

UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMICS OF CLIMATE-CRUCIAL FOOD CHOICE BEHAVIOURS USING DISTRIBUTIONAL SEMANTICS

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ABSTRACT

Developed countries must make swift movements toward plant-based diets in order to mitigate climate change and maintain food security. However, researchers currently lack clear insight into the psychological dimensions that influence food choice, which is necessary to encourage the societal adaptation of new diets. In this project, we use Skip-gram word embeddings trained on the ukWaC corpus as a lens to study the implicit mental representations people have of foods. Our data-driven insights expand on findings from traditional, interview-based studies by uncovering implicit mental representations, allowing a better understanding the complex combination of conscious and sub-conscious processes surrounding food choice. In particular, our findings shed light on the pervasiveness of meat as the ‘centre’ of the meal in the UK.

1 INTRODUCTION

According to current projections, by 2050, the emissions budget available per capita under the IPCC’s 1.5° C target will be swallowed entirely by diets high in ruminant animals (Ritchie et al., 2018). Dietary change will be forced by environmental and economic factors, and the food equity gap will widen (Garnett, 2013), meaning the developed world must adapt diets compatible with a “1.5° world” (Schleusner et al., 2016, p.832). However, by definition, ‘sustainable diets’ must not only have low environmental impacts, but be nutritionally complete, economically accessible, and culturally sensitive if they are to be widely adapted by society (Perignon et al., 2016; Macdiarmid & Whybrow, 2019). We must understand what drives food choice before we can strive to change it.

To understand decisions around food fully, we need an holistic approach which considers a range of factors. For example, consider the apparent cognitive dissonance between desires to eat sensorially indulgent foods (Graça et al., 2015; Olsen, 2008; Armstrong Soule & Sekhon, 2018) and intentions to eat healthily (Pieniak et al., 2010; Perignon et al., 2016), or in ways that satisfy social norms (Bogueva et al., 2017; Carlucci et al., 2015; Abbots & Coles, 2013; Pohjolainen et al., 2015). Most existing studies investigate a single influence on food choice using explicit methods such as consumer surveys or focus groups (for recent examples, see Morales & Higuchi (2018) or Markowski & Roxburgh (2019)), but these explicit methods rarely capture crucial implicit influences, such as cognitive and emotional associations between different foods (Köster, 2003; Dalenberg et al., 2014).

In this paper, we investigate what we believe to be the currently little-explored dimension of implicit determinants of food choice. To do so, we assume that language can be used as a window into how people think and feel as shaped by culture and habitual behaviours - thus providing insight into both the explicit and implicit knowledge people have about foods. We then use Machine Learning methods for analysis; specifically a Distributional Semantic Model. DSMs are not only valuable for Natural Language Processing, but also for modelling human cognitive relations and semantic memory (Jones et al., 2015). By examining the behaviour of food-word embeddings within this model, we are able to consider food choice as a mixture of explicit and implicit mental representations,

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rather than as the product of a single explicit factor. It is this data-driven approach that allows us to model how UK citizens implicitly think and feel about foods.

2 MODEL AND STUDY DESIGN

The basic design of our study was as follows: we defined a set of food-words comprehensively representative of diets across the UK. We trained the Skip-gram algorithm (Mikolov et al., 2013) on the ukWaC corpus (Baroni et al., 2008), and studied the behaviour of food-word embeddings using unsupervised learning, bootstrapping of psycholinguistic variables, and close textual analysis.

2.1 CHOICE OF SEED WORDS

We obtained a total of 925 food terms (including all variants in spelling, pluralisations and synonyms) by cross referencing Appendix R to the National Diet and Nutrition Survey (PHE, 2018b)¹ with WordNet (Princeton University, 2010) and BBC Food. Words with fewer than twenty occurrences in the corpus were removed in line with the ‘Sinclair cut-off’ (Baroni et al., 2008)). Words with polysemic meanings of very high frequency (i.e. ‘date’, ‘Turkey’) were removed. 14 Native English speakers were consulted over removal of words of more ambiguous polysemy (i.e. ‘roll’, ‘chop’). Our final list contained 640 terms, including multi-word expressions like ‘baked beans’.

2.2 CHOICE OF DISTRIBUTIONAL SEMANTIC MODEL AND CORPUS

Baroni et al. (2014) demonstrate that neural, context-predicting models (particularly Mikolov et al.’s Skip-gram (2013)) provide a very good fit to human performance in tasks such as analogy and context categorization. Skip-gram has also been used to accurately extrapolate psycholinguistic variables using a k -nearest neighbour approach (Mandera et al., 2015), suggesting the embeddings latently encode psychologically valid dimensions. We therefore assumed that the embeddings derived from Skip-gram could be considered a reasonable proxy for human semantic memory.

Our corpus needed to balance high-quality examples of UK English with the requirement of sufficient data to train Skip-gram for meaningful semantic representations. Our chosen corpus was the ukWaC, a web-crawled corpus containing 1.9 billion tokens extracted from 2.69 million documents (Baroni et al., 2008). The ukWaC comprises varied content extracted from .uk web domains (including academic literature, advertisements and public service documents), which was extensively linguistically post-processed to minimise the quantity of data ‘noise’.

3 RESULTS

3.1 OVERALL BEHAVIOUR OF FOOD EMBEDDINGS

To investigate how foods are represented and organised in the semantic memory of UK individuals, we looked for natural categories and groupings of the food-word embeddings using the unsupervised learning technique of k -means clustering (MacQueen, 1967).

Since the inherent randomness in the initialisation of k -means centroids can occasionally lead to a sub-optimal solution, we performed 100 tests of the optimum number of clusters using a combination of cluster validity indices (Silhouette, Davies-Bouldin and Caliński-Harabasz). We found the optimum number of clusters to be $k = 3$.

We performed Principal Co-ordinates Analysis on the 300-dimensional food word-embeddings *only*, to produce a 2-dimensional, visualisable space. Figure 1 shows how food-word embeddings split naturally into three categories: **Fish and Seafood**; **Edible Plants** i.e. fruit, vegetables, nuts, seeds; and **Miscellaneous**, which is a mixture of meat, savoury and sweet foods, and animal derivatives².

¹ Appendix R (‘Main and subsidiary food groups and disaggregation categories’) provides a detailed list of all foods recorded in four-day food diaries collected from a sample of UK individuals (PHE, 2018a)

² Due to space constraints, Figure 1 presents only a subset of all food words used in the model (for readability). See Figure 3 in the appendices for a larger-scale version of this visual representation with all food-word embeddings studied, and Figure 4 for a larger scale visual representation of the Miscellaneous category.

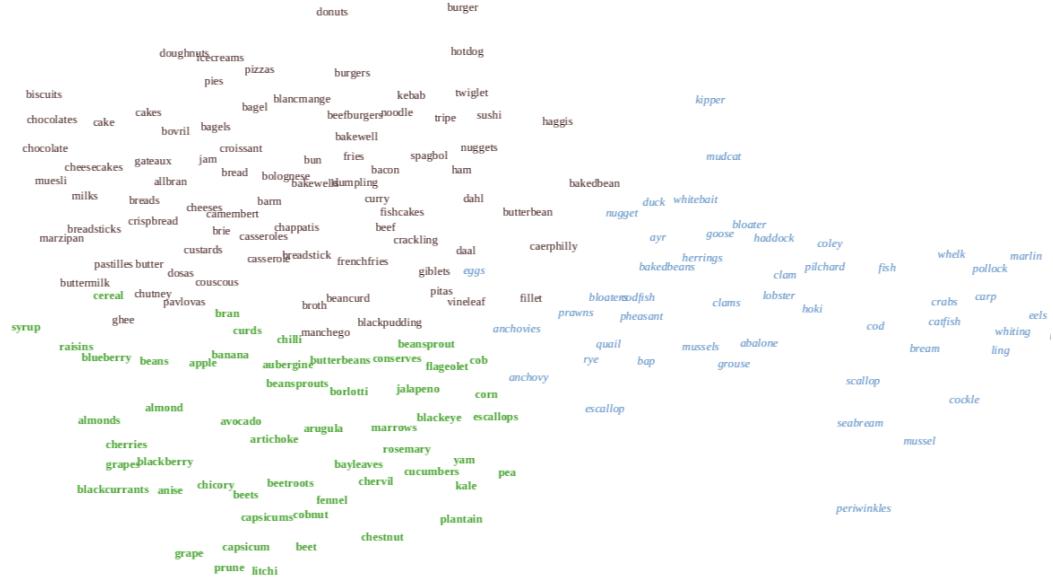


Figure 1: Arrangement of food-word embeddings according to k -means clustering, $k = 3$. Green, bold-face words represent the **Edible Plants** category; blue, italicised words are the *Fish and Seafood* category; and the brown, standard-face words are the ‘Miscellaneous’ category.

3.2 BOOTSTRAPPING VALENCES

To analyse the affect associated with the different foods, we followed Mandera et al.’s approach of bootstrapping valence scores (i.e., the extent to which a given word elicits positive, negative or no emotional associations) by averaging the valences of the k -nearest neighbours (2015), with $k = 10$ and neighbourhoods defined by cosine similarity. Figure 2 shows a box-plot of these estimated valence scores, grouped by k -means cluster; it is clear that across the board, foods have positive affective associations ($\bar{x} = 0.96$, $P(\mu \neq 0) < 0.001$). Miscellaneous foods have the strongest positive associations, mostly due to the presence of sweet foods in the category ($\mu_{sweet} = 1.33$, $\mu_{misc} = 1.12$). Fish and Seafood have the least positive associations, though averages are still above neutral ($\bar{x} = 0.50$; $P(\mu \neq 0) \leq 0.0001$). Both parametric (2-sample t-test) and non parametric (Mann-Whitney U-test) were applied as the distributions were unknown; in both tests, the differences in mean valence between the three categories was statistically significant ($P(\mu_1 \neq \mu_2) < 0.001$ for each pairwise comparison, after a Bonferroni correction for $b = 3$ tests).

