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Deconstructing Culinary Culture

- a critical outline of a theory on the culinarianization of the self

Author: Manuel Actis
Thesis Advisor: José Pacheco

Abstract

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Supervisor:

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The thesis is an outline of a theory on the ‘culinarization of the self’, which is linked with a theoretical framework, shaping the subject in an everyday experience by power dynamics related to discourse and ideology. Practises such as eating and cooking are flavoured by an exposed Western discourse in popular media. Where a multitude of culinary cultures are presented, by a somewhat equal group of actors, being men/women and to some extent from other cultures. The aim of the study is to critically reread food talks, culinary texts visualised in popular media. Culinary texts that contain and reproduce specific power technologies, which sustain boundaries between male and female, the West and the Rest, will be deconstructed. In order to highlight the complexity of this scheme, central concepts that are presented and applied are: Gender, ‘Race’, and Class -Habitus - Distinction. The empirical material is of use in highlight the diversity of that discourse. Where ideological, marginalizing, features take the form of images and meaning related to commodity fetishism. Concluding the culinary discourse is flavoured by multiple sets of subtexts that reinforces power divisions between subjects in society, and is used as a tool for that distinction. The thesis contains a development of central concepts such as ‘body-space’ in relation to a different spatial belonging, and double distinction as an appropriation of knowledge of the ‘Other’.

Central concepts:

Discourse, Ideology, Hegemony, West and Rest, Commodity fetishism, Gender - Space - Domination, ‘Race’, Class - Habitus - Distinction, Food – Culinary Culture.

To my Family, always Supportive, Kind and Loving.
Dedicated to my late grandfather, I'm sure he would like to have read it.

I also direct immense appreciation to all my kind friends, with whom I have had interesting and inspiring discussions around food, you know who you are. Furthermore I would like to specially thank Elaine Bosak and Dimitris Vosnakis for helping me with a sometimes-difficult language. Last but not least I thank my supervisor José Pacheco for all the help he offered during the process, to its final day.

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Chapter I. Introduction: The Culinary Subject

*We may live without poetry, music and art;
We may live without conscience and live without heart;
We may live without friends; we may live without books;
But civilized man cannot live without cooks¹*

The poem by Athenaeus strongly suggests that food is essential to life. In the sense that food is a necessity to us, and that we are dependent on people who can produce it. The poem also illuminates the pleasurable experience food might bring us. The material needs of the body have to be satisfied, be it by one's own hand, or by 'professionals' working in 'restaurants'. Differences in quality often reflect an illustration of a material distinction that through history has set an impression on the dinner table. My emphasis here is on food not only as an important cultural need for survival but also that the practices surrounding it are central to the understanding of subjects.²

Poetry, music, art, conscience, friends, and heart are facts that in different ways constitute the subject. All the meanings that we can find in different cultural practices can be read in culinary³ texts, or in relation to culinary expressions. These are in fact, effects of historical and dialectical processes that affect the subject in relation to other discourses⁴ that through the power of knowledge constituted a subject, in representative practices such as eating. In other words the subject is constantly constituted through representations and knowledge about the self, often visualised in relation to 'Other' subjects. Here the material distinction inevitably enters into a dialog on the meaning of these practices. This penetrates everyday life in such a way that it not only determines food as a necessity, but also issues as a gendered space, with

¹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists, Volume 1*, Harvard Press, Cambridge, 1969, p. vii. Cooks in the last sentence has also the meaning of the outcome in food of their practices, at least in my interpretation.

² In this thesis I'm going to use the concept of 'subject' for the concept of 'individual', and the reason doing this is that the word individual has an immanent precondition to be understood as the free or personal choice for man or woman. Furthermore it tends to dislocate the individual from the chains of society, in Spanish and in French the word subject has a stronger relation to being a part of a structure that is hard to escape, which doesn't mean that the subject is not willing to struggle and change the discursive power that is present.

³ The concept of the culinary is more than the mere literal description of food culture. It bears a multitextual understanding of a social practice that implicates not only food as such, but shows its strong relation to meanings of culture, class, 'race', gender, age, which are interrelated to each other as knowledge of the self in the culinary discourse.

⁴ The analysis of discourse made it possible to understand the relations of power that intervene subjectivity and knowledge positions, of different types. Important is to say that the discourses or the hegemony of thought is dynamic, but still the subject is in a constant relation to its power dynamics, as legitimating of subject positions through the practice of power, and marginalization of others. Further discussion in the Chapter II: Ideology and Discourse

aspects of ethnicity and class. I am underlining here that social experience is not only materially bound to food, but also has great importance to other meanings of the subject.

The culture of the self has during recent decades been an issue of importance for social sciences. Notably the culture of the self has in very few, or non-occasions, been related to what I see as central, the culinary discourse. The culinary culture is in the social sciences often seen as a gendered everyday practice, and this thought is not mistaken. But by making it a subject of the everyday it is in some sense diminished in importance, in a greater understanding of the constituting of subjects. At the same time it is seen as one of the greatest 'pleasures' of 'fine' culture, and by the presence of fast food, as 'popular' culture⁵. The interesting relation that food can bring to the surface must be found in different layers of society, as it takes different meanings and symbols at these levels. For example, Chinese food is not exotic for the Chinese people, for many Russians eating 'quality' caviar is an impossibility, and in areas of starvation the primary aim of food is central in the struggle against nature. By looking at the culinary in this way, I am emphasising the influence of structures, and the fact that everyday life can't easily be dislocated from it.

I will suggest that the 'culinarization of the self' is part of a global process today. The dominant 'West' imports a cultural diversity from the 'Rest' of the world, particularly culinary products. This import of 'culture' is part of a dual process of appropriation, material and symbolic. The first being the material where goods are imported and produced for profits in a Western market, and the second mentioned, being the ideas and symbolic meanings about the 'Other' culture, becoming necessities for mapping new meanings in everyday life. The dominant 'West' on the other hand not only imports culinary traditions, but also exports 'Western' food culture, mainly from the US.⁶ The re/experiencing takes the form of a journey to an exotic place or taste. The presence of a cultural diversity in Western markets also takes form in the migratory processes, processes created by globalization of Western capital, expansion of industries and exploitation of the 'Rest'⁷. It is a consumed reality, that has become a viable part of Western consumption, and particularly active as middle class subjectivity.

⁵ 'Popular' not only related to an immanent pleasure by the vast members of people in the same sense as 'fine', but rather as rational eating in time saving.

⁶ On western food export and rationality of capitalist production, see Ritzer, George, *The McDonaldization of Society*, Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks, 2000.

⁷ High presence of Western industries in third world countries leads migration flows to arrive in just these countries. Sassen thus, restructures the idea about migratory choice, and country choices as high part of the process of globalization. See Sassen, Saskia, *Globalization and its discontents*, The New Press, New York, 1998.

The Aim of this Study

In this study the focus will be on a deconstruction of a Western discourse about food, in order to demonstrate how subjects are constituted or/and ‘colonized’ in relation to culinary texts, and how these texts become an important factor for the knowledge of the self. My focus is not only on how the Western subject is constructed, but how this process directly and indirectly constitutes and marginalizes ‘others’.⁸

The aim of the study is, taking as a point of departure the notion of discourse elaborated within the field of Cultural Studies, to reread food talk critically, as expressed through popular culture (TV programmes and cookbooks). A culinary Western discourse aiming not only to construct specific types of subject but also to create and reproduce through specific power technologies the boundaries between the ‘West’ and the ‘Rest’.⁹

The emphasis in this thesis will be put on the theoretical framework, in order to highlight the power of ‘white’ ideology and discourse, which shapes the meanings of essential everyday practices. The empirical revision of the culinary field is mainly to make touchdowns and visualise the material representations of that ideology and discourse.

Points of Departure

My engagement in the study of social science is from a critical Marxist and Anti-racist Feminist point of view. I am highly engaged in Cultural Studies and its political capacities, in highlighting different ‘cultures’. In my opinion Marxism is a central instrument in the understanding that class relates to how we perceive the world. It also brings tools to a critical look at society and the implications that modern capitalism has had, not only on the society we currently are situated in, but how it penetrates everyday life around the globe, either as a political actuality or a relation to other lived political and economical experiences. Antiracist Feminism is not only a complement for Marxism, but also a necessity for it, as lived experiences aren’t only in relation to an economic reality, but to realities of gender and ethnicity. It highlights the complexity of simple variable theory, and extends often, limited explanation of a complex reality. I see feminism as a must, in the understanding of social realities, as it not only highlights the complexity, but also the practical way of the use of knowledge in social sciences. It brings to light places of struggle that are often overlooked and forgotten. The addition ‘Anti-racist’ is to further widen the scope of understanding of the importance of looking at the world from many perspectives. The three central concepts for my

⁸ I’m using the concept of the ‘Other’, inspired by Postcolonial theory that asserts that the ‘Other’ is constructed hierarchically and is constitutive of self.

⁹ Hall, Stuart, ‘The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power’, in: Hall, Stuart & Bram Gieben (eds), *Formations of Modernity*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992.

critical position are gender, 'race'¹⁰, and class - a more shadowed part of a discursive reality - , in order to shed a broader light upon the culinary discourses normalizing and marginalizing language.

My personal engagement in the field of culinary culture as a central issue for this thesis, took shape in my own experiences related to food, as I've worked in professional kitchens as well as in my home from an early age.

Disposition

A presentation of the central issues, the aim and my personal points of departure introduce the thesis. In chapter two a necessary background to the concept of ideology and its relationship to the concept of discourse, as it has been theoretically developed within Cultural Studies and social sciences, will be presented. My point is to illuminate the importance of a critical discourse analysis of the hegemonic discourse in relation to the discourse of culinary cultures. Chapter three presents a critical review of the field of Cultural Studies with specific focus on race, gender and class as viable analytical concepts in relation to culture. My ambition is to highlight the connection between the hegemonic discursive practices and relations in everyday life, with focus in culinary cultures. Issues of method, an introduction to my empirical material and a critical reappraisal of relevant studies in the field are presented in chapter four. Chapter five is my main analytical chapter and is divided in to, two interrelated central themes: Private/Public and the Western Subject/ Otherness. In the final chapter I summarise the arguments and the central results of my work and try to problematize the 'culinarization of the self' as a central sociological issue.¹¹

¹⁰ I will use the concept of race, as I see the political importance of its use in an anti-racist manner. My use of race is going to be wider than the simple dichotomy between colours, as I see that it also implies a given attribution of culture to its body.

¹¹ The culinary discourse implies a wider range of understanding than that which are offered in this thesis. It is part of a vast number of institutions languages' and representations. Be it art, medicine- related to body (anorexia and overweight), fitness – related to fuel for the body, restaurants and homes – related to reproduction and pleasure.

Chapter II. Ideology and Discourse

Introduction

In this chapter I will present the central theories and methods for understanding the forms of social structure. The concepts, being imperatives for such an understanding that is reviewed are: Hegemony, Ideology and Discourse. The relation between these central concepts will take form and other concepts, such as Commodity Fetishism, being the outcome as expression and form of the three main concepts will be discussed.

Hegemony and the Concept of Ideology

Ideology is to be seen historically, as a 'system of ideas', not mere ideas of imagination but effects of these ideas as well. Gramsci unravels some of the problematic of ideology in practical philosophy, seen as a superstructure. By establishing a duality within that problematic, ideology works as a set of structures' superstructure, whilst at the same time as an individual's apparent stratagem. In order to understand ideology, one must see it as a part of structure, and therefore also a place for struggle, and change. As ideology is a set of ideas, it is in a dialectical relation to structure on a super-structural level; what is left out is the place of the individual subject.¹² In order to solve this Gramsci sees a distinction between organic ideologies that are necessary for structure and ideologies that are arbitrary and rationalistic. In the latter case ideologies become useful for the organisation and conscience of a certain group. Gramsci remembers the words of Marx; that popular thoughts and ideas are just as powerful as a material force. In other words the material force is the content, as ideology is its form¹³, where the distinction between content and form is plainly didactic. Material force wouldn't be thinkable without form, and ideology without material force would merely be a ghost.¹⁴ Ideology is therefore, a certain groups' systematic scope of ideas, on how to perceive the world, and the possibility for material change.

The importance of the concept of ideology in relation to the study of culture¹⁵, aims at enforcing one's critical gaze upon what 'ideas', and what claims are being reproduced. The presence of an 'idea' situated within the understandings of subjects or groups, implies different sets of meanings depending on what position they are examined from. Ideology can't just be explained as a particular social group or class's ideas about the world. One has to

¹² Gramsci, Antonio, *En kollektiv intellektuell*, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Staffanstorps, 1967, p.80

¹³ Form, is the way in which we understand or create an idea about the content.

¹⁴ Gramsci, Antonio, *En kollektiv intellektuell*, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Staffanstorps, 1967, p.81

¹⁵ In this sense ideology and culture become central issues to the constitution of identity, through different forms of language, expressions and determinations of meanings for subjects and groups. Not only materialized in shared symbols, representations and meaning, but as means of constructing existential realities.

deconstruct the structures that are immanent in these types of languages, leading from subject (meaning) to the object (practice). In order to understand the concept of ideology I will introduce some of the concepts that affect its constitution, which are connected to the primary thought of ideology as idealism and the later of a lived practice.

The early Marxist critic saw the concept of ideology as a way for the ruling class not only to control the means of production, but also to corrupt the minds of its oppressed, by false consciousness, obscuring the 'natural' order. The problem of the idea of 'false consciousness' lies not in the idea that it is a manifestation of ruling classes' 'ideas', but rather that the subjects to it would live blindly. Therefore dominant ideologies can surely actively shape needs and desires, but it must at the same time engage in relation to the particular realities, needs and desires that subjects or groups already have.¹⁶ In other words they must be 'real', in the sense that they at least create identification with its 'realness'. But still there is a part of its discursive content that is positionally 'false'. Ideology is 'true' in what it is affirming, but 'false' in what it excludes.¹⁷ In this case the surface of ideology is committed to a situated 'truth', while the underlining assumption postulated is 'false'.¹⁸ Take for example, the statement, capitalism is good: surely capitalism has good features for some, but also many oppressive characteristics for others. Ideology is therefore 'true' in describing an actuality in society, and 'false' in blocking the possibility for a change in the 'status quo'.

Ideology thus generally functions as system of ideas of a specific group. This doesn't mean that ideology is a loose body, but rather that it in general functions in the constitution of subjects. It is material in the sense that it is a lived experience, and legitimates that image of the world. Althusser sees this as an internal process of the subject. Ideology can't be false consciousness as it is a lived experience, and therefore its effect on subjects is one of unconscious psychological and mythical nature. The emphasis here is on the affective level, rather than the cognitive level.¹⁹ This doesn't mean that it is reduced to relativism or subjectivism, but rather that it has a strong internal effect on the subject that could be perceived as subjectivism. Althusser sees that through the ideological state apparatus, there is an ideological subject being constituted. The ideological state apparatus is part of and influences, the political arena, the media and right down to basic level in the educational system and family. The dominant presence of hegemonic ideology in the ideological state apparatus reconstitutes forms of normality down to the individual levels; nevertheless struggles for opposing ideologies are possible.²⁰

¹⁶ Eagleton, Terry, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Verso, London, 1991, p. 14

¹⁷ Ibid. pp. 15-17

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 17

¹⁹ Althusser, Louis, *För Marx*, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Staffanstorps, 1968, p. 77, pp. 247-248

²⁰ Althusser, Louis, *Filosofi från proletär klasståndpunkt*, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Staffanstorps, 1976, pp. 120-126; Althusser, Louis, *För Marx*, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Staffanstorps, 1968. p.77

The state apparatus subjugates the dominant ideology on populations. The dominant ideology is often in relation to the dominant class or social group in society. But ideology is rarely homogenous; it has a rather complex body of diverse formations, with constant conflicts. It is therefore undergoing a continuous negotiation process, where the dominant ideology doesn't entirely subjugate society, and oppositional ideologies are actively engaging hegemony.²¹

The concept of hegemony brought by Gramsci is strongly related to ideology, but is not reducible to it.²² He sees how the dominant class and its ideology win consent of other groups in different forms of negotiations and struggles. One example he uses is how the political state apparatus negotiates and enters in agreement with the church, and in that way wins the consent of the group it represents.²³ In order to assume the dominant position Gramsci argues:

Class is dominant in two ways, namely it is 'leading' and 'dominant'. It leads the allied classes, it dominates the opposing classes. Therefore, a class can (and must) 'lead' even before assuming power; when it is in power it becomes dominant, but it also continues to 'lead'. /.../ There can and must be a 'political hegemony' even before assuming government power, and in order to exercise /.../ hegemony one must not count solely on the power and material force that is given by government.²⁴

The governing that Gramsci emphasizes here is designated to a political power; however 'governing' implies other sorts of domination as well, by constituting meanings and ruling ideas. What distinguishes Gramsci from Althusser is that he sees these fluctuations in politics and ideology not as features of the structure but rather as an ongoing struggle between ideologies over hegemony,²⁵ and therefore the struggle for hegemony isn't situated only in governmental power and material force. It is also situated in what these two are not, i.e. other forms of culture. In other words, dominant ideologies penetrate the everyday life, but do not entirely rule it, as there is some room for oppositional ideologies. It is in this struggle between different ideological positions that an arena of negotiation is created. It is important to notice that possibility in ideological struggle doesn't imply easy change.

In contemporary settings one sees that ideology and discourse have many common features. But, as discourse is constitutive of normality, ideology also has features of unity against such normalities, and thus becomes less constitutive.²⁶

Ideology is, as we have seen, a complex body of concepts, and has different modes of use, such as the use of language of a particular group to reaffirm their power or contest another's

²¹ Eagleton, Terry, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Verso, London, 1991, p.45

²² Ibid. p.112

²³ Gramsci, Antonio. *En kollektiv intellektuell*, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Staffanstorp 1967, p. 290

²⁴ Gramsci, Antonio. *Prison Notebooks, Volume I*, Columbia University Press, New York 1991, pp. 136, 137

²⁵ Gramsci, Antonio. *En kollektiv intellektuell*, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Staffanstorp 1967, p. 117

²⁶ Eagleton, Terry, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Verso, London, 1991, p. 122

power. And at the same time, in a different analytical scope it implies a more ‘mythical’ significance of the use of language in relation to signs and representation within a given discourse.

Ideology and Discourse

We have seen that ideology is in fact coloured by dynamic discourses, rather than being a form of language. It is not the properties of language that make it ideological but rather its discursive context. We see that ideology works as different forms of language use between subjects, i.e. what that language can produce, and for whom. In other words, ideology can be separated from discourse, but is often in a strong relation to it.

What language use does is to enable meanings that ‘signify’ ‘reality’, rather than ‘reflect’ it. Systems and sets of ideas that reproduce social groups and classes positions and struggles, are negotiated through ideological settings.²⁷ This doesn’t mean that all discourses are ideological or that all social practices are discursive. In order to bring light to these situational differences, one has to acknowledge that social realities and practices aren’t always within discourse.

Discursive formation is in other words associated with ideological contexts. The effect of ideological practices is that of constituting a positional subject in relation to certain types of discourses. Ideology becomes here a set of ideas internal to the subject, whereas discourse penetrates not only ideas but also the subjective body. The rigidity of ideology is contested by its internal contradictions, and its fluidity. There is an abundant presence of meanings and contradictions between different sets of ideologies, meaning that the subject can undertake different ideological positions.²⁸ In this sense it works as a dynamic process of ‘naturalization’ of meaning and ideas in relation to subject positions, such as gender, ‘race’, class, age, etc. Better, it works as masking, rationalizing, naturalizing, universalising, and legitimating certain interests and forms of political powers of groups or institutions, in everyday and popular forms.²⁹ In order to make this closure in discourse and ideology, a certain type of ideology must achieve a dominant position. Otherwise the internal complexities and fluidities will dismantle its constitutive force as dominant. Ideology will go on but on the outskirts of the struggle for hegemony and discursive force. In other words, material force and ideology are a bound duality, in order to uphold positions in relation to other ideologies, be it within discourse or not.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 203

²⁸ Ibid. pp. 198-202

²⁹ Ibid. p. 202

Mapping Discourse

Discourse is referred to spoken and written language, which also implies other sorts of semiotic practices that produce meanings, such as video, photo and other visual images, as well as non-verbal communications like gestures.³⁰ The relation between language use and particular texts is often complex in its form and content, and at the same time creative, thus its complexity. In other words texts involve complicated mixtures of different types of discourses, in constituting social life.³¹ Possibilities of finding uncomplicated instances and sets of meanings within a given discourse are often visible. Particularities are not seen as independent, but as social and political ‘realities’, which are not only constituted by discourse but also constitutive of it.³² Furthermore discourse often enters a dialectical³³ relation with other sets of discourses; the simple ‘truth’ might be more obscure and complex than its first appearance.

Discourse and its explicit and implicit meanings are hard to define, as many uses of the concept are being produced in its own discursive struggle. A certainty is that ‘text’ is central to the discursive understanding, but even this word has its own discursive complexities in the definitions.

Text is not the written text *per se*; instead a text is to be seen as social, cultural or in some sense personal.³⁴ A text is seen as a spoken practice, and therefore it is the ‘data’ that one uses to deconstruct a discursive reality.³⁵

Discourse and ‘reality’ is socially constitutive, and by this it is a consequence of social practice. In other words there is a dialectic relation between discursive practices and the contexts in which they take place. In this way discourse constitutes the social political ‘reality’, but it is also at the same time constituted by it.³⁶ Through the discursive practice, be it text or language, the user constitutes social realities, the knowledge of social situations, the

³⁰ Fairclough, Norman, *Media Discourse*, Arnold, London, 1995, p. 54

³¹ Ibid. p. 55

³² Barker, Chris & Galasinski, Dariusz, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*, SAGE, London, 2001, p. 64

³³ Although the concept of discourse has many meanings and sometimes has almost no meaning at all, the ones that put meaning in the concept can certainly meet on common grounds in the primary definition of the word. This meeting point is that discourse consists of a dialectical way of looking upon the world, or at least certain parts of it. My use of the concept dialectical isn’t in a form of dialog, but rather a struggle for an intelligible position within discourse.

³⁴ The personal can be understood as individual, which doesn’t mean that it is just that. Most meanings and application of personal texts are shared, with others, and can therefore not be individual.

³⁵ For further reading see Winther Jørgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise, *Diskursanalys som metod och teori*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000.

³⁶ Barker, Chris & Galasinski, Dariusz, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*, SAGE, London, 2001, p. 65

interpersonal roles of the play, their identities and relations with other interactive social groups.³⁷ There are a number of ways in which discourses constitute the social:

- They play a decisive role in the genesis and construction of social conditions.
- They can restore, justify and perpetuate the social status quo.
- They may be instrumental in the transformation of the status quo.³⁸

Constitutiveness is closely related with the assumption of the possibility for options, from those who are practicing their voices in order to make their ‘choices’, and therefore any representation of reality is *per se* a construction with options of selectivity. Each selection carries deeply-rooted shared social values, making the question of representation one of social construction. Other interpretations of the meaning of shared representations are possible but altering the significance and the political consequence of these representations. In other words the meaning of representation is subjected to an array of ideological positionalities, coming from the hegemonic platform or its multiple adversaries.³⁹ And it is in this dialectical relation of power that representation is formed to fit hegemony or to be dislocated to the margins, where the struggle continues.

Critical Discourse Analysis; a standpoint and method

Discursive practices of a community are in critical discourse analysis seen as the normal use of language of that community. Discursive practices and use of language are used to represent a particular point of view. These modes of practices are within what Fairclough calls ‘orders of discourse’. All institutions or forms of social domain that are dialectically related to each other constitute the ‘order’ of discourse. The ‘order’ of discourse attempts to point out the relation of mixed texts as they are deconstructed.⁴⁰ The analytical deconstruction of a particular discourse on one hand always concerns continuity and change; the discursive normality and the creative reconstitution of old form into new. On the other hand, the analysis must also bring light upon the structures of the ‘order of discourse’ and the way in which it penetrates cultural⁴¹ and social life. Therefore the focus is on different genres and discourses, and their shifting dialectical constitution of the ‘order’.⁴²

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Fairclough, Norman, *Media Discourse*, Arnold, London, 1995, pp. 55,56

⁴¹ My use of the concept of culture implies a mosaic of concepts and experiences, being gendered and racialized, e.g.

⁴² Barker, Chris & Galasinski, Dariusz, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*, SAGE, London, 2001, pp. 55,56

Critical discourse analysis emphasizes avoiding easy dichotomies as solutions or explanations of the phenomenon at hand. Furthermore emphasis is put on the knowledge of the many contradictions and perplexities that underpin social life. And in doing so, the analysis must be in relation to a self-reflective attitude, when one is conscious that the text that one is producing can never be free from own values.⁴³ Therefore there is no ‘correct’ interpretation of a text; it is rather interpreted from the position of the reader.⁴⁴

These positionalities are defined by and competed within a linguistic matter, resulting in a textual understanding of meaning. That is, certain voices have some sort of legitimacy, in relation to others that do not. But discourse is not as fixed as structure, and the meanings are not fixed in the sense that there is a possibility of legitimacy for other meanings; therefore there is a level of contingency that varies in different contexts. In other words, humanity has an ‘essence’ that is socially constructed, or discursively constituted. By using the word ‘essence’ relating to the socially constructed as rigid, but still as it is constructed it can be fluid and therefore open to possibilities of change. The rigidity of discourse is upheld by its form, where ‘Meanings are necessarily realized in forms, and differences in meaning entail differences in form.’⁴⁵

In reaction to this somewhat narrow way of viewing meanings and form, it becomes clear that ‘meanings’ and ‘form’ go hand in hand. But at the same time, that the same ‘form’ can entail different meanings. To illustrate: a dish in a restaurant can mean something exotic within a white cultural discourse, as other meanings appear natural, when the dish is within a culturally related discourse. The form and its outcome in meaning are open and fluid between different sets of cultural contexts, where the representation of the form in meaning can take other assumptive ‘truths’.

The politics of representation are likened to an assumptive depiction of the world, which is relational to a group’s understanding of social life. Its language system, of images and concepts set out the forms of representational understanding of the world or texts. In being a system, it refers to some sort of organization of meanings that establishes a relation between concepts and distinguishes them from others. Therefore representation is of importance when trying to deconstruct meanings, as they often are organized in different textual readings, based on know-how from different positions in society. Thus subjects in society are enabled to act culturally competent, and become ‘cultured persons’ or legitimate members of ‘their’ culture.⁴⁶

⁴³ Ibid. p. 64

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Fairclough, Norman., *Media Discourse*, Arnold, London, 1995, p. 57

⁴⁶ For further reading see: Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997.

Ideology, Discourse and Commodity Fetishism

The discursive power as it is strongly related to the production of ‘truth’, is at the same time obscuring an apparent differential ‘truth’, by its discursive reaffirming of a closure in meaning. The concept of ‘commodity fetishism’ has in fact a lot to do with discourse and ideology. In other words it has many properties of that of ideology; it is in some sense a lived experience by subjects, and has the property of leaving out social conditions in its meanings. Its discursive content is to reaffirm a closure in meaning in relation to its ‘object’. Marx tells us that the fetishism of commodities lies in the relation that it creates between subjects in society.

A commodity appears, at first sight, as a very trivial thing, and easily to understand. Its analysis shows that it is, in reality, a very queer thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties.⁴⁷

The unproblematic characteristic of a commodity is that it is a bearer of use value, for humans to exploit. It has the properties of satisfying human needs and wants. Food is a material necessity of survival, and that is its primary use value, but still it can offer pleasures and satisfaction in many other ways.⁴⁸ What it doesn’t tell us are the material conditions of people that produced it. Therefore we can in some sense agree that objects, commodities, create a network for human interaction. It is in this aspect that fetishism becomes an issue of ideology; it conceals the true relations between producers, or human subjects. Or as Marx puts it:

A commodity is therefore a mysterious thing, simply because in it the social character of peoples⁴⁹ labour appears to them as an objective stamped upon the product of that labour; be the relation of the producers to the sum total of their own labour is presented to them as a social relation, existing not between themselves, but between the products of their labour.⁵⁰

Not only does human interrelation become somewhat designated to the commodities, furthermore their personal relation to those objects becomes mythical, as they first produce them and later have to buy the product or their own labour.

Commodity fetishism in relation to ideology enables a dynamic understanding of the constitution of consciousness. It is rather than assuming a distortion of reality, subjugating it internally through the mode of production, capitalism. Fetishism has some of these characteristics, but it also has a relation to representations, in its mythical sense.

⁴⁷ Marx, Karl, *Capital, Volume I*, Progress Publishers, Moscow [197-], p.80

⁴⁸ I don’t intend to determine the fetishism of food as the truth behind the representation, the representation can surely be very productive for an eating experience, but food is also a commodity of production.

⁴⁹ Here I changed *men’s* for *peoples*, to elude the firsts sexist connotation.

⁵⁰ Marx, Carl, *Capital, Volume I*, Progress Publishers, Moscow [197-], p.80

To see fetishism as both a question of representation and that of the shadowing of social conditions is to relate its first aspect to discourse, and the second to ideological distortion of structure. The relation between these two paradigms is that they are closely related, while at the same time being independent from each other, or excluding one another. The commodity fetish opens up a possibility of discussion in both paradigms. As its features can be used, in the critical reading of the shadowing images, of the second, being the 'true' condition in society.

Summary and relocation of ideas

By exploring the ways in which the Hegemonic Ideology penetrates Discourse and consequently 'colonizes' and marginalizes subjects, I highlight the concept of 'commodity fetishism' in this chapter.

Hegemonic discourse enters an arena of dialog about the symbolic understandings that can be found in relation between food and society. In order for the hegemonic discourse to normalize and consequently marginalize 'the culinary subjects', it has to become visible and legitimised. Discourses often have broad audiences and appear not only in specialised terms but also in popular ones where contents and meanings are battled. The culinary discourse, like most discourses, has different levels where the meanings are performed; the civil and the professional, these two arenas are not dislocated, but in a dynamic relation with each other.

Everyday life meanings are highlighted by dominant ideologies as the 'truth', and are made possible by power relations that suppress other ideas. This is made clear in a culinary discourse, where features of false consciousness are present and important in a general division of groups' ideas.

Discourse is constitutive of subjects and their practices. The outcome of those practices, and their relation to power, knowledge, material and symbolical meanings, can't be dislocated from an ideological context. Being the reproduction of a cultural hegemony that depicts and shadows other forms as 'exotic' reality. Commodity fetishism is here translated and developed not only shadowing relations of production, but also all relation behind the commodified representation. This reality depicts what people might see as their common lived experience, but in order to illuminate the complexity of consensus, one must see other sets of apperception. The Western hegemonic culinary discourse is to be deconstructed through concepts presented in the next chapter, examining ideological construction, marginalization and 'colonization' in terms of gender relations, 'race' representations and class habitus and subjectivity, mainstreamed by consensus in dominant ideologies.

Chapter III. Discourse and Culture: A Cultural Studies Intervention

Introduction

In order to grasp the effects and character of a hegemonic discourse and its ideological features, the following chapters will introduce the field in which these concepts are to be established. The field is that of Cultural Studies and the central concepts for a deconstruction of a cultural discourse that will be discussed are: the concept of ‘culture’ in relation to belonging and ‘authenticity’, culture in relation to ‘gendered space’ and femininity, and culture in relation to ‘race’ and class.

Cultural Studies

Cultural Studies is an open interdisciplinary scientific field that’s not easily defined. The dynamic discipline of Cultural Studies doesn’t consist of a general idea about what it is or should be. There are different definitions that can be underlined; either of different schools of Cultural Studies or individual researcher’s ideas of what it consists of. The British Cultural Studies has its roots in literary studies, from this understanding the field is to conceptualise moral and social values that are reproduced in literature, opening later on theoretical spaces and broadening relations to other cultural fields such as popular literature, music, art, media, etc.

A central issue for Cultural Studies is to examine the relations between culture and power. Power is within Cultural Studies mainly the tool to understand how social life is glued together, and how power works in a subordinating fashion. When looking at power in this way, Cultural Studies often takes the position of an organic theory; it not only moves in the high intellectual classes, but it emphasizes groups that are marginalized in modern society, taking into account such categories as class, gender, race, colonialism, age, etc.⁵¹ In Cultural Studies there is a disposition of openness or critical honesty, as knowledge never is a phenomenon of neutrality or objectivity but rather, a matter of positionality, from the place which one speaks, whom you speak to or for, and for what motive one is speaking.⁵²

The critical evaluation of the subjects of study within Cultural Studies is rather than an aesthetics evaluation, one of the symbolic processes which are in relation to social, political and economic power. Consequently this critical positionality is a way of deconstructing the discursive constructions as they are constantly in an ideological battle over a hegemonic discourse position. In other words, culture is neither ‘good’ nor ‘bad’ but rather a visual

⁵¹ Barker, Chris, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*, Sage, London, 2000, pp. 7-10

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 5

display of ideological positionalities and values, bearer of potential consequences.⁵³ Stuart Hall refers to Cultural Studies as a discursive formation:

/.../ a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society.⁵⁴

More specifically it sets out to highlight all the practices and institutional systems of classification that are viable parts of the particular values and beliefs of populations, not only becoming a groups' positionality but routines of life and habitual conduct.⁵⁵ In order to understand the path that Cultural Studies is on, one can refer to Marx's aphorism, that 'men make their own history, but not in conditions of their own making'.⁵⁶ This problem is not only an issue led by economics, that of the domination of the ruling class, but also other practices that are in relation to it. Culture is an issue of the development of history, and in order to understand the process one must also try to find answers imbedded in the dynamics of culture. This leads to the use of the concepts 'discourse', 'power' and 'ideology' to solve the riddle of the complex body, of culture which the previous chapter shed light on.

My own Position within Cultural Studies

I do not reject the study of different types of cultural practices in the search for understanding the effects of the meanings and representations that these mediums have on groups in society and its subjects. But still I see that these definitions of cultural practises such as music, art etc. are too ambivalent as they change rapidly and have no value *per se* but rather the value of those who use it to describe themselves or their position. The reason to say this is that we as human beings have material conditions of life that we struggle for. In cases of radical events, many of the cultural experiences and practices are set aside to just that material condition of survival. In other words, the only cultural production that is constantly present in any given situation is that of food, as without it we wouldn't survive to read the books we like, listen to the music that speaks to our hearts, or have sex for pleasure or reproduction. All these practices and experiences, material and symbolic, in different ways define the subject and the collective, and are privileges that we can have after recreating life by eating. Of course there are processes and events of greater importance than food, but not as central to the subject. Because of its duality, that can't be found in many other cultural products than food, its

⁵³ Ibid. p. 43

⁵⁴ Hall, Stuart in: Barker, Chris, *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*, Sage, London, 2000. p. 6

⁵⁵ Bennet in: Ibid. p. 7

⁵⁶ Turner, Graeme, *British Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, Routledge, New York, 1992. p. 25

importance for survival and as a cultural product. It is important to say that food, in times of starvation or other similar situations, in greater aspects loses its cultural connotation. In a space of cultural meanings food is designated to different rooms as 'fine', 'exotic', or 'popular' culture, it varies and constantly moves between these rooms in different contexts. Therefore its connotation as culture can sometimes be strong, while other times the relation seems to be erased. We see that the concept of culture is not a fixed idea but rather bears many meanings and texts, from which its contents can be discussed.

The Concept of Culture and the Notion of 'Authenticity'

Culture is one of the most complicated concepts to define, and preferably a broad realm of definitions is to be accounted for in its implementation. The sometimes-problematic definition of the concept of culture is one of discursive matter. Definitions of culture that define cultures within different meanings of the word are both beneficial and problematic as well as a place where cultural legitimacy is a struggle, that *per se* is not given in the hegemonic⁵⁷ definitions. To clarify, the use of language can in different forms determine the concept of culture:

*The argument here is that culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them to different positions within a classificatory system. The marking of 'difference' is thus the basis of that symbolic order which we call culture.*⁵⁸

Culture can mean divisions between groups in society (class, gender, 'race', age), as well as the glue of linking these together to the idea of nation. It can render in definitions of practices as cultural or not, of ways of life or death. The concept of culture can be used as a seemingly harmless depiction of events and practices in society, as well as a problematic political concept of depicting 'others' as 'civilized' or not, 'exotic' and strange or identifiable and 'normal'.⁵⁹

The use of the concept of culture is possible in a multifaceted depiction of practices and ideas.⁶⁰ Culture is frequently in direct relation to power, as it is power that brings its dynamics

⁵⁷ By cultural hegemony I mean that the 'West' not only has right to define culture, as well as subjects, but that other subjects are used as marginal denominators. For example: civilization/culture, man/woman, subject/black subject.

⁵⁸ Hall, Stuart, 'The spectacle of the other', in Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997, p. 236, (*Italics in quote*)

⁵⁹ See, Eagleton, Terry, *The Idea of Culture*, Blackwell, Oxford, 2000.

⁶⁰ See, hooks, bell, *Yearning, race, gender and cultural politics*, South End Press, Boston, 1990. Gilroy Paul, *Against Race: Imagining Political Cultures Beyond the Color Line*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2000.

and differential definitions within contextual changes.⁶¹ Illustrating this, the culinary culture might be global food culture, representing nations, states and regions, as well as fine, popular, and exotic food cultures. Within each and every form of culture, power brings a process of division and struggle for positions. Culture is never rigidly fixed in one place as different forms of culture intermediate in particular fields. Making clear, the culinary culture is present and in relation to medicine, body-culture, art, media, restaurants as well as to the everyday life of a household. Its abundant presence brings modes of cultural identification, and thus its impetus to the culture of the self.

Furthermore, culture is also related to the constitution of collective ideas and communities. Benedict Anderson points out that collective ideas and symbols are used as markers for an imagined community. In this sense cultural practices and products become designated to shared ideas and symbols in relation to a group, community, or nation, creating an imagined notion of a shared culture.⁶²

A problematic nuance of the concept of culture in relation to belonging is that it becomes strongly connected to an essentialist 'authenticity', legitimating different power positions. In other words, the concept is often used to define or situate culture, in a relation of a claim of being 'authentic' within space and time. A problematic view that tends to lose the dynamic vision of cultural complexity when reaffirming culture becomes a mode of excluding 'Other' cultures. On the other hand, recognition of the 'others'' cultural heritage, often becomes a problematic redefinition of the 'Other' to an exotic and uncivilized past.⁶³ This tends to be the problem when culture is defined in the West as a matter of Western civilization and mirroring over the 'Rest' of the world, that Eurocentric definition could never escape that depreciating scope. In contrast, the 'white' discourse relates to 'genuine' culture, which in coherence with civilization must be protected, implemented educationally or by force in the 'rest' of the world, by colonialism or global market economy.⁶⁴ The concept of culture still offers strategic importance if politicized, for example used by natives or minority groups to underline their rights and claims in an anticolonialist struggle of self-determination.⁶⁵ In order for that possibility to confront the ruling definitions, created by power division the concept of culture is to implement this complexity and critical approach to its use.

⁶¹ See, Mohanti, Chandra, 'Med västerländska ögon. Feministisk forskning och kolonial diskurs', in *Globaliseringens Kulturer, Den postkoloniala paradoxen, rasismen och det mångkulturella samhället*, Nya Doxa, Nora, 1999, pp. 195-231

⁶² Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined communities*, Verso, London, 1983, pp. 15-16

⁶³ Tuhiwai, Smith, Linda, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Zed Books, London, 1999, p. 72

⁶⁴ See also Said, Edward W, *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1991.

⁶⁵ Tuhiwai, Smith, Linda, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Zed Books, London, 1999, p. 73

Femininity, Space and Domination

We live in a male dominated world⁶⁶, and few could contest this fact without submitting to brutal biological determinants. A world, where men have power over institutions, knowledge and politics, while ‘softer’ spots in society are left to women. Even if women are found in each sector mentioned above and in great numbers some, they are still marginalized in different ways, for example, with less pay for similar work tasks, or connected to areas which represent reproduction rather than production, such as school and kindergarten teaching, or other domestic related work. This reality is made visible through a central concept for understanding the oppression of women being Patriarchy⁶⁷, and working as:

/.../ a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men – by force, direct pressure or ritual, law and language, customs, etiquette, education, and division of labour, determine what part women shall or shall not play, and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male. It does not imply that no woman has power, or that all women in a given culture may not have certain power.⁶⁸

The concept of Patriarchy can be problematic as it is in relation to the Western women’s experience of oppression, while marginalized (non-European) women might not have the same experience based on possibilities, and marginalized men might not enjoy the privileges of patriarchy in the same way as white men. Furthermore ‘black’⁶⁹ women can’t only have confidence in the dismantling of patriarchy for female emancipation, but are also marginalized by racism, within boundaries of ‘otherness’.⁷⁰ Patriarchy works in a marginalizing way, by putting men in the dominant position. This dislocation of sexes from each other creates a situation where the social life of the sexes is located by the patriarchal structure of the ‘private’ and the ‘public’, or the ‘domestic’ and the ‘public’.⁷¹ This dichotomy

⁶⁶ In other words there is a white, heterosexual male hierarchy, and gender is seen as a social construction in relation to it. ‘*Feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression.*’ Quote in: hooks, bell, *Feminism is for EVERYBODY, Passionate politics*, Pluto Press, London, 2000, p. viii.

⁶⁷ Many contest the issue of patriarchy and say that the concept is too abstract to use and too marginalizing in its apparent forms. I do not contest the presence of patriarchy, in fact I think it is the other way around, it is present and it is strong. Its abstract difficulty is because of its discursive body; a plural body where some can identify marginalizing structures, while others see profit in the same body.

⁶⁸ Rich, Adrienne, *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution*, Virago, London, 1977, p. 57
Rich sees patriarchy as an oppressive structure and when women have freed themselves from this structure, bearing children might in fact be the central issue for female power and inspiration. This brings problematic and power struggles over emancipation of other sort, as women that can’t bear children would be section out, as they would lack this resort. Therefore I’m only emphasising on the definition of patriarchy that Rich hands us.

⁶⁹ By black I’m emphasising on colour and cultural differences from that of which is interpreted as white.

⁷⁰ See Kum Kum, Bhavnani, ‘Tracing the Contours. Feminist Research and Feminist Objectivity’, in *The Dynamic of ‘Race’ and Gender. Some Feminist Interventions*. Taylor & Francis, Hong Kong, 1995.

⁷¹ My ambition with the use of the concept ‘sex’ is not to reproduce heterosexual norms. ‘Sex’ is not referring to sexuality, where patriarchy works in a different form.

is rather strictly drawn, and at the same time is in constant relation to possible changes.⁷² Gender constructions play a vital role in creating confined locations, where different spaces become gendered as female or male. To widen the scope one also has to see the relation of work that different spaces contribute society with. The division of space is often related with a division of labour, not only being the reproduction in the household or the kitchen and the production at the office or the factory.⁷³ One must be open to the idea that these spaces often tend to be more open than theoretical abstractions tend to depict, and that the issue of dichotomies always is a problematic one. Petchesky discusses the problematic use of dichotomies in the following way:

./.../ 'production' and 'reproduction', work and the family, far from being separate territories ./.../ are really intimately related modes that reverberate upon one another and frequently occur in the same social, physical and even psychical spaces. ./.../ We are now learning that this model of separate spheres distorts reality, that it is every bit as much as an ideological construction as are the notions of 'male' and 'female' themselves. The reproduction and kinship, or the family have their own historically determined products, material technique, modes of organization, and power relations, but reproduction and kinship are themselves integrally related to social relations of production and the state; they reshape those relations all the time.⁷⁴

Thought dichotomies as public/private, production/reproduction often tend to be insufficient in understanding the forms of domination they intend to shed light upon, by leaving out cross-cultural differences and intertextual understandings of female oppression.⁷⁵ On the other hand, ideology constructs real position of struggle, meaning that a crude reality might work as ideology, but still be a crude reality, which Petchesky dismantles by overlooking of division of gendered spaces, and at the same time dismantles a starting point for change. A concept dichotomy doesn't imply a strict closure to the divided spaces it highlights - how the reproduction of oppression works, and shouldn't be discarded for other understandings, as ideology but interrelated with it - and other forms of domination.

Marginalization and Disciplination

Domination and marginalization are causalities of discourses and dominant norms. Bartky discusses Foucault's theory of discourse and the modern disciplinary society. Modernity led by the idea of surveillance over its citizens, best realized in the prison model Panopticon,

⁷² Nicholson, Linda, *The play of reason: From the Modern to the Postmodern*, Open University Press, Buckingham, 1999, p. 43

⁷³ Ibid. pp. 41-43

⁷⁴ Petchesky quoted in: Ibid.

⁷⁵ Nicholson, Linda, *The play of reason: From the Modern to the Postmodern*, Open University Press, Buckingham, 1999, p. 44

where the subject can be under constant surveillance. He emphasizes marginalization and disciplination as a bodily experience of the subject, but is consequently leaving out a different female experience.⁷⁶ Women, as seen and represented today, can enjoy a greater freedom, achieved through feministic struggle. Furthermore, capitalism's search for increased cheap labour, as women often earn less than their male colleagues, in some sense integrates women in the public space. Freedom for women has also led to a greater exposure of women and by these new forms, or other shapes of patriarchy, have taken its toll on the female body. Patriarchy as a hegemonic discourse is that of male domination, while many men are just the opposite, the discursive forms of oppression are often masked. Not meaning that these men oppress women in the shadows, but rather that discourse penetrates all subjects in a form, which makes oppression dim out. Men as well as women do not see how their ideas or practices can reproduce the patriarchal hegemonic order.

The body is subjected to discourse in the sense that disciplinary practices are often regulating, normative, set out standards, and constitute the subject or the object being the body.

The production of 'docile bodies' requires that an uninterrupted coercion be directed to the very process of bodily activity, not just their result; this 'micro-physics of power' fragments and partition the body's time, its space and its movements.⁷⁷

When looking at the structure and activity of these sorts of power, the female body is exposed to a dual disciplination. The regular self-surveillance is active both as discursive disciplinary practices and as a patriarchal gaze. To extend further, women have to appear in a feminine way, and to do this their body is regulated by patriarchal norms of femininity. Bartky sees that these practices take at least three specific forms: the body must be regulated to certain size and shape; the body's principal movements are assigned to particular sets of gestures and postures; the body is directed to its object as a place for ornamental display.⁷⁸ Furthermore the female body becomes an image of the 'Other', in relation to a male dominated discourse.

The anonymity of power is made visible in these very practices, as many do not reject these practices or see them as forms of domination. That is because the end isn't obviously felt to be of a male gaze, but a matter of the individuals' self-definition. This is because the operation of power constitutes the very subjectivity of the subject.⁷⁹ The ideological

⁷⁶ Bartky, Sandra Lee, *Femininity and domination: Studies In The Phenomenology Of Oppression*, Routledge, New York, 1990, p. 63, 65

⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 63

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 65

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 79

patriarchal language of the body tells the 'truth' of, for example, the benefits of a fit body, but leaves out other aspects of realities from the subjects' consciousness.

As power penetrates everything, there are sometimes difficulties in seeing ways of escaping its grasp. But power isn't uniform, in the sense that it historically always produces renewal forms that exchanges the dominant.⁸⁰ In this reshaping of domination the subject is left in an ideological glitch between the new and the old, opening the possibility of resistant and directional change. Bartky speaks with reference to domination of the female body, and its relation to 'space' and 'time', and the difficult situation this places women in. She also sees a mobile liberation of the body from the female domestic space, through divorce, paid labour work, the gradual dismantling of the traditional family, in spite of a certain backlash and the struggle of traditionalists to enforce their position.⁸¹ These less rigid chains, are in fact exercising on a discursive level of representation, which incarcerates the female body within traditional 'spaces'.

Race Difference and Subjectivity

'Race' is a problematical concept, in the sense that it highlights differences between people and cultures. But at the same time it bears a strong theoretical and political force, in the use of it, by lifting up the racialized meanings and images in discourses. Its outcome habitually takes the form of binary oppositions. To capture the extent of the discursive power in binary oppositions one should underline the discursive hegemony: *white/black*, *man/woman*, *masculine/feminine*, *upper class/lower class*, *civilized/savage*.⁸² By the underlining of binary oppositions one shows the nature of their coexistence, not as a peaceful disposition, but rather one affected by violent hierarchies.

When being among one's 'own people', one isn't redirected to a situation or experience of 'otherness'.⁸³ On the other hand, in the colonial moment 'black' men/women not only are black, but must be black; they must be black compared to the 'white' man/woman.⁸⁴ By using the concepts of 'black' and 'white' the emphasis is on the construction of these ideas in relation to ideological positions and discursive power, in claims of 'otherness', and not of human essence.

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 81

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 79

⁸² Derrida in: Hall, Stuart, 'The spectacle of the other', in Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997, p. 258

⁸³ For further reading see Kum Kum, Bhavnani, 'Tracing the Contours. Feminist Research and Feminist Objectivity', in: *The Dynamic of 'Race' and Gender. Some Feminist Interventions*. Taylor & Francis, Hong Kong, 1995, pp. 26-41.

⁸⁴ Fanon Franz, *Svart hud vita masker*, Daidalos AB, Göteborg, 1995, p. 107.

From the first colonial encounters and expeditions in Africa, Africans were labelled primitive while Europeans were civilized.⁸⁵ The colonial experiences were used to sell the exotic Africa to the Victorian households and the emerging working classes, which could not afford exotic items to the same extent, but got images about the ‘civilized’ colonisers and the savage Africans from advertising. McClintock explains how:

Images of colonial conquest were stamped on soap boxes /.../ biscuit tins, whisky bottles, tea tins and chocolate bars /.../ No pre-existing form of organized racism had ever before been able to reach so large and so differentiated a mass of the populace.⁸⁶

By the great presence of racist images the domestic world was racialized and the colonial world was domesticated.⁸⁷

Culture in relation to black people was designated to an essential connection to nature, while civilisation and the overcoming of nature, which this development required, was a character designated to the white culture.⁸⁸ As the essence of difference between races is that of culture, there is an open space for change. But on the other hand the representations of difference in racialized discourses tend to naturalize the order of things, and constitute fixation on differences, and a discursive and ideological closure, within cultural hegemony.⁸⁹ Reduced and fixated characteristics and images in ‘racialized regimes of representation’ and binary oppositions, lead to creation of stereotypical images about the ‘Other’, which take shape in language and different texts.⁹⁰ Here ‘otherness’ or blackness becomes linked with an ambivalent dual image of the uncivilized, childlike and dangerous, but at the same time exotic, natural and over-sexualised object of desire.⁹¹ The dual engagement in ‘otherness’ doesn’t suggest that the more accepting images of the ‘Other’ are less degrading and harmful, as they exercise in the same racialized discourse. In the same way the Oriental is constituted.

The structure of thought and knowledge has long been dominated by the hegemony of Western science⁹², leading the production of knowledge. Western definitions are enforced upon ‘others’ in relation to the meeting of non-Western, societies and cultures. The concept of culture in relation to Western societies takes the meaning of civilisation and democracy, on the socio-political level of thought. On the symbolic level it acts as quality of aesthetic products, such as music, art, culinary traditions etc. The concept of culture on the other hand,

⁸⁵ Modernity and civilization becomes in this sense legitimated by colonialism and the inferiority of the ‘Other’.

⁸⁶ McClintock in: Hall, Stuart, ‘The spectacle of the other’, in Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997, p. 240

⁸⁷ Hall, Stuart, ‘The spectacle of the other’, in: Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997, p. 241

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 244

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 245

⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 249

⁹¹ Ibid. p. 263

⁹² Science here can’t be separated from the idea that it is linked with culture.

takes on other meaning when the West speaks about non-Western cultures. In the breeze of this structure, the outcome of specific Western knowledge about 'Other' has rarely been other than infected by imperialism, racism and ethnocentrism. Edward Said illustrates this production of Western knowledge about the 'Other', by pointing out the interest that, Western science and colonialism has had about the Orient. This interest led, not only to the accumulation of European wealth but also to the discursive construction of what the Orient 'is', in the field of Orientalism since the French revolution:

.../ from the earliest modern history to the present, Orientalism as a form of thought for dealing with the foreign has typically shown the altogether regrettable tendency of any knowledge based on such hard-and-fast distinctions as 'East' and 'West': to channel thought into a West or an East compartment. Because this tendency is right at the center of Orientalist theory, practice, and values found in the West, the sense of Western power over the Orient is taken for granted as having the status of scientific truth.⁹³

Not only is the Orient an object of Western knowledge, it is also composed by an idea to be sensible in a Western manner, in the way of being in some sense similar to it. In other words the 'less developed' Orient is always trying to be similar to its 'more developed' counterpart, being the European civilization. At the same time the orient is seen as something altogether apart from what is Western, as it is divided into two parts. The evil part, that's represented in ideas of the Orient as an unorganised culture, where Islam often is seen as its barbaric core. Its civilized and good part is left to history, and times when the Orient was a place of highly developed civilization. The civilized past is not seen as a unique historic event but as closely related to an Arian and European civilization.⁹⁴ This central part of the Orient is in strong relation to the conception of similarity between the West and the Orient. By formulating the Orient as a historically great civilization, and a later decaying culture, the argument of colonialism and Orientalism, was that it had to be saved.⁹⁵

Imposing this sort of representation on the Orient, the Occident is not only explaining what it is, but also constructing it, and trying to produce its future. 'Knowledge of the Orient, because generated out of strength, in a sense *creates* the Orient, the Oriental and his(/her)⁹⁶ world.'⁹⁷

The discourse of salvation is a recurring agenda in the colonial moment, where Western values and reason, are recommended and enforced. In the decolonising process these arguments are reinforced by the threat of regression in these areas, and urges to implement

⁹³ Said, Edward W, *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1991, p. 46

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 99

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 206

⁹⁶ (/her) added.

⁹⁷ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1991, p. 40

established Western norms are proclaimed. The issue is not standards set by Western ideas, but the possibility of claiming one's own originality, and in one's words.⁹⁸

Habitus, Distinction and the Exotic 'Other'

Habitus is the subconscious, mental or cognitive structures through which people create an arrangement of the social world. A series of internalized schemes provide in this way a position from which subjects perceive, understand, appreciate and evaluate their social surroundings. Habitus can thus be seen as 'internalized, embodied social structure'.⁹⁹ In other words habitus is the production of a commonsense of the world, which is upheld by consensus linked with a collective experience of practice or imagination, linking subjects together through schematic systems of understanding.¹⁰⁰

'following only [his] own laws', each 'nonetheless agrees with the other.'¹⁰¹ The habitus is precisely this immanent law, *lex insita*, laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing, which is the precondition not only for the co-ordination of practices but also for practices of co-ordination /.../¹⁰²

Habitus is thus constructed through a continuing occupation of a position in society. Therefore habitus is affected not only by class, gender, culture or group, but also reflects the ruling class divisions within social life. Consequently habitus tends to be similar in relation to people situated in the same position within that social world, and in this sense being a collective phenomenon. Differences or individuality can be acquired, as a multitude of habitus that are in relation to social reality and its structures do not uniformly impose the subject. As it moves in time and space it is a product of history and in a dialectical relation to it, as it in some sense constructs history or histories. Bourdieu summarizes these thoughts in this way:

In short, the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history.¹⁰³

The habitus is the product of the work of inculcation and appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective structures (e.g. of language, economy, etc.) to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely, in the form of durable dispositions, in the organisms (which one can, if one wishes, call individuals) lastingly subjected to the same conditions, and hence placed in the same material conditions of existence.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Fanon, Franz, *Jordens fördömda*, Rabén & Sjögren, Stockholm, 1969, p. 34-35

⁹⁹ Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1984, p. 468

¹⁰⁰ Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline to a theory of practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p. 80

¹⁰¹ Leibniz quoted in: *Ibid.* p. 81

¹⁰² Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline to a theory of practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p. 81

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 82

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 85

The subject in this sense mustn't be related to as a loose entity or in relation to class as a population, but rather to that 'class habitus', generally working as collective glue. Better yet, subjects or individuals of the same class repeatedly have different interpretations of an experience, but at the same time people within the same class are more likely to interpret or produce a practice in a similar way. In Bourdieu's words:

/.../ habitus could be seen as a subjective but not individual system of internalized structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class and constituting the preconditions for all objectification and apperception.¹⁰⁵

Clarifying, apperception or 'common truth', for the individual is always in relation to his/her group or 'class habitus', as other forms of understanding, deviations from class habitus may be seen as a structural variant to other groups or 'class habitus'. Habitus is then in a dialectical relation to other habitus and this process takes place in what Bourdieu calls 'field'.¹⁰⁶ Here agents and habitus are in struggle on a structural level, being that of 'economic capital', and on a discursive level being that of 'cultural', 'social' and 'symbolic capital'.¹⁰⁷ Especially cultural capital, but also economic capital is in relation to the struggle situated within the Western cultural field. In this struggle subjects can demonstrate their knowledge and distinctive position in cultural fields, in for example, art, music, food culture etc.

The relation that unifies people by habitus is at the same time disjointed by different forms of possible strategies (different capitals) that create a possible distinction. Distinction is the revelation of that structural and discursive struggle, and takes its cultural appearance in the matter of 'taste'. In other words taste becomes the embodiments of different position within a given field.¹⁰⁸ Dominant classes are thus in a greater positions to express this distinction as they posses economic capital, which facilitates the possibilities of accumulation of other forms of capital as well as a distinctive position.¹⁰⁹ In this moment and situation in the struggle of different positions, and distinction, is negotiated in a dialectical process. Meaning that the matter of taste not only is being positioned in distinction, by the different cultural products, it also in this discursive struggle likely to transform the cultural product by operations of taste. In this way, 'high' versus 'popular' (including the 'Other') culture, as well

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 86

¹⁰⁶ Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1984. p. 244

¹⁰⁷ Cultural capital engages different kinds of suitable knowledge, social capital becomes a force, in relation to frames of references and shared values between people, and symbolic capital is related to subjects' position of honour and prestige in social reality and relations.

¹⁰⁸ Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1984. p. 227

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 91

as 'old' versus 'new' is negotiated. In other words struggles over a wide range of knowledge position are fought, as well as situated struggles between the dominant class and the dominated take a material form in taste.

Summary and relocation of ideas

Gender, Race and Class are central concepts connected to the study of culture, and have been highlighted in this chapter. Cultural Studies illuminates the impact of mainstream as a powerful ideology in everyday lives. For this reason, understanding the way in which 'fine' and 'popular' cultures are constructed and reproduced in culinary cultures, becomes of importance for this study. It is a way to critically understand everyday realities, in a greater relation 'meanings' in society.

Gender and 'Race' are mainly products of hierarchical power technologies that through history has affected the freedom of women and 'blacks'. The construction of these two realities is in a culinary culture related to the demand of a white hegemonic discourse. On the other hand the apprehension of that discourse is also related to class. Class on the other hand is reconstituted by the mode of production on a structural level, and by knowledge on a discursive level. The class habitus becomes the form of conduct and language that reaffirms these groups. All these create the formation of groups in society, some by claims others by force. Nevertheless differences aren't erased by a seemingly homogeneity within groups in society, heterogeneity and position are struggled for and given to people by their gender, sexuality, race, and class etc. Issues that places subjects to differential positions within their habitus, and in relation to other habitus in society. The habitual ideas that certain groups in society seem to have in common consequently consist of a shared norms and differential modes of relation. From which they act and proceed in an unproblematic way, in given situations and spaces in society. Central to the understanding of these differences is to see the difference of discourse in its contexts.

Chapter IV. Experiencing food

Introduction

I will first present a short overview of previous studies that are in different ways relevant to my analysis. I will further refer to the methods used in collecting the material, and present the material evolving from my observation in bookstores, with special focus on cookbooks. Furthermore cookbooks that I saw as relevant for this study will be presented. I will conclude by presenting a summarised version of two TV-programmes¹¹⁰ conducted by authors of two cookbooks that have been presented before. My focus here is in description. My aim is to provide an overview of the empirical material that creates the framework of my analysis. The material will be presented as the general impression that it forms as it is read. I'm aware of that my critical position will affect the impression that I get from the material, but I emphasize on that no reading of any text can be free or untainted by the reader's own perceptions and ideas.

Furthermore the material being, produced by Europeans as well as Swedish, available to a Swedish audience, will consequently not only be addressed as a Swedish case, but instead be connected to a Western context.

Studies on Culinary Cultures

Culinary culture is in Sociology and Cultural Studies, a rather new topic of study. During the last years there has been an increase in the studies directed to the understanding of food culture. I'm going to briefly present some of the authors and their works, that mostly have been a source of inspiration, rather than a direct source for this study, as these studies aren't direct related to my discursive approach on the culinary, but related to central issues for my analysis, such as representation of gender, 'race', and distinction.

Alan Warde and Lydia Martens study the consumption of food outside the home, in their book *Eating Out*. The authors, present through surveys and interviews carried out in England during the previous decade, people's experiences and ideas about eating out. In the study, they discuss the enjoyable and entertaining features of this practices, as well as way of displaying distinction, status and 'good' taste. The authors highlight the consumption of food, predominantly with issues of class and social inequalities in access of eating out. The study

¹¹⁰ The use of these two programs is by their popularity in Swedish media, which presents Tina Nordström as a modern Swedish woman in a traditional studio kitchen and Jamie Oliver as a young professional chef in a free environment, in his home and other locations.

also touches issues of social interactions within that public space where the eating takes place, between different actors (customers and workers).¹¹¹

In the anthology *Kitchen Culture in America*, eleven authors contribute with different views on food culture, consumption, gender and race representations. The role of the American housewife, commercials, education and conduct, and 'race' are among the topics that are touched by the essays in the book.¹¹² The essay that I found the most inspiring was by Alice A. Deck that handled the issue of the 'commodity fetishism' of black women in food commercial during from the 1905-1953. The fetishism images of black women Domestic cooks were used as a way of selling a product to a white middle class. A product and image that related to the times when black women were in just that position in society, serving/slaving in the homes and kitchens of white people.¹¹³

Uma Narayan writes a short essay on food culture in her book *Dislocating Cultures*. In the essay she highlights the complexity of the culinary culture. She referees this complexity to a postcolonial situation where Indian food has become a global commodity. She discusses how the British colonize India, and marks the importance of the Indian culinary culture and its effects. Moreover the definitions of curry foods differ from each other in different regions of the Indian country, while the British establish a fabrication of 'one' curry. In the essay she also discusses two theoretical standpoints, that of 'food colonialism', 'anticolonialist eating' by Lisa Heldek, and Anne Goldman's 'culinary imperialism'.¹¹⁴

Selections within the Subjects of Study

In this thesis I have mainly put emphasis on a theoretical framework, that highlight the different positionalities that are active in a culinary discourse, and how these positions are reinforced by different uses of language (discourses), and language identifications (representation).

I have used a variety of qualitative methods to grasp my material. I have conducted *participant observation*¹¹⁵ in bookshops to identify consumers and books (at a variety of hours during 2 weeks): The observation was intended to get an overlook of what kind of books are available, which are the dominant culinary cultures, and how these cultures are

¹¹¹ Warde, Alan & Martens, Lydia, *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption and Pleasure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000

¹¹² Inness, Sherrie A. (ed.), *Kitchen Culture in America, Popular Representations of Food, Gender and Race*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2001

¹¹³ Deck, Alice A., in: *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Uma Narayan, 'Eating Cultures' in: *Dislocating cultures: Identities, Tradition and Third World Feminism*, Routledge, New York, 1997.

¹¹⁵ For a complementary reading on method see, Hammersley, Martyn & Atkinson, Paul, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, Routledge, London, 1995, Chapter 5

presented. And if lucky even try to listen to people talk about food or the books they are buying. In order to later take a deeper, more thorough and methodical look on cookbooks.

I have conducted a couple of *informal dialogues* with chefs and ordinary people in order to come near experiences on food. I have *collected* a large quantity of *cookbooks* later to identify five that could grasp a heterogeneous and multidimensional perspective for further discourse analysis. As it isn't primarily the recipes or the person delivering the recipes that is of main interest, but rather the meanings that the recipes and the 'actors' reproduce. My interest in *the books* as empirical material was to see how different types of foods were spoken about in the books, how the authors spoke of themselves, and what kind of message was sent to the audiences. Those books that are related to TV-show reach large audiences that makes them not only be open in the hands of the higher class, but also to some extent to the working class, while others, are written and expressed in ways that appeal to the middle class. This doesn't mean that they only move within a class boundary, but that their information is used in different ways. The author and the participatory cooks are going to be presented in the same informal personal way, with their first names, as they have taken a place in the popular discourse of the audience.

I have also followed many TV cooking-programmes during the whole process of writing as well as specially focused on two videotapes from this programmes. *The TV-programs* reach a large number of people, making the content and language about food important in discussing what types of messages that are sent out. The popularity of these shows makes them commodities of a popular mainstream. By this connotation it would be likely that they appeal different purposes in different groups. Still they entail similar language to that of which I intend to deconstruct. Besides this I have been observant to any discussion about food in everyday life, newspaper articles or other TV-programs that aren't specifically about food.

Important to highlight is that the empirical material is not the focus in this study, but rather touchdowns from which the relation between the theory of culinization and the practices of the same is visualised.

The Representation of the World: Observations in Bookstores

My first impression of the larger of the bookstores I went to was that it offered a large quantity of books about food and drinks, roughly 300 books or more. The smaller bookstores had a smaller quantity but the variety was similar. When I looked closer I saw that quantity didn't account for the quality. The presence of different food cultures was vastly reduced, in relation to the quantity of books. The majority of the books were about different European food cultures belonging to, France, Italy, Germany, and Spain etc. Sweden had a larger diversity of regional food cultures, while the other countries mentioned, were regionalized

within the books. And the titles of the books were related to regions, countries and traditions within European cuisine. The rest of the world was rapidly thrown light upon, as Asian food was many times depicted in one and the same book, but some of the Asian countries culinary cultures were represented in singular books; Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese food were some among the few that could be found. Some Indian cuisine books were also at display. Africa was indeed not very present in the books, but there were some general books about African food, North African food, Morocco, and Tunis was among the few countries mentioned. I could only find one book about the Middle East, and that was about the Persian food culture. Latin America was not even present at all, at least from what I could see in the large quantity of books. I found one book about Mexican food but the was the only one I could find of Hispano-American food. While there were a couple of books about the neighbouring country US and its food culture, most of the books from other parts of the world were depicting the food culture of popular tourist countries, which to a great extent are present in traveller magazines.

The cookbooks from other parts of the world were titled, with traditional, regional etc, but a recurring concept was visible which I didn't very often find in titles of the European food. In the title of non-European cookbooks one often saw authentic in the title, for example authentic Indian recipes, authentic Persian food etc.

I noticed a rather large quantity of health books, which were guides to well-being, health and fit body (energy food, diet food). In the same shelf there were books on how to cook if you are allergic, diabetic or suffer from other illnesses.

Another thing that I noticed was that many books took up just one element within the culinary culture; cheese, egg, potatoes, olives. Furthermore certain types of techniques of cooking were displayed; barbeque, soups, fondue, wok. There were a lot of technically guided cookbooks, beginner or 'housewife cookbooks', as I heard one of the customers say. In some sense there were five types of cookbooks; the technical, the artistic, the health related, the element based (cheese), and the food cultured guided.

Europe beverages, wine, beer, whisky, cognac, strong spirits and drinks were those that dominated the accessible books of the genre. If a non-European country was present it was often in the European book, where they were represented in very little space. For example Wine around the world, 300 pages about Europe and different sorts of vine, and the rest of the world of vine producing countries in about 20 pages.

The books that were on the front display in both the bookstores, those that were sales pitches, were books about the food culture in the region 'Skåne', books written by famous TV-chefs Tina Nordström, Jaime Oliver, Nigela, and the classical passion of chocolate.

Exposed Practices and Recipes: Cookbooks

Jamie Oliver - Den nakna kockens återkomst

Jamie Oliver, a famous TV-chef, introduces the basic ideas about cooking that we should have in our kitchen, in his second book *Den nakna kockens återkomst*. Jamie strips off most of the ingredients and tools in his cooking so that it is more domestic and less professional or 'restaurant' type of cooking. This idea is one that he often returns to in many of his TV-programs as well. The book is structured as a typical day where different types of breakfast recipes are presented, later to enjoy lunch, dinner and desserts as well as party drinks for the weekends. The recipes are presented in accordance to the cookbook scheme.

In the introduction Jamie tells us how he has experienced his rapid success and how he has cooked for famous people as Tony Blair and others. His cooking skill hasn't only enabled him to go from a rather simple life to encounters with famous people; he has also experienced the fruits of his success in the meeting with ordinary people. He illustrates how he encounters people on the street that thank him for his cooking advises and inspiration. His emphasis is thus on the pleasure that not only eating can be but also the social occasion that it entails, with family and friends.

In order to make the process of cooking easier he offers a list of essential groceries that one always should have present at home. From this simple list the food one produces will always have enough to be successful. Of course Jamie emphasizes on that dishes are to be made in a proper way in order to taste the best. And in illustrating this need of cooking knowledge he mildly criticise his wife's and aunt's cooking. Later to present the proper way in which the dishes they do are to be done in the right way. Furthermore he emphasizes one experimentalism; one should try to enrich one's dishes by trying to add personal flavours after learning the basic way of cooking. Jamie mixes seemingly traditional English and European dishes with Oriental spices in order to make them more exotic.

Another important factor for as making good food is to have knowledge about the groceries that one uses and the quality, and one shouldn't buy the cheapest and most common groceries but rather more exclusive ones. Vegetables are close to Jamie's heart and he tries to inspire us to not only eat burgers with fries but also try to the greenstuffs on our plates. He offers some vegetable recipes that are not only tasty but also healthy. He mainly doesn't cook these types of low fat dishes; on the contrary he produces dishes with a lot of butter and oil. And in doing so he suggests that one should take the stairs instead of the elevator. But he also illustrates that the fatness in the food that he produces is enjoyable, while fast food and snacks

shouldn't be eaten regularly. Finally Jamie is thus trying not only to give instructions and recipes for cooking but also inspire to enjoy the meal in the everyday life.¹¹⁶

Jättegott Tina

Tina Nordström is a Swedish TV-chef, who has had a great impact on the televised audiences in Sweden and also on the book front with her cookbooks. She emphasize on simple cooking for the common family and party evenings. With simplicity she doesn't mean that food doesn't become interesting; it's rather the opposite that simplicity makes it easier to make interesting. Furthermore by decorating the dishes you make, one can also create pleasure for the eyes.

Her book *Jättegott Tina* is like most traditional cookbooks with different types of cooking, divided into different chapters. The recipes that are presented in this particular book are from her TV-show. She as a cook strives for personal development and tries to learn new areas and dishes within the culinary culture all the time. She takes in impressions from colleagues and audiences, so that she can accomplish that development. In her cooking she emphasizes that one has to taste all the time, so that nothing goes wrong. The simplest way to correct mistakes and to make a delicious dinner is to use fresh herbs, which nowadays is found in almost every store.

She cooks few dishes outside the Swedish or European food culture as most of her recipes are traditional or variants of food from this region. Other parts of the world's food traditions or customs enter as spices or exotic fruits.

In the book she starts with vegetables fruits and spices from which one can make fast and easy meals. Just as easy is the preparation of fish, as she offers recipes that are fast and can make an impression with little effort. Of course the fish must be fresh and in order not to be fooled by the salesman, one should know how a fresh fish looks like. From fish she rapidly move on through poultry to meat. Famous Swedish dishes, traditional Swedish food, and some European household dishes comprise the food she cooks with meat. For the more festive occasions she offer the often-occurring clams and oysters, in combination with some other fashionable dishes. Furthermore she offers some new tips for an alternative Christmas meal, or rather some new addition to the traditional food and celebrations, which she finds very important.

Tina's popularity has enabled her to reach many Swedish households, and these are mainly the targets of her recipes. Many of the recipes that she offers are easy to produce and can still the hunger of a family with little effort as well as impress guests at dinner parties.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ See: Oliver, Jamie, *Den nakna kockens återkomst*, Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, 2000.

Grön mat – från en annorlunda värld

Titti Erksell Barker is the author of the vegetarian cookbook *Grön mat*, and has worked as a professional caterer in her own company CousCous for 15 years. In the book she writes about her experiences in the world of catering, and the experiences of her travels. She also speaks about private travels, which affect her cooking, and inspire her not only in the kitchen but also in life. She speaks about her parents, her childhood in Sweden and in Japan where she lived as a little child.

The cookbook is rather traditional in the instructional part, but otherwise it is full of anecdotes, experiences and thoughts, accompanied by her, own photography. Her personal relation to food is in this way an introduction to the recipes that she presents.

The recipes aren't presented in a particular order, but are rather in relation to the anecdote she is telling. The food that she presents is a mixture of Swedish vegetarian food with food from other parts of the world, such as Europe, Asia and Africa, South America and the Middle East. Her use of exotic vegetables, fruits and spices has been integrated in her cooking by her travels, for example in Thailand where she stayed with mountain-people. Or, when an Iranian lady was employed at her catering-company, introducing her to new flavours and experience.

Her vegetarianism leads her to discuss the issues about animal care, and quality in vegetables. She emphasizes on that one has to cook with feelings and emotions in order to succeed in the kitchen, not matter what the outside circumstances are. By having this relation to food she has been successful and now lives a quiet life on the countryside, where she can cook food from her vegetables in her own garden. Food in this book is presented more as an expression of a life story, than its mere production; it's related to a lifestyle, where one is in touch with nature and the stories, memories and experiences that arise from that practise.¹¹⁸

Hopkok- sex kulturer möter det svenska köket

Hopkok is a cookbook especially made for the city of Stockholm, when the city was the cultural capital of Europe. In the book six food cultures meet with the Swedish food tradition on the dinner table. The different cultures that are represented in this meeting are: Cuba, former Yugoslavia, Thailand, Chile, Turkey and Algeria with professional Swedish cooks. The book is constructed around an ongoing dialog between the two that make the food, other than that, it is like any other cookbook, with recipes, measures and techniques.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ See: Nordström, Tina, *Jättegott Tina: 55 recept från SVT:s program mat*, Sveriges television och Natur & Kultur/LT:s Förlag, Göteborg, 2003.

¹¹⁸ See: Erksell Barker, Titti, *Grön Mat: Från En Annan Värld*, Prisma, Stockholm, 1999.

¹¹⁹ See: *Hop Kok: sex kulturer möter det svenska köket*, Nordstedts Förlag, Stockholm- Europas huvudstad 1998. Idé av: Svenska Bord och Connecta CA, Projektledare: Ola Buckard Connecta CA.

Cuba

The first meeting is between Maria Llerena from Cuba and the professional cook Nico Diamantoglou from Greece. Nico prepared for the meeting by reading about Cuban food, and found it rustic and sophisticated, other than that he'd only eaten Cuban food once in a restaurant. Maria remembers Cuba, as tells Nico that when she was a child she used to grill fish and langouste on the beach with live music.

Maria is African, Spanish, and Chinese, and she says that the Cuban food culture is the same a great mix. By living in Sweden she has come to love some of its traditional food culture, but still there are some that she can't eat, for example Surströmming. The spices that are used in Cuba are few and simple, like cumin, oregano and laurel leaf.

During their meeting they create new dishes by combining their knowledge. The dishes are seemingly Cuban with a Swedish touch, and some of the ingredients are exchanged to what can be found on the Swedish market.¹²⁰

Turkey

The Swedish cook Magnus Viksten had heard that the Turkey had a vivid food culture, that hadn't been Americanised. He had looked unsuccessfully in Swedish bookstores, for any cookbook about Turkish food. In Turkey he didn't meet the food culture that he was hoping for, as in the tourist resort, where he stayed the food was uninteresting.

He met with Emine Kulbays to cook Turkish food for the cookbook project. Emine came to Sweden 1974 after her father had been there for a few years. Now she works in a school restaurant, but she doesn't cook anything there. She tells Magnus about the different spices that are commonly used in Turkish food, such as red pepper, paprika, mint etc. Vegetables and different meats are the basis, but pork is not commonly eaten, as in Muslim countries.

She also tells that she normally tries different food and not only the Turkish, she cooks Mexican, Chinese, sometimes Swedish and food from other countries.

Other than kebab they cook a variety of Turkish dishes and desserts, and together they mix their cooking knowledge, so that they later can eat the food sitting on pillows in the living room floor.¹²¹

Chile

The food loving Francisco Veloz from Chile, meets with the professional cook Maria Anderson, to cook Chilean food. Francisco tells that his home country's food is a mix, mainly because of the many immigrants that came to Chile. In difference to Argentina and Uruguay,

¹²⁰ Ibid. pp. 8-25

¹²¹ Ibid. pp. 26-43

they eat a lot of fish in Chile. Even though Chile has a great variety of fish, he likes the Swedish fish better, and the Chilean imported vines are better and cheaper here in Sweden. During their meeting Francisco offers Maria Mate, a South American tea, which she doesn't enjoy very much.

Francisco doesn't like that any of his guests comes near the kitchen, because if he doesn't cook alone he gets irritated and loses concentration. Maria on the other hand, is accustomed to work in the professional kitchen and is positive to teamwork, otherwise the job in a restaurant wouldn't work. Together they cook a traditional Chilean dish that is originally made in a hole in the ground, but in Francisco's home they use a Cataplana-pot. They make big sandwiches, which are popular in Chile, and many other dishes, and desserts, with a Swedish touch.¹²²

Thailand

Panthip Amornsilapimons from Thailand meets the Swedish chef Niclas Ryhnells in her home. He has never cooked Thai-food but is eager to begin. Thai-food is often spicy, but can be mild on some occasions, when it contains lime and coco, and the strength of the food varies from different regions of the country Panthip informs.

Niclas is a chef at his own restaurant and likes Swedish traditional household food, and making exclusive dishes from cheap primary products. Panthip comes with an original Thai recipe and Niclas suggests changes. Three dishes is normal in a Thai meal, something prepared in the wok, soup and a curry dish. She says that her mother has taught her all that she knows about food. In her two years in Sweden she hasn't learn to like Swedish food she says, she cooks Thai, and if her husband wants to eat Swedish food, he has to wait until she goes away. This surprises Niclas, and he eagerly invites Panthip to his restaurant so she can learn to enjoy the Swedish food culture. When they are ready Niclas comes to the conclusion that it was fast and easy to cook Thai, and what more impresses him is that they never used the oven.¹²³

Balkan

Per Gustafson, a Swedish chef meets Vojka Kovacevic, who came from Yugoslavia 1970. Per speaks about a Yugoslavian dish that conquered the Swedish homes in the 70:s, a paprika filled with meat that doesn't taste anything. He says conscious of his prejudice. Vojka doesn't take any offends and goes on speaking about the common picture about Yugoslavian food, as

¹²² Ibid. pp. 44-65

¹²³ Ibid. pp. 64-83

strong, rustic, stocky and fat. She doesn't deny this description, but emphasizes that hard working people need fat food.

The Yugoslavian meal always contains many dishes, and the more festive the occasion is the more different dishes one does, but the soup is always the first dish. Together they try to combine their cultural food background and make a mix of the two traditions. For example they use both the Swedish Falukorv and the Yugoslavian sausage Kabanossen in the same dish. Similarities can be found, as well differences in the Yugoslavian meatballs that they make. The cultural meeting was in Per eyes a very successful one, and he thinks that it will somewhat affect his menu creation in the restaurant.¹²⁴

Algeria

The Algerian food culture could be seen as a cross-over-cuisine. The food culture is Berber in its core, and then the Arab, Turkish invasions has set mark on it; later the French colonisation also brought Spanish, Italian and Jewish influences. Algerian Mohamed Maddi is going to cook and teach the Swedish professional cook Annica Källberg about Algerian, which she doesn't know anything about.

In Algeria one eats what is available during that season of the year, and one eats seldom meat because of its high price. Meat is eaten on special occasions and festivities. The preparations are meticulous, as the Algerian food is mild, the taste of the vegetables and other ingredients must penetrate. Mohamed learnt to cook from his grandmother who lived alone, and therefore he has all of her recipes in his mind. He also tells that the city where he comes from is famous for its ancient food culture. Mohamed find similarities in Swedish and Algerian cooking letting one spice dominate, and he loves traditional Swedish food Annica has learned her trade as a cook in a famous French restaurant, and now works at a famous Swedish restaurant. She knows nothing of North African food, and likes French and Japanese food.

Their meeting in the kitchen is productive, but they sometimes think different about how things are made. Annica suggests that they make the couscous as it says on the box, but that upsets Mohamed, who emphasizes that couscous must be made in a complex but traditional way, not only from the tradition, but because the way depicted on the box is bad for the stomach. Their mixes turn out well and the collaboration has worked in the last meeting for the cookbook about cultural meetings.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Ibid. pp. 84-103

¹²⁵ Ibid. pp. 104-119

Mat för Farao

Michelle Berriedale-Johnson had a catering company for twelve years, which specialised in arranging historical feasts. She writes in the introduction to her book *Mat För Farao* about the ancient food culture in the Egyptian empire. The empire had great riches in vegetables and spices that grew in the rich soil along the African river Nile. She tells us that there hasn't been found any cookbooks from these times, but that we still can know how the Pharaohs ate, from the rich hieroglyphs that were left. Bread was and still is an essential part of the North African food culture. Bread wasn't only seen as food, but was also the salary for slaves and higher services. Just as important for the Egyptians as bread, were the beans. Beans in different forms were eaten for breakfast as well as lunch or dinner. Also fresh vegetables and fruits were of great importance in the Egyptian diet. Berriedale-Johnson tells us that this somewhat amazed ancient travellers, as many of these vegetables were eaten raw.

The great Nile River offered many gods and especially a rich variety and quantity of fish. But not only did the river offer this, with this came many river birds and ducks that were grilled over open fire. The fish was dried by the sun and preserved by salt. The rich river landscape also offered good feeding grounds for other animals, such as ox, goats and pigs. The ox was more frequently used in farming than at the dinner table, but the other animals were eaten, the pigs ate the leftovers, the goats offered milk from which they made cheese and hens gave them eggs. The cooking was very easy as the primary products were of such good quality, and the food was in no need of being disguised behind any fancy recipe. If one travels there today one doesn't see many changes rather than new vegetables such as potatoes, aubergine and tomatoes that were brought from South America. The food was eaten on great banquettes, where wine was drunken in abundance, and there are picture of noble women that are sick because of all the drinking. The food was eaten by hand or with the thin bread as a spoon, and soups were drunk out of bowls.

The author tells us that many of the ingredients in the Egyptian cooking can be found immigrant stores, or that one could travel to Egypt and taste the impressive food oneself. She tells us that one can enjoy the authentic recipes even today, as they haven't changed much since the times of the Pharaohs.

Berriedale-Johnson begins the presentation of the food with small dishes and soups and often comes with a little description of the dish in relation to Egyptian history or actuality. She goes on to the main meal where the popular beans continuing to appear. Only that the meals are more stuffed with meats of different kinds as poultry. Poultry appears in many of the burial paintings and is an important part of the culinary tradition in Egypt, we are told. The Egyptian food culture also offers many different desserts that become available to us in

this book. Commonly different fruits are eaten after the meal but there are also other types of desserts sweet couscous with fruit salad or dried fig and apricot jam.

The book is more of a 'history'-cookbook as she offers anecdotes and stories about dishes as she presents the recipes and the mode of procedure. It is created like a journey to the past and present Egypt.¹²⁶

Exposed Practices and Recipes: TV programs

Tinas Kök

The DVD *Tinas Kök*, is a program situated in a studio kitchen, that somewhat resembles a normal kitchen but is surely more prepared than a Swedish home kitchen. The program centre is Tina but also the camera-man/reporter Tomas Tengby, which whom Tina has a constant dialog with. But some other features as reportages are introduced for specialized knowledge's, and these programs are often presented by Tomas Tengby.

In the kitchen Tina shows how to cook different dishes, and gives tips on what can be used if ingredients that are used aren't available to the consumer. The food that is cooked is often Swedish, and European food that is often eaten in the community, as well as dishes from other culinary cultures, especially Asia. When she cooks she always tells the audience how delicious the food is while tasting in of her fingers or of a spoon.

Tina, a professionally schooled chef, occasionally uses professional terms. When this happens Tomas often asks what that means so a simpler explanation on what is used or done is available to the audience. He also asks other practical questions on preparing different dishes so that information is brought to surface. Historical anecdotes about different dishes, spices and names about dishes, etc, are told either from Tina or from Tomas. On the DVD one only sees Tina in the kitchen while Tomas face appears as he travels in search of knowledge.

Tomas does several reportages on the DVD, he meets specialist on different fields and they mediate their knowledge. He meets, for example, a wine specialist that explains about different vines, grapes and regions and prices, as well as different wines are properly to be drunk, with food etc. He also makes trips to different locations in Sweden and other countries. In Sweden he visits a French bakery, where authentic French bread is made by French bakers, and with French primary products and machines. He visits small Swedish chocolate factory, where they show him how to make classic pralines. Exotic fruits from Asia and the American continent are displayed and talked about with a botanist at a Swedish botanic garden. He

¹²⁶ See: Berridale-Johnson, Michelle, *Mat för Farao: En Forntida Egyptisk Kokbok*, Alfabeta Bokförlag, Stockholm 2000.

travels to Sicily to learn about the real marzipan, which was brought to Scissile by the Arabs and then was produced by nuns as other conquerors ran out the Arabs.

Besides the trips and reportages Tomas gives small tips on different tools, as well as different products as rise, pasta and salt as well as the best form of storing groceries.

Another food related reportage is one about food in art. These types of paintings, showing for example a square in European city during 1500, were for amusement of the upper class. In the painting different symbolic meanings are displayed, from church and religion to female and male sexuality. Tina is the central person on the DVD measured in time, but Tomas has a much larger variety of reportages and titles that one can look at.¹²⁷

Den Nakna Kocken

The video by Jamie Oliver takes place at his friends' house in New York where Jamie is going to 'starge' (work for free) in a restaurant for a few days so that he can learn more, and get inspired. The food that he makes is often fashionable, but made simple and easy. He works with a female cameraman, whom he has a dialog with, and she asks questions so that he explains more clearly. Jamie Oliver is a young British cook who has had great success with his cooking programs in many countries.

The first thing that he does when he arrives is to go out to eat a big meal of junk food with his friend, and walk around the streets of New York. Next morning he starts with making an early breakfast, with fast coffee and hot chocolate, with pancakes and bacon. After breakfast he goes to work at a famous New York restaurant. He starts at the chef bottom making fresh pasta and other accompaniments. The next day he buys fish and other supplies for a small dinner party with his friends. He makes sushi and small pizzas; he tells us that the sauce can be used for many other dishes. He doesn't make them perfectly round so that they look homemade. Then he makes sushi with fresh tuna and salmon, and jokes about the American way of making ridiculous sushi rolls, with everything. The sushi is only made for audience display, as the guests at the party are to make there own sushi rolls. Afterwards he goes to play basketball and then they all go home to eat pizza and sushi.

The next day he gets a call to work in the main kitchen in the restaurant, where he makes dishes for the customers at the fine restaurant. The chefs that work with him are mainly white men, and the servitors are mainly Asian men.

Next day he goes to eat breakfast at a diner, and tells the cameraman about his experience at the restaurant. He goes on speaking about the Christmas dinner that he is going to make

¹²⁷ DVD: *mat: Det bästa från tv-programmet MAT med Tomas Tengby och Tina Nordström*, Producerat av Sveriges Television, 2001.

that same evening for his friends, and the head chef of the restaurant. He starts with a chocolate bomb dessert that is going in the freezer.

The main course for the dinner is loin of pork, in the own so that he can make a nice dinner without complications, as other meats can be more difficult to get just right. The pork is going to be served with crushed potatoes and a mash of other roots. While he is preparing the food he makes easy tips on how to keep food warm for hours if one is going to have a party.

He starts with the first dish, which are clams with Marsala wine and cream sauces. The multicultural mix of guests, eat the clams and when the main course is to be ready, Jamie, his friend and the chef from the restaurant go out to the kitchen to finish the last thing and serve. When they have eaten, the chocolate bomb for dessert get flambéed and applauses are given to Jamie.¹²⁸

Summary

In this chapter we have seen different examples on how the popular media expose the culinary culture, on the audiences. The presentation of the empirical material has taken form in a rewriting of summaries of the particular examples. How the subject of the culinary is exposed in different texts, being delivered by a multitude of actors in different settings.

The empirical Chapter will serve as an outline to the scope of the analytical process in the next chapter. Furthermore examples and illustrations from the observation, Video/DVD and the cookbooks will be introduced in the analysis as well as minor example from own experiences and informal dialogs.

¹²⁸ See, Video: *Den Nakna Kocken: Jamie Oliver I New York*, BBC, 2000.

Chapter V. Deconstructing the Culinary Culture

Introduction

Discourse becomes by its own power dynamic constituted as ‘reality’, enforcing ‘reality’ after a matrix of that normality, being upheld by legitimated speakers within that discourse.¹²⁹ That ‘reality’ penetrates and constitutes everyday life, by orders of hegemonic discourse and ideology. In this study the ‘reality’ represented, is in relation to a highly subjective practice and idea, that of cooking and eating, that of the culinary discourse. What makes this ‘reality’ one related to subjectivity is that everyone has something to say about food. By speaking about their relation to food they are at the same time saying something about themselves.

In this analysis we are going to see how these voices, don’t speak autonomously, but are rather in relation to different positions within the culinary discourse, being primarily gender, ‘race’ and in a subtext class¹³⁰. These multiple mechanisms of marginalization are, as the Western culinary discourse is a seemingly equal, shadowed by the ideological ‘reality’ presented in these ‘texts’.

In two themes of analysis we are going to see how that discursive and ideological process works in the constitution of a subject in relation to the culinary discourse. Furthermore, highlighting how violent hierarchies in the discursive representations, marginalize ‘Other’ subjects while enforcing dominant subject’s positions.

The first theme is in relation to the public space¹³¹ where the culinary discourse often is presented as an equal meeting between men and women from different culinary cultures. The equal discourse is reinforced and marginalizing discourse are visualised at the same time. A form of knowledge that within the culinary discourse, is constructed in hierarchical and subordinated way in relation to the authoritative knowledge of the (often male) cook.

The second theme is going to deconstruct the Western discourse in relation to a marginalization of the ‘Other’, being represented by knowledge about food that is based in what is conceptualised as ‘authentic experience’ through methods of exotization in a process of distinction.

¹²⁹ Cf. Fairclough, Norman, *Media Discourse*, Arnold, London, 1995., Winther Jørgensen, Marianne & Phillips, Louise, *Diskursanalys som metod och teori*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000.

¹³⁰ Age is not an issue for this thesis because the practice of eating is also a practice of education, in the sense that one as a young citizen gets ones daily food, and habits, from parents or institution, such as schools, and to a further extent restaurants. Therefore the culinary discourse is primarily an adult discourse.

¹³¹ Erving Goffman uses the notion of front stage and backstage to grasp similar processes. I would however hold to the concepts of private and public as developed within feminist theory because of its focus on hierarchical power relations between the two. See anyway: Goffman, Erving, *Jaget och Maskerna. En studie i vardagslivets dramatik*. Rabén Prisma, Stockholm, 1995.

Theme I: Cooking Gender Spaces and Representations

Deconstructing the Kitchen

The Western culinary discourse isn't mainly about food as a product, but also about the producer. The practice of cooking is not a practice which leads to many spontaneous critical ideas, and this because of the ideological consensus around the idea of this practice as an outwardly equal one today. Concretely the time of eating isn't thought to be a moment with discriminatory features, cooking is represented in a common discourse in TV and books as a place for both women and men. In practical life there is, on the other hand, an idea about the place of the woman, being in the kitchen, reproducing the family by this everyday activity.

The normalisation of equal representations within the culinary discourse presents the idea of equality. We see chefs on TV and as authors of cookbooks; being from both sexes like the image that equal discourse purposes. The unproblematic surface of discourse involves a disciplinarian effect on subjects, and leaves out aspects of marginalization and appropriation of people in an everyday life, while normality and 'equality' is reinforced by these discursive practices. This 'reality' is at the same time produced by the internalisation of that normality and the ostensibly 'free' agency that subjectivity is constituted as.

Today the patriarchal discourse is loosening up by these discourses of the mainstream norm of equality, within the representations of the culinary. The male patriarchy and hegemony over women are not visualised in the same way. This mainly because the culinary space, being the kitchen, is a female gendered space.¹³² The gendered label of that space makes the presence of women in such a space unproblematic, as it is reproducing the proper representation of the place of women. Simultaneously there is an even greater presence of men, in that gendered space. What makes their presence in the kitchen unproblematic to their manhood is the location of that space within a discursive order.¹³³ It isn't the fact that their presence is in the constructed TV kitchen or writing the pages of a book. Their activities are practiced in a public space, one where they do not expose their manhood, but their professionalism.

The Everyday Spaces

This dual representation within the practice of the culinary discourse can be illustrated in the TV programs that Tina Nordström and Jamie Oliver produce. In these shows both of them are the centre of attention. The audience is to listen to their professional advice in the art of

¹³² Cf. Rich, Adrienne, *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution*, Virago, London, 1977.

¹³³ On discursive order cf. Fairclough, Norman, *Media Discourse*, Arnold, London, 1995.

cooking. Tina Nordström is in a studio-kitchen and Jamie Oliver cooks at home or at a restaurant. A reporter is constantly present during their programs, with who they have an ongoing dialog with. Their food is often similar and they mix different culinary cultures in their own. They invite people to their show; they sit down together and eat. One could easily take this moment as a display of the reached equality. Needless to say, gender relations and gender issues are not present within the dialogue, and the audience is systematically interpellated as gender-neutral beings.

In cookbooks and especially the programs, the direction to the audiences is not gendered, the audiences are spoken to as neutral: ‘you should use this quantity of salt, sugar etc. in order for it to taste good.’ Jamie Oliver mostly talks directly to the reporter that follows him around when they are doing the program. Tina on the other hand talks with her reporter but also directs her instructions directly to the audience.

Another feature of how gender is done is the silence about resource allocations in households, because money is never an issue. My emphasis here is, in following critical discourse analysis methodological understandings, in what is not said, what is excluded from the discourse.¹³⁴

My point here is that the program provides a model of how gender is enacted in contemporary modernity, through silencing power relations between women and men.

This representation of equality must be read with greater scrutiny in what is practiced and spoken about in the kitchen, who does what and says what. In the case of Tina Nordström, she works in a studio kitchen and not at home. This displays a more public space and she is therefore a more publicly produced subject. But when she talks about the dishes or goes shopping for ingredients, her way of reproducing knowledge about cooking, is just that reproducing knowledge. Giving advice how to cook a dish for one’s children when one comes home from work.

- Today I’m going try to imagine that one is coming home, that one is tired and maybe have a couple of kids dragging by the pants, so today it will be fast. I’m going to make some oven made carrots with cheese stuffed forcemeat. Tomas asks – what if the children don’t like carrots. Tina answers – then one can use potatoes or pasta /.../¹³⁵

Her active partner Tomas Tengby, asks her questions about cooking times, quantities, etc. At the same time he tells anecdotes that he has about food, from books or travels. He has a

¹³⁴ Critical discourse analysis, cf. Fairclough, Norman. *Media Discourse*, Arnold, London, 1995., Barker, Chris & Galasinski, Dariusz, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*, SAGE, London, 2001.

¹³⁵ DVD: *mat: Det bästa från tv-programmet MAT med Tomas Tengby och Tina Nordström*, Producerat av Sveriges Television, 2001.

segment in the show where he travels to different parts in Sweden and the Europe, in search for knowledge and history about cooking.

He goes to a chocolate boutique where he learns the secrets about chocolate and how it's made, different percentages of cacao and truffles. The reportage is named: 'A reportage that melts in the mouth.'¹³⁶ Besides this and other reportages, for example about Sicilian marzipan, a French bakery etc, he visits a wine-expert, where he gets to know the classical tastes of wine and what one should eat when drinking the different sorts. Furthermore he offers reportages with practical tips, as which salts and spices one should use or what kind of frying pans one should buy.¹³⁷

By reading the text that is given to us in *Tinas Kök*, we see that Tina is situated in a 'normal' female environment, she cooks and sometimes she goes shopping for groceries. She is situated within a gendered space and reproduces typically gendered knowledge. Therefore the presence in a public space, becomes a legitimated space for women, but doesn't loosen the chains of representations that are internalised in ideas of white womanhood.¹³⁸

Tomas Tengby on the other hand reproduces the idea of the creative and knowledge seeking, free man, capable of transgressing spaces of food and gender. He moves freely in the search for the roots of food, not ending at food as a dish, but its higher meanings and pleasures, the 'nature' of that search for knowledge is related to a public male space.

Jamie Oliver, or the *Naked Chef*, often cooks at home, or in a restaurant. He travels to different places in order to learn more about cooking, for example New York. Even though he travels, the cooking always takes place in a 'genuine' space, in normal house kitchen, not a fabricated one that is often common in TV programs. His way of working is a constant relation to the mainstream events within the culinary field. The street influences him, and one is brought along with him in these encounters with the ordinary. On the streets of London and New York, or any other place that he travels to, he encounters different cultural fashions within food, which he mixes in his traditional English cooking. He emphasizes on easy cooking, which isn't a particularity but rather a common disposition towards cooking by chefs today. The primary message that he brings forward is that one should be inspired to cook and not use half-fabrications sold in grocery stores. One should learn to love the practice of cooking and experience life in a better way.

The white male reality is one of public 'freedom', within the boundaries of a white male discourse. This 'freedom' is represented by his production of food; he of course reproduces

¹³⁶ Own translation.

¹³⁷ DVD: *mat*: Det bästa från tv-programmet MAT med Tomas Tengby och Tina Nordström, Producerat av Sveriges Television, 2001.

¹³⁸ Cf. Bartky, Sandra Lee, *Femininity and domination*, Routledge, New York, 1990., Kum Kum, Bhavnani, 'Tracing the Contours. Feminist Research and Feminist Objectivity', in *The Dynamic of 'Race' and Gender. Some Feminist Interventions*. Taylor & Francis, Hong Kong, 1995.

dishes in the same way as a female counterpart (in my study Tina Nordström). But differences are to be read in the discursive text that is displayed. He goes to the square to buy fresh vegetables, fresh fish in the fish market etc. He isn't just reproducing normal British meals for satisfying hunger, but exploring and emphasising the pleasure of it.

In his cooking programs, Children are often left outside his discursive gaze. He is reproducing the knowledge of pleasure, which he not only reproduces to the audience but also searches for.

In the video Jamie travels to New York for a week, to 'starge' (work for free) in a famous restaurant, in order to get leaning experiences. He goes to work early and starts with the basic things in order to show his capabilities, and later on the week he gets to cook the main courses. At the end of the week, he invites the master chef from the restaurant to a dinner party. For the party he begins with the dessert, for example:

– This is a mad dessert I've been working on, its basically a replacement for Christmas pudding, /.../ based around chocolate spundge which everyone loves /.../ its like ice-creamy in the middle and its really, really luxurious...¹³⁹

On the other hand he not only emphasizes on the luxury of expensive and fine dishes, but he also loves junk-food, and recommends one to go to American diners when one visits New York: 'don't eat your breakfast at the hotel /.../ go to a diner, it's the only way for me, and the always do the most wicked eggs.'¹⁴⁰

In this way he emphasizes on the exclusive as well as on the pleasure in the ordinary cooking. He integrates both of the cooking types as a part of the pleasure of cooking and improvising in the kitchen.

The exposed public space in which the popular culinary discourse is displayed is a seemingly equal discourse between female and male. This equality could be translated as a personality related aspect¹⁴¹. But the 'real' public space, of the kitchen, is not as 'equal' as it is displayed in the media discourse. Chefs at restaurants are dominantly male, by the same criteria or typical discursive argument, which has hindered women from entering public workplaces before. 'It's a heavy job with long hours, which women probably do not cope with'.¹⁴² Furthermore when important food competitions are played out, male domination is almost complete. The Annual Swedish chef competition (Årets Kock), where the theme often is to develop Swedish cuisine, is predominantly male. During the twenty-year history of this

¹³⁹ Video: *Den Nakna Kocken: Jamie Oliver I New York*, BBC, 2000.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ One might like or dislike different TV-chefs by their way of exposing themselves, therefore the equality of the culinary discourse might be understood by audiences by the personal qualities that these persons have.

¹⁴² This quote I heard a couple of times in different restaurants that I worked in.

competition only one woman has won it.¹⁴³ One sees that the ‘equal’ ideology that is produced in the culinary discourse is marginalizing other discourses and structural realities. Its predominant effect is to reproduce the normal conditions between women and men, which are located in the shadows of ideological equality.

The formation and recreation of meanings of certain spaces become aligned with the subjects active within that actual space (in this study, the public kitchen). In relation to structural realities based on gender the practice legitimates and marginalizes the formation of movements within that space. Within the mainstream culinary space, the female body is assigned to reproduce ‘traditional’ female activities, and ‘traditional’ types of knowledge.

The language of the body is structured in this way; cut to pieces, there is a time for bodily presence that at the same time controls spatial presence. In other words the female body is regulated to certain spaces and certain times of presence. The kitchen, the classroom or a factory, with its set timetables and control, can exemplify this. Creating a state of constant surveillance of the self, as the subject gives in to an automatic function of power, not only is the body controlled, it takes control of the subjects mind and behaviours. Each one becomes their own disciplinarian.¹⁴⁴

The male subject is active in a more dynamic way within that space, moving more freely, investigating and searching for knowledge in a professional way. While men (re)produce the ‘traditional’ in relation to a search for knowledge, women reproduce the ‘traditional’ in relation to their ‘nature’ as women. These are but the representations that in fact are constructed within discourse to reproduce positions of power.¹⁴⁵

Power and different forms of disciplinary knowledge are processes that in practice are constitutive of subjects. In other words the discourse sets up a course of action, of what is discursively normal, and what differs from that normality. The process of ‘normalization’, is thus concerned with constituting subjects around what is normal.¹⁴⁶

The subject is not a stable universal entity, but rather an effect of social construction. Subjectivity is thus discursively produced and constituted, as prior existence of a discursive position determining the practise and use of language of the subject. In other words speaking is to take a subject position, and becoming subjected to the regulatory power of that discourse. This gives the structure of discourse a somewhat fluidity, as normal is hard to reach in every instance of life, the normal is also contested.

¹⁴³ www.arestkock.se (2003. 01. 03)

¹⁴⁴ Bartky, Sandra Lee, *Femininity and domination*, Routledge, New York, 1990.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997.

¹⁴⁶ Foucault, Michel, *History of sexuality I*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1990, p. 93

Other Voices, 'Other' Representations

Structural realities are by their ideological representation in mainstream images being shadowed.¹⁴⁷ As these representations often uncritically reproduce the order of a hegemonic ideology, consequently 'others' become marginalized as well as non-present or non-active subjects. For example when few other than white chefs are seen as the executors of the cooking shows. In some, people with other cultural backgrounds have been invited to show their cultural recipes. This invitation to a 'white' space, mostly of foreign women have been in the purpose of producing 'new' white knowledge's from reproduction of 'old' foreign knowledge's about food.

Furthermore women's marginalization is not only related to a spatial existence, it is also related to a bodily existence within public and private space. The culinary discourse is strongly related to a bodily discourse which isn't the main issue of this thesis, but important to underline. As the discourse about the body, is a viable part of the culinary representation of women and the 'Other'.

Tina Nordström's fame has led to highlighting of that bodily discourse related mainly to women but also to men. She has been criticized because of her abundant use of oils and other fat products. This later led to a discursive adjustment from her side, in her programs after the critique she received. She started to make less fatty dishes, and tell the audience how they could alter her original recipe for a less fat one. But at the same time she mocked the critics by emphasising on fat dishes as well. An aspect which is not highlighted in Jaime Oliver's cooking and other male chefs that don't get the same critique, when they often cook even fatter food than female chefs.¹⁴⁸

The disciplination of the female body is expressed in the hegemonic discourse, and the subject is fast to respond, when it is under that discursive power. One sees in this how the discourse is strongly constitutive of human practice, in order to not be situated to that pressure.¹⁴⁹

In the case of foreign women that were invited to different cooking programs often produced very fat dishes, which can be seen in the cookbook *Hop Kok*. Furthermore 'black' women or men seldom are in a central position in the culinary culture other than just in a position of reproducing their culture. Those that are made public as in the cookbook *Hop Kok*, are often reproducing their culinary culture from a knowledge that is related to family and

¹⁴⁷ On ideology cf. Eagleton, Terry, *Ideology: An Introduction*, Verso, London, 1991.

¹⁴⁸ Female body is in a stronger relation to a representation of the body, and the reproduction and of nurturing the population.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Bartky, Sandra Lee, *Femininity and domination: Studies In The Phenomenology Of Oppression*, Routledge, New York, 1990.

especially their mothers and grandmothers, while Western white or Swedish public cooks often have a professional relation to knowledge of the food that they produce.

In Jaime Oliver's program there are people from many 'races' (ethnicities) represented, they're his friends or colleagues at the restaurants where he works. The restaurant in New York showed that the serving staffs mostly were 'black', while the professional chefs were dominantly 'white'. The multicultural presence in the program also has a lot to do where it is located, in New York, a multicultural city, and at the home of his black friend. In his book there also is a multicultural presence as pictures of him and for example the local Asian grocery salesman Barry, or a young Asian child eating one of his cakes.

The multicultural presences in the Tina Nordström program, or other programs that are televised on a daily basis are not one of great impact. In Nordstrom's' program the non-white person culinary culture enters by Tomas Tengby reportages in other countries, or in the food that she is cooking, as spices or particular dishes.

The duality in relation to gender and otherness in the Western culinary discourse is that non-white women do not only represent their gender. They not only are loose bodies in a given space, they are bodies that embody space. In other words they do not embody white space; they embody their cultural space. They move in the public culinary space, as exotic embodiments. Their presence in the public kitchen is related to the reproduction of their authentic food culture, or their 'authentic' otherness.¹⁵⁰

In the same way, 'Orientalism' not only redefines 'Other', but also imposes a discursive system of classification to work, not only affecting the subject that is constituted, but also the hegemonic ideology that is being reproduced. This 'creation' is internalised in the Western subject by a 'three-way force'; exercised 'on the Orient, on the Orientalist and on the Western "consumer" of Orientalism.'¹⁵¹ By this internalisation the 'Other' becomes visualised in a direct relation to that internalisation or demand for their source of exotic knowledge. This cultural knowledge is the primary actor within a white culinary space and, not the actor herself/himself being the 'Other'. Therefore their practices are not designated to their subjects but to what they as subjects represent

We have seen in the first theme how the white Western discourse about food is just that, predominantly white male. But hegemony is not visualised in the discourse by the expulsion of women or 'black' people. It is rather reconstituted by this presence of equality that lies in eating. Which leads us to the next theme in the deconstruction of the Western culinary culture, that of experiencing of the commodity, food.

¹⁵⁰ Combining 'space' relation to 'body', and 'race' as body/space, my own theoretical understanding of the position of the 'Other' in relation to a space and practice legitimated within a white culinary discourse, as embodied 'Otherness'.

¹⁵¹ Said, Edward W, *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1991. p. 67

Theme II: Fetishism and the Distinct ‘Other’

Deconstructing the Dinner Table

The normalisation of the Western culinary discourse tends to visualise an image of equality. Aspects related to ‘race’ or cultural pertinence, are presented as the opposite to this normality. What makes this presence one of equality is that the mere possibility and integration of the ‘Other’ is to suit a multicultural discourse.¹⁵²

By producing a concept like Western culinary discourse, one is not neglecting that each culture within that Western discourse, produce cultural difference in relation to each other. The culinary culture is a producer of national identities in representation of shared symbols. Furthermore these differences are in relation to diversity within a common idea of Western civilisation, that reproduces a power inequality in relation to the ‘Rest’, being outside the Western even while being within, by the presence of immigrants.

The ‘Other’ or the non-Western subject is becoming a more and more present ‘actor’ in the Western everyday life. In relation to the culinary culture, this is seen in commercials mainly about food, and travel.

An example of this is the cookbook *Hop Kok*; which is especially produced to show the diversity, equality and the unproblematic meeting in the culinary discourse. Furthermore it is by these indirectly delivered subtexts, of a meeting between different people, in an unproblematic everyday, that create an ideology of equality. What makes this equal display, ideological and misperceiving, is that it is constructed just to display that equality as a part of a multicultural meeting through culinary experiences. ‘Food is important to us all. Around food one meets and enjoys the company of our families and friends. Food unites and fraternises.’¹⁵³

Visualising an everyday cultural diversity, that is present in the contemporary modern society, doesn’t problematize other features of diversity. Showing that the culinary meeting with the ‘Other’ is an everyday experience, is not the same as deconstructing the symbolic meanings that the ‘Other’ often represents in Western societies (criminal, savage, dangerous etc). Furthermore the diversity already present by the multitude of foreign restaurants in many cities, creates a moment where ‘Otherness’ is unproblematically consumed, the culture of the

¹⁵² On ‘race’ cf. Fanon, Franz, *Jordens fördömda*, Rabén & Sjögren, Stockholm, 1969., Fanon, Franz, *Svart hud vita masker*, Daidalos AB, Göteborg, 1995., Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997.

¹⁵³ Own translation: *Hop Kok: sex kulturer möter det svenska köket*, Nordstedts Förlag, Stockholm- Europas huvudstad 1998. Idé av: Svenska Bord och Connecta CA, Projektledare: Ola Buckard Connecta CA. (From back cover page)

'Other' becomes a commodity in a mainstream market.¹⁵⁴ Being tacos, kebab, curry or sushi, consumed at home, in restaurants or at streets corners - commodities in which 'Otherness' is represented rather unproblematic and equal when normalised. Although the presence of the 'Other' frequently becomes the opposite, the commodity of the 'Other' has to have some 'authenticity' and exotic character, while the 'Other' subject preferably should be normalised or excluded.

On the other hand when Western chefs such as Tina Nordström or Jamie Oliver cook food that is in relation to the culinary culture of the 'Other', they often mix or create their own dish: 'Noodle soup is a dish that I've never done, not even liked, until I was asked to make it. I've done it at least a million times. Added and withdrawn things and now its my own dish.'¹⁵⁵

The nature of their practices is that of a common understanding in the culinary discourse, which is that there are rules for cooking as well as 'total freedom'. But what also creates this possibility is their position within that discourses as representatives of expertise. As it is that expertise which makes their products of desire, their reproduction of knowledge in the art of making a desirable dish. Therefore their 'freedom' is rather related to an order of discourse, where their presence in the room, is not related to the 'authentic' reproduction of food, but to their artistry and professional and personal distinction made visual trough knowledge.

Improvisation is always a viable part of cooking, and especially with experience. But that improvisation isn't related to the 'Other' when reproducing their food culture, as they appear in media, they are to reproduce cultural knowledge, and preferably not improvise. The cookbook *Hop Kok*, creates the opposite moment, where improvisation is to be emphasized, in order to show how Swedish cooks and immigrants in Sweden integrate through food. Here the complexity in the use strict dichotomies are somewhat revised, as the diversity in discourse offers other possibilities, not changing it form but somewhat altering the scope.

Immigrant food cultures become a more and more viable part of the food market. This phenomenon is not a recent one, but has become visible in different Western countries through history. The means of this spatial presence in the everyday life was mainly to justify the ends of actors in the food industries, a way to make profit out of an exotic 'Other'. Uma Narayan highlights the appropriation of the Western food industries in relation to the production of curry. She underlines that curry isn't itself a spices, but rather particular dishes and the actual spices are called Masalas. The fabrication of curry is nevertheless enforced by

¹⁵⁴ On the 'Other' as commodity cf. Hall, Stuart, 'The spectacle of the other', in: Hall, Stuart (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997., Deck, Alice A, 'Now Then -Who Said biscuits?' in: Inness, Sherrie A. (ed.), *Kitchen Culture in America*, University of Pennsylvania press, Philadelphia, 2001.

¹⁵⁵ My own translation: Nordström, Tina, *Jättegott Tina: 55 recept från SVT:s program mat*, Sveriges television och Natur & Kultur/LT:s Förlag, Göteborg, 2003, p. 9

the authentic nature by the culture it is designated to. A commodity designated for Victorian homes.¹⁵⁶

In the representations of the earlier presences of the ‘Other’ as an exotic product – ‘commodity fetishism’, the meanings are related to discourses that are, imperialistic, colonial and/or racist.¹⁵⁷ The culinary discourse today has no interest in delivering racist messages but is rather established as more open, with the same interest of selling the ‘Other’. And there are examples where the mix of culinary cultures indicates an unproblematic interaction that exists when the white hegemonic subject meets the distinctive ‘Other’.

The dinner table shown in popular media and commercial, presents the ‘Other’ in terms of fetishism, in order to sell an exotic experience or commodity. Therefore, even though Western industries often produce these products, they proclaim a certain constructed ‘authenticity’. The product itself does not uphold this authenticity, as it often comes half ready produced, and the only thing one must do is to add water. It is rather upheld by the symbolic text that is product of the ‘Other’, or the mere fact that the product embodies ‘Otherness’.

