consumers to completely eliminate bread from their diet. Other trends have created a rift between which type of bread is best. At certain points in history, this once staple food has been portrayed as so bad that it nearly lost its traditional place at the center of the table. Consumers who once regarded bread with reverence and appreciation now portray it as the “enemy,” making it into a scapegoat for health problems and weight gain. The influence and pressure exerted by media, manufacturers and the medical community through clever advertising campaigns or diets have caused the bread industry to go through cycles of acceptance and popularity and periods of rejection and vilification.

The Beginning Of Bread:

Bread was one of the first baked foods. Archeological digs suggest that bread dates back at least 10,000 years to the Neolithic Period and the Ancient Egyptians. The first bread made with only flour and water and was unleavened, or without yeast, resulting in the characteristics of a flatbread. Flatbreads are typically dense and difficult to chew, making them hard on teeth and digestion. This is unlike the leavened breads Egyptians were credited with that gained popularity in 5,000 BCE. Leavened bread is much more airy, lighter, and more flavorful because fermentation adds flavors. They are easier to chew and therefore easier to digest. The lore associated with leavened bread is that it was discovered by an Egyptian servant. Legend has it that a slave woman who made bread for her master had forgotten to bake a portion of the dough. Returning to bake the next day, she observed the risen dough. Not wanting to be reprimanded she decided to bake it. The slave woman realized this was something that should be repeated and learned from (Sheppard). This legend is largely supported by the fact that it took place in the Mesopotamian Fertile Crescent, which has the perfect temperature and humidity for spontaneous fermentation. It helped the bread to ferment at the correct rate thus creating lighter bread with improved flavor.

During this period bread was a dietary staple accounting for almost all caloric intake. Bread was the dominant food in a person's diet regardless of social stature; peasants and pharaohs partook in the same sustenance (Bianchi). Bread was so highly regarded, that it was placed in tombs with the deceased for the afterlife.

Bread was used to pay wages to workers, especially during the building of the pyramids. They also received beer, another fermented food, as payment for their labor. At

this time people were not just looking at bread as a choice for sustenance, as they do today; it was their only source of nourishment. Bread rather than money was the form of payment workers received to maintain a level of subsistence for them and their families. During this period society placed a price on bread and the cost was work, likewise it put a price on what work was worth and it was bread. Because of this situation we use the term “breadwinner”, which was coined to signify somebody in the household who has a job to earn the “dough” (Taylor). The term’s origin is said to be from England in 1810.

In the thirteenth- century most people received 70-80% of their calories from bread. It was affordable, plentiful and available to people of all classes. This fell to 40-60% during the period from the early 1600’s to the 1950’s. By the end of the twentieth century, 53% of all calories consumed were grain based, with a large portion of that coming from bread (Kulp). Presently, it accounts for 25-30% of the daily calories for the average American (Bobrow-Strain).

When bread making emigrated from England to America, wheat was one of the first crops to be planted in 1602. The immigrants recognized the importance on this life-sustaining crop. They were familiar with it, trusted it and relied on it to recreate the lifestyle they had in their native country. Within a century, acreage dedicated to wheat crops stretched from Maryland to New England (Stetton).

At this point in history, bread was at its purest form. Wheat was simply harvested from the earth and then ground by hand. The crops had neither pesticides nor other chemicals sprayed on them, and the soil the crops grew in was clean with few if any pollutants. The hand ground wheat was then combined with water. No additives, chemicals or bleaching were applied to the flour, resulting in a completely natural

product, which could not be said in full truth today. Between the chemicals sprayed on the plants, the additives and chemicals in the flour, and the further addition of additives that large bread companies include to preserve their bread, American bread makers kept moving farther away from “pure” bread; and not only just pure bread, but pure food altogether in the United States. From over production and the need to achieve quantity over quality, one may conclude that almost all American crops today could not match the same nutrient or flavor level that they did when settlers first came to the New World. When one looks at this demoralizing fact it can be easy to need to place the blame on a product. With doctors urging the inclusion of fruits and vegetables in our diets, people quite naturally turn their disapproval towards another largely consumed product, bread.

In 1868, the first commercial yeast was readily available and its use immediately became popular (Stetton). Baking with commercial yeast seemed easier than using the sourdough process, which involves maintaining a starter also known as a culture or preferment. A starter is a combination of water and flour that is left out to attract natural yeast from the atmosphere. This culture has to be fed flour and water to keep the starter active and growing, which can be a time-consuming process. Industrial yeast offered a feeling of modernity; consumers realized that faster, more efficient processes could yield abundance and convenience. At this point, bread was still mixed by hand. The electric at-home mixer was not developed until 1908, so commercial yeast was the first glimpse of a more modern, easier process. Shortly after the invention of mixers came electric ovens. Ovens were a huge improvement. They provided the technology to control the temperature without much effort or thought, unlike maintaining and regulating a fire. Improvements to the bread making process, such as the oven and mixer were possible

after the conclusion of the Civil War in 1865. Energy and resources that had been put into the war were now being used to improve day-to-day life. Major improvements went into crop cultivation and food distribution, along with improved methods of refining crops (Rubel). Most important, in 1873, Edmund LaCroix, a French-American, developed a system to produce flour that was more refined and very white. Its immediate acceptance and popularity made it the “toast of the town” (Stetton).

Consumers’ tastes changed as they were exposed to new flavors and new foods and this whetted their appetite for more. This was the beginning of the long road of the bread industrialists would travel as they sought to make manufacturing as efficient as possible in order to dominate the market for a key food in people’s diets. Entrepreneurs with very little knowledge about the craft, put their resources into the bread industry to make money, not bread.

The Farmer, The Miller and The Baker:

The flour industry is one that incorporates three distinctly different yet entwined industries: farming, milling, and baking. The question is then posed, which figure had the most influence in the type of flour produced? Until the industrialization of bread, the farmer had the greatest influence. Farmers grew wheat according to the maximum yield and profits they could achieve, while taking into consideration the species of wheat that could withstand bugs and weather.

Farmers also may have been an influence because before the Industrial Revolution they did not have an excess of grain. White flour uses one of three parts of the wheat grain, the endosperm. Whole grain, like it implies, uses most if not all of the grain. A

farmer is able to obtain a larger yield for his crops if it is processed into whole grain flour versus white flour. White flour has an extraction rate of approximately 72%, meaning that 28% of the grain is unaccounted for. In Europe's early history, farmers did not have an excess of grain to make white flour. This resulted in a limited amount of white flour and in turn, a limited amount of white bread. The higher classes viewed this as something they desired because its supply was so limited (Rubel).

