

GATEKEEPING

大众传媒把关

（中文注释版）

Pamela J. Shoemaker 著

张咏华 注释
上海交通大学出版社

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内 容 提 要

本书概述了大众传播中的“把关”现象,回顾了“把关”概念的形成及其研究的发展,总结了相关的理论,并把“把关”过程归纳为5个层次。

除引言外,全书共分5章,系中文注释版,适合相关专业人士使用。

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注释版序

当今全球化、信息化时代,各个领域的国际交流日益频繁,国际环境空前开放。中国自改革开放以来,日益加强各个领域的对外交流。尤其是随着中国加入世贸组织,中国经济正日益融入全球一体化运作。在这样的大背景下,我国新闻与传播学界和教育界尤其需要了解本学科领域国际上的成果和动态,并需要培养学生的国际化视野。

传播学是首先诞生于美国、其学科建设又先在欧美得到发展的相对年轻的学科。从这个意义上来说,对于我国而言,这门学科是“舶来品”。我国在发展这一学科的过程中因而必然需要了解和吸收国外这一学科领域的优秀成果,追踪这一学科在世界范围的发展动态。为此,大量的译介工作必不可少。目前,我国的一些出版社,尤其是著名高校的出版社,已推出了一系列这一学科领域的经典专著、教材的中文翻译版,并引进了一批原版的经典专著、教材。中文翻译版的出版,有助于我国新闻与传播学界的研究者和师生以母语为工具就可尽快了解国外的研究成果,但中外文的巨大差异使得尽善尽美地传达原作的原意、精髓和风格即使不说不可能至少也是极其困难的。原版的经典专著和教材的出版,有利于原汁原味地向我国新闻与传播学界的研究者和师生呈现国外学者的成果,但其对外文的要求很高,难免会使很大一部分研究者和师生对之的阅读与研究受到限制。有鉴于此,我们感到推出一套该领域的国外著作中文注释版,既保持原汁原味的原版文本,又对一些难点增添中文注释,将有助于进一步做好对国外的优秀学术成果的译介工作,促进对这些成果的了解和吸收。中文注释版的出版,可以使我国新闻与传播学领域中大量具有较程度的外语基础的研究者和师生既读到原汁原味的外文原版书,又在阅读中遇到困难时能从中文注释中得到帮助而不至于“卡住”。这些研究者和师生不满足于仅仅阅读中文翻译版,但由于对词汇、专业术语等的掌握还有限,因而阅读纯粹的外文原版专著和教材还有困难。此外,中文注释版的出版,还有助于他们在这种阅读过程中提高专业英语的水平和应用能力。为此,我们现在向读者奉献这样一套英文新闻与传播学著作的中文注释版丛书。

我们的设想,受到了在世界上享有盛誉的美国新闻传播学者帕米拉·休梅克(Pamela Shoemaker)教授的支持,并承蒙她慷慨地授权我们出版她目前拥有版权的 Gatekeeping(《大众传媒把关》)一书的中文注释本。该书作为传媒把关研究领域的经典著作之一,现成为我们推出的本套丛书的第一本。作为《大众传媒把关》

的中文注释版的注释者,在此谨向休梅克教授致谢!

《大众传媒把关》综述了大众传播中的“把关”现象及有关研究,回顾了“把关”(或“守门”)概念的形成史以及传媒信息“把关”研究的发展,总结了“把关”研究的开拓者卢因(Kurt Lewin,一译勒温)、怀特(David M. White)和其他学者的有关理论,深入考察了大众传播中的信息“把关”过程,并将之归纳为5个层次,即个人层次、媒介工作常规层次、组织层次、媒介外社会团体层次及社会系统层次,分别予以分析。此书对影响媒介内容的信息“把关”现象的系统分析及其对“把关”研究的回顾梳理,使之成为我们深入了解传媒“把关”研究及其理论成果的一本不可多得的专著。

由于我们推出这套丛书的目的,在于帮助读者阅读新闻与传播领域的原汁原味的英文原版著作,因而书中的注释不是仅仅限于词汇的中文或句子的翻译,而是适当补充了背景知识等导读材料。一种创新的尝试总是需要不断改进才能逐步完善。衷心希望专家学者和读者诸君提出宝贵意见,使我们的中文注释版能够逐步成熟、完善。

张咏华

2006年11月于上海大学

FOREWORD

Each volume in the **Communication Concepts** series deals at length with an idea of enduring importance to the study of human communication. Through analysis and interpretation of the scholarly literature, specialists in each area explore the uses to which a major concept has been put and point to promising directions for future work.

In the comparatively young field of communication research, gatekeeping is one of the oldest and best known constructs. The term has passed readily into both scientific and popular discussions of the way messages are selected, created, and controlled. Most communication scholars are familiar with gatekeeping as a metaphor introduced by Kurt Lewin and studied empirically by David Manning White, but the linkage between that early work and related current research is not so well recognized. We asked Pamela J. Shoemaker, a social scientist noted for her studies of professional mass communicators, to bring together many current strands of theory and research in gatekeeping.

Gatekeeping, as she shows, is applicable to much more of communication research than just its original domain of news editing. The concept offers interesting insights into organizational communication and behavior and is related to recent theories ranging from the psychology of choice and decision making to the macro dynamics of ideology and social change. It is clear in retrospect that this very general applicability is what Lewin, one of the most broadly inquisitive of the early communication scholars, originally envisioned for the concept.

With the publication of Shoemaker's *Gatekeeping*, students of communication are afforded a new view of an old idea, one that can inform and enrich the study of many aspects of communication. Established lines of inquiry can be reexamined, including topics that have not been thought of as gatekeeping studies at all. As related research is reconceptualized, it will in turn give new meanings to the gatekeeping concept itself. In either event, communication scholarship will be strengthened by this stimulating theoretical excursion.

—Steven H. Chaffee, Series Editor
Mark Levy, Associate Editor

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Introduction

Simply put, gatekeeping is the process by which the billions of messages that are available in the world get cut down and transformed into the hundreds of messages that reach a given person on a given day. Gatekeeping studies have most often looked at the selection of news items within the mass media, but gatekeeping can involve more than just selection. Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien(1972) have suggested that gatekeeping be defined as a broader process of information control that includes all aspects of message encoding: not just selection but also withholding, transmission, shaping, display, repetition, and timing of information as it goes from the sender to the receiver. In other words, the gatekeeping process involves every aspect of message selection, handling, and control, whether the message is communicated through mass media or interpersonal channels.

On a more microscopic level of analysis, gatekeeping also can be thought of as the process of reconstructing the essential framework of an event and turning it into news. People who see an event occur pass along some details and not others (Schramm, 1949a). Analysts provide interpretation and can emphasize some aspects while downplaying others. Communicators pick some elements of a message and reject others. The elements selected are evaluated according to

gatekeeper 守门人, 看门人; 把关人

gatekeeping 守门; 把关

……世界上亿万可获得的讯息……

多诺霍、蒂奇纳和奥利恩(1972)提议,应将“把关”定义为更为宽广的信息控制过程,这个过程包括讯息编码的所有方面:不仅包括(信息的)挑选,而且还包括(信息的)隐瞒不报/不透露、传递、塑造、展示、重复以及信息由发送者发送到接受者的时机掌握。

分析家们提供解释,并且会强调某些方面而对其他方面则轻描淡写地一带而过。

W. Schramm 施拉姆(一译宣韦伯),美国传播学大师,世界闻名,1907年8月5日生于俄亥俄

Gatekeeping

州的 Marietta, 1987 年 12 月 27 日卒于夏威夷檀香山, 享年 80 岁。施拉姆对传播学的兴起和发展做出了多方面的贡献。首先, 施拉姆总结、整合了被称为传播学 4 大先驱的拉斯韦尔、拉扎斯菲尔德、霍夫兰和卢因(一译勒温)和其他学者的传播学研究成果, 在此基础上, 为勾勒传播学的系统的学科框架做出了关键性的贡献。第二, 在整合、梳理其他学者的研究成果的同时, 他自己也以多种视角透视人类社会的传播现象, 并发表了 30 本传播学著作(其中 25 本被译成其他语言), 120 多篇学术论文。通过这些著述, 他对传播学科产生了深远的影响。第三, 施拉姆还是系统的传播学研究的出色的组织者, 组织创办了美国 3 家重要的传播学研究机构。第四, 施拉姆为传播学研究培养了大量人才。

via gatekeeper(s) 通过把关人例如, (创新) 扩散研究可以说牵涉到把关的方方面面, 社会系统中的每个人都为他人扮演着潜在的把关人的角色。

B. S. Greenberg 格林伯格, 美国传播学者。

their importance, with the most important elements being displayed most prominently and presented most quickly and/or frequently. One day's news represents the effects of many gatekeepers at many gates. It is probably not an overstatement to say that all communication workers are gatekeepers to some degree, for gatekeeping is an integral part of the overall process of selecting and producing messages. Not only is it impossible for everything to be transmitted, but it also is impossible to transmit something without in some fashion shaping it.

Although gatekeeping research in the field of communication has most commonly involved the mass media, the gatekeeping metaphor can be applied to any decision point involving any bit of information, whether transmission is expected to occur through mass or interpersonal channels. Schramm (1949b, pp. 175-176), for example, distinguished between "media chains" and "interpersonal chains"—both channels through which messages can pass from sender to receiver, via gatekeepers. Diffusion studies, for example, could be said to involve gatekeeping, with every person in a social system acting as a potential gatekeeper for others(Greenberg, 1964).

The usual definition of gatekeeping involves an activity performed by a communication organization and its representatives. Our discussion of gatekeeping

will start at the point at which a communication worker first learns about an actual or potential message and it will stop at the point at which a subset of those messages is transmitted to a receiver. A gate is an “in” or “out” decision point, and messages come to the communication organization from a variety of channels. For example, some messages may come from routine channels (e. g., from wire services or as the result of a news beat), some may come unsolicited (e. g., press releases), and others may be sought out by a communication worker (e. g., following up a possible news story) or even created by the communication worker (e. g., investigative reporting).

The process of gatekeeping involves selecting from among a large number of messages those few that will be transmitted to one or more receivers. A message may face several “in” or “out” decisions (gates) during the gatekeeping process, and selection may operate on individual bits of information as well as on whole messages or series of messages. In addition, the nature of the selection process can affect what happens to the message once it is selected, due to “forces” around the gates (Lewin, 1951). For example, a negative force that tends to reject a message (e. g., difficulty in acquiring it) will become positive if the message is selected, thus encouraging favorable shaping, display, repetition, and timing of the message’s transmission.

This process is as old as the process of communication—the town crier had to decide what to announce and what to withhold, and even

门(或:关卡)是决定“放入”或“挡出”的地点,讯息(经由此关卡)从各种渠道传到传播机构。

wire service (用专线电报发稿的)通讯社

news beat 新闻记者的采访区域

把关的过程涉及从大量的讯息中挑选少数讯息,将之传递给一个或多个讯息接受者。

在把关过程中,讯息可能会遭遇数次“放入”或“挡出”的决定(关卡),这种选择可能不仅对整篇讯息或一系列讯息起作用,而且也可能会对零星信息起作用。

the town crier (旧时在市镇街头宣读公告的)公告传报人
这一过程如同传播过程一样古老

Gatekeeping

悠久——古代市镇街头的公告传报人不得不决定宣布什么消息和不透露什么消息,而甚至学术刊物中的把关(刊物专家审阅制)也可以追溯到17世纪中叶。
M. Ryan 瑞安,美国传播学者。

图书编辑扮演的角色类似于报纸的地方新闻编辑,在出版过程的各个阶段包括写作、编辑、印制和发行中同作者进行协商。
T. C. Fensch 弗伦施,美国传播学者。

differential flow of messages 差别化的讯息流
dependent variable 因变量; 因变数(与其相对应的是 independent variable 自变量; 独立变量)

G. Tuchman 塔奇曼, 美国传播学者。

G. A. Donohue 多诺霍, 美国传播学者。曾与 P. J. Tichenor(蒂奇纳)及 C. N. Olien(奥利恩)一起撰写题为《传媒(信息)流和差别化的知识增长》(Mass Media Flow and Differential Growth in Knowledge)的论文,发表在《舆论季刊》第34卷上(1970年)。

political candidate 政治候选人(如总统候选人、州长候选人、议员候选人等)

liberal 开明的人; 自由主义者(如第一个字母大写, Liberal, 该词意为自由党党员; 自由党的支持者。西方学者常将 liberal 和 conservative 用作相对应的政治术语,前者指“自由主义人士”,后者指“保守派人士”)

gatekeeping in academic journals (the journal referee system) dates back to the mid-1600s (Ryan, 1982). In addition, gatekeeping has always been an integral part of the book publishing industry, not only determining which books get published but also influencing the content and presentation of a writer's work (Bonn, 1989). Book editors play a role similar to that of city editors on newspapers, negotiating with the author through all stages of publication including writing, editing, production, and distribution(Fensch, 1977).

In the past 50 years or so, the gatekeeping concept has attracted many communication scholars who have sought to explain the differential flow of messages throughout time and space. Most of these studies have involved mass media messages, particularly news, probably because gatekeeping has given mass communication researchers a conceptual structure for comparing media content with some other measure of “reality”. Although it is commonly agreed that selection occurs as a natural part of the communication process, scholars have not agreed on whether selection results in distortion of truth. The gatekeeping approach has allowed media scholars to evaluate whether professional norms of balance and objectivity ensure against bias and distortion by showing that the selection process results in media content that somehow reflects reality (Tuchman, 1981). Donohue et al.'s (1972) extension of gatekeeping by introducing dependent variables other than selection (e. g., how prominently a message is

communicated) have broadened the concept's usefulness in studying bias. For example, although it might be possible to show that liberal and conservative political candidates get about the same number of stories in the newspaper or evening television news, the liberals might be always shown in favorable photographs or the conservatives might always be given more prominent coverage, leading us to potentially very different conclusions about gatekeeping's effects on what ultimately becomes mass media content.

Although several gatekeeping models have been proposed (McQuail & Windahl, 1981), none covers the full complexity of gatekeeping in the communication process. This may help explain why O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, and Fiske(1983, pp. 97-98) say that gatekeeping is "oversimplified and of little utility". Yet the concept can be discussed in more complex terms; This book will cover gatekeeping on five levels of analysis, looking at individual communicators' gatekeeping decisions, the influences of communication routines, organizational-level gatekeeping, social and institutional factors, and social system influences such as ideology and culture.

I will synthesize what is known about gatekeeping, relate it to the relevant sociological and psychological literature, and create a new gatekeeping model, presented in the final section of the book. Gatekeeping may be a well-studied concept, and perhaps well-worn, but it is hardly worn out. It can be approached from a variety of theoretical angles, and the application of new

D. McQuail (Denis McQuail) 丹尼斯·麦奎尔, 著名英国传播学者。其著述甚丰, 其中包括 1981 年出版的与温达尔 (S. Windahl) 合著的《大众传播模式论》(Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communication), 数次再版的《大众传播学理论》(Mass Communication Theory) 和近年出版的《麦奎尔编大众传播学理论文献读本》(McQuail's Reader in Mass Communication Theory)。

S. Windahl 温达尔 (一译温德尔), 瑞典传播学者。曾与丹尼斯·麦奎尔合著《大众传播模式论》。

对它可以从种种不同的理论角度进行研究, ……

虽然把关过程中的每一道选择本身最终是微不足道的，但是每天均有数以百万计的把关选择决定，这一事实使把关过程显得极其重要。

控制信息流的权力是社会控制中的一个重要杠杆。

B. H. Bagdikian 巴格迪坎，著名美国新闻传播学者，曾任《华盛顿邮报》国内版助理主编，加州大学伯克利分校新闻学研究生院院长，对国际传播中的把关现象、传媒垄断现象等深有研究，其代表性著作包括：《传媒垄断》(The Media Monopoly)和《传媒对于国际事件的报道》(Media Reporting of International Events)等。结果，我们界定我们的生活和我们周围的世界的方式在很大程度上是把关过程的产物。

theories to its study will keep it an active idea in the literature for some time to come.

Gatekeeping is important because gatekeepers provide an integrated view of social reality to the rest of us. Although each selection event in the gatekeeping process is itself ultimately trivial, the fact that millions of selection decisions are made every day makes the gatekeeping process highly significant. Add to that the fact that each outcome of gatekeeping is transmitted to millions of people daily and the result is a conception of gatekeeping as a crucial part of the process through which political and economic elites may control culture and the rate at which culture changes. Gatekeeping is, therefore, a basic and powerful force in society. As Bagdikian (1983, p. 226) has put it, "The power to control the flow of information is a major lever in the control of society. Giving citizens a choice in ideas and information is as important as giving them a choice in politics". Hardt (1979, p. 22) writes; "Control over the media of dissemination may suggest control over the mind of society." As a result, the way in which we define our lives and the world around us is largely a product of the gatekeeping process. Influences on gatekeeping directly affect our view of social reality.

1 *History of the Concept* →

It has always been obvious that not all information reaches us: A used car salesman may not tell everything he knows about the Ford I am about to buy, a friend may not say what she really thinks about my new hairstyle, and my local newspaper provides scant coverage of South American politics. The process of communication involves selecting some bits of information for transmission and rejecting others. As Leo Rosten pointed out in his 1937 study of Washington correspondents, "A newspaper is neither a chronology, an almanac, nor a history... The entire process of journalism... rests upon selection" (p. 255). More than a decade later, Wilbur Schramm (1949a) wrote that no other aspect of communication is as impressive as the large number of selections and rejections that have to be made to form the appropriate symbol in the minds of both the communicator and the receiver.

But the selectivity inherent in the communication process lacked a theoretical focus until Kurt Lewin provided the metaphor of the gatekeeper and David Manning White gave the gatekeeper life under the pseudonym of Mr. Gates. The gatekeeper concept offered early communication scholars a framework for evaluating how selection occurs and why some items are selected and others rejected. It also provided a structure for the study of processes

“一份报纸既不是一部年表，一部历书，也不是一本历史书。……新闻工作的整个过程……仰仗选择/挑选。”(rest upon 此处意为“依赖”，“仰仗”，“仰赖”)

但是关于传播过程中固有的选择性，缺乏理论上的聚焦点，这种情形一直延续到卢因(Kurt Lewin，又译“勒温”)提出“守门人”/“把关人”的比喻，大卫·曼宁·怀特的著述将“把关人”在“盖茨先生”(或：“门先生”)的假名下描绘得栩栩如生为止。(注：英文中 gates 既是 gate(门；关卡)的复数形式，又在第一个字母大写时(Gates)用作人名。大卫·曼宁·怀特用 Mr. Gates 的假名来谈论报纸编辑，可

谓一语双关。)

Kurt Lewin 卢因(又译勒温),原籍德国的美国社会心理学家,以首创“场论”和“群体动力学”而声名卓著,是“格式塔”学派(也称完形心理学派)的杰出学者之一,后成为传播学的奠基人或几大先驱之一。在进行传播研究时,卢因密切关注群体动力因素在传媒对个人产生影响中的制约作用。卢因最先提出了传播过程中的“把关人”/“守门人”的概念。著名传播学者费斯廷格、卡特赖特和怀特都是他的弟子。David Manning White 大卫·曼宁·怀特,卢因的弟子,研究大众传播中的把关现象的早期学者之一。他于1950年在《新闻学季刊》第27卷第4期上发表的《“把关人”:新闻选择的个案研究》是把关研究的经典文献之一。

other than selection, that is, how content is shaped, structured, positioned, and timed.

◎ Kurt Lewin's "Theory of Channels and Gate Keepers"

首次将“把关”和“传播”这两个术语配对使用(或:放在一起使用)显然出现在卢因的未完成的遗作《群体动力学新领域:II. 群体生活的渠道;社会规划和行为研究》中,它发表在1947年的《人际关系》杂志上。

The first pairing of the terms *gatekeeping* and *communication* apparently came in the posthumous publication in 1947 of Kurt Lewin's unfinished manuscript "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: II. Channels of Group Life; Social Planning and Action Research" in the journal *Human Relations*. At the time of his death, Lewin was director of the Research Center for Group Dynamics for the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, but he had earlier held appointments at other U. S. universities, including the University of Iowa(Marrow, 1969).

A second version of the "frontiers" manuscript appeared as part of the chapter

“Psychological Ecology” in the 1951 book *Field Theory in Social Science*, an edited and synthesized collection of Lewin’s work. The term *field theory* refers to one half of a split in German psychology around World War I, with the concept of fields having been borrowed from physics(Bavelas, 1948). One group was in favor of breaking down the person and the environment into isolated elements that could be causally connected. Lewin, trained as a physicist, was more aligned with the other group, which “attempted to explain behavior as a function of groups of factors constituting a dynamic whole—the psychological field” (Bavelas, 1948, p. 16). The field consists of both the person and the surrounding environment. Field theorists looked at a problem in terms of the dynamic interplay between interconnected factors rather than as relationships between isolated elements. Lewin was working on a way to express psychological forces mathematically, using “geometry for the expression of the positional relationships between parts of the life space, and vectors for the expression of strength, direction, and point of application of psychological forces” (Bavelas, 1948, p. 16). Forces that shape people’s behaviors could be studied quantitatively by psychologists, Lewin argued, in much the same way that forces such as gravity are studied by physicists.

Lewin’s(1947b, p. 146) “theory of channels and gate keepers” was developed as a means of understanding how one could produce widespread social changes in a community, and his major examples involved changing the food habits of a

“场论”这一术语指的是第一次世界大战前后德国心理学分裂出的一半派别，他们从物理学中借用了“场”的概念。

dynamic interplay 动态的相互作用，动态的相互影响

“场”是由人和周围的环境组成的。“场论”理论家从相互联系的因素之间的动态的相互作用方面、而不是相互分离的要素之间的关系方面，考察问题。

A. Bavelas 美国学者，主要研究领域有群体行为、群体传播等。

Gatekeeping

卢因得出结论：在决定吃什么时，并非所有的人都是同等重要的，而（这方面的）社会变化最易通过集中说服那些对家庭的食物选择具有最大控制权的人来实现。

population. Lewin concluded that not all members of the population are equally important in determining what is eaten and that social change could best be accomplished by concentrating on those people with the most control over food selection for the home.

Food reaches the family table through “channels,” said Lewin. One channel is the grocery store, where food is purchased, but there are also other channels for food, including growing fruits and vegetables in the family garden. Figure 1.1 illustrates how channels may be subdivided into “sections”. For example, in the grocery channel, the first three sections include the discovery of food at the grocery store, the purchase decision, and transporting the food home. Food traveling along the garden channel begins with the seeds or plants available in a garden store and their purchase and planting. As the fruits and vegetables grow, some literally will be weeded out, some will be consumed in the garden by insects or children, and others may die from lack of fertilizer or water. Of the final selection of fruits and vegetables available to the household, only some will be harvested; others will languish on the vine or branch. At this point, food from the grocery channel merges with food from the garden channel, and a storage decision must be made (in the refrigerator or pantry?) for each food unit. Some foods may be “lost” in the deep recesses of the refrigerator or pantry, and others may be wasted because they were incorrectly stored (does an opened jar of peanut butter have to be refrigerated?). Next,

有些食物可能会“消失”在冰箱或食品储藏室的深处，……

recess (墙壁、山脉等的)凹进处；壁；凹室；(工作等的)暂停，休息；休会(学校等的)短暂休假；[常作～s]深处，幽深处，隐秘处