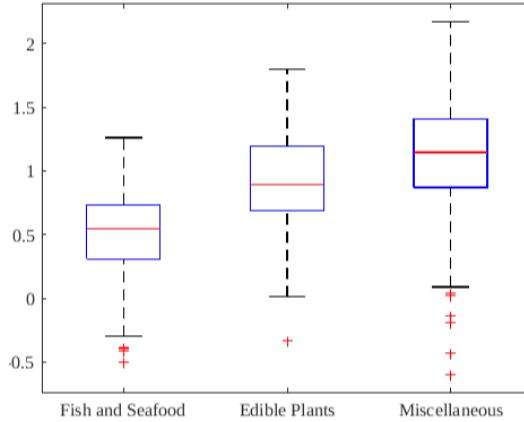


Figure 2: Box-plot of bootstrapped valences for the k -means clusters as defined in Section 3.2

3.3 ANALYSIS OF LEXICAL NEIGHBOURHOODS

The 10 nearest neighbour adjectives to each word in each k -means cluster were thematically coded using a similar scheme to Papies (2013), by two independent, native speakers of UK English with good knowledge of the project. Inter-coder agreement was 79%, with discrepancies in coding resolved through discussion between coders. Themes for coding were: ‘sensory’ (taste, texture); ‘situational’ (time/place of eating); ‘hedonic’ (judgement i.e. ‘yummy’, ‘gross’); ‘food preparation’ (descriptions and verbs, including past-participles such as ‘roasted,’ ‘fried’); ‘nutrition’; ‘other foods’ (any food noun); and ‘other - unrelated.’ Results are presented in Table 1. Notable results (bold-faced) are that the Fish and Seafood category is associated with many non-food contexts but few sensory attributes, and Miscellaneous foods are the only group to be associated with hedonic language.

	Fish and Seafood	Edible plants	Miscellaneous
<i>Sensory</i>	6.3	26.8	22
<i>Situational</i>	0	0	0.9
<i>Hedonic</i>	0	0	5.4
<i>Food preparation</i>	32.6	26.8	40.9
<i>Nutrition</i>	0	0.1	0.4
<i>Other foods</i>	48.3	44.7	29.7
<i>Other - unrelated</i>	12.8	1.6	0.7

Table 1: Percentage of neighbour-adjectives in each description category for the three food clusters

4 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our headline result is the discovery that people in the UK mentally represent foods in three main categories: Fish and Seafood (FS), Edible Plants (P), and a Miscellaneous group (M) including meats, dairy products, and composite foods.

FS foods are described using a small proportion of sensory words, ($< 7\%$) and a low variety of food preparation terms (over 40% of these being ‘breadcrumbed’, ‘grilled’ and ‘fried’), which indicates unfamiliarity with the food group. Given that unfamiliar foods are expected to be less satiating (Brunstrom et al., 2008), and unfamiliarity with fish preparation associates fish with inconvenience (Olsen et al., 2007; Thorsdottir et al., 2012), FS foods forming their own category seems unsurprising.

With meat represented closely with composite foods like curries, pies and sandwiches (c.f. standard ‘main meals’), the notion that “it’s not a meal without meat in it” ((Macdiarmid et al., 2016)) appears implicitly in UK representations of foods. Matching with Yates & Warde’s analysis of British eating habits (2015) we see evidence that meat is at the ‘centre’ of the meal; vegetables and fruits in their own, separate category relegates them to ‘trimmings’. Indeed, with meat at the centre of the ‘standard’ foods category, we can see how the social environment is implicitly unsupportive of plant-based diets ((Markowski & Roxburgh, 2019; Macdiarmid et al., 2016) and why non-meat-eaters are perceived as “disrupting social conventions” ((Markowski & Roxburgh, 2019)).

Bootstrapping the valences of different foods revealed that in general, emotions toward food are positive ($\bar{x} = 0.96$) - the accuracy of these bootstrapped valences is validated by the known existence of positive hedonic asymmetry among consumer emotions (Schifferstein & Desmet, 2010). Climate crucial foods (meats) actually have a relatively low mean valence ($\mu_{meat} = 0.89$, $\mu_{misc} = 1.12$), which may suggest it is attachment to the implicit concept of the meal that keeps meat at the centre of the UK diet, rather than the desire for meat itself. Moreover, because only M foods are described using a wide range of hedonic and sensory attributes, a potentially useful strategy could be to increase the use of indulgent language for describing plant-based foods, given that style of description has been shown to not only encourage people to choose foods with more “indulgent” names (Turnwald et al., 2017), but to pre-bias them into actually perceiving the food as tastier, more satisfying and more calorific (Wansink et al., 2005).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research was supported by a European Research Council Advanced Grant (ECOLANG, 743035) and Royal Society Wolfson Research Merit Award (WRM\R3\170016) to GV.

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A APPENDIX

