Feminist Food Studies: A Brief History

Arlene Voski Avakian

Barbara Haber

The study of food, cooking, and eating, once a subject limited to nutritionists and a few anthropologists studying the symbolic importance of foodways among "natives,"[1] has expanded to include sociology, history, philosophy, economics, and the interdisciplinary fields of Women's Studies, American Studies and Cultural Studies.[2] Articles on food have recently appeared in a diverse list of scholarly periodicals and anthologies, while new books on the topic continue to be published in ever greater numbers by both university and trade presses. In the last decade an avalanche of books on food has appeared, and conferences on food are no longer the sole concern of food professionals. In addition to the annual conference of the Association for the Study of Food and Society (ASFS) other organizations have sponsored conferences addressing food such as The New School for Social Research's 1998 conference "Food: Nature and Culture," and its published proceedings,[3] and the 77th Annual Asians in America Conference 2001, "Palates of Pleasure: The Philosophy and Politics of Southeast Asian Food," complete with Southeast Asian meals catered by restaurants or prepared by guest chefs. ASFS also publishes a journal and has a listserve with lively discussions and debates on everything from the origins of barbecue to sources for research on a variety of topics.[4] In addition to the journal *Food and Foodways*, published since 1985, *Gastronomica*, a journal devoted to food and culture, published its first issue in 2000. Common among these works is the notion that studying the most banal of human activities can yield crucial information and insights about both daily life and world view, from what is in the pot to the significance of the fire that heats it. Particularly within the context of the postmodern questioning of reality[ies], looking closely at the material culture of the food of ordinary people has the appeal of the concrete within a world of uncertainty.

The excitement associated with this new scholarly interest in food, cooking, and eating is reminiscent of the early 1970s explosion of work in women's studies. Like women's studies, the emerging field of food studies is interdisciplinary and includes attention to the daily lives of ordinary people within its purview. Until recently, however, few scholars in food studies brought a gendered or feminist perspective to their work on food, and feminist scholars focused only on women's food pathologies. While work on anorexia, bulimia, and other eating disorders among women is vitally important, other aspects of women's relationship to food are at least equally significant. Feminists organized around housework and women's studies scholarship addressed domesticity, but cooking was ignored as if it were merely a marker of patriarchal oppression and, therefore, not worthy of attention. Similarly, food studies whether in anthropology, sociology, nutrition, or agricultural studies ignored or distorted what could be learned from and about women's relationship to food practices. Despite the fact of women's centrality to food practices, until the last decade, few in this plethora of new works on food focused on women, and only a minority of those had a feminist analysis.

Avakian's anthology, *Through the Kitchen Window: Women Writers Explore the Intimate Meanings of Food and Cooking* (1997, 1998), was among the first to address the varied and complex aspects of women and food, and many of the pieces consider the possibility that, like the gardens of poor southern African American women which served as an outlet for their creativity when no other existed, cooking may have provided a vehicle for women's creative expression. The essays in that volume provide glimpses into the lives of women in their various contexts and tell us about the meanings embedded in women's relationships to food. The recent scholarship on women and food conclusively demonstrates that studying the relationship between women and food can help us to understand how women reproduce, resist, and rebel against gender constructions as they are practiced and contested in various sites, as well as illuminate the contexts in which these struggles are located.

The first section of this introduction will discuss the work that established the study of food as a legitimate scholarly topic and the work that was done on women and food prior to 1990. The second section will address the scholarship on women and food studies that has emerged since the 1990s.

By the middle of the twentieth century, European historians were recognizing the importance of food in understanding the development of civilization. The influential Fernand Braudel saw history in sweeping

terms, believing, for instance, that how humans changed such natural conditions as the land, vegetations, and animals by introducing stock-breeding and agriculture was the stuff of history. His work as a social historian drew from such other disciplines as sociology, geography, psychology, and linguistics as well as anthropology. (See *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 1972, and *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800*, 1974.) In America, most academic writing before the 1970s grew out of anthropology, where the study of what was described as "primitive" and often "exotic" cultures brought food into focus as an aid to interpreting cultural patterns. (For an overview of the development of culinary history, see "Culinary History" by Messer et al. in *The Cambridge World History of Food*, 2000, ed. K. F. Kiple and K. C. Ornelas.)