Once industrialization occurred, the millers and bakers were able to develop more power and a stronger voice to pressure the farmer to grow the variety of flour they wanted to use in order to make the bread they and their customers desired. The more powerful the larger industrial bakers became, the more financial leverage they had over the miller. The farmer and miller were forced to listen to the bakers because they would take their business elsewhere if the flour they received did not meet their specifications.

Jeff Yankellow, the current chairman of the Bread Bakers Guild Association and a world champion in 2005, has his thoughts on this relationship. He feels that bakers have the most influence on what type of flour is produced. In an interview conducted with Yankellow, he said, "I work for a flour company that has a relationship with farmers, millers and bakers. We maintain tight specs on our product because that's what we want to offer the baker. To meet those tight specs the mill has to have the right flour, which the farmer has to grow. We offer three main types of white flour to meet the spectrum of demand from our customer, the baker. So in the end I think the baker has and will always have the most influence on what type of flour is produced."

This three-way relationship was and will always be intertwined, at points each having different levels of power but all working towards the goal of making money. If

these three separate yet mutually invested industries work together to produce the best variety of flour then all would be happy and in a perfect world that would be what happens. But since each tier of the flour/bread industry must look out for his or her own best interests and is in business to make a profit there can be a great disconnect, which can make the other two tiers of the industry less stable. This relationship is reflected in the history that bread has gone through and can help explain and/ or justify the reason for different waves.

Industrialization of Bread

During the late 1800s a shift in bread production occurred, moving from numerous small individually, owned shops making bread by hand to large-scale industrialized operations. The marketing of store bought bread caused a radical change within the bread industry, dividing bread consumers' confidence and preferences between handmade bread, neighborhood bakery bread or industrialized supermarket sliced and packaged bread. In the 1890s women baked 90% of the bread in the American home. By 1930, the numbers were reversed and 90% of bread was baked in factories by men and then shipped to stores (Bobrow-Strain). This reflects a change in society. Instead of women staying home to make bread, men were being paid to make bread. The cracker and biscuit factories that had been in operation for close to one hundred years provided a model for the growth of bread baked in factories.

Bread was one of the last products to be industrialized because it was so difficult to control living yeast and other microorganisms, especially on a large scale. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, advances in engineering, milling, and transportation

combined with a shift in population density resulted in a dramatic increase of the availability of bread and other foods that had a short shelf life. Bread made with white flour and commercial yeast rapidly became a staple item in the United States (Kulp). This industrialization changed the view of bread in many households. The sterling white bread in lieu of dark uneven bread made by bakers and the convenience created a new phenomenon. Although consumers quickly embraced white store-bought bread, due to changing tastes and life styles, the media also played a significant role in making it even more popular.

The media, most likely because of the manufacturers' persuasion, accomplished this by feeding into people's fears. The media asserted that homemade and bakery made breads were unsafe to eat. At this time no agencies were regulating bakeries to ensure that sanitation codes were in compliance. The larger factories exploited this in their advertisements, stating that factories were a safer environment for producing bread because they were more sanitary. In the 1900s immigrants made up a large portion of the work force in bakeries. Once again the bread factories with the use of media as their voice used this to their advantage, stating that homemade bread was dirty and not sanitary. In the "sanitary" factories human hands did not touch the bread; machines performed the work. So the perception was that factories produced clean, sanitary, and therefore, safer bread. The media influenced society by using these arguments to drive consumers' purchases away from handcrafted bread to store bought bread (Bobrow-Strain). As a result, by 1913, industrially manufactured bread accounted for 15% of bread consumed in the United States; by the end of World War I, it accounted for 35% (Kulp).

Also, bread manufacturers used the bread itself as a way to shape social opinion. The color white is often related to pure and/or clean and even good as opposed to black, which may be portrayed as bad or evil. So the companies decided that the whiter the bread the more appealing it would be. Bread manufacturers demanded that the millers begin bleaching their flour, making it the purest white possible. Introduced around 1900, bleaching involved the adding of chemicals and/or gasses to improve baking qualities and appearance. Bleaching is a very controversial process because it destroys the valuable nutrients and to make up for this nutrients are added to the flour after the process. Since bleaching began, some of the bleaching agents have been banned, such as nitrogen trichloride; however, with every agent that is banned, a new one is developed and introduced. In most of Europe and Australia flour whitening is banned. Instead of chemicals, they add soy flour or fava bean flour for the same affect (Flour).

Manufacturers also advertised that their bread was consistent in shape and had small, even bubbles, unlike handcrafted bread from a family bakery. Housewives were advertised as loving the ability to pack sandwiches on pre-sliced bread that did not have big air bubbles making the toppings leak through. But bakers could argue that with the irregular bubbles in homemade bread comes a thick crust that could help prevent seepage. A bakery not having as much advertisement as companies like Wonder Bread it was harder for them to get their point out to consumers.

In 1941 industrialized bread accounted for 85% of all bread; incidentally, industrialized cake bakeries accounted for 35% of all cakes (Kulp). These numbers could be driven by the fact that after World War II economic times were better and so people

were able to afford more conveniences that allowed women to not spend all day in the kitchen.

When other industries began to see how much bread was being consumed they began using breads in advertising campaigns. Figure 1 shows an advertisement for Avisco cellophane in 1958. It demonstrates the strength of the cellophane and its ability to keep bread fresh. So not only were bread manufacturers pushing bread forward, so were the producers of plastic wrap in trying to get their product in partnership with the bread giants (Adler). The woman in the advertisement looks like a well-to-do, upper class lady with a manicure, perfectly styled hair, fancy earrings and makeup. Her facial expression indicates joy, pleasure and satisfaction. They are targeting the higher class along with other classes who aspire to live at a higher level with this ad.



Figure 1: Cellophane Advertisement

When manufacturers began to package bread in plastic, seeing and smelling the bread no longer was an option to determine how fresh a loaf was. Consumers had to squeeze the bread to measure freshness creating the equation of the squishier the bread

the fresher it must be. As a result, companies made bread softer and softer, which in turn resulted in sliced bread because it was too soft to slice at home (Bobrow-Strain).

Another example can be observed in Figure 2, created in 1954, with the caption “Bread’s better’ cause it’s *fresher* in cellophane”. With the ad displaying a little girl in pigtails, who would not believe her? One can observe that the little girl is filled with such joy over her sandwich and with no bread brand on the package it must be thanks to the cellophane. The red accents in the picture from the jelly to the bows attract one’s eyes to the red logo on the bread package stating cellophane. Something also to note is that the little girls hands are folded as if she is prayerful and thankful for her bread.



Figure 2: Cellophane Advertisement Little Girl

The industrialization of bread helped to increase the consumption of wheat, but it also caused a big ripple in the industry by making people question bread for the first time. Since consumers now had a wider variety of choices in the market for bread, bread migrated from a basic staple to a product of mass consumption. At this point in history it

was just the question of which type of bread, store bought or handcrafted, to buy, but the conditions in which bread could be rejected in part or altogether as part of a consumer's diet will come in later years. This was never an option before because bread was like water in most peoples' minds. The questioning stemmed from the mass advertising campaigns that helped teach Americans how to relate to bread in a new way.

The Government Steps In:

Another factor that fits into the equation of farmer, miller, and baker is the government. Government officials stepped in and instituted a change in 1941 during World War II. The National Research Council asked the milling industry to add eight nutrients to the flour. They believed this would prevent malnutrition during and after the war. This enrichment worked to the bread company's advantage because they could now market their bread as a healthier product. To this day industrial bread manufacturers continue to enrich their products (Stetton). Everything they are adding in is a synthetic form of what they removed as part of a refining process. Figures 3 and 4 are advertisements produced by Wonder Bread in the 1950s, promoting the eight nutrients added. Wonder Bread states in its advertisements that with these additives, consumers will gain major health benefits, including strong bodies and that you will not get colds if they eat eight slices of enriched bread.



Figure 3: Wonder Bread Advertisement Happy Boy

Figure 3 shows a young, white, “All American” boy, who is healthy and happy to be eating his bread. This image is accompanied by a list of the eight benefits of eating the bread, some of which seem questionable in this day in age. Some examples of these benefits are “as much protein as a serving of roast sirloin or beef” or “as providing as much energy for work and play as 2 glasses of milk.”

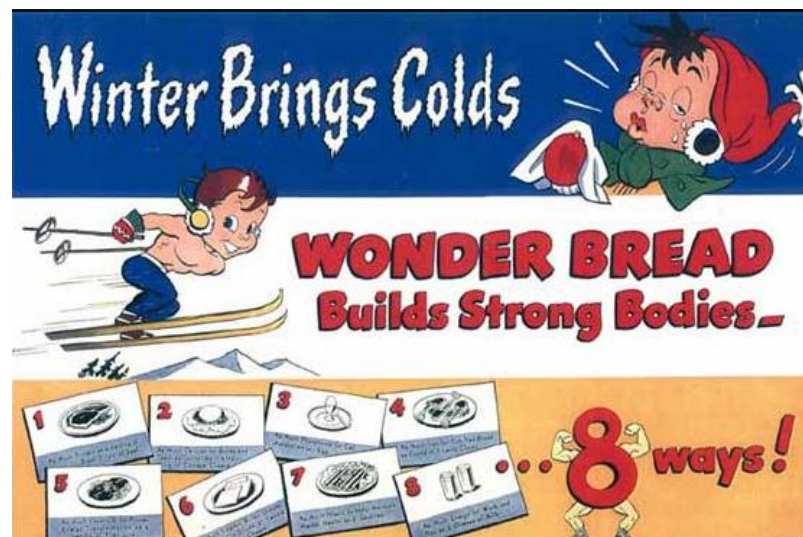


Figure 4: Wonder Bread Advertisement Curing Sickness

Figure 4 depicts a young woman with a cold. One may conclude from the ad that this simple problem could have been solved if she had eaten her Wonder Bread because when Wonder Bread is eaten one never gets sick. The bread builds up so much immunity in the body that one could ski without a shirt and become muscular. This is all thanks to the magical and miraculous 8. It is an easy to remember equation: 8 ingredients, 8 slices of bread equals 8 benefits. This advertisement falsely portrays the benefits of its bread.

Bread consumption increased from 25% in 1939 to 40% by 1944. People believed that bread was the perfect medium to reduce dietary deficiencies of the food shortage during the war (Kulp). Accordingly, these ads fueled consumers' beliefs resulting in increased sales of manufactured bread.

As started earlier, the government mandated companies to incorporate these ingredients and nutrients into their bread. So executives at Wonder Bread behaved like those at any other bread company. This eventually led Wonder Bread into legal liabilities in 1973. From 1964 to 1970, Wonder Bread switched their campaign to "Helps build strong bodies twelve ways," shown in Figure 5. In 1970, the Federal Trade Commission accused Wonder Bread of engaging in false advertising. After a year of investigation they proceeded with a prosecution that lasted six weeks. The Federal Trade Commission believed that Wonder Bread was not only trying to claim that their bread was different, but also that it was better due to the added ingredients. Finding this fact untrue, claims were also made that Wonder Bread was trying to target children who in turn would exert pressure on their parent to purchase Wonder Bread. Officials at the Federal Trade Commission claimed that, especially in their television ads, kids would be influenced to beg to eat Wonder Bread because of what the ad's portrayal. The ad displayed children

eating bread and becoming stronger in a matter of seconds. After a very costly battle for Wonder Bread in 1973, Judge Raymond Lynch ruled in favor of the bread company. Judge Lynch came to the conclusion that the FTC had based their claim false assumptions; such as children taking advertisements literally and that nutritional facts would in reality sway the consumer (Kilpatrick).

Despite the costly legal battle, Wonder Bread remained a strong figure in the



Figure 5: Wonder Bread Advertisement 12 Ways

bread industry until recently.

Through the history of Wonder Bread, the company was always able to persuade consumers to their product. They were able to convince consumers that their product was better than bakery bread or homemade bread. Having the ability to use effective marketing campaigns earned the bread a spot on home shelves. The purchasing of bread became such a norm that even when Wonder Bread was faced with legal matters consumers were not willing to give up their beloved product. Wonder Bread had become

the standard that other breads had to match, from the length of freshness to attributes it carried.

Bread Attributes:

What signifies a good loaf of bread? Is it a soft crust or a hard crust? Is a sweet or sour crumb more preferred? These preferences have changed through the years affecting which type of bread is produced and/or purchased.

Consumers are looking for one common denominator in a loaf of bread freshness. When it comes to the crust, typical European-style loaves have a pleasing crispness to them. It becomes softer and less crisp as it ages. The crust helps inform people how fresh their bread is. After the industrialization of bread, people's tastes in the United States changed and they began to want bread to last longer; any indication of staleness was a bad sign. So manufacturers began adding ingredients to their bread to make it softer. When the bread was squeezed, there was no sign of crust and this was perceived as good. Somehow, both types of crust were considered examples of freshness. It depends on which type is advertised and which one consumer's decide is favorable. The even grained, small holed crumb, resulted in a softer product, so manufacturers decided to start advertising soft bread, which forced them to continue promoting this attribute. The soft element may have also played into one of the reasons why that caused whole grain bread to fall out of favor in the United States, because with whole grains it is difficult to make the loaf light and soft as white bread.

Another aspect of bread that consumers judge is taste. White bread in the United States has included sugar for over 100 years. In the nineteenth century, sugar was

included in the bread formulation by manufacturers as a way to soften the crumb. This also gave the neutral flavor consumers wanted so that they could incorporate bread with parts of the meal. Consumers at this point were using bread as a component of a dish and not as the star or focal point.

Currently Americans desire the sour, acidic taste of naturally leavened bread. The sourness indicates that a starter was used and that it had time to develop flavor. It might be favored because it is different from the standard loaf at the grocery store and people are turning to traditional foods including bread. The natural flavors and textures that actually are characteristic to traditional bread are again becoming important to the consumer. This wave back could be because of the buying local movement currently occurring in the US. The baker, in order to give the consumers what they want, manipulates some of these attributes.

Developing a type of bread the consumer wants is the way to succeed in business. With the bread manufacturers ability to give the customers the type of bread they demand has caused trouble for bread bakers. American bread bakers are not the only ones who have had to fight for their consumers but other countries, such as France, have had different outcomes through their bread history.

French Perception of Bread

France and Bread are two words that fit together very well. The baguette, a simple loaf of bread, is an iconic French image. The French hold bread making, in high regard and revere bread-making standards. But why don't most consumers in the United States hold bread in such high esteem?

When the popularity of low-carb diets exploded in America, it was highly sensationalized, featured on morning shows and talk shows, and in newspapers and magazines. But low-carb diets did not receive widespread attention outside of the United States. In fact in 2004 only five countries, the US, Canada, UK, South Africa and Israel, had products sold with the low-carb moniker according to Mintel's Global New Products Database (USA: Low Carb Diets Appeal to over Half the Population). Consumers in France never even thought about adapting to low-carb options at this time because bread was simply what they ate. The French bakers reaction to the industrialization of bread, along with the consumers involved, made it distinctively different than the US bakers' experiences.

From 1955 to 1975, after two world wars had forced bakers to work with poor quality flour and through shortages, bread industrialization was gaining a foothold in France, as it had in the United States. Machines rather than hands produced bread. French industrial bakers produced white bread in high volumes just as in the United States.

Circumstances that fueled the white bread trend occurred in the mid-1950s when Joseph Albert created even whiter and greater volume bread. It is said that he switched from a gas powdered motor mixer to an electric one. And though the new one mixed the bread faster, he continued mixing it for the same time amount as before. The bread appeared to have been roughed up more than usual but he decided to bake it anyways. When he removed the bread from the oven it was whiter and airier than ever before. Albert explained that the new technique involved rapid kneading and to compensate for the roughness a large amount of preferment was needed along with commercial yeast. Initially, this bread received mixed reviews. It resulted in bread with a more regular hole

structure with slightly less taste compared to bread being produced by small bakeries. Some bakers were skeptical and believed that he may have added chemicals. But once these hypotheses were disproven, bakers started to see this was a faster way to create bread resulting in a better economic situation for them. The customers were interested in trying something new as well (Kaplan).

After a period of consuming the new quick bread, consumers began to long for their traditional bread. Since the French take so much pride in what they eat they concluded that the quality of bread was more important than quantity and/or volume. In 1980 French Millers, feeling a sense of responsibility to restore quality to bread, decided to step forward to make a difference. They began offering better flour to bakers and produced marketing that would assist the bakers with what they needed to return to the old handcrafted recipes.

To set the French bread industry even further apart than the American bread industry, a French decree put out by the French Government, in 1993 came forward known as “The Bread of French Tradition.” It stated that bread had to be made without additives, chemical products or improvers along with no freezing allowed during the fermentation process (Weinraub). The law has helped prevent French bread from going down the same road as American bread.

It is thought that part of the process to turn the bread quality around and to recapture a better name for French bread was to develop a competition. In 1992, Christian Vabret developed Le Coupe du Monde de la Boulongarie or The Bakery World Cup. This competition brought professionals from around the world together for a bake off. All the chefs wanted to be able to call themselves the “World Champion,” but France was

fighting for more than the title. It was fighting to prove that they had returned to good bread (Kaplan). The competition was also thought to be a good way to capture an audience for good bread for the competitors from the other countries. If a baker from a particular country were to come home as the World Champion then his or her bakery would become an instant success, so they were willing to risk everything in order to compete. A significant point is that the competition was made possible because millers, yeast manufactures, and equipment companies were sponsoring it. The companies had the perfect audience to sell their product to, which made them more than happy to host the event.

The French were able to stop the industrialization of bread from taking over the standard of their bread unlike in the United States. Three main points fueled their fight. In America we do not have the history, a consistent tradition, having a mixture of different ethnic background creates a variety of bread making traditions, or the customer appreciation that they do in France. With these three factors in France, the handcrafted bread business was able to stay alive and receive government support. Americans, unlike the French, were willing to switch to cheap, standardized and readily available bread when it was presented as an option. The effective marketing and convenience captured the attention of American consumers and without tradition holding them back, packaged bread was the product of choice.

Media's Influence On Trends:

The media have come to be a part of our daily lives. Many Americans begin their day with morning shows on television, listening to the radio on the way to work, getting

top stories off of social media sites or top news stories from a homepage. News and information is with us twenty-four hours a day. Previously, when a top news story occurred on the east coast it would not be known on the west coast until the next morning. In modern times, it could be trending on Twitter in a matter of minutes. So when a study is presented that the media deem worthy to pass along, Americans may hear it multiple times in multiple formats a day. This may be how a trend or fad is developed. A fad is something that has a clear start and finish, not lasting very long, where as a trend has the potential to last a substantial amount of time. Businesses try to predict whether something is going to be a fad or a trend because they can generate profits by responding to trends; however fads can pass too quickly for them to realize a profit.

Many foods have fallen victim to fads such as eggs being good, then bad, and then good once again. The meat industry, much like the bread industry, has taken similar hits, from influences such as the book, *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair. But why is it that bread takes the hit over and over again? Maybe it is because bread is the most abundant food in our diet and when something goes wrong people look at their diets and make adjustments. Another consideration is that producing bread is a big industry and other industries are always looking to grow. The growth of one industry could cut into the other industries.

One thing that may influence trends is a list produced by magazines and morning shows that predict the up-and-coming trends. How this list comes to be is uncertain. Some take the current industry leaders' and chefs' opinions into account. Others have experts that pride themselves on being trend forecasters, but one wonders who can really know what is going to be popular in the consumer's eye. In *Bon Appetite's* "25 Food

Trends for 2013”, number twenty-one is that a new course is taking shape and it is bread. They claim that people are beginning to specialize in making bread so much that people are regarding it as a separate course instead of simply as a component of the appetizer or something to snack on while waiting for the real food (Peterson). So according to this list bread is going to make a comeback from the hit it took during the recent gluten free and low carb diet trends.

In an interview in *Food and Wine* magazine, Anthony Bourdain discusses food trends. He states trends evolve when someone sees a cook or baker profiting from a good idea, and they want a share of the wealth too. However, he doubts the accuracy of media-generated predictions of the coming year’s food trends and wonders how items get on this list and what research supports it. (Krader).

Part of the media’s game is to advertise profitable markets. If consumers cannot have gluten, new gluten free items have to be developed creating a new market. By contrast, if people become vegetarian they just increase their consumption of more vegetables and fruits, this does not create that much of a new market.

Consumers should research the studies that are being promoted to them. The media’s goal is to selling things. They are able to sell products by telling consumers what they need, whether it is to loose weight or to own more then they have. So the media is able to capitalize on ideas they put into people minds.

Consumers have exhibited a pattern of just going with what they hear even if they do not know the science or facts behind it. This has resulted in diets coming into favor but then falling out of the same favor because people either find it to hard to follow the diet or it is not as successful as they wished.

White Versus Whole Grain Bread

The trend for consumers' preferences for white over whole grain bread is an example of how media-disseminated studies sway public opinion. Social status has had a big effect on which bread has been held in a better light, whether it is white or dark. When ancient bread was first produced it was whole grain. Millers did not take the time to separate the grain kernel and just crushed it whole by hand. When white bread first appeared, it was considered more pure in color and was preserved for the higher classes. Only those who could afford it would enjoy the white bread because the technology used to separate the kernel's parts made the price higher. This and the fact that there was not an excess of grain to produce white flour consigned the darker bread to the poor (Rubel). Later, manufacturers of white bread drew on this symbolism in their ad campaigns.

During the Industrial Revolution a shift occurred as milling became faster and more efficient. White flour could be produced in larger quantities, resulting in more loaves of white bread. White bread became cheaper for all and the higher class may have felt that the drop in quality mirrored the drop in price. Also coming to light were the health benefits of whole grain flour. The wealthy knew that only skilled bakers knew how to make dark breads. Now, it is considered better to purchase whole grain bread instead of Wonder Bread. People who could afford to purchase the more expensive bread, quickly changed to whole grain, and white bread became less popular with the upper class. Just as eggs were once perceived as good, then bad, and then good again, dark bread had once been the only bread, then it was in poor taste to the upper class and then it was good again. At the same time, brown bread had become less desirable to the lower

classes and white bread had become the bread of choice. The pendulum of popularity continues to swing.

The popularization of carb free diets also helped fuel the whole grain craze. If bakers wanted to get bread back on the table they had to make it healthier than consumers perceived it to be. Bakers were also motivated to shift momentum back towards the neighborhood bakery. Local bakers, already competing against giants like Wonder Bread, were feeling the pinch from declining sales and wanted to see true bread make a comeback. They did this by gravitating to the use of more whole grains. As displayed in Graph 1 (on page 31), the consumption of wheat flour began to increase after the carb-free diet in 2006 and 2007. By returning to whole grain, bakers attracted people who wanted to get back to the traditional roots of bread and away from the preservatives. But as the shift was occurring, bread manufactures fought to retain their clientele and began selling whole wheat packaged breads as well.

The Whole Grain Council introduced the whole grain stamp in 2005. In order to place this stamp on a product it has to provide 8 grams or more of whole grain ingredients per serving. Bread manufacturers were eager to place the stamp on their products because consumers began focusing on logo or looking for buzzwords on the packaging before they would purchase the item. This has continued to be the case with organic, fat free, trans fat free, etc. Stamps help sell products. Walking in the supermarket even apples, juices and yogurt are “gluten free.” These labels imply that gluten was taken out of these items when they never contained wheat.

Another shift in purchasing began at the same time, with the majority of consumers switching to whole grain products or for those who still enjoy white bread a

higher quality white bread. Products such as the baguette, traditionally white, are gaining in popularity along with other white breads such as pain de min, a sandwich loaf. These types of breads have made bread with white flour more popular with consumers, who are embracing the artisan bread movement. As already mentioned, labels, buzzwords, and packaging influence consumer decisions; bakeries, large and small, industrial and traditional, have marketed their bread under that campaign. The wealthier classes are seeking, if not demanding, fresh bread. White bread is popular among the higher class as long as it does not come off the supermarket shelf.

Carb Free Diets

Many American's believe that Robert Atkins was the first to come up with a low carb diet in 1972; however William Banting, an Englishman, first developed the low carb, high meat diet in 1863. The low carbohydrate diet promotes reducing one's carbohydrates intake and increasing protein based calories. With all the public attention it received, the Atkins diet is the most popular form of this diet. It allows the carbohydrates of vegetables and fruits, but items such as pastas and bread are off limits. This is the first diet that recommended the elimination of bread from consumers' diets and allowed unrestricted amounts of protein and high-fat foods.

In 2003 the National Bread Leadership Council released a study claiming that 40% fewer Americans ate less bread than they did in the previous year (Sharp). The dip, demonstrated in Graph 1, was such a big dent in the baking business that the council was compelled to develop plans to educate the public about bread's place in a healthy lifestyle. It should be noted that Panera, a large national chain of bakery/cafes,

extensively funded the National Bread Leadership Council. When bread industry leaders cannot fight the trends or fads they join them. Many companies began to create lower carbohydrate products to help fit into the niche fueled by media sensationalism.

Low carb dieting began to fall out of favor in 2004, making it more of a fad than a trend. Some say it was inherently unsustainable because its long-term success was limited by the fact that the diet was extremely difficult for people to follow. Consumers recognized that the percentage of carbohydrates in their diets was large and that avoiding them tremendous work. Removing a staple food, especially one so ingrained in Americans' diets and lifestyles, proved to be too difficult for most people. But as a nation, Americans did not learn and again another fad began in the late 2000s that also cut bread out of consumers' diets.

Table 2-5

Annual average grain consumption was 45 percent higher in 2000 than in the 1970s

Item	Annual averages					
	1950-59	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	1990-99	2000
Pounds per capita						
Total grain products ¹	155.4	142.5	138.2	157.4	190.6	199.9
Wheat flour	125.7	114.4	113.6	122.8	141.8	146.3
Corn products	15.4	13.8	11.0	17.3	24.5	28.4
Rice	5.3	7.1	7.3	11.3	17.5	19.7

¹ Includes oat products, barley products, and rye flour not shown separately.
Source: USDA's Economic Research Service.

Figure 6

Figure 6 shows the consumption of grain through a fifty-year period. An example of a dip in consumption is from 1959 to 1979. The Vietnam War lasted from the 1960 to 1975, and this could have had an impact on the consumption rates.

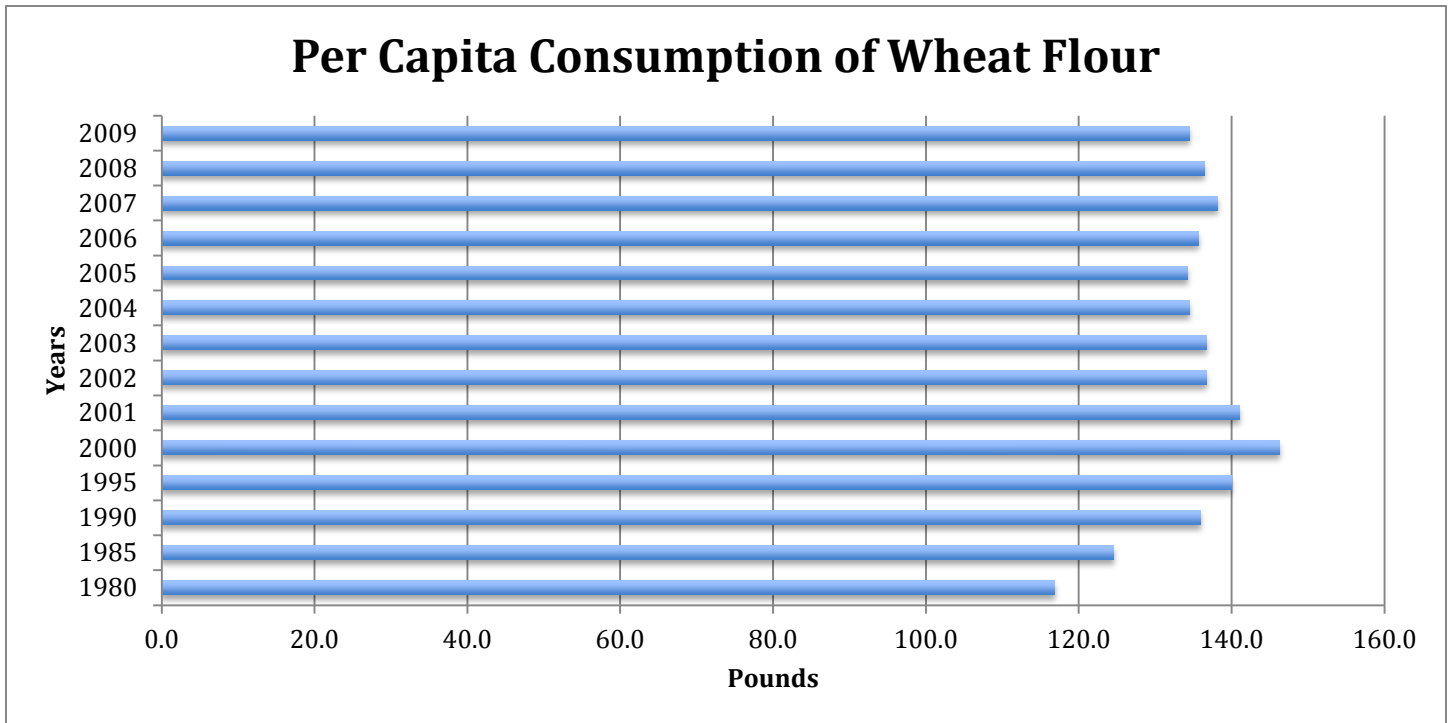
The table below, compiled from the US census data, reinforces the information in the table above. The data spans twenty-nine years. Both tables show there have been fluctuations in the consumption of wheat throughout this era.

Per Capita Consumption of Major Food Commodities

Product (lb.)	1980	1985	1990	1995
Flour and cereal products	144.9	156.7	181.0	188.7
Wheat flour	116.9	124.6	135.9	140.0

Products (lb.)	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Flour and cereal products	199.2	194.9	192.5	193.1	191.5	191.3	193.5	196.3	196.6	194.5
Wheat Flour	146.3	141.0	136.7	136.7	134.5	134.3	135.7	138.1	136.5	134.6

* Information provided by the US Census



Graph 1

Graph 1 shows a great increase of wheat consumption from 1980 to 2000. From 2001 to 2004, consumers became more aware of the amount of grains they were consuming, partly due to the low carb diet fad. This fad ended around 2004 and, as displayed in the graph, consumption began to increase yet again. The next decline in consumption, occurred between 2007 to 2009. This correlates with the popularity in the gluten free diet that is currently occurring. Some people need to remove gluten from their regimen in response to medical issues. As this movement has gained momentum, however, more people are adopting the principles and practices. But with every fad against bread, bread bakers begin to find ways to bring their customers back.

Artisan Bread Movement:

In the early 1990s, bread bakers decided to take a stance and started bringing back the “good bread” or, as many described it, European-style bread. Food lovers began to crave good bread and bakers thought Americans would welcome it too. After the initial influx of interest there were some quiet years. But now the trend seems to be on the rise again. According to an article released by the Small Business Development Center, the revenue for the U.S. bread industry increased 18% between 1998 and 2003. This dynamic can be explained by the fact that consumers are not eating more bread; they are buying more expensive bread in lieu of the sliced store brands.

Like many trends and fads, bread popularity has come full circle. While factories continue to monopolize the bulk of bread production, small, individually owned bakeries creating artisan breads are mushrooming. Travel by Americans, immigration from other countries, media attention, and the percentage of income consumers are willing to spend on artisan products all play a role in this more recent shift (Kulp). These bakeries also produce breads whose origins reflect other countries and culture, such as the French baguette, Italian ciabatta and the Jewish challah. A renewed appreciation for “traditional” foods, coupled with an increasing awareness of nutrition contributed to the growth of smaller bakeries. Soon, the industrial bakeries were mimicking the smaller shops and labeling their products as “artisan.” By 2012, the word has become almost meaningless as it pertains to food and has been relegated to an empty marketing term.

The artisan bread trend has helped to counteract the gluten free trend, but bread producers have begun slapping the words “artisan bread” on any bread they choose to market under that umbrella. As discussed earlier in the carb free section, these logos or

key phrases entice consumers and drive sales. Consumers look for trending words without understanding or questioning how it reflects on the actual product. Traditionally the term “artisan bread” implies that the dough has been kneaded, shaped and baked in the same location where it is sold, without freezing or with extra yeast added to it. Artisan bread should not contain any preservatives so they need to be made and sold within a few days of being baked. With the co-opting of the term “artisan bread” by industrial bakeries, small bakeries have no buzzword to convince consumers that their bread is different.

An interview with Chef Jeff Yankellow reinforces this theory. “Bakers that make high quality artisan bread like to think that there is more demand for higher quality bread but I believe artisan bread is a very small part of the bread market and even as it grows, so is the commercial side. Large industry tends to copy small business as far as product but what they often end up doing is flooding the market with shi**y versions of what they see as the next big thing. But people buy it because they don’t know better and it’s cheaper than the real thing,” said Yankellow.

Some movements and trends, however, are working to the advantage of the neighborhood baker. The Locavore movement is supported by people who are interested in buying locally made or harvested products. It has also helped neighborhood bakeries increase their artisan bread sales (Atchley). This increase in artisan bread sales is also helped small grain farmers receive a boost in awareness and sales. Farmers are beginning to grow varieties of grain for micro flour batches. This could have a big impact on the future of bread because the type of flour greatly changes the characteristics and produces unique breads (Rubel).

By 2013, “locally made” has become the new buzzword with bread treaded in ways formerly reserved for carefully and regionally distinct cheese, wine and vegetables. Terroir, a French word that is used to describe unique products of a region because of its agricultural environment, has been used to describe this approach for years. This has helped different regions develop tourist business for their given bread, for example San Francisco is well known for their Sour Dough bread.

Organizations began to form to help promote the baking and bread industries. The Bread Bakers Guild of America is a prime example. Started in 1993, the Guild is a non-profit alliance of professional farmers, millers, bakers, bakery owners, students and home bakers. The Bread Bakers Guild describes itself as a community that works together to produce the highest quality of baked goods. There are more than 1,300 members, which includes people from around the world and across the United States. They all want to advance the artisan baking craft and profession. The Guild promotes itself as a central place to get all resources concerning bread and a place where bakers can exchange ideas. They want to make bread a “hero” (Bread Bakers Guild of America).

As this organization emerged, Vanret created the Coupe du Monde de la Boulangerie in France. One member of the Bread Bakers Guild is Craig Ponsford, an American and highly regarded baker who remains an influence on the bread industry today. He won the gold medal for the best bread in 1996. Since then the American team has taken first or second every year except 2008, when they took fourth. This has given America a solid footing from which to promote good bread. Gold medals and world championships are something that consumers understand, appreciate, and value. Although the guilds mission is “Shaping the knowledge and skills of the artisan baking

community through education...” it also strives to shape the knowledge and awareness of the bread buying public.

Even a highly regarded baker like Craig Ponsford has had to deal with the swings in bread popularity finding that it is best to listen and learn what consumers are asking for and then offer a variety of choices to cater their needs. He hopes the next wind pushes consumption in the United States closer to locally baked bread made from locally grown wheat that contains fewer chemicals. Chef Ponsford believes that, within the struggle among the farmer, miller and baker it is in fact the consumer who actually has the most power. The consumer is the one who has the biggest impact because the success of all three industries rests on the purchase of a final product.

Another group trying to bring awareness to bread was the American Bakers Association. In 2004 they agreed to form the Foundation for the Advancement of Grain-Based Foods. They joined efforts with the North American Millers Association to get the message of positive health regarding bread to consumers. They were beginning to feel the effects of fad diets and concerns about the nation’s obesity epidemic. They were hoping the public campaign would help consumers change their minds about eliminating grain-based foods. From 2004 to 2010 there was a steady decline in bread consumption. This decline could be attributed to low-carb trend (Atchley). But the foundation only remained strong for a few years. Not having the ability to find support or funding, rendering it ineffective so it ceases to exist today.

These movements are trying to promote what is good about bread. By deleting preservatives and using high quality flour and other ingredients they believe they are creating products consumers will want. To succeed at this they must help consumers

understand the differences between the bread produced by craft bakeries and the bread filling supermarket shelves. In order to advance sales, industrial bread bakeries have been forced to add more and more ingredients, such as nutrients, even though that is what is removed in the milling process. They have added preservatives to give it a longer shelf life to appeal to consumers. So though the labeling on industrial bread might be flashier it is usually because of an addition of ingredients.

Every time bread bakers think they have the customers swinging back towards them a new challenge presents itself. This time the fad has some underlying truth to it, which bakers have to be cautious about.

Gluten Free Diets

The most recent diet that eliminates bread from the consumer's kitchen is a gluten free diet. Gluten free diets eliminate food containing wheat, barley and/or rye. Gluten is a protein created when grains containing gluten forming proteins and liquid are mixed. When people with celiac disease consume gluten an adverse reaction takes place in the small intestine, usually resulting in abdominal pain. The consumption of gluten damages the villi, the lining of the small intestine. The villi's job is to absorb nutrients for the body. When these villi become damaged the body is no longer able to absorb the nutrients needed, causing a deficiency. To avoid the damage to the small intestine a doctor will place the patient on a gluten free diet. At this time there is no permanent cure or treatment for celiac disease other than avoiding specific foods (Boettcher).

Currently in America gluten free has turned into a new marketing word. Gluten is in more than just bread products. Gluten can be found in items such as gum, soups made

with roux, salad dressings and soy sauce along with it being concealed in many other items. This diet deletes many more products from a consumer's diet than the carb free diet did. Consumers trying to avoid gluten must constantly check labels and make inquiries with their servers in restaurants. Gluten free food sales reached a market of over 2.64 billion dollars in 2010, a 30% increase since 2006. But not as many people have to be on the restricted diet as currently are. Only 1% of the US population has celiac disease and only 6% are gluten sensitive. This means that about 16 million people are genuinely afflicted and require a gluten free diet (Pomerance). These people really do need to view bread as an evil substance. Clearly many people who do not need to adopt the diet have done so, leading to a significant drop in wheat flour consumption as shown earlier in Graph 1.

But why have so many Americans adopted this diet? According to Joanne Salvin a Professor with the University of Minnesota's Food Science and Nutrition Department, "gluten is the villain of the month" (Pomerance). Many people are turning to the gluten free diet, thinking removing the villainous bread, will cure obesity, rashes, autism and migraines. And while some people experience benefits due to a gluten free diet, it is not beneficial for everybody.

First, it is not scientifically proven that gluten free diets help with weight loss. The cards are actually stacked against someone when it comes to trading in one slice of regular bread for a slice of gluten free bread. Though they both have the same number of carbohydrates, the gluten free product is likelier to be higher in fat, sugar and calories. When the strength and structure of gluten in bread is removed something else is needed to binder the product. So in a sense bread should be perceived as the hero, but it is over

shadowed by the fact that people do tend to change their diet, from processed foods to fruits and vegetables, when on a gluten free diet. They are more likely to have a more diversified diet. This is why people are experiencing the results; not by eliminating the bread completely but by eating a well balanced, diverse diet has long been recommended by dieticians and nutritionists.

In 2010, scientists began testing the connection of gluten free (wheat protein) and casein free (dairy protein) diets to assist in improving behavior in autistic children. In 2010 Dr. Susan Hyman released a statement stating these provide no remedy or improvement for autistic children. (Childs). It is evident that doctors trying to find a cure resulted in portraying bread as the villain when in fact it was not as evil as thought. But in 2012, researchers from Penn State College of Medicine released a study saying that people with Autism Spectrum disorder are more likely to have gastrointestinal symptoms (Hazell). A gluten free diet could aid these people, which contradicted the earlier study.

But like people on carb free diets, dieters are finding it hard to stay on a gluten free diet. Since many have chosen to put themselves on gluten free diets to lose weight, it has tainted the importance of the diet for people with celiac disease.

If bread is the enemy, then why are people trying to create gluten free bread? Bread is so woven within our society that eliminating it is hard for those who are allergic to it. They strive to still have that connection. What is a hamburger without the bun, or a sandwich without bread? Though people who have celiac are unable to consume bread, it does not mean that bread is not wanted, for that group of people wheat bread has to be a villain but other breads do not have to be.

The First Has Fallen-

In November 2012, Hostess Brands, the manufacturer of Wonder Bread, filed for Chapter 11 Bankruptcy, which led to the liquidation of its holdings and the closing of a chapter in American culture and history. Wonder Bread was the first manufacturer to mass-produce bread and changed the way consumers thought about bread forever. Now it will be no more. The first industrialized bread manufacturer to respond to the times and offer consumers white whole wheat and other whole grain options could not weather the demands of a fickle public. A public growing enamored of traditional bread made with traditional ingredients and traditional procedures would no longer support this bread giant.

When Hostess decided to close their doors the union was blamed for not being able to come to a contract agreement for the bakers. Most observers believe that there was a larger, underlying cause. Hostess was struggling because Americans' eating habits had changed (Sanburn). For decades Wonder Bread was consumed at breakfast as toast, at lunch as a sandwich and at dinner tables as a side dish, but now there are so many more choices that people are replacing the sliced bread with these newer options. Yogurt is replacing toast at breakfast; its convenience and health benefits have been widely touted. Yogurt consumption has grown from only 17% of Americans consuming it ten years ago to almost 33% today. The same thing has happened to bread's place at the dinner table. These days' people want dinner to be fast and easy. All-in-one dishes, such as pasta and pizza are favored. There has also been a 3.6% increase in the tortilla industry since 2007. Consumers who allow carbohydrates in their diet look at a wrap as a better option than a sandwich (Sanburn).

Another factor contributing to the downfall of popularity for Wonder Bread is the supermarket bakeries. These bakeries, though most produce loaves that were once frozen and then baked in stores, offer costumers “fresh” bread. Consumers have warmed up to this idea and prefer it to commercial bread. The industry is making a shift from the packaged bread to higher quality bread. Consumers have begun to view bread less as a staple and more as an indulgence: if they are going to use the calories on bread, then they are going to use them on high quality and fresh bread.

Conclusion

Bread is made of four simple ingredients, flour, salt, water and yeast, nothing more complicated than that. But through its long history, it has continuously morphed and been judged against a shifting set of ideals. Bread has gone through different appearances and its perception in the eyes of consumers has been heavily influenced by the media, including clever advertisement campaigns that have portrayed part of bread as an evil. The industry has gone through cycles of popularity that have affected how consumers regard bread today.

Bread started out as a staple in everybody’s diet. What could influence reasonable, well educated people to abandon and cast aside traditional breads to seek nourishment and sustenance from foods whose labels have logos or buzzwords on them? One could conclude that the media through advertisements and packaging drives it, while social standing and acceptance accelerate it. With clever campaigns that persuade Americans, they do not take the time to educate themselves about diets today and are quick to try the next big thing. These rapid fixes are easier for the masses instead of using

reasoning and education, which fly out the window in the face of self-image and perception. This is demonstrated through the different trends and fads throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century.

The first time that eating bread was questioned was when its production began to be industrialized. During this time, the owners of new industrial bakeries were trying to sway consumers towards store bought bread boasting that it was cleaner and better for them. This was the first time that a bad light was shone on bread. Though it addressed just half of the bread industry, people began to question the type of bread now available. This ignited a competition between the industrial bakers and the bakeries that still exists today.

In response to the industrialization of bread, bakers developed new products that would reclaim consumers of traditional bread. In France, the bakers, millers, and farmers joined forces to combat the problem. As white bread was becoming all the rage in the U.S., they promoted whole grain bread. Now consumers had even more options, such as which type of bread and where to buy it.

During the whole grain versus white bread battle, a diet began dominating consumers' interest that would hurt both types of bread bakers: the carb free diet. This was the first time that consumers saw the entire industry of bread as the villain. People began to completely cut out the once essential food in their diet. The industrial bakers responded with low carb products while neighborhood bakeries promoted whole wheat bread. A combination of these marketing tactics along with the fact that the diet was hard for many to follow resulted in the increase of grain consumption and a new set of consumer tastes that bakeries were well positioned to exploit.

Though neighborhood bakeries have survived these ups and downs, they still were not as popular as the ones in France. By the early 1990s, however, the Artisan Bread Movement slowly began to improve their situation. With the promotions by different organizations, and the fact that consumers were becoming more aware of wanting to eat locally made items, consumers shifted away from the industrial, store-bought loaf to locally baked bread. Consumers' tastes have shifted so much that the first and largest bread manufacture in the market shutdown. The closing of Wonder Bread was a definitive sign of changing tastes and perceptions.

Yet, just as bread was making a comeback, a new diet began to eliminate it again from consumers' diets. Gluten free diets have recently become the new way a healthier lifestyle. Although gluten free diets were created for people with celiac disease and gluten sensitivities, consumers were ready to try anything to lose a few pounds. But, as with the carb free diet, consumers began to see that cutting out products and types of food was difficult especially in the type of society we live in, where flour is contained in more products than just bread.

Modern bread making has been tossed along successive waves of popularity and disgrace, while consumers try to figure out what they prefer. This has caused fluctuations in the consumption of grain. But, if one thing can be observed from the history of bread, it is that bread always comes back. Bread has existed for too long as a staple food in life to fall victim to transient, media-fueled trends. It is a food that will always stand the test of time.

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Figures

Figure 1:

Avisco Cellophane Advertisement, 1958. Digital image. *The New York Times*. N.p., n.d.

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Figure 2:

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Figure 3:

Wonder Bread Advertisement Builds Strong Bodies 8 Ways! Digital image.

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Figure 4:

Wonder Bread Advertisement Curing Sickness. Digital image. *The Nature Institute*.

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Figure 5:

Wonder Bread Advertisement 12 Ways. Digital image. *Advertising Age*. N.p., 23 Jan.

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Figure 6:

Annual average Grain consumption 1950-2000. Digital image. *Profiling Food*

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Graph 1:

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