The embodiment of ‘otherness’ is especially highlighted in two of the cookbooks that I chose to present. *Hop Kok* and *Mat för Farao*, emphasizes on ‘Otherness’ in two different ways. The first book highlights the cultural meeting through food, as an unproblematic encounter, where people can meet and build bonds. At the same time the presence of the ‘Other’ in this book isn’t a meeting of a normal encounter, but rather a constructed one where they are to reproduce the cultural knowledge that they inherited from their families. The Swedish chefs that come to visit them are professionals, and live by the food they produce.

The book *Mat för Farao* on the other hand, encounters the ‘Other’ from a distance, it emphasize on the authenticity of the food culture that is presented. It tells the story of the Egyptians, while the Egyptian do not speak. The author tells us that the Egyptian food hasn’t developed much since the times of the pharaohs.

This idea of non-development embodied in the representation of the ‘Other’, is a frequent depiction of the ‘Other’. ‘Western’ culture on the other hand becomes synonymous with civilisation and progress. For example the culinary culture of the West has ‘developed’, with the creation of ‘nouvel cuisine’ in France, and with the inspiration of other culinary cultures. On the other hand the culinary cultures of ‘Other’ is assumed not to have developed since their ‘civilisation’ started, as is depicted in the cookbook *Mat för Faro*.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Narayan, Uma, ‘Eating Cultures’, in: *Dislocating Cultures*, Routledge, New York, 1997

¹⁵⁷ On commodity fetishism see Cf. Marx, Karl, *Capital, Volume I*, Progress Publishers, Moscow [197-], pp. 76-87., Deck, Alice A, ‘Now Then- Who Said biscuits?’ in: Inness, Sherrie A. (ed.), *Kitchen Culture in America*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2001, pp. 63-93

¹⁵⁸ Compare with, Said, Edward W, *Orientalism*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1991, pp. 98-100

The books *Hop Kok* and *Mat för Farao* entail representations of ‘Otherness’. The first one, in relation to how ‘commodity fetishisms’ integrates the ‘Other’, as an unproblematic and friendly encounter between cultures through food. And the second as a mere depiction of what is so interesting about the ‘Other’, as an exotic character, that can make our dinner tables more exciting.

The messages of the ‘commodity fetishism’ facilitate an understanding of the ‘construction of the self’ and the ‘Other’; TV programs about food from time to time invited people from other cultures to expose their knowledge about their food culture, and the creation of ‘authentic’ dishes. And these meetings are surely not delivering a message of a conflictive and racist meeting between cultures. The meeting thus consists of a cultural clash not in the practice or lived experience that the actors share, but rather in the outcome of the meaning of the meeting. The ‘Other’ can only be Himself/Herself when it encounters an equal. On the other hand when the ‘Other’ meets a ‘Western’ subject ‘she/he’ are directly designated to cultural belonging and ‘blackness’¹⁵⁹.

Subject Distinction and the ‘Other’

The bourgeois ideals are often related to a higher pleasure, be it literature, music, art, or food. The cookbook *Grön Mat*, is a figurative illustration of this idea, that food isn’t dislocated from the social environment where it is produced. The author not only emphasizes on food, but also highlights her achievements and all the pleasures in her life, living on the countryside with her family, surrounded by beautiful vegetation, art and food.¹⁶⁰ All these images within the so-called ‘fine’ culture are always in a violent relation to an ‘un-pleasurable’ popular culture. Therefore it is always fought for by a ‘creation’ of a ‘higher’ knowledge about what is at hand. This leads to a struggle over a distinctive position from that of the popular culture.

The importance is on emphasizing about this conflict, as a way of distinction between different class habitus that are present within the field of that particular practice. By the reproduction and production of knowledge in relation to taste as cultural capital, and the reinforcement of that distinction to accesses of that pleasure by economic capital the distinction reproduces difference in society.¹⁶¹ In order to suit the distinction to the issue of a culinary discourse, especially the cultural capital, works in a dynamic relation to the discourse of pleasure.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Fanon, Franz, *Svart hud vita masker*, Daidalos, Göteborg, 1995, p. 107.

¹⁶⁰ Erksell Barker, Titti, *Grön Mat: Från En Annan Värld*, Prisma, Stockholm, 1999.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1984, p. 227

The 'cultivated' subject is under the force of an applied notion of discourse, as a regulated way of speaking, which terms and produces objects of knowledge, rather than just meaning. Since meanings affect our practice, our practices are in relation to knowledge and therefore discursively constituted.¹⁶² These objects of knowledge are imperatives for how topics are spoken about in an intelligible way, thus excluding other forms of thought and practices, as these are seen unintelligible. Exploring this one can find different conditions and rules that act regulating in the form and defines distinct fields of knowledge/objects. In term the knowledge and the form encloses practices to these sets of 'regimes of truth'. By terming knowledge and meaning, the presence of power governs not only what is to be said but also who has the legitimacy to speak.¹⁶³

Discursive constitution of taste in relation to a common idea or ideology, penetrates the subject not only in perceptions of the world, but becomes an immanent part of subjects subconscious, reflecting only on the specific outcomes of a practise or text, and not on other subtexts. The dialectically performance within different habitus as they are located in greater collective ideas,¹⁶⁴ from which subjects not only identify with their specific groups but with a general population of a culture. These discourses often bear the hegemonic positions reconstitution, by its ideological content reproducing the status quo between different habitus. At the same time it somewhat neutralise the moment of conflict between habitus in relation to the habitus of the 'Other'. In this process distinction works not in a singular opposition between habitus within the same culture, but is rather active in a dual process where the 'Other' enters as a tool for that distinction, while at the same time being disclosed as an actor to the margins.

The battle is fought in different situations within the field; many of the 'higher' pleasures are not available to the lower classes because of their 'lack' of economic power to by luxury commodities. In the same way some restaurants are places where the lower classes never set their foots in. Therefore these places are in some sense safe grounds, as economic power is needed for intrusion in a 'fine' place. In relation to 'fine' culinary commodities of Western qualities, some commodities lose their 'value' for the bourgeois classes, at least for purposes of distinction. An example of this is the 'value loss' of Salmon when salmon became available as a cheaper commodity by Norwegian grown salmon. The opposite effect happened with Thrush, which in the 1980:s Sweden was a cheap and 'un-pleasurable' fish, and now is served in expensive restaurants.¹⁶⁵ Other food products that are related to the 'higher'

¹⁶² For other reading see Foucault, Michel, *History of sexuality I*, Penguin, Harmondsworth 1990.

¹⁶³ Baker, Chris & Dariusz, Galasinski, *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*, SAGE, London, 2001, p.12

¹⁶⁴ Cf, Bourdieu, Pierre, *Outline to a theory of practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977, p.

¹⁶⁵ Today we see that another discourse, the environmental, also enters in the struggle over meaning and significance of Thrush, and may alter its pleasure by this struggle.

pleasures are for example Oysters, and ‘fine’ cheese, that certainly many from the lower classes haven’t tried and find disgusting, as one ‘must’ have knowledge to enjoy them. But what sometimes happens when the popular media, and the search for profits in these products, is that the knowledge is passed on to the popular masses, leading to a search for new pleasures in the bourgeois taste.¹⁶⁶

The new ‘tastes’ are found in the ‘exotic’ culinary cultures around the world. These foods mainstream through different approaches, particularly because of the economic field in the West. It works as factors of distinction, rather incarnated in ‘cultural capital’, than by economic capital. The dynamic of cultural capital in relation to the ‘Other’ is strongly related to ‘authentic’ recipes, as it is emphasized in the cookbook *Mat för Farao*.

It becomes a demonstration of knowledge related to authenticity, and emphasis is put in greater pleasures in the practice of eating. On the other hand, the food of the ‘Other’, in popular form, sold in little bags in grocery stores is not related to the same genuine pleasure. In both the popular and the ‘fine’ cultural ideologies, the ‘Other’ is not interesting as a material ‘Other’ but rather as a symbolic representation. And in the ‘petit’ bourgeois culinary discourse, it entails the idea that the ‘nature’ of that practice is one of equality.

Distinction is in relation to a struggle over legitimacy of practices and status. A way to self-legitimizing oneself as a subject, that inherits the right to proclaim a greater knowledge as well as a greater pleasure. What this understanding of distinction lacks is that of its double nature. Its double nature is that it leaves out the ‘Other’ as a material subject. In this negotiation the ‘Other’ doesn’t benefit in the same way, in a struggle over distinction, as the knowledge he/she possesses is not one of personal achievement, but rather related to their ‘nature’. One must still shed light upon, that in a Western society the ‘Other’ often buys that concept as a producer of exotic commodities, as it often leads to a possibility for survival. The reason for the presence of foreign restaurants isn’t mainly because of the great interest and need for reproducing one’s culinary culture. It brings means of survival in a difficult job situation for immigrants in the open market, and sometimes it might even bring wealth to some of the restaurant owners. That is not to say that there aren’t immigrants that run restaurants for their love of the culinary practice.

The ‘Other’ can become a ‘fine’ cultural product, but its survival in that position is less durable than Western culinary products that have been exclusive for decades or centuries. The duration of particularly Western commodities as modes of distinction, in the culinary culture are that they often have a high price tag in fine restaurants, and that ordinary people don’t

¹⁶⁶ See also: Bourdieu, Pierre, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1984.

have the knowledge to produce them at home.¹⁶⁷ The popular market on the other hand is fast to capture the possibility of profit in ‘new’ and ‘exotic’ tastes, and by these processes the exclusivity of that culinary culture is lost. This leads to a much faster changing in the culturally correct eating in the bourgeois taste.

¹⁶⁷ For restaurants and distinction see also Warde, Alan & Martens, Lydia, *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption And Pleasure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000

Chapter VI. Conclusions

Understanding ‘the culinarianization of the self’ implies aspects as power relations and representations in an everyday life experience. These power technologies that penetrate seemingly simple acts of eating, are in a complex relation to a discursive struggle in the cultural field and are translated into issues of gender domination in a spatial presence, and through the appropriation of the ‘Other’s’ cultural knowledge.

We have seen that the traditional ideas designated to the culinary female gender have somewhat loosened up, in the present dawn of history. At the same time these old structures are still working and limit the movement of women in a gendered public space, such as cooking programs. The male body on the other hand is freer in their movements and practices. Their knowledge reproduction is thus related to professionalism to a higher extent than women’s knowledge.

The outwardly equal discourse displayed presents female actors in the gaze of popular audiences. Their presence is regulated to the reactions of an audience, and their movements and practices are hindered by the discursive orders that subject the female body.

Men in the public kitchen reproduce the culinary knowledge of pleasure in the same way as women in the popular media do. But men often neglect issues such as family and children in their presentation of culinary practices not emphasized by audiences or critics. Their expertise becomes a source of pleasure knowledge to a greater extent than the knowledge reproduced by women.

The non-Western subjects, dominantly female, become a more and more present actor in popular media and especially in cooking programs. Their presence within this space is related to their belonging and the reproduction of their knowledge about their ‘authentic’ culinary culture. As these women aren’t reproducing the knowledge of the every day Western life, as white chefs, their practices are not criticised in the same way. They are not considered a threat to the female (or male) body when they, for example, produce dishes high in fat content. Their body is not a free entity within that space, but it is rather embodying space – ‘bodyspace’ - the space of ‘Otherness’. The constitution of body/space is a result of a ruling white ideology, and the importance is the reproduction of an exotic culinary culture.

The ‘Other’ is then exposed in the popular media as a bearer of an exotic knowledge, but it isn’t the subject itself that is interesting for the audience, but rather the outcome of their practice in an exotic commodity. Therefore the ‘Other’ is made visible, and at the same time the conditions of ‘Otherness’ in society are shadowed as they become overexposed by that ‘commodity fetishism’, ruling the culinary discourse. Thus the ‘commodity fetishism’ to some extent shadows reality, even when the producer is visible and ‘active’ in an exposed situation.

The centre of attention becomes the product and the producer becomes secondary only to the legitimation of that commodity.

The use of the 'exotic experience' in everyday life often becomes a tool for distinction. The Western subject can implement the 'exotic knowledge' to be seen as more sophisticated and interesting, in a meeting with others. The use of this cultural knowledge is greatly related to a meeting within a given class habitus, and particularly within a middle class habitus. Where the use of cultural capital is not only searched for, but becomes a condition to the self of that subject's habitus, the middle class use of cultural capital is also made possible by better economic and distinct knowledge-related resources.

When exposed in popular media and sold in every convenient store, the 'exotic culture' loses the power of negotiation in relation to distinction, as the 'fetished' commodity doesn't come out of an 'authentic' product or knowledge. The knowledge reproduced in a distinction process, is to have some sort of exclusiveness in order to justify the subject position.

This exclusiveness implicates mechanisms of 'double distinction' in relation the 'Other' subject. The use of 'cultural knowledge', the ability to produce a normal (exotic) dish, by the non-Western subject, doesn't become a source of distinction. Mainly because the knowledge they (re)produce is not achieved but rather related to their 'nature'.

The presence of the 'Other' in the global food market exposes new 'exotic experiences' all the time, leading to an adaptation in the process of distinction as overexposed experiences, and especially culinary experiences, that are economically viable in most classes, become uninteresting in bourgeois taste. On the other hand traditional Western 'fine' culinary commodities, such as for example, fine wines or truffle mushrooms, are secured within that cultural negotiation of distinction due to their often more expensive prices.

We see that the culinary discourse becomes a central issue for the constitution of subjects. That constitution is negotiated within a global image of the dinner table, where Western culture becomes normality and symbolises expressive pleasure and reproduction of everyday life to the subject. The culinary culture of the 'Other' becomes a mere display of pleasure, and works as distinctive features in a Western middle class 'culinarization of the self'. The distinction upheld in that process entails a differentiation between the middle class ideologies related to pleasure, and the necessity of food as an essential matter for survival.

Rebirth of Contradictions

The ‘culinarization of the self’ becomes a more and more active issue in a daily life experience. Food is talked about in many ways and many ideas are brought to light everyday. It becomes a reaction and effect of a more and more globalized world, which in this way penetrates in people’s homes.

This thesis was an attempt to critically deconstruct the culinary discourse, in order to create an outline for an understanding of a culturally complex moment in everyday life that is often neglected as such and designated to pleasure. An outline doesn’t give an absolute or self-fulfilling promise, it rather structures up a possible matrix in the application of a critical look issues that are central for Sociology and Cultural Studies.

The critical gaze is a tool to examine what is put aside and what is highlighted by a seemingly unproblematic discourse, such as the culinary. It sheds light on the ideological effects that discursive practices imply, as gender, race and class are presented to a receiving audience. Furthermore, as a spokesman/woman of a different perspective one has to acknowledge the fact that the same oppressive and marginalizing features of a ruling ideology often penetrates one’s own practices, which come under examination as well.

By means of creating a counter-discourse, these ideological and marginalizing features of the hegemonic discourse are to be visualised. The discursive struggle that is presented in any critical analysis of a societal magnitude is a first step in that direction. The direction of a possible different reality entails an ideological and discursive antithesis in relation to the ruling one. One has to lift up the marginalized perspectives in order to make visible the ‘false’ body of the ruling ideological discourses. In order to create a possible change one is not to stop eating, so enjoy your meals.

The change in discourse and ideological axes, are achieved in the mere examination and the implementation of an opposite discursive position. The structural reality often overseen in the discursive approach is as vital as the previous. The structural changes imply direct obstruction in a discursive order, and lead to renegotiation of such a position.

Marginalized subjects will be visualised in a critical discourse analysis, but their situation within that marginalization is to be changed by structural approaches. To make a change the voices of the marginalized have to be part of such a change. Here is where the critical perspective is of use, it produces the tools and legitimacy for such a voice to be heard, in an often ‘deaf’ established discourse.

The culinary experiences as they are visualised in this thesis, are mere constructions of that marginalizing process. One could think of this as a banal account, but when perceiving the construction of that experience the issue is not particularly strange. The pleasurable experience of food is mostly related to a production and reproduction of knowledge. One

often has to learn to like certain types of food in order to enjoy them to the fullest. In this experience, the 'authentic' product becomes an important matter for that experience to be 'genuine'. Contradicting the centrality of pleasure, in a 'Western' discussion and perception of the meaning of the culinary experience, underlines its importance as a necessity. In critical realities of starvation the moment of eating can be the only moment of spiritual calm and peace, while at the same time it produces a shift in that meaning, where the importance and presence of pleasure is far, far away...

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