Two influential anthropologists, Claude Lévi-Strauss, who was French, and the British Mary Douglas, used food to illustrate their theories. Lévi-Strauss saw patterns as humans moved away from a natural into a cultural state—speaking languages, learning to cook—and believed that people did not invent them but instead obeyed laws that were a function of the human brain. In *The Raw and the Cooked*, he associates the "raw" with nature while the "cooked" is connected with culture. In her highly acclaimed *Purity and Danger* (1966), Douglas analyzes the food taboos laid out in Leviticus and Deuteronomy and interprets them as the ways in which tribal societies maintained their separateness and reinforced their sense of group identity, a pattern that still exists. Douglas also saw that an awareness of food-related convictions is crucial to policy makers who must avoid violating taboos.

Anthropologist Sidney Mintz is as concerned with history and political economy as his own discipline in his influential *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (1985). Here he brings together his field work with Caribbean sugar cane workers with a study of the social and political history of a major food. He points out that in England before 1800, sugar was a scarce food available only to the rich. How it later became a cheap commodity that supplied almost a fifth of the calories in the British diet is a complicated story that involves slavery, industrialization, changing consumer habits, and the power of trade. Mintz's focus is on the interconnections between the development of plantation slavery in Jamaica and industrial capitalism in England with sugar as the major commodity. Other major works on food by historians were soon to follow. Harvey Levenstein's *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (1988) gives academic weight to the study of food by relating changing eating habits in America to such major forces as immigration, urbanization, developing technologies,

and the growth and power of the corporate food industry. And in *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (1993), Levenstein looks at the ways in which the American diet has been shaped by cultural, political, and economic forces from the 1930s until today. British scholar Stephen Mennell's 1985 *All Manners of Food*, a sweeping social history of eating in England and France from the Middle Ages to the present, addresses domestic cooking and women's magazines. And Margaret Visser, a classicist, produced the wildly popular *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsession, Perils and Taboos of an Ordinary Meal* (1986), which illustrates the depth of information one can draw from such elemental foods as salt, butter, and rice. In *Appetite for Change* (1989) American Studies professor Warren Belasco analyzes how corporate America moved in on such counterculture foods as brown rice and whole wheat bread in order to profit from the very products that had symbolized radical opposition to capitalism. With such books as these, the serious study of food had taken on academic respectability, setting the scene for work to follow.

But academic work is not the only influence on scholars now writing about food. Good writing in this area requires something of a sensual response to food and the knowledge that comes from cooking and serving it. Two writers have made this point better than most—Elizabeth David, a British author of cookery books and numerous magazine and newspaper columns, and the American writer on gastronomy M. F. K. Fisher, who has become something of a cult figure. Before other writers were alert to the possibilities of food as a way to gauge human mood and behavior, these women intuitively understood that food allowed them the scope they needed to express their views. Their firm, sometimes quirky opinions about what constitutes a good meal breaks with conventional advice about diet. Fisher, for instance, took issue with the notion of "a well-balanced meal," believing that people were within their rights to eat just toast for breakfast if that was all they wanted, finding other occasions to take in required nutrients. Such strong views have had an impact on their readers, whose perceptions about food were probably changed forever. Elizabeth David's philosophy of food was formed when she lived in Provence as a young teenager, and later when she lived in the warm climates of Greece and Egypt during the Second World War. She later referred to the cooking of Provence as "the rational, right and proper food for human beings to eat" in contrast to the food she found in Britain after the war, which she described as "produced with a kind of bleak triumph which amounted almost to a hatred of humanity and humanity's needs" (vii, introduction to *South Wind through the Kitchen*). In *A Book of Mediterranean Food*, published in 1950,

four years before the end of food rationing in Britain, she communicated her belief that humans could find joy in simply prepared foods using correct ingredients. Even though such Mediterranean foods as olive oil, anchovies, and artichokes were not yet available to her English readers, her sun-drenched recipes served as an inspiration to a deprived and war-weary public. David continued her mission by writing for such publications as the *Sunday Times*, *Wine and Food*, and especially *The Spectator*; where she was allowed to write about the simple pleasures of real food without always having to produce recipes. Her reputation as an excellent researcher and fine writer was soon established, culminating in what many regard as her masterpiece, *English Bread and Yeast Cookery* (1980). At the time, David rightly believed that the British population was eating inferior manufactured loaves, putting up with caramel coloring added to white bread that was passed off as whole wheat, for instance. She set about to awaken her public to the pleasures of good, honest bread, first by telling the whole complicated story of the ingredients that go into it, and then following up with recipes for traditional British loaves. David received many honors from her country including the OBE (Order of the British Empire) awarded by the queen; the CBE (Commander of the British Empire), and honorary doctorates from the Universities of Essex and Bristol; and in 1982 was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, the recognition that meant the most to her. At the time of her death in 1992, Elizabeth David was widely regarded as a writer who advanced the cause of better food and how to investigate and write about it.

M. F. K. Fisher, who wished to be thought of as a writer and not more narrowly as a "food writer," nevertheless will best be remembered for what she wrote about food. Her gastronomical works—*Serve It Forth* (1937), *Consider the Oyster* (1941), *How to Cook a Wolf* (1942), *The Gastronomical Me* (1943), and *An Alphabet for Gourmets* (1943)—are still in print and inspire followers. Much of Fisher's appeal comes from her extraordinary ability to communicate her sensual response to food and the way she always found deep emotional meaning in what others might see as mere ordinary experience. In *How to Cook a Wolf*, her book about eating well during wartime, she makes clear that she intuitively knew that people under stress need more from food than just its nutritional content. For Fisher, the sense of well-being came from such simple dishes as polenta, spaghetti, baked apples, and rice pudding, favorite foods made from cheap and available ingredients. Now and then she includes recipes with scarce ingredients, advising, "if by chance you can indeed find some anchovies, or a thick slice of rare beef and some brandy, or a bowl of pink curled shrimps, you are double blessed, to

possess in this troubled life both the capacity and the wherewithal to forget it for a time." It is for good reason that this wartime book continues to be read with pleasure and has not been shelved as an artifact of a bygone era. At a time when most other food writers of the day were concerned with extending cheap cuts of meat into hashes or watering down butter, Fisher was advising her readers that " 'since we must eat to live, we might as well do it with both grace and gusto."

The most important legacy left by Elizabeth David and M. F. K. Fisher is the convincing case they make for food as a worthy and dignified area of study. They followed their intuitions and wrote about the qualities of good food and what it means to people, establishing a literary genre that drew attention to the satisfaction and beauty of simple dishes made from fresh ingredients. This was a different line from earlier food writers, most often men, who identified as epicures and concerned themselves mainly with only the finest and most expensive of foods and the wines that went with them.[5]

In *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century* (1986) Laura Shapiro brings together the skills of a fine writer with the systematic approach of a historian to write about women and food. Her pioneering book proves that women's long association with food held untold stories that could illuminate both women's history and the history of food. While a great deal of scholarship on women had been flourishing since the early 1970s, almost none of it had concerned itself with the history of food, a subject that had not appealed to early generations of women's history scholars more interested in setting straight the public record on women's achievements. Shapiro establishes that the women at the center of the cooking school movement in America at the end of the nineteenth century were influenced by the scientific knowledge of the day applied to cooking. Fussy, over-sauced foods were the result of their deliberations, dishes unacceptable to modern tastes, but proudly offered by Fannie Farmer, her colleagues, and the students who learned from them. But Shapiro also explains that these teachers were serious and well intentioned, having found their way as professionals in a world where few such options were open to women. Shapiro had shown how the study of food shed new light on the study of women, and at the same time how women's history illuminated the history of food. Many more books and articles written by an array of scholars were to follow.

Over the last decade nearly twenty books on women and food and numerous scholarly articles have been published, authored by women's studies and food studies scholars. Recent feminist work, particularly in

the last decade, has begun to move away from the invocation of a monolithic woman. Rather than merely adding on[6] women of color to theoretical frameworks constructed from the life experiences of white Western women, the most exciting new scholarship on women takes as its project the contextualization of gender within other significant social formations. Incorporating some of the critiques made by women of color and the theoretical positions of postcolonial and cultural studies, many women's studies scholars now focus on the specificities of women's lives in all of the complexity of their intersecting and embedded social formations. Some women's studies scholars have discovered that food practices and their representations, interwoven as they are into the dailiness of life, can reveal the particularities of time, place, and culture, providing an excellent vehicle to contextualize women's lives. Just as the kitchen is no longer off limits for women's studies, some of the latest work in food studies is beginning to recognize that food practices are gendered.

Like other interdisciplinary fields, food studies and women's studies cover a wide range of topics and use approaches and methodologies from more traditional disciplines or develop new interpretative modalities. This latest scholarship on women and food encompasses such diverse fields as philosophy, political economy, anthropology, sociology, history, and cultural studies, and the topics addressed range from minute studies of a single food item to close readings of food and its representation as the basis for broad cultural analyses. In order to describe the trends over the last decade, we have created a number of categories and will highlight selected works within them. These categories are neither intended as an analytic framework, nor are they definitive. Additionally, since scholarship on women and food brings new insights to both fields, and often cuts across disciplines, many of these categories overlap. We offer them only as one way to discuss the work of the last decade.

Sociocultural Analyses

Anthropology was among the first disciplines to recognize the importance of studying food practices, and much of contemporary scholarship that combines food studies and women's studies is also undertaken by anthropologists. Carole M. Counihan has been central to this effort, editing the journal *Food and Foodways*, co-editing a collection of articles from that journal (1998), co-editing another volume on food and culture that includes a number of articles on women (1997), and authoring a collection of her own articles on women and food (1999). Counihan's

perspective is that food practices are both constitutive and reflective of gender construction. Her essay "Bread as World: Food Habits and Social Relations" (in *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power*) is a beautiful example of the value of focusing on food. Examining the changing place of a basic food as a way to look closely at the daily effects of modernization in Bosa, a town on the west coast of Sardinia, Counihan argues that Bosa experienced modernization without development. Using anthropologist's Marcel Mauss's framework of gift giving as a means of tying society together, and a political economy analysis of the demise of bread-baking, she posits that Bosan social relations became less communal and more individualistic because women neither baked bread together anymore, nor gifted family and friends with their homemade loaves. Store-bought bread was considered an unfit gift, and no longer allowed for the possibility of a means of artistic expression for the women baking it. Counihan also posits that the traditions of the region were maintained through the ritual baking of holiday breads, and have now been attenuated by their mass production. When women baked bread and the community had closer ties, males and females had interdependent relationships rather than men having power over women. What had once been a network of interconnections among people in Bosa was replaced by the impersonal monetary exchange of a commodity.

Also focusing on bread and the effects of industrialization, Aida Kanafani-Zahar (1997) examines the relationship between women's status and bread-making in Lebanon. In addition to being the basis of the diet, bread also has sacred significance in that region. Women's status is elevated, Kanafani-Zahar argues, because they have exclusive responsibility for baking bread. Bread-baking skills are valued, and are passed down from older women to their eldest daughters or daughters-in-law. With industrialization women do not need to bake, as bread is readily available for purchase, and like Counihan, Kanafani-Zahar posits that rather than being liberated from an arduous task, women actually lose the status they had as bakers.

Extending her analysis of bread-baking to cooking and cleaning among women in Florence in "Food, Power, and Female Identity in Contemporary Florence," Counihan contends that in a state society women gain influence (private power) through giving even as they may be locked out of coercive (public) power. In this analysis women feed others in return for "love, favors, good behavior and the power that comes from being needed" (48). In Florence before 1950, women were totally identified with their domestic role, providing nurturance for the families primarily by feeding them. Contemporary women are in con-

flict: not content with their influence in the private realm, they want and need to work, yet they are still wedded to the notion that "good" women are defined by a clean house and abundant home-cooked meals. While women may now have more economic power than their mothers did, Counihan argues that they have less security in their new identities as women, given the persistence of the demands of their former roles and their inability to satisfy these demands because of time constraints. They are also unhappy with their diminished ability to control what their children eat and the attendant feeling that they are not adequately passing on their cultural legacy. Both Counihan and Kanafani-Zahar agree that the interdependent relations between women and men which existed before industrialization have been supplanted; women now struggle for equal power (public) with men, while losing the influence (private) through giving which they enjoyed in the past.

Also exploring the construction of gender and family through food practices, the sociologist Marjorie DeVault (1991) argues that food preparation is work that defines family. Women's activities in the home, DeVault maintains, cannot be neatly divided into work versus leisure, the basis for much sociological theory on work and family. Based on the male experience of wage work in industrialized society, this framework conceptualizes work only as that done outside the home, while the family is assumed to be a respite from work. Despite the reality that for women the home is often the site of their work, labor in the family has been considered "only in terms of relationship and emotion," while "the necessary and arduous work of physical maintenance disappears" (10). Through the work of feeding, "women quite literally produce family life from day to day" (13). DeVault maintains that this work of feeding is invisible *as* work and, though it is central to the construction of family, women themselves often deny that it is work. Contrary to the contention of the women who perform it and the sociologists who ignore it, DeVault insists that this activity is work which is both physical and mental labor, and a social practice which constructs family. Citing the planning of meals as an example, she likens this activity to solving a puzzle. Decisions must be made in relationship to other people's desires, most importantly husbands and then children, and in accordance with what the culture considers a proper meal. "By solving this puzzle each day, the person who cooks for the family is continually creating one part of the reality of household life. At the same time, she . . . is constructing her own place within the family, as one who provides for the needs of others" (48). DeVault addresses issues of class by positing that the decision-making process to answer the question "what's for dinner" is dealt with by working-class women through the traditions in

their families, and by middle-class women by reference to cookbooks and new trends in food preparation.

While DeVault does address class, she does not consider race and ethnicity, social formations central to work on women and food preparation among marginalized groups. Sociologist Josephine A. Beoku-Betts (1995) argues that because Gullah communities are under threat from economic development, the work of maintaining traditions through food is vital to the very survival of the group, and unlike the women in DeVault's study, the Gullah women are very conscious of their centrality to this effort. Jessica Harris's cookbooks (1989, 1995) make repeated connections, both in her introductions and in commentaries before each section, and often in recipes themselves, to African cuisine and what African Americans were able to preserve while in slavery. By recording and validating the African heritage of African American cuisine, Harris helps to repair cultural ties attenuated by slavery and white supremacy. Similarly, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1997) finds that the fairs and cookbooks produced by Jewish women in the nineteenth century sustained community institutions not only by raising funds for synagogues, but by bringing the community together. Unlike in African American communities, however, maintenance of this community did not necessarily rely on the adherence to traditional foods. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's examination of the cookbooks and the food at these fairs reveals a diversified Jewish cuisine which often includes *tref*, food forbidden by Kosher rules.

Colonialism, Political Economy, Globalization

Some cultural analysts use food to examine colonialist constructions. Political scientist Uma Narayan (1995) examines contemporary Indian culture and identity through the lens of curry. Made from a mixture of many spices using different combinations for particular dishes, more turmeric in one *masala*, more cumin and chili in another, Indian curries have great variety. The "fabrication" of curry powder, a one-mixture-fits-all combination, was an English creation fixed onto Indian cuisine and accepted as quintessentially Indian by the colonizer, just as England "fabricated" an India from a variety of cultural and political entities (65). The precolonial history of India as a number of linguistic and religious entities rather than a unified nation can be readily seen in Indian cuisine, Narayan argues, which has enormous regional variations echoed in the contemporary cuisines of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. " 'Pakistani food' has arguably more in common with certain North Indian cuisines than either has in common with a variety of South Indian

cuisines, all of which have their regional variations" (71). In England however, non-Indians ignore these differences in the common practice of using the epithet "Pakis" for all South Asians and in the assumption that curry can describe all Indian food. Catering to this fabricated notion of Indian unity in order to make a living, many South Asian immigrants are engaged in feeding the English this version of "fabricated" Indian food.

Bringing a feminist analysis to the food practices of the Indian immigrant community in England, Narayan utilizes Partha Chatterjee's thesis that Indians have conflicting goals. They want "to cultivate the material techniques of modern western civilization" on the one hand, while "retaining and strengthening the distinctive spiritual essence of the national culture" on the other (74). The impulse to modernity, Chatterjee posits, is undertaken by males in the public sphere, while the work of resistance to assimilation is done by women in the private sphere. Narayan posits that the common practice of barring Indian women from waiting tables in the public space of Indian family-owned restaurants, though they are often permitted to work behind counters of family grocery stores, may be because the serving of food is associated with the maintenance of that distinctive spiritual "essence" since it takes place within the "intimacies of Indian family life" (75). The association of women with resistance to assimilation through their identification with tradition, Narayan worries, may have negative consequences for women by defining opposition to these traditions as abandoning Indian culture and assimilating to the West.

Narayan turns her attention to colonialist relations and the eating of curry by non-Indians by critiquing a 1993 paper by philosopher Lisa Heldke which argues that by "eating ethnic" without any concern for the people of the culture which produced the food, Westerners replicate colonialist relations of power. Westerners can become "anti-colonialist" eaters, Heldke posits, by educating themselves about the food, culture, and history of the people rather than merely unconsciously consuming their food. Narayan questions how much Westerners can learn about the cuisine of the "other," positing that few of us are aware of the historical and political realities of even the food of our own culture. While she agrees that gaining this knowledge and respect for "other" cultures is preferable to unconscious consumption, Narayan maintains that even if they attained this knowledge "mainstream eaters would remain privileged consumers, benefitting from the structural inequalities and unpleasant material realities that often form the contexts in which 'ethnic food' is produced and consumed" (78). Narayan also points out that from the perspective of Indian immigrants to England,

many of whom survive economically through their restaurants, which cook food designed to appeal to English notions of Indian food, the food colonialism Heldke critiques is the basis of their livelihood.

Focusing directly on political economy manifestations of this historical colonial relationship, Deborah Barndt's edited collection, *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain: Women, Food & Globalization* (1999), explores the exploitation and resistance of women food workers in the North and the South, as well as examining the relationships among them. The authors make the argument that this "food system . . . deepens inequalities between North and South as well as between men and women (with class and race complicating the picture); at the same time, it perpetuates human domination of the environment" (15). Historical and theoretical articles lay the groundwork for case studies of women food workers. Harriet Friedman's (1999) excellent historical and political economy analysis of globalization and food demonstrates how U.S. trade and agricultural policies after World War II, in particular the Marshall Plan and the Food for Peace program, transformed food production in the South from a peasant-based, integrated farm system of locally grown crops to mono-culture for export and international trade with the result that Third World countries once able to produce their own food became dependent on imports to feed their people. Relations between families and food were also transformed as many people, no longer growing their own food and unable to buy machines and chemicals necessary for raising export crops, were forced to leave for cities where they worked for low wages in order to buy food. Cheaper than men, women and children became the preferred work force. Rather than improving over the years since the end of the Second World War, this situation has been exacerbated by multinational agribusinesses, structural adjustment policies of the World Bank, and international trade agreements.

Following the tomato from fields in Mexico to fast food restaurants and supermarkets in Toronto, Deborah Barndt (1999) argues that the lives of Third World and First World women workers are both shaped by similar labor practices. Maquilization is defined as "1) the feminization of the work force, 2) extreme segmentation of skill categories, 3) the lowering of real wages and 4) a non-union orientation," while McDonaldization is "based on efficiency, predictability, calculability or quantifiability, substitution of non-human technology," and, most important, "'flexible' part-time labour" (63). The maquilization of the South, Barndt posits, is moving north while the McDonaldization of the North is moving south, with the result of further undermining women workers' earning capacity and worsening working conditions in

both areas. These practices have decreased the proportion of skilled, permanent, usually male workers, and increased the proportion of deskilled, part-time, temporary, usually female workers, with disastrous results for women workers. Using case studies of women food workers in Mexico, the southwest of the United States, and Toronto, the authors document both the exploitation and resistance of women workers and the connections among them.

Activist and scholar Vandana Shiva (1992) maintains that rather than being saved by development, Third World people need to be liberated from it. First colonialism and then development imposed Western patriarchy on indigenous cultures, both deepening women's impoverishment and degrading the environment. Women were displaced from productive activity by "removing land, water, and forests from their management and control, as well as through the ecological destruction of soil, water and vegetation systems so that nature's productivity and renewability were impaired" (337).

Examining the effect of colonialism on meal times in the parish of Zumbagua in the Andes, M. J. Weismantel (1996) also demonstