

A Theoretical and Methodological Foundation for *In My Mother's Kitchen*

by

Javiera Quintana

A Master's Project Paper presented to Ryerson and York University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's of Arts in the  
Program of Communication and Culture

Toronto, Canada  
September 10, 2009

## Introduction

The rise of food culture as a commodity in recent years is difficult to ignore. What began as cooking shows and cookbooks now spans all aspects of the consumer experience including kitchenware, ingredients, and trade shows. Cooking culture is on the rise, even as households increasingly rely on prepared or processed foods rather than cooking at home. Cookbooks, particularly those written by celebrity chefs, offer a kind of fantasy, as many people have neither time nor income to prepare those recipes. In my project, I want to explore the other side of food and cooking with a study that focuses primarily on a unique human experience of food over a lifetime, rather than the unrealistic portrayal of food in consumer culture.

My project is an exploration of family history, cultural identity, the immigrant experience, and autobiography, presented in the form of a cookbook. This collection of recipes is centred on my mother, Margarita Quintana and the recipes acquired and developed during her life. I use the backdrop of the kitchen as a setting to connect the many stages of her life both in Chile and in Canada and also to explore how the kitchen connects my mother, my grandmother, and me. While Margarita's experience is unique, it helps provide much needed insight into the lives and processes of migrant women on a larger scale. Using this recipe book, I tell the story of Margarita Quintana, and how she fits into a larger cultural, political, and genealogical context. Margarita Quintana is a Chilean immigrant and a Canadian with a history of social and political activism. She is also a mother, a social worker, a university graduate, a host parent for international students and a psychotherapist in training. Her life is heavily shaped by her upbringing in a working class family in Chile, in a domestically abusive household, and as a surrogate caregiver to her four siblings. Margarita's experiences connect the stories of three generations of women in our family across two continents.

My paper provides a methodological and theoretical framework for the project. In the first section, I explain my epistemology, methodology, and research methods. In the second section, I provide an extensive review of the literature surrounding food in relation to identity, culture, gender, and memory. These readings span across disciplinary boundaries including anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and gender studies.

Immigration is only one event in Margarita's story. Her life in Chile before emigrating was anything but ordinary, as she moved from a difficult domestic situation to a commitment to political action before becoming a single mother in an archaic and traditionally Catholic society. Her life in Canada after immigrating was tumultuous as well, as she dealt with systemic and personal racism, while earning two university degrees and raising a child alone, and later developing an unlikely love and coming to a spiritual awakening. The complexity of Margarita's story requires a broad selection of readings that can help contextualize and make academic sense of her experiences. This cookbook approaches Margarita's story from the unique perspective of food, and allows her voice to dominate the narrative. As a result, the cookbook challenges and explores the notions of resistance, survival tactics, and assimilation and how food is explicitly and implicitly woven into these experiences. It also examines how these culinary experiences are woven inter-generationally.

## ***METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH***

### **Ethical Concerns**

I used ethnographic and biographical research in this study, each of which sparks its own ethical concerns. Ethnography is historically rooted in colonialism and surveillance, and both biography and ethnography are often in danger of using participants' voices non-reciprocally (Lather,

2001; Marcus, 2001; Skeggs, 2001; Cortazzi, 2001; Tedlock, 1991). It was important that I endeavoured to be as reflexive as I could in my research by being mindful of postmodern and feminist critiques of ethnography while being aware of the motives behind my actions. I was also conscious of the power of my own voice in the narrative and ensured that my mother's voice maintained its integrity throughout the research process. Keeping in mind that knowledge is continuously constructed and situational, I did not strive for impartiality or objectivity, but rather approached this research project as an autoethnographic study as well as an autobiographical one.

I applied for ethics board approval and was informed that the kind of project I undertook does not fall under its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, this research followed Ryerson University's Ethics Board guidelines. Margarita knew she was free to cease participation at any point and could refuse to answer any questions she wanted. I discussed these issues with her and we agreed that I would show her the finished pages before I submitted them, giving her the opportunity to voice any concerns about misrepresentation, context, inaccuracies, or discomfort with what is included in the cookbook.

## **Epistemology**

This project deals with highly subjective, personal, and detailed accounts of histories and falls distinctly into the category of qualitative research as described by Silverman (1997), Bogdan and Taylor (1975), Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), Atkinson (2001), and Creswell (1998) to name a few.

In a 2007 article, Stacy Carter and Miles Little make a compelling case for basing any qualitative study on a careful and conscious selection of epistemology, methodology, and method. Put simply, for Carter and Little (2007), epistemology is the justification of knowledge, methodology is the justification of methods used, and methods correspond to the research action. These three factors are interdependent and a researcher must carefully consider and justify the decision to

include any philosophies or practices in his or her work. I have built the foundation for my research using Carter and Little's framework, drawing on various academic traditions and methodologies to guide me.

When establishing an epistemological standpoint, the researcher should ask questions like, 'what is knowledge?' and 'how is it created?'. Carter and Little see three main influences that epistemology has on research: first, it influences the relationship between the researcher and participant, particularly the role of each in knowledge production; second, it influences how the quality of methods and data are evaluated; third, it influences form, voice, and representation in the methods and reporting of findings. My study is founded on the principle that knowledge is created rather than discovered in research, particularly when working with participants or informants (Heyl, 2001; Plummer, 2001; Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). Research that depends on the cooperation of participants depends on them to provide not only data, but also distinct and valuable perspectives to the study.

Recent scholarship, particularly in the field of narrative research and autoethnography, has drawn attention to how participants shape their accounts for the benefit of the researcher (Goldie, 2004; Cortazzi, 2001; Plummer, 2001; Heyl, 2001; Miller and Glassner, 1997). The researcher then becomes a unique factor in any investigation, soliciting a particular story from each participant. During our interview-cooking sessions, my mother's responses were very much shaped by my presence. I know most of the people she speaks of in her stories and some of the history as well, so she doesn't have to stop to explain herself, knowing I can fill in the information to contextualize the story. Also, most of the dialogue in our interviews was in Spanish, as it is our first language and Margarita felt more comfortable interacting in Spanish. Most importantly however, my mother trusts

me and feels comfortable sharing stories with me. She was reassured by the possibility of reviewing the written chapters of the cookbook before they were submitted, giving her the power to restrict information she may not feel comfortable sharing, and to clarify areas she felt lacked sufficient context. The power to give her input meant Margarita could feel comfortable in the interview knowing she was protected by the post-interview process. Each of these conditions contributes to the production of a unique story that emerges from the collaboration between my mother and me.

Equally important is the work in autobiography that questions the assumption of a unified self or universal subject (Peacock and Holland, 1993; Anderson, 2001; Eakin, 1999, 2008). In autobiography, particularly early autobiography, the subject is traditionally constructed as a unified one. This unified subject is often represented by the single, chronological narrative that searches for self-realization. The result of this body of autobiography is a narrow view of the subject that assumes the individual is the default unit of all people. Recent work on autobiography challenges this assumption and reformulates autobiography as moments rather than entire texts (Anderson, 2001). Eakin pursues this idea and argues that we each construct our identity through an internal autobiographical narrative made up of these moments, making it anything but cohesive (1999:111). Eakin's work echoes postmodernism and poststructuralism's challenge to the coherency of the subject. In "The Death of the Author" (1968), Roland Barthes discusses the fragmentation of the subject and its effect on literature. He argues that the loss of the coherent subject has led to the end of the Author as he existed in pre-modern times. Instead, Barthes makes a case for the rise of the writer and his emergence through the act of writing. The subject is no longer a precondition of literature, but rather a result of it. The text is a consequence as is the writer, therefore for Barthes, the focus is now on the reader and his unique interaction with the text that gives it meaning.

My project avoids the unnatural construction that many autobiographies employ and pursues a multi-voiced approach that rejects the notion of identity as singular or autonomous. The primary voice in the cookbook is my mother's, as she narrates her life during our cooking sessions. A second voice, that of our dialogue in the cooking process, unfolds alongside my mother's. I add a third voice after the interviews. The third voice is my own and I use it to give context to Margarita's anecdotes, describe my connection to the food or the story, or to add my perspective of events to the narrative. These three voices form a counterpoint where Margarita can tell her own story, the cooking actions are highlighted as they occur during our conversations, and I can help mediate between her and the reader. Margarita (my mother), Elsa (my grandmother), and I are each unique parts of a collective identity that extends beyond our family. It is important to remember that not only do the older generations help construct the identities of the younger ones, but memory also works to construct the past and present experiences. In this story, there can be no unified or universal subject, only one that exists as a consequence of its situation and its effect on others.

Since at least the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, anthropologists have struggled with the impossibility of truly "knowing" participants or their culture (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Hamersley and Atkinson, 1995; Creswell, 1998; Pollner and Emerson, 2001). Consequently, encounters with other humans will produce texts that are specific to the moment and co-constructed by the participants (including the researcher) (Cortazzi, 2001;). Barbara Sherman Heyl (2001) provides similar insight into ethnographic interviewing, calling it a 'complex form of social interaction' and describing interview data as 'co-produced' (370). Beverly Skeggs (2001) maintains that the feminist perspective includes the epistemological view that knowledge is studied, partial, contingent, and interpretive (2001:435). Skeggs also argues that maintaining objectivity and detachment during research helps reinforce the

idea that knowledge is 'out there' and therefore 'comes from' nowhere. In an effort to combat this epistemology from arising in my work, I actively include my own perspective and experience in both the interview process and the construction of the cookbook. The subject matter of my project also makes my personal connection to the work inevitable.

## **Methodology**

The epistemological perspective of any given study will help guide the kind of methodology used in a particular project. Carter and Little argue that methodology can provide an opportunity to include theoretical perspectives in qualitative research (2007:1323). Methodology is drawn from traditions and their formal theories, and the use of any methodology will rely on a solid theoretical foundation. Further, the data analysis stage depends on theory for its conclusions and the defence of any of these conclusions. My project relies on a number of methodological traditions including those drawn from anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and food studies.

The two main methodologies on which my work relies are (auto)ethnography and (auto)biography. Ethnography is used in anthropology, sociology, and cultural studies, and has evolved a great deal since its introduction to the academic sphere by early anthropologists. Presently, the wide spectrum of approaches to ethnographic studies share the fundamental goal of gaining an understanding of some aspect of the life of a culture-sharing group (Creswell, 1998; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Through its focus on practices spanning from the occasional to the everyday, ethnography is useful in gaining a new perspective of a group that would otherwise remain unknown to the outsider. Much of the prejudice in our society comes from a fear of the unknown, therefore, education is an important part of overcoming ignorance. Despite its usefulness however, ethnography has endured much criticism from scholars, particularly in the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup>



century. I will now address some of these critiques and offer possible strategies for overcoming them.

In its early days, ethnography was not viewed as credible research by many social scientists. As it relied heavily on fieldwork and personal experience rather than empirical evidence, its methods were not considered to be scientific enough (Creswell, 1998; Tedlock, 1991). Ethnographers were criticized for their inability to remain detached from subjects during fieldwork. In the second half of the twentieth century, these critiques gave way to concerns that ethnographers' relationships with participants were one sided and self-serving (Lather, 2001; Marcus, 2001; Tedlock, 1991). Feminist, postmodern and post-structuralist writers criticize ethnography for a number of reasons including its claim to provide unbiased, objective accounts of experiences, and its objective of reaching some 'true' understanding of culture (Charmaz, 2004; Lather, 2001; Skeggs, 2001). This recent scholarship views research and knowledge as a collaborative act that by definition denies the possibility of impartiality. In a recent article, Julie Marcus (2001) revisits Said's theory of Orientalism and applies it to early ethnography, which is closely linked to colonialist practices like surveillance and essentialisation. Marcus reminds us that despite good intentions for research, we must be careful not to fall into old patterns. While the fieldwork may involve extended exposure to a community, the goal in traditional ethnography is to enter the culture, acquire knowledge, and present it as one's own. The main flaw in this kind of ethnography is its failure to view its subjects/participants as humans.

Towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, ethnography began to take on more reflexive practices and move away from the colonial mindset (Tedlock, 1991; Lather, 2001). More recent, more reflexive ethnographic studies include the researcher's subjective experience, reject the researcher as an authority, and investigate power structures that underlie intercultural experiences (Skeggs, 2001;

Cortazzi, 2001; Creswell, 1998). Postmodern/post-structuralist and feminist approaches to ethnography question what can be known as experience and who speaks from that experience. These approaches investigate the ethical issues inherent in representation, often pointing out how truth and experience are socially constructed. As critical, self-reflexive approaches to ethnography, they also question the naturalized inequalities that enable oppression (Skeggs, 2001; Lather, 2001; Pollner and Emerson, 2001). Similarly, narrative ethnography seeks to understand the construction of cultural identity through participant narratives while keeping the researcher present in the text (Tedlock, 1991; Cortazzi, 2001; Goldie, 2004).

Biography is distinct from ethnography, but the two overlap in areas. Like ethnographic studies, biographical research also depends heavily on participation and seeks to provide detailed descriptions of people's experiences. Unlike ethnography however, biographical research is only concerned with the life of one person, making it a more in-depth study with a narrower focus. The personal and detailed nature of biographical study not only sheds light on the historical, cultural, and social experience of the subject, but also provides some insight into his/her personal, emotional experience, a key aspect of identity (Maso, 2001). The personal narratives gathered in biographical research help link important events and connect generations. They also reveal historical shifts in culture, connect cultural and personal histories, expose moral constructions, and establish collective memories (Plummer, 2001; Skultans, 2001). Collective memory is a fundamental factor in the creation of a shared identity, particularly in a family. My mother and I created a collective history in our cooking and interview sessions as we reflected on all aspects of our family history. I knew at least one version of our history that I learned over the years from family members and my own experience of events. When I entered into my research, I brought this perspective to our interviews, which led to

a collaborative history that emerged in the kitchen and later in the writing phase as well. While the story in the cookbook is primarily my mother's, my participation also adds a dimension of cooperation to the narrative.

Deborah Reed-Danahay (2001) and Martin Cortazzi (2001) argue for the value in non-written narratives that extend into different means of self-expression including visual, oral, and performative narratives. My interviews with Margarita produced a multifaceted performance from both her and me. Our interaction in the kitchen has developed over many years of cooking together and our patterns were apparent in the interview sessions. We normally have a very open and relaxed kind of interaction in the kitchen where we consult one another on decisions and know our particular roles in the preparation of each dish. These patterns are a performance of our relationship as well as the kind of lessons she taught me in the kitchen through her words and actions. The relationship between my mother and grandmother was less democratic but still collaborative. The two relationships differ as my mother spent more time in the kitchen at a young age and took on more responsibility in the domestic labour. Each generation is the product of a particular set of circumstances that contribute to a different approach to food labour. I was never forced into the kitchen therefore my experience has always been voluntary while my mother provided support. Margarita's food labour was necessary in her household, but she was praised for her skill from an early age fostering positive outlook on cooking as well. My grandmother, Elsa, also took great pride in her ability as a cook, so while she was more authoritarian in her approach to teaching, she also enjoyed cooking. In all three cases (my grandmother, my mother, myself) cooking is a performance of cultural identity and emotional comfort. In my project, my mother chose the dishes that we would prepare for each session, as she identifies with each as a sentimental as well as a cultural artefact. These relationships with food

emerge in our performances during the interview sessions, creating their own narrative in the cookbook.

Biographical research has struggled with gaining acceptance in the academic mainstream because of its dependence on personal narratives. Personal accounts and life-stories have traditionally been considered unreliable and contrary to the objective data collection methods valued in traditional ethnography (Peacock and Holland, 1993; Plummer, 2001). As postmodern and feminist critiques of ethnography emerged towards the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century however, biographical research saw its academic value increase due to its reflexive and perspectival approach to knowledge and histories (Creswell, 1998). However, many of the same issues as ethnography—i.e. representation, experience, and voice—surround biography due to its dependence on participants. Like ethnography then, the author of a biography must also be continuously self-reflexive/reflective in an attempt to address the ethical issues of speaking for another. In this quest for self-reflexivity, we see biographical research becoming *autobiographical* as the participant's voice is heard more while the researcher mediates less. Biographical research becomes even more autobiographical as the researcher becomes more self-reflexive and allows his/her experience of the research process into the report (Tedlock, 1991; Plummer, 2001). In my research, this effect is magnified by my participation in my own family history and my deep emotional connection to our stories. My proximity to Margarita also gives me an ideal perspective as I bring my own interpretation to our family history. The literature on autobiography is useful in understanding this turn in biographical research as the two practices become increasingly intertwined.

The work of scholars like Paul John Eakin (1999, 2008) and Linda Anderson (2001) link autobiography and narrative to identity construction (also Skultans, 2004; Gatson, 2003; Heyl, 2001;

Cortazzi, 2001). Eakin in particular argues that narrative and memory are the basis for identity formation (2008:2). Ken Plummer (2001) takes a post-structural view that there is no essential truth about one's life, but rather that life is created by the act of biography. Plummer agrees with Eakin that people give coherence to their lives through the act of self-narration. While Eakin and Plummer argue for the power of narrative to create identity or truth, others take a different approach (Peacock and Holland, 1993; Mattingly, 2004; Goldie, 2004). Peacock and Holland (1993) see narrative as both a reflection of an external reality and a creator of that reality. Narratives are also useful as a form of identity performance, providing insight into our understanding of ourselves and of others as actors in our narratives (Mattingly, 2004, Goldie, 2004). This work on autobiography and narrative is driven by scholars' interest in its role as a tool for making sense of our lives.

Some writers also argue that a culturally constructed narrative is important in identity formation. When narratives are co-constructed by members of a group, they provide a basis for a shared identity and belonging. Picking up the thread of shared identity through narrative, Vieda Skultans (2004) investigates the role of narratives of displacement in refugee communities. Skultans provides valuable insight into the role of language and experience in the creation of shared narratives and cultural identity using her own experience. She argues that refugees have trouble communicating with members of their adopted culture because the two groups lack the basis of what she calls a 'consensual reality', that is, a shared understanding of reality and shared formative experiences (2004:298). Margarita experienced this difficulty in Canada, particularly when certain political, social, or cultural discussions would require her having to explain her background to others in order to avoid conflict and to have a shared point of departure. This process was particularly common when she made new friends. The lack of a consensual reality between Margarita and

Boleslaw Kubicki (Bob), my stepfather, led to a serious schism and even temporary separation. Bob's experience in soviet Poland imbued him with a great distrust of socialism and related political positions. Margarita's history in Chile left her with a similar opinion about capitalism and right-wing politics. They spent the early part of their relationship fighting often about their political beliefs until they finally decided to respect each other's position and avoid unnecessary conflict. Margarita also describes her deep initial involvement with the Chilean community in Toronto, a community able to understand her circumstances and experiences. Often, this 'consensual reality' that Skultans describes is the basis for the creation of cultural 'ghettos' like the housing co-op in which we lived for many years. This discontinuity between the 'home community' and the 'host community' experiences creates a dual ethnic identity that mirrors the anthropologist's insider/outsider status (Skultans, 2004: 299).

Refugees are not the only ones who face the dilemma of a fractured identity. As ethnography becomes more reflexive and members of studied communities increasingly produce their own research (as 'native ethnographers'), the line between insider and outsider is continuously redefined. Autoethnography has proven a useful methodology for cultural study in particular, as researchers turn the ethnographic lens on themselves and their own communities (Brettell, 1997; Gatson, 2003; Reed-Danahay, 1997). The autoethnographer's unique perspective provides valuable insight into cultural experience as well as the research process. Vieda Skultan's autobiographical work (2001) is also an excellent example of how autoethnography can bring a much more human element to the study of culture, while highlighting the issues that this kind of introspective work can raise in the researcher. Sarah N. Gatson (2003) articulates some of these issues in an autoethnographic article that explores her own multiracial identity. Gatson practices the reflexivity that critics of ethnography

insist is the key to transforming the practice into a responsible and accountable form of cultural research. In conducting her research however, Gatson (2003) discovers that her sense of belonging is undermined.

The experience of researching my family history was initially tricky, as I tried to balance my academic research with my subjective experience of the story. I found it much easier to conduct the interviews and write the cookbook as a purely personal and creative venture and later address the academic aspect of the work after the story was written. This compartmentalization of my work allowed me creative freedom and ensured I take academic responsibility for my decisions. It was important for me to be able to make the cookbook as personal as possible because the story is more compelling when the reader can make a connection.

The academic analysis of my work is approached from a completely different perspective, requiring that I take on different roles in different phases of my work. I was able to maintain my feeling of belonging using this logic, but in the process I created a schism, much like Skultans describes, between me as an actor in my community, culture, and family history, and my participation in the academic world. My experience growing up in Canada as an immigrant and living in Chile as a returnee was that of an outsider on both fronts in many respects. People define themselves through difference and in my case it meant that I was often considered a Chilean in Canada and a Canadian in Chile. My role as an outsider in both communities meant that I did not experience a sense of belonging to undermine as Gatson (2003) did.

In her ethnographic account of writing her mother's biography, Caroline Brettell (1997) describes the dilemma she experienced when telling a life story that was so connected to her own. Brettell uses her mother's writings and her own memories, and situates those historically. She finds

however, that she has trouble sticking to the biographical genre. Instead, Brettell slips into autobiography and autoethnography as she endeavours to tell a complete story. I experienced a similar dilemma in my work, which was complicated by my translation of Margarita's answers to English as I transcribed them. Translation is a very subjective practice, as the translator must find the most accurate meaning in the speech without too much interpretation. My mother's voice in the cookbook is mediated by my translation, and while I tried to allow the story to speak, I inevitably am present in that text. I attempted to resolve this issue by allowing myself a voice in the cookbook that expresses my perspective and reaction to the stories. By giving myself a voice, I hoped my mother's could be heard more clearly as well.

I will discuss the literature on food, culture, identity, and cookbooks in detail in the next section, but I'd like to mention it here to emphasize the significance of recipe collections as an ethnographic and biographical source. An investigation of the work on food and gender produces various perspectives on the roles of women as producers of food for household consumption. Despite changing domestic roles, women are still responsible for the majority of the food labour in the household and are responsible for a family's nutrition in most societies (Haukanes, 2007; Allen and Sachs, 2007). Traci Marie Kelly (2001a, 2001b) argues that a woman's role as primary food provider is empowering, as she is central to the cohesion of a family group. Haldis Haukanes (2007) describes how women are the key to the creation of family bonds through shared food even when families do not share every meal. Isabel Gonzalez Turmo (2004) argues that women are transmitters of culture using wedding recipe books given by mothers to daughters as examples of this cultural transmission. In each case, food and cooking play a central role in the transmission of family culture and women control this process. Others are more sceptical about women's roles in family kitchens



and argue that these roles are oppressive and exploitative (Allen and Sachs, 2007).

The preservation of culture through cooking and recipe books is important in various traditions including sociology, cultural studies, gender studies, and even communications (McWilliams, 2007; Kelly, 2001a, 2001b; Counihan, 1999, 2008; Haukanes, 2007; Barthes, 2008[1961]; Levi-Strauss, 2008[1969]). Studies of food memoirs and autobiographical cookbooks have also highlighted the importance of recipe collections in identity formation and biographical narratives (Kelly, 2001a; Waxman, 2008). The recipe collections I studied include American collections (Ireland, 1981) and recipes collected by Jews imprisoned by the Nazis (DeSilva, 1996) among many others.

The work on cooking and food cultures along with the importance of women as transmitters of culture justifies my choice of a cookbook format. The need to understand the cultural context of Margarita's life experiences makes ethnography a vital tool in my research. Making Margarita's story accessible and comprehensible requires biographical research. As I am inextricably woven into much of this story, I am telling part of my own story and studying my own cultural heritage thus my ethnographic and biographical research gains a dimension of autoethnography and autobiography. Each of my chosen methodologies is crucial to the uncovering and telling of Margarita's story and the culinary narrative that runs throughout her experiences.

## **Research Method**

The methodological areas of (auto)ethnography and (auto)biography have been vital in creating a biographical cookbook. As the cookbook focuses mainly on Margarita's life story, biographical research is the most obvious methodology I employed. But as the literature suggests, the practice is much more subjective than it first appears, especially when telling my own mother's story (Eakin, 1999, 2008; Anderson, 2001; Brettell, 1997; Skultans, 2004; Peacock and Holland, 1993).

Any study involving a cultural experience, such as cooking and eating also requires an ethnographic approach to understand the contextual significance of stories and practices. The more recent developments in ethnography, including autoethnography, make room for personal experiences in the research process to provide added insight into cultural practices.

Having established my methodology, my research methods were readily decided as well. I used extensive in-depth, open-ended interviews, conducted in the kitchen as we prepared meals that Margarita chose to include in this study. Each interview/session produced one meal, addressed one transitional period in my mother's life and this was recorded and transcribed by me. I also brought a camera to each session to photograph the cooking process. Historical family photos are included as part of my research as well. The cookbook consists of ten chapters (one per session), each featuring an edited transcript of the interview, the cooking process, and my own commentary, alongside the photos. The final page of each chapter contains the written recipe of the meal we prepared during that session in traditional recipe layout. This format (transcript plus recipe) is intended to highlight the contrast between recipes as a written representation of the act of cooking and the real process that occurs in a kitchen.

Recipes are usually written to an unknown person in the imperative, aimed at ensuring that the reader is able to understand the instructions. The experience of cooking is much more organic than the impersonal recipe would suggest. As recipes seek to standardize food preparation, every experience in the kitchen is inevitably unique. As the cook's skill level increases or their knowledge of a particular recipe increases, improvisation becomes more common. In addition, the written recipe usually does not consider the consumers of the food whereas the cook must be constantly aware of his or her audience. In Margarita's life, cooking and food has been a source of nurturing in even the

most difficult relationships. My grandmother Elsa, despite her apparent lack of sympathy for my mother and her often-abusive behaviour, also prepared my mother for survival from an early age. The kitchen was the only place Margarita felt she was able to please her mother and receive the positive attention she craved. In contrast my mother taught me to cook in a very relaxed environment that encouraged my love of cooking. I sought my mother's guidance in the kitchen and she was very supportive of my curiosity. As the story unfolds, it becomes apparent that each of the three of us uses cooking to physically and emotionally nurture those we cook for. The act of cooking is very personal and this is understandably lost in the traditional recipe format that appears in most cookbooks; I demonstrate this contrast in each of my chapters.

The ethnographic and biographical research methods mentioned above are key to the unfolding of this study and the assembly of my cookbook. My methods have been carefully chosen to fit into the methodological and epistemological foundation of my research to provide a solid theoretical grounding for my work. I now turn to the theoretical approaches to food and culture as they apply to my work.

## ***LITERATURE REVIEW***

### **Food and Identity**

In recent decades, the area of food studies has seen a huge growth in publications, cementing its place in the academy. Early work from Barthes ([1961]2008), Mead ([c1945]2008), Levi-Strauss ([1978]2008) and Bourdieu (1984) brought the symbolic importance of food to our attention. Barthes and Bourdieu argued that food could be used to communicate details about social class, political views, cultural affiliation, and knowledge of cultural codes. Meanwhile, Levi-Strauss focussed on how

we deem substances edible, using the terms 'raw' to describe food in its natural state, before preparation, and 'cooked' to describe food that has been prepared by people, making it a cultural specimen and therefore safe to eat. Margaret Mead challenged us to consider and appreciate North America's privileged place in the world when it comes to nutrition and access to foods.

An increasing number of scholars are approaching the study of human food habits and how these habits provide an important foundation for culture and identity. In the study of food and identity, it is useful to start with the food's ability to nourish us not only physically but emotionally as well. Every aspect of food studies is touched by the emotional power that food has, from larger studies about the food habits of ethnic or historical groups (Wilk, 2006; DeSilva, 1996; Turmo, 2004) to case studies (Counihan, 1999) and gender studies (Inness, 2001; Bordo, 1998). Food rises above a simply functional necessity, one that could easily be filled and dismissed, to a highly personalized decision that we make each time we ingest. Claude Fishler (1988) refers to the process of ingestion as *incorporation* and argues that we as humans face a dilemma each time we eat. As omnivores, humans are able to and must consume a variety of foods in order to receive the necessary nutrients to survive, but we risk death each time we eat and this creates anxiety, especially with unfamiliar foods. Fishler believes it is this dilemma that underlies our attachment to food habits and scepticism about new food sources (279). Many cultures—including Western culture—also believe that we inherit properties of the foods we eat, making incorporation an even more important decision. Fishler draws on Levi-Strauss' categories of raw and cooked to relate how people deem an item safe to eat once it is culturally 'cooked'.

Sharing food habits is one way to build cohesion in social groups. Shared identity through shared food habits happens on a large scale in national cuisines and the volumes of cultural

cookbooks that emerge. Cookbooks have been used as cultural nationalist tools by many nation states. Richard Wilk (2006) provides valuable insight into the practice of nation building through the creation of a Belizean national cuisine. In the case of Belize, a country rich in diversity, especially in food habits, this meant incorporating a number of different traditions and styles into a cohesive culinary identity that is performed for tourists and visitors more than any of its citizens (313). Arjun Appadurai (2008) describes a similar process in India, although in that country, the different traditions remain distinct within the national cuisine. Appadurai uses the emergence of cookbooks for the middle class to trace the process of building a national cuisine. As the Indian population became increasingly internally mobilized, food customs came into contact across the country and these cookbooks seemed to be a way of preserving distinct cultures within India, while producing a national collection that also creates cohesion (299). Appadurai and Wilk both address the need to perform one's cultural identity when faced with a different cultural group. This trend may seem protectionist at first, but it is also a way of introducing newcomers to certain cultural traditions without seeking conflict.

National cuisines are only one aspect of shared food experiences. Smaller scale food sharing practices are common in North American culture in the form of community meals (celebrations, fundraisers) and are also represented in compiled cookbooks. Here, members of a community come together in a social event that centres on food practices (Gaitt, 2001, Kelly, 2001b). Community food sharing is seen around the world in similar traditions like the Mexican *tamalada*, where women get together to prepare tamales for a celebration (De La Pena Brown, 1981). Perhaps the most influential food sharing activities occur in the household on a daily basis. The importance of meals to family cohesion is addressed by a number of scholars including Haukanes (2007), Counihan (1999), Bordo

(1998), and Allen and Sachs (2007). In all these cases, women are central to the creation and maintenance of households through their cooking. Haukanes (2007) explores the importance of food sharing in Czech families, describing how the act of eating the same food creates a family bond, even when the meal itself is taken in different locations or different times. Haukanes argues for the importance of the mother as the 'chief kin-maker' through her provision of food to members of the family (20). Counihan (1999) focuses on the mother-child relationship to describe the importance of a mother's feeding of her offspring first through breast milk and then with food. By feeding her children, the mother creates a bond between her and them, hoping that one day the child may be able to reciprocate (177). It is clear, from even this sample of literature, how important the sharing of food is to the creation of a shared identity from the household level to the national stage.

The power of food to nourish our bodies and our social bonds makes it a powerful agent of memory. Jon D. Holtzman (2006) explores this connection in his work, uncovering the qualities of food that make it a potent site for the construction of memory. Holtzman argues that memory destabilizes truth as it relies on the subjective experience and how that experience is used to construct the present (363). Food is particularly able to aid the creation of powerful memories because it provokes a sensuous response. Memories that recall a sensuous experience are often a more meaningful part of one's subjective construction of the present. Many formative memories involve food and become important in not only our constructions of our reality, but also in our constructions of identity (367). If we come to be displaced from our home or family through migration, it is often the food memories of home that are most poignant. By recreating the food, immigrants often seek to recreate the feeling of home driven by 'food nostalgia' for lost places or people. My mother reinforces this argument when she says, "I think the I miss the food the most

[about Chile]. I could go for two weeks and would be happy just eating. That's all I need."

### **Building 'Home' Through Cooking**

We have seen the importance of the creation of a national cuisine to the project of nation building as discussed by Appadurai (2008) and Wilk (2006). Another important aspect of national cuisine is its role in creating a sense of national identity in immigrant communities (Vallianatos and Raine, 2008; Koc and Welsh, 2001; Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2006; Blend, 2001; Gingras and Tiro, 2008, Counihan, 1999). As immigrants struggle to make a place for themselves in the diaspora and in mainstream culture, food becomes a tool not only for protecting the culture of 'home' but also integrating themselves into their adopted homes (Koc and Welsh, 2001; Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2006). The balance between preserving a traditional culture and building a new home is delicate. As these authors find, food becomes a dominant site for performing this relationship. In their study of South Asian and Arabic immigrant women in Alberta, Vallianatos and Raine (2008) discuss the difficulty faced by their participants when trying to find foods that were familiar and fulfilled their religious or cultural criteria. Women who seek to maintain a connection to home and family use traditional food consumption practices even as local food preferences begin to enter their homes (357). Some women even describe the loss of traditional food practices as the abandonment of community and family.

Using food to maintain connections to home is also a theme in Carole Counihan's work on Florentine women (1999). One woman who relocates to the United States uses cooking learned from her mother to affirm her family connection and Italian identity. Gingras and Tiro (2008) address the particular case of second generation immigrants who have little or no experience of their 'home' country and struggle to remain connected to that culture as they participate much more frequently in

their adopted culture. The challenge that second-generation immigrants face is unique as they are often criticized by their own community for not performing an 'authentic' cultural identity while they are also excluded from their adopted culture. Camille Hernandez-Ramdwar (2006) also explores this dilemma in the Trinidadian-Canadian diaspora. Each of these authors recognize that food be a tool for belonging as well as a source of isolation, particularly when traditional food items are not available and the hunger for home cannot be fed.

Food habits are taught to younger generations to reinforce cultural traditions and identity over generations (Kelly, 2001b; Blend, 2001; De La Pena Brown, 1981; Vallianatos and Raine, 2008; Counihan, 1999). Teaching children everyday food habits as well as those associated with specific occasions is important in immigrant and non-immigrant communities alike, although these traditions are often taught with more urgency in immigrant families. The task of teaching children about food-related traditions usually falls to women. Much of this teaching is done implicitly through everyday practices of eating and memories of performance of these traditions (Holtzman, 2006; De La Pena Brown, 1981; De Certeau and Giard, 2008).

Michel De Certeau (2008) describes learning to cook for himself as an adult and being able to rely on memories of his mother in the kitchen to guide his own practice. De La Pena Brown (1981) participates in a *tamalada*, a social event where tamales are prepared, and describes how girls are given small tasks at an early age to familiarize them with the process. Sometimes, food related traditions work to simply reinforce a sense of belonging in a family or a people. Stephen Steinberg (1998) describes how his grandmother's challah helped create a family bond and reinforce their Jewish identity. No member of the family learned to make his grandmother's challah nor did they take over the role of provider of the challah, but the memory still feeds their collective identity.



Vallianatos and Raine (2008) find that their participants make a conscious effort to transmit cultural food practices to their children, knowing that these practices are easily lost in exile. It is in these conditions of exile and near borders that traditions of different groups are brought into relief. In some cases, a particular group finds themselves feeling isolated from not being able to share their traditions, like in the case of the South Asian and Arabic women in the Vallianatos and Raine (2008) article. Other times, a group will actively seek this distinction to distinguish itself from its neighbour as in the case of Belize seeking to distinguish itself from Guatemala in the Wilk article (2006), or the distinct cultures within India as discussed by Appadurai (2008).

### **Recipe Collections and Cookbooks**

Recipe collections and cookbooks are a valuable source of food-related traditions and cultural values. They can be written as part of a nation-building project, as seen in Appadurai's article on Indian cookbooks (2008), as an instructional tool for young women or children (Inness, 2001b; Turmo, 2004), as a community fundraising tool (Kelly, 2001a, 2001b; Ireland, 1981), or as an act of resistance (DeSilva, 1996) to name a few possibilities. Instructional cookbooks help the process of transmitting culture to emerging generations, highlighting those values that the authors see as most important.

Sherrie Inness (2001b) examines children's cookbooks in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century and exposes the ways in which they reinforced women's domesticity. These cookbooks often support the expectation that women will be limited to the domestic realm and try to make the prospect appealing as it is naturalized. Meanwhile, young boys and men are taught to fear the kitchen lest they be ridiculed. In cases of oppression, compiling cookbooks can help reinforce a sense of community and cultural identity. Cara DeSilva (1996) explores these themes in her study of a cookbook written in the Terezin ghetto during the Second World War. DeSilva's work reveals how

the act of compiling the cookbook becomes a survival tactic, providing an anchor to normalcy for women as they discuss food related traditions. Community compiled cookbooks also reflect the values of a group at a specific point in history. Traci Marie Kelly (2001a, 2001b) and Lynne Ireland (1981) have each written about the role of community cookbooks in the United States, particularly their ability to showcase trends in food consumption and the cultural values that bind any given group. Ireland in particular uses fundraising cookbooks as an example of ethnography, arguing that they provide insight into community foodways (109). She also views compiled cookbooks as a form of autobiography. Kelly makes the same argument (2001b) and then approaches culinary autobiography as a literary genre that functions as a venue for women's stories (2001a).

Women's autobiographies need separate consideration from those of men mainly because they reflect a distinct approach to reality as defined by their positions in society. Unfortunately, their academic and literary value has historically been minimized. This practice continues (in a more subtle sense) in many ways even today (Jelinek, 2003: 28). Estelle Jelinek, in *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography* (2003), insists that the study of autobiography should push for a new paradigm in standards by which we judge the genre. While her book is comprehensive in scope going back to antiquity, she ignores the autobiographical quality of cookbooks and recipe collections. Traci Marie Kelly fills this gap and argues that culinary autobiography, as a genre, provides a vital lens for research into women's lives. As women have historically been charged with the household cooking, their reading and writing of cookbooks was an acceptable form of expression. Women were the almost exclusive readers of these books, and as such, they were written in a different context than in which women's contact with men was performed (Kelly, 2001a: 266). Community cookbooks are a particularly good example of the kind of language and format used in women-centred writing. These

cookbooks will often just include a list of ingredients without directions assuming the reader is familiar enough with cooking methods to understand how to combine them. The audience in this case is clear. The exclusive language coupled with the specific cultural codes makes these cookbooks highly feminized spaces. Not all writers agree that domestic texts are truly independent of male domination. Kathleen McHugh (1999) is sceptical of the extent to which women's domestic texts are truly feminized. In *American Domesticity*, she argues that these manuals are published with the particular intention of naturalizing a domestic life for women. This domestication was vital historically for the success of the American economy as it relied heavily on the unpaid labour of women.

Kelly (2001a) examines the genre of culinary autobiography and breaks it into three sub-genres: culinary memoir, autobiographical cookbooks, and autoethnographic cookbooks. Culinary memoirs are stories interlaced with memories of cooking, dining, and feasting (255). They put an emphasis on food histories but don't necessarily include recipes. Autobiographical cookbooks are organized as traditional cookbooks but include a more autobiographical tone and more stories (255). They are cookbooks that can be read for fun. Autoethnographic cookbooks are written by community or family members as an educational tool for outsiders or younger generations (255). They often contain photographs, anecdotes, family trees, and other biographical information. These non-culinary items help contextualize the cookbook. Kelly does not view these categories as exclusive, which allows for writings to fall into more than one category. Using Kelly's categories, my project fits best as an autobiographical cookbook. However, this classification is complicated somewhat by my use of different voices within the text to produce a multi-layered narrative. To reconcile this disparity, one could argue that the collaborative aspect of my project also fits the

criteria of an autoethnographic cookbook. Trying to fit my project neatly into one category is not as important as using Kelly's work to place my project in the literature and help support its value as a cultural study.

Kelly (2001a) and Ireland (1981) are not alone in viewing women's culinary writing as a literary genre. Others like Barbara Frey Waxman (2008), Cara DeSilva (1996), and Benay Blend (2001) understand the autobiographical value of women's culinary memoirs and compiled cookbooks. Cookbooks are also valuable anthropological tools for writers like Appadurai (2008), Turmo (2004), Neuhaus (2001), Inness (2001b), and Theophano (2001) who all rely on them as ethnographic documents. Cultural insights gained from studying cookbooks range from understanding the emergence of a national cultural identity (Appadurai, 2008) and the evolution of taste over generations (Turmo, 2004), to exposing cultural values as they are performed for outsiders or younger members of a community (Inness, 2001b; Theophano, 2001; Neuhaus, 2001). These authors also discuss some advantages of culinary writings like their ability to reveal women's voice, identity, and worldview. As a gendered space, the kitchen is a safe place for women to share stories and experiences. This kind of sharing is key to the emergence of women's voice in culinary writings. Kelly (2001a) addresses the issue of 'truth' and accuracy in biographical writings, pointing out that recipes need to be related as accurately as possible in order to be useful. Thus, whereas anecdotes can be elaborated and embellished in biographical writing, recipes need to adhere to a stricter sense of accuracy. Kelly argues that this quality grounds culinary autobiography as lived experience more than traditional autobiography does (Kelly, 2001a: 265).

## Food and Gender

Perhaps the largest body of literature on the social aspects of food is found in the analysis of food and gender. Historically, women's roles as mothers and wives have been closely linked to their cooking. Women's power to create family bonds through their feeding of a household is discussed in the work of Haukanes (2007) in her analysis of Czech meal-sharing practices and McIntosh and Zey (1998) in their article on women as gatekeepers of food consumption in the household. The ability for women to create family bonds is also a theme in Steinberg's story of his grandmother's challah (2001), De Certeau's experience of learning to cook for himself (2008), and Counihan's study of Florentine households (1999). But how exactly does this feeding-related bonding occur?

The underlying theme in much of the writing about women and food is nurturing and love that is communicated through feeding. Allen and Sachs (2007) explore this theme uncovering the power and oppression it brings to the lives of women as they struggle to fulfil societal obligations to nurture. They argue that women's daily work with household food preparation creates a sense of intimacy with family members who come to depend on them for physical and emotional nourishment that food brings. McIntosh and Zey (1998) make a similar argument, viewing women as gatekeepers of food consumption, controlling the incorporation of food into the home and the bodies of their families. Yet while women's role as primary shopper and cook in North American households is a privileged position, being confined to the domestic space means that these women must also rely on the income provided by men in order to perform their duties (133). Allen and Sachs emphasize that while women's domestic work has been historically vital both socially and economically, it is also widely undervalued by post-industrial patriarchal society, and thus can become limiting and oppressive. Their relegation to domestic roles also makes women the primary

transmitters of culture.

Food related traditions are key to cultural preservation. Women's close connection with these traditions and others give them an almost sacred position as cultural keepers. Once this role is established however, it limits women's ability to explore other possibilities in their lives. Uma Narayan (1995) addresses this challenge in Indian immigrant families in Britain. While the men in the family must adjust to fit into British society, the women are forced to remain as traditional as possible in order to protect their culture within the home (73). Work on women and the immigrant experience by Jyoti Puri (2004), David Morely (2000), and Inderpal Grewal (2005) highlights this issue and further explores how women's bodies become a site for intercultural struggle. Puri in particular compares the battle over women's bodies in the cultural realm to the violence that women often endure in situations of war. Language used in war campaigns and propaganda often uses metaphors to compare a nation to a woman and an attack on that nation to an attack against a mother or even wife. The struggle for the body of a metaphorical woman in this discourse is echoed in the war zones where women's bodies are sites of brutal violence. Puri's work is important because it examines the connections between preservation of culture, nationalism, violence, and women's bodies.

Women are responsible for nurturing others through their domestic food labour, but are taught not to nurture themselves. Sherrie Inness highlights this point in her study of children's cookbooks (2001b), as do Vallianatos and Raine (2008), Bordo (1998), McIntosh and Zey (1998), and Neuhaus (2001). Inness (2001b) and Neuhaus (2001) study post-WWII cookbooks and women's instructional manuals respectively, and find that this literature reinforces the idea that women should put the needs and desires of their husbands and families about their own. Vallianatos and Raine's study of South Asian and Arabic immigrant women (2008) finds that these women hold the same

view, putting their families' food preferences before their own. Susan Bordo's article, "Hunger as Ideology" (1998) contrasts the pressure for women to sustain and feed their families with the pressure to be thin and starve their own desires. She describes how food advertising, which is primarily aimed at women, normalizes dieting and hunger, allowing for only small, controlled indulgences. Men on the other hand, are encouraged to eat as much as they want and indulge every culinary desire (29).

The mother-daughter relationship is particularly complex due to the transmission of culture, domesticity, and nurturing roles it involves. The evolution of women's roles, particularly in Western culture means that each generation must renegotiate expectations. Carole Counihan (1999) provides a good analysis of this process in her study of two mother-daughter relationships in Florence, Italy. She presents two cases, one in which food works to bond the mother and daughter, and one in which it is a point of rupture for the women. Counihan acknowledges the power of the mother to nurture through food and the transmission of food knowledge, and the alienation that can occur when this nurturing relationship is refused on the part of the mother or daughter. Counihan argues that while some women are comfortable teaching their daughters domestic skills, others have trouble doing so for a number of reasons. A woman's status relies heavily on her role as a wife and mother as performed in the act of cooking. Some women are too insecure to pass these skills to their daughter and risk being replaced (172). Some mothers resent their own domestic role and instead push their daughters towards a career outside the home. In the case of Counihan's Florentine mothers and daughters, this anxiety presents itself through nurturing and alienating relationships.

Adrienne Rich's text on mothers and daughters (1976) provides some insight as well. Rich argues that the mother-daughter relationship is unique. Mothers must teach their daughters

womanhood in a society where women's work is often undervalued or taken for granted. A mother must nurture her daughter while society positions women as rivals, regardless of their relationship. Rich's work is particularly useful when reading Counihan (1999) or when considering the role of women as transmitters of culture particularly through food traditions (Theophano, 2001; Vallianatos and Raine, 2008; Kelly, 2001a, 2001b; De La Pena Brown, 1981; Haukanes, 2007).

## **Connections**

The literature on food, culture, identity, and gender proves quite useful when trying to make sense of the experiences Margarita describes, and the ones we shared in the kitchen during the interview process. In this section I use examples from the cookbook and our interviews to highlight the relevance of the literature to my work. Some passages in this section echo those in the cookbook but this is necessary for my analysis.

We can see the importance of food to social bonding on various scales. Wilk (2006) and Appadurai (2008) write about food's role in helping create a cohesive cultural identity in new nations by providing a stage on which to perform this identity. Margarita describes a similar situation in Chile. In the years directly following the military coup during the dictatorship, many people abandoned certain traditions partly because they could not longer afford to perform them and more importantly, because the people were in mourning during those years. Those who emigrated actively resurrected Chilean traditions because they could, but also because they felt a responsibility to do so. Moreover, for those living in exile, it was also important to perform certain traditions as part of their performance of culture for outsiders. Likewise, in Chile after the dictatorship ended, many traditions came back very strongly in a time of cultural renaissance. While Chile is not a new country, this need to reassert cultural traditions mirrored the experience of the emigrants' in an attempt to (re)establish



a Chilean identity.

On a smaller scale, Haukanes (2007), Counihan (1999), Bordo (1998), and Allen and Sachs (2007) each discuss different aspects of the creation of family bonds through food-related traditions. Haukanes even names the mother as the 'chief kin-maker' through her act of feeding the family (2007: 20). Margarita often expresses her wonder (and that of her siblings) at her mother's ability to feed their relatively large family on one glass blower's salary. It was common for Elsa to buy large amounts of foods that were inexpensive—like polenta or certain cuts of meat—and persuade the family that they were extraordinarily healthy and delicious. However she did it, my grandmother managed to feed the seven people in their household and keep them healthy. It is also clear from Margarita's stories that meals were eaten together as a family around their tiny table. As the years passed, my mother and her siblings learned tips and tricks for survival in difficult times thanks to my grandmother's creativity. The shared meals of sometimes-unconventional foods were building blocks of whatever family cohesion they had, a process that Elsa was at the centre of.

Food habits are an important part of identity formation partly through their connection to memory. Jon Holtzman's work on food and memory (2006) proves the power of food memories as sensuous memories. Holtzman's work helps justify my decision to conduct my research in the kitchen while cooking. As previously mentioned, my mother and I have shared a lot of time in the kitchen. Growing up, I watched her cook, and from an early age helped with small tasks like mashing potatoes. As I grew older, our collaborations grew as well. My mother and I began cooking for holiday meals while we lived in Mississauga with my stepfather, often spending the better part of a day together in the kitchen. My mother was a patient teacher and encouraged my culinary experiments, and so I grew to genuinely enjoy cooking with her. Now, we have enough experience that we have

our usual roles in the preparation of each meal and the kitchen is a democratic space. I knew that conducting interviews in this setting would be fruitful because the kitchen is a familiar place for Margarita and we both feel at ease in her kitchen. I asked her to choose the dishes that we would prepare for each session so she could choose things she was comfortable making. A familiar setting and familiar actions are conducive to recollection of memories while our collaborative act of cooking mirrors the collaborative construction of our family history. The choice of traditional dishes helped Margarita focus on the family stories as she performed actions she had known since the age of nine.

In the literature, much is made of women's roles as keepers and transmitters of cultural traditions (Kelly, 2001b; Blend, 2001; De La Pena Brown, 1981; Vallianatos and Raine, 2008; Counihan, 1999). Margarita describes various traditions she remembers from her mother, although she does not always recognize habits even as she comments on them. For example, she describes her stepfather's tradition of eating *cazuela* (a traditional soup) to start every lunch, even when rest of the family would just eat the entree. The tradition of the *cazuela* here is clear, but another one underlies it. In this story, along with every other story my mother tells about her family food practices, meals are eaten together. Even breakfast is eaten with one of her siblings or someone else around. When I was growing up, my mother and I always ate together. Now, when I visit my mother, she usually offers me food and if I accept, she sits down and eats with me, even if it's just something small. In our family, food is communal if it is eaten in the home. This carries over into cooking habits as my mother states various times that she won't cook if no one is there to eat with her.

Teaching cultural traditions, including food traditions, to children becomes more important when one's culture comes into contact with others as seen in Vallianatos and Raine (2008), Wilk (2006), and Appadurai (2008). The transmission of food practices is heavily influenced by one's

perspective on what constitutes 'food' and what preparation methods are acceptable as discussed by Fishler (1988). Fishler's interpretation of human anxiety about 'incorporation' is useful when considering how we adapt to new food practices. Our case is interesting because my mother rarely made traditional Chilean food until we returned from our first trip to Chile, seven years after we immigrated. I tasted many typical Chilean dishes for the first time on that trip and when we returned I began to request them. My mother was in a difficult position for the first ten years we lived here because she was so busy that she had very little time during the week to cook. As a result, we often ate meals that were quick to prepare like rice with chicken and salad. After that first trip, and increasingly after each subsequent trip, she found time to cook more labour intensive meals once or twice during the week and often on the weekends as well. Cooking was worthwhile for her once she knew there was someone to eat what she made. Once we moved to Mississauga, my mother cooked Chilean food almost exclusively because Bob loved it. In Mississauga we were also completely isolated from Chilean culture for the first time, making the process of reaffirming that identity more imperative than before.

Cookbooks have proven a valuable tool in transmitting culture and social values to future generations and ensuring the written longevity of a culture. Inness (2001b), Theophano (2001) and Turmo (2004) examine the value of cookbooks as an instructional tool for youth, while Kelly (2001a, 2001b) and Ireland (1981) explore the personal stories that emerge in cookbooks. When I first proposed this project to Margarita, she was very excited because she was interested in having a written record of our family history and some of our recipes as well. Regardless of the academic value of this project, my mother also feels reassured knowing this cookbook exists as a written record of our family's culture.

A recurring theme in the literature I examined is the responsibility of women to nurture those around them but ignore their own needs (Vallianatos and Raine, 2008; Bordo, 1998; Inness, 2001b; McIntosh and Zey, 1998; and Neuhaus, 2001). Despite Margarita's social and political activism, her work in women's studies, and her disregard for many gendered conventions, she has carried this contradictory message with her from an early age. In our interviews, Margarita tells of times when she stopped cooking regularly because she had no one to cook for. When she is on her own, my mother is happy to eat leftovers or something relatively simple to put together. When she has people to feed, she will make the effort to provide a dish, not just a meal. Part of the issue in this case is that her recipes are often suited for a group rather than an individual, a common aspect of many cookbooks.

As women are traditionally expected to fill a domestic role, particularly in the kitchen, the relationship between a mother and daughter is complicated by the transmission of these expectations. Counihan (1999) explores the dynamics in this relationship in her study of Florentine women, arguing that each one is unique and complex as each woman struggles to find her place in her family and in society. In the case of Margarita, her mother Elsa was insecure about her place in her husband's heart and this affected her relationship with her children. Despite this insecurity however, Elsa was confident in her cooking skills and used them to try to make her husband happy. She taught Margarita that, "The man is conquered through his stomach" and encouraged her cooking from a young age. Despite having to take on a big responsibility in the kitchen early on, Margarita found comfort in cooking since it was the one place that she received praise from her mother. My childhood experience was different because my mother was supportive in many areas of my life and never required me to take on domestic duties until I was older. My mother encouraged

my participation in the kitchen but never required it, making the space welcoming and relaxed. As a result, I grew to love cooking with my mother and later, on my own. Margarita and Elsa's relationship is much different than my mother's and mine as the circumstances dictate, yet each of us embrace our time in the kitchen.

The multi-faceted nature of my project ensures its connections to many areas of study. Examination of the literature proves that not all theoretical perspectives on food, culture, identity, and gender apply to Margarita's story. There are a number of reasons for this. Most importantly, the research is not complete in many areas and in particular, in areas of overlap between disciplines. In the following section, I explore how my work serves to fill some gaps in the literature.

## **Conclusion**

The literature on food, identity, and gender suggests a complex, dynamic, and highly personal relationship between humans and eating habits. The study of recipe collections has highlighted their value in biographical and ethnographic study. This area is missing some research however, particularly in the study of writing down oral and practical traditions, and the importance of language in some of these traditions. The process of standardizing our family recipes, which have traditionally been taught orally and practically, was difficult for a number of reasons. To begin, most of the quantities are relative and each time we prepare a meal, a certain amount of improvisation occurs. Introducing a measuring cup into Margarita's kitchen was awkward at first and we had to remind ourselves to record quantities as we progressed. We saw the recipes transformed in the process as we converted familiar practice into a text addressed to those outside our family. Often it was the details of describing a certain action or a particular consistency that were the most difficult as these are the most instinctive aspects of our cooking.

The body of work on food and gender is focussed primarily on women's domesticity in heterosexual two-parent households, but needs more work on single parent families or when parents take on multiple gendered roles. Exploring this area of research would be particularly fruitful in connecting the societal and personal aspects of identity formation and the subject, highlighting the contingency of this process. This gap is particularly relevant to my work and Margarita's story as she defies many conventions by necessity. In Chile, she took on a domestic role early as was required by her mother. She was prepared for life as a wife and mother in that culture but chose not to get married and to continue working even after she had her child. In Canada, Margarita was without her support network and took on the domestic labour while she earned two university degrees and entered the workplace. Here, she did both the domestic labour and the earning for the household. Once we moved in with Bob, my stepfather, my mother still worked full time and delegated some of the domestic labour to him, although she remained the primary cook in the household. Throughout her life, Margarita was very conscious of the power dynamics in a household and worked to avoid the cultural pressure to take on certain roles. While being a single parent is a challenge in many ways, it did afford Margarita the possibility of transcending social expectations out of sheer necessity.

This project tests various theoretical perspectives in the area of food, culture, identity, and gender. In my research, I found literature that helped make sense of many aspects of Margarita's story. Surprisingly, some of the most useful writing was not in the area of food and immigrant populations, but rather in areas such as food and memory (Holtzman, 2006), food and gender (Bordo, 1998; Inness, 2001b; McIntosh and Zey, 1998; and Neuhaus, 2001), autobiography (Eakin, 1999 and 2008) and of course, biographical cookbooks (Kelly, 2001a, 2001b; Ireland, 1981). These findings remind me that while immigration was a pivotal moment for my mother, other factors in her

life are just as important in her development. Margarita has managed to create a good life for herself despite, or perhaps because of, her struggle.

For months I have been consumed by this project. Starting with preliminary research, through the interview and transcribing process, into the writing, and finally, the analysis. I have learned how taxing highly personal work can be, and how much more difficult it was to tell this story than I expected. With the cookbook complete, the overarching theme becomes clear. Each interview session, each cooking experience, and each story about food revolves around the idea of food as caring or food as nurture.

Elsa, my grandmother, cared for Margarita by preparing her for a life that she knew would be difficult. She taught Margarita to cook and by doing so, gave her the skills to compensate for her own absence. I may be imposing an idealistic narrative in this story, but despite Margarita's difficulty with her mother, the kitchen remained a positive space for the two women. Margarita also uses food to nurture. She cooked for me throughout my childhood and was considerate enough not to cook foods I didn't like. She knew what my comfort foods were, and indulged my need for comfort when I needed it. Now, she cooks for me when I visit and makes sure I have leftovers to take home with me. She also cooked for Bob regularly, and he hungrily devoured her cooking as he enjoyed the love she put into each meal. Most recently, she has begun to cook for the international students she houses, and is still concerned that they enjoy their meals and feel welcome in her home. On holidays and for parties, Margarita usually provides enough food to feed twice the number of guests and will often keep a frozen lasagne or something similar on hand 'just in case'.

In the cookbook she describes powerful food memories that she associates with moments of caring and I find myself including a few of my own as well. Margarita talks about needing someone to

cook for and it becomes clear that it goes together with needing someone to take care of. She has been a caregiver almost her whole life. When she was younger it was her siblings in the home. When she moved out it was her sisters. During the coup, she took on the cause of persecuted people in the country until taking on her role as a mother. Now, she works in family services and hosts international students in her home. Meanwhile, she is finishing her training as a psychotherapist. My mother is a caregiver, there is no doubt about it and she uses food as a primary tool for caring and nurturing much in the same way that the literature discusses (Allen and Sachs, 2007; McIntosh and Zey, 1998; Inness, 2001b; Bordo, 1998; Neuhaus, 2001).

My project employed a combination of biography and ethnography to reconstruct a complex story that raises themes studied in food studies, sociology, cultural studies, and anthropology. Throughout the process of constructing this cookbook, it became apparent that cooking was a particularly powerful tool in eliciting biographical narratives from Margarita due to her long-standing relationship with the kitchen. The interview process, which was open-ended and largely directed by Margarita herself, produced intimate biographical data that provided unique insight into the social experiences that shaped her life. The extensive work on food and gender supports the use of food-related narratives in the study of women's stories and my study is only small-scale exploration of the possibilities of bringing food studies into biographical research. I wanted to focus on one story to really explore the possibilities of biographical research as a methodology. Given my limited time and resources, I am excited by the rich narrative that arises in my project. The framework of ten chapters was useful for a number of reasons. First, ten recipes are a good sample of cultural foods while being select enough to highlight the most important aspects of Chilean cooking in Margarita's experience. Second, the ten interview sessions produced close to thirty hours of recorded interviews and



provided many anecdotes and details as well as producing an over-arching narrative in the work.

Third, ten chapters produce a cookbook between eighty and one hundred pages long, making it short enough to read and process in one sitting and also making the work more accessible. It also suggests the potential of a larger study, including more Chilean immigrant women, which could work to bring a greater and more personal understanding of their experiences and perhaps inform future work in the area of public policy and immigration policy.

Margarita's story is unique, but it is not the only one of its kind. Many academic studies on food and the immigrant experience are theoretically sound, but lack the human element that make them compelling (see Anne Kershen's volume, *Food in the Migrant Experience* (2002) for examples). I endeavoured to bring that humanity into my research to prove that there is a place for it in the academy. After all, food is a highly personal decision and simultaneously a truly universal necessity for all people.

Bibliography

- Adema, Pauline (2000). "Vicarious Consumption: Food, Television, and the Ambiguity of Modernity." *Journal of American Culture* 23(3), 113-124.
- Allen, Patricia and Carolyn Sachs (2007). "Women and Food Chains: The Gendered Politics of Foods." *International Sociology of Food and Agriculture* 15(1), 1-23.
- Anderson, Linda (2001). *Autobiography*. London: Routledge.
- Anderson, Alan B (2001). "The Complexity of Ethnic Identities: A Postmodern Re-evaluation." *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 1(3). 209-23.
- Appadurai, Arjun (2008). "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India." *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed, Ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. London: Routledge, 289-307.
- Atkinson, Paul et al, Eds. (2001). *Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ball, Mike and Greg Smith (2001). "Technologies of Realism? Ethnographic Uses of Photography and film." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 302-19.
- Barthes, Roland ([1961]2008). "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption." *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. London: Routledge (2008), 28-35.
- Barthes, Roland (1968). Trans. By Richard Howard. "The Death of the Author." *Aspen*, 5&6.
- Barthes, Roland (1972). *Mythologies*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Belling, Catherine (2004). "The death of the narrator." *Narrative Research in Health and Illness*. Eds. Hurwitz, Brian, Trisha Greenhalgh, and Vieda Skultans. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 146-55.
- Besen, Yasemin (2003). "Global Food: Food with Frontiers" *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Atlanta Hilton Hotel, Atlanta, GA, Aug 16, 2003*  
<[http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p107957\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p107957_index.html)>
- Beyers, Leen (2008). "Creating Home: Food, Ethnicity and Gender among Italians in Belgium since 1946." *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(1), 7-27.
- Black, Sarah (2006). "'Kiddies' Delight': Children and Community Cookbooks." *Food, Culture and Society*, 9(3), 345-54.

- Blend, Benay (2001). "'I am an act of kneading': Food and the Making of Chicana Identity." *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food*, Ed. Sherri A. Inness. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 41-62.
- Blue, Gwendolyn (2008). "If It Ain't Alberta, It Ain't Beef: Local Food, Regional Identity, (inter)National Politics." *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(1), 69-85.
- Bogdan, Robert and Steven J. Taylor (1975). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Bordo, Susan (1998). "Hunger as Ideology." *Eating Culture*, Ron Scapp and Brian Seitz Eds. Albany: State University of New York Press. 11-35.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Brettell, Caroline B (1997). "Blurred Genres and Blended Voices: Life History, Biography, Autobiography, and the Auto/Ethnography of Women's Lives." *Auto/Ethnography*. Ed. Deborah E. Reed-Danahay. Oxford: Berg, 223-246.
- Bull, Debbie (1997). *Blue Jelly: Love Lost and the Lessons of Canning*. New York: Hyperion.
- Carter, Stacy M. and Miles Little (2007). "Justifying Knowledge, Justifying Method, Taking Action: Epistemologies, Methodologies, and Methods in Qualitative Research." *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(10), 1316-28.
- Charmaz, Kathy (2004). "Premises, Principles, and Practices in Qualitative Research: Revisiting the Foundations." *Qualitative Health Research*, 14(7), 976-93.
- Christiansen, Paul (2001). "The Cup of Comfort." *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food*, Ed. Sherri A. Inness. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 1-18.
- Clark, Dylan (2008). "The Raw and the Rotten: Punk Cuisine." *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. London: Routledge, 411-22.
- Cortazzi, Martin (2001). "Narrative Analysis in Ethnography." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 384-94.
- Counihan, Carole (1999). *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power*. New York: Routledge.
- Counihan Carole (1999). "Food as Tie and Rupture: Negotiating Intimacy and Autonomy in the Florentine Family." *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power*. London: Routledge. 157-77.

Counihan, Carole (2008). "Mexicanas' Food Voice and Differential Consciousness in the San Luis Valley of Colorado." *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. London: Routledge, 354-68.

Counihan, Carole and Penny Van Esterik, eds (2008). *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. London: Routledge.

Cowles, Florence A. (1946). *1001 Sandwiches*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Creswell, John W (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Traditions*. London: Sage Publications.

Crumpacker, Bunny (2006). *The Sex Life of Food*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books.

De Certeau, Michel and Luce Giard (2008). "The Nourishing Arts." *Food and Culture: a Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, Eds. London: Routledge. 67-77.

DeSilva, Cara (1996). *In Memory's Kitchen: A Legacy from the Women of Terezin*. Northvale, New Jersey: J. Aronson.

De la Pena Brown, M. H (1981). "Una Tamalada: The Special Event." *Western Folklore*, 40(1). 64-71.

Deutsch, Jonathan (2004). "'Eat Me Up': Spoken Voice and Food Voice in an Urban Firehouse." *Food, Culture and Society*, 7(1), 27-36.

Eakin, Paul John (1999). *How Our Lives Become Stories: Making Selves*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Eakin, Paul John (2008). *Living Autobiographically: How We Create Identity in Narrative*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Eggerton, John (2006). "Food Had Ratings Feast in 2006." *Broadcasting and Cable*. December 22, 2006.

<[http://www.broadcastingcable.com/article/CA6402386.html?display=Breaking+ News](http://www.broadcastingcable.com/article/CA6402386.html?display=Breaking+News)>

Finklestein, Joanne (1998). "Dining Out: The Hyperreality of Appetite." *Eating Culture*, Ron Scapp and Brian Seitz Eds. Albany: State University of New York Press. 201-15.

Finn, John E. (2004) "The Kitchen Voice as Confessional." *Food, Culture and Society*, 7(1), 85-100.

Fishler, Claude (1988). "Food, Self, and Identity." *Social Science Information*, 27(2). 275-92.

Food Network Television (Producer, 2004). *The Iron Chef America* [Television series]. New York: Food Network.

- Gaitt, Patricia M (2001). "Taking the Cake: Power Politics in Southern Life and Fiction." *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food*, Ed. Sherri A. Inness. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 63-86.
- Gallagher, Mark (2004). "What's So Funny About the Iron Chef?" *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 176-184.
- Gatson, Sarah N (2003). "On Being Amorphous: Autoethnography, Genealogy, and a Multiracial Identity." *Qualitative Inquiry* 9(20), 20-48.
- Goldie, Peter (2004). "Narrative, emotion, and understanding." *Narrative Research in Health and Illness*. Eds. Hurwitz, Brian, Trisha Greenhalgh, and Vieda Skultans. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 156-67.
- Goody, Jack (2008). "The Recipe, the Prescription, and the Experiment." *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. London: Routledge, 78-90.
- Gingras, Jacqui and Lara Tiro (2008). "Mandarin Peelings and Lola's Tinola: Exploring Subjectivity and Belonging Through Cultural Food Narratives." *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(3), 375-400.
- Grewal, Inderpal (2005). *Transnational America*. Duke University Press.
- Hamilton, Malcolm (2006). "Eating Death: Vegetarians, Meat and violence." *Food, Culture and Society*, 9(2), 155-77.
- Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Haukanes, Haldis (2007). "Sharing Food, Sharing Taste? Consumption practices, gender relations and individuality in Czech families." *Anthropology of Food*, S3.
- Hekman, Susan (1997). "Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited." *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 22(2). 341-65.
- Heldke, Lisa (2008). "Let's Cook Thai: Recipes for Colonialism." *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. London: Routledge, 327-41.
- Henderson, Mary C. (1970) "Food as Communication in American Culture." *Today's Speech* 18: 3, 3-8.
- Hernandez-Ramdwar, Camille (2006). *From TT to T.O.: Second Generation Identities in the Caribbean Diaspora*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Heyl, Barbara Sherman (2001). "Ethnographic Interviewing." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 369-83.

- Holtzman, Jon D (2006). "Food and Memory." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35. 361-78.
- hooks, bell (1998). "Eating the Other: Desire and Resistance." *Eating Culture*, Ron Scapp and Brian Seitz Eds. Albany: State University of New York Press. 181-200.
- Hurwitz, Brian, Trisha Greenhalgh, and Vieda Skultans, eds. (2004). *Narrative Research in Health and Illness*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Inness, Sherrie A (2001a). "Introduction: Thinking Food/Thinking Gender." *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*. Sherrie A. Inness, Ed. 1-12.
- Inness, Sherrie A (2001b). "'The Enchantment of Mixing Spoons': Cooking Lessons for Girls and Boys." *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*. Sherrie A. Inness, Ed. 119-38.
- Ireland, Lynne (1981). "The Compiled Cookbook as Foodways Autobiography." *Western Folklore* 40(1), 107-114.
- Kelly, Traci Marie (2001a). "If I Were A Voodoo Priestess: Women's Culinary Autobiographies." *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*. Sherrie A. Inness, Ed. 251-270.
- Kelly, Traci Marie (2001b). "Honouring Helga, 'The Little Lefse Maker': Regional Food as Social Marker, Tradition, and Art." *Cooking Lessons: The Politics of Gender and Food*, Ed. Sherri A. Inness. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 19-40.
- Kemmer, Debbie (2000). "Tradition and Change in Domestic Roles and Food Preparation." *Sociology*, 34(2). 323-33.
- Kershen, Anne J (2002). *Food in the Migrant Experience*. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
- Kershen, Anne J (2002). "Introduction: Food in the Migrant Experience." *Food in the Migrant Experience*, 1-16.
- Ketchum, Cheri (July 2005). "The Essence of Cooking Shows: How the Food Network Constructs Consumer Fantasies." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 29(3), 217- 234.
- Koc, Mustafa and Welsh, Jennifer (2002). "Food, Foodways and Immigrant Experience." *Canadian Ethnic Studies Association Conference* November, 2001.
- Lather, Patti (2001). "Postmodernism, Post-structuralism and Post(Critical) Ethnography: of Ruins, Aporias and Angels." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 477-92.

- Levi-Strauss, Claude (1983). *The Raw and the Cooked*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude ([1966] 2008). *Food and Culture: A reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge, 36-43.
- Lingis, Alfonso (1998). "Appetite." *Eating Culture*, Ron Scapp and Brian Seitz Eds. Albany: State University of New York Press. 121-31.
- Marte, Lidia (2007). "Foodmaps: Tracing Boundaries of 'Home' Through food Relations." *Food & Foodways*, 15, 261-89.
- Marcus, Julie (2001). "Orientalism." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 109-17.
- Maso, Iija (2001). "Phenomenology and Ethnography." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 136-44.
- Mattingly, Cheryl (2004). "Performance narratives in the clinical world." *Narrative Research in Health and Illness*. Eds. Hurwitz, Brian, Trisha Greenhalgh, and Vieda Skultans. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 73-94.
- McHugh, Kathleen Anne (1999). *American Domesticity: From How-to Manual to Hollywood*. Oxford University Press.
- McIntosh, Alex and Mary Zey (1998). "Women as Gatekeepers of Food Consumption: A sociological Critique." *Food and Gender: Identity and Power* Carole Counihan and Steven Kaplan, Eds. 125-144.
- McWilliams, Mark (2007). "Good Women Make Good Biscuits: Cookery and Identity in Antebellum American Fiction." *Food, Culture and Society*, 10(3), 388-406.
- Mead, Margaret ([1943]2008). "The Changing Significance of Food." *Food and Culture: A Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. London: Routledge, 17-27.
- Meister, Mark (2001). "Cultural Feeding, Good Life Science, and the Food Network." *Mass Communication and Society* 4(2), 165-182.
- Messer, Ellen (1989a). "Chapter 1: Methods for Determinants of Food Intake." *Research Methods in Nutritional Anthropology*, Gretel H Pelto et al, Eds. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Messer, Ellen (1989b). "Chapter 4: The relevance of time allocation analyses to nutritional anthropology: The relationship of time and household organization to nutrient intake and status." *Research Methods in Nutritional Anthropology*, Gretel H Pelto et al, Eds. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.

- Miller, Jody and Barry Glassner (1997). "The 'Inside' and the 'Outside': Finding Realities in Interviews." *Qualitative Research: Theory Method and Practice*. Ed. David Silverman. London: Sage Publications, 99-112.
- Mintz, Sidney (2008). "Food and Diaspora." *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(4), 509-23.
- Mirsky, Richard M (1981). "Perspectives in the Study of Food Habits." *Western Folklore*, 40(1). 125-33.
- Morley, David (2000). *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Moutsakas, Clark (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Narayan, Uma (1995). "Eating Culture: Incorporation, Identity, and Indian Food." *Social Identities*, 1(1). 63-87.
- Neuhaus, Jessamyn (2001). "The Joy of Sex Instruction: Women and Cooking in Marital Sex Manuals, 1920-1963." *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*. Sherrie A. Inness, Ed. 95-118.
- Peacock, James L. and Dorothy C. Holland (1993). "The Narrated Self: Life Stories in Process." *Ethos*, 21(4), 367-83.
- Pelto, Pertti J (1989). "Chapter 2: Strategies of Field Research in Nutritional Ethnography." *Research Methods in Nutritional Anthropology*, Gretel H Pelto et al, Eds. Tokyo: United Nations University Press.
- Perez, Ramona Lee and Meredith E. Abarca (2007). "Cocinas Publicas: Food and Border Consciousness in Greater Mexico." *Food & Foodways*, 15, 137-51.
- Petrini, Carlo and Gigi Padovani (2005). *Slow Food Revolution: A New Culture for Eating and Living*. New York: Rizzoli.
- Phillips, Lynn (2006). "Food and Globalization." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 35. 37-57.
- Plummer, Ken (2001). "The Call of Life Stories in Ethnographic Research." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 395-406.
- Pollner, Melvin and Robert M Emerson (2001). "Ethnomethodology and Ethnography" *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 118-35.
- Power, Elaine and Mustafa Koc (2008). "A Double-double and a Maple Glazed Doughnut." *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(3), 263-67.
- Puri, Jyoti (2004). *Encountering Nationalism*. Blackwell.



- Rappoport, Leon (2003). *How we eat: Appetite, culture and the psychology of food*. Toronto: ECW Press.
- Reed-Danahay, Deborah E (1997). *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social*. Oxford: Berg.
- Reed-Danahay, Deborah (2001). "Autobiography, Intimacy and Ethnography." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 407-25.
- Reitz, Julie Kjendal (2007). "Espresso: A Shot of Masculinity." *Food, Culture and Society*, 10(1), 7-21.
- Rich, Adrienne (1976). "IX: Motherhood and Daughterhood." *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc. 218-55.
- Silverman, David (1997). *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method, and Practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Skeggs, Beverly (2001). "Feminist Ethnography." *Handbook for Ethnography*. Ed. Paul Atkinson et al. London: Sage Publications, 426-42.
- Skultans, Vieda (2004). "Narratives of displacement and identity." *Narrative Research in Health and Illness*. Eds. Hurwitz, Brian, Trisha Greenhalgh, and Vieda Skultans. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 292-308.
- Sontag, Susan, Ed (1982). *A Barthes Reader*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Steinberg, Stephen (1998). "Bubbie's Challah." *Eating Culture*, Ron Scapp and Brian Seitz Eds. Albany: State University of New York Press. 295-9.
- Symons, Michael (2006). "Grandmas to Gourmets: The Revolution of 1963." *Food, Culture and Society*, 9(2), 179-200.
- Tedlock, Barbara (1991). "From participant observation to the observation of participation: The emergence of narrative ethnography." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47(1), 69-94.
- Theophano, Janet (2001). "Home Cooking: Boston Baked Beans and Sizzling Rice Soup as Recipes for Pride and Prejudice." *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*. Sherrie A Inness, Ed. 139-56.
- Toklas, Alice B. *The Alice B. Toklas Cookbook*. ([1954]1984). New York: Perennial.
- Turmo, Isabel Gonzalez (2004). "A Methodology for Analyzing Recipe Books." *Social Science Information*, 43(4), 753-73.

- Turner, Katherine Leonard (2006). "Buying Not cooking: Ready-to-eat in American Urban Working-class Neighbourhoods, 1880-1930." *Food, Culture and Society*, 9(1), 13-39.
- Vallianatos, Helen and Kim Raine (2008). "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women." *Food, Culture and Society*, 11(3), 355-73.
- Waxman, Barbara (2008). "Food Memoirs: What they are, why they are popular, and why they belong in the literature classroom." *College English*, 70(4), 363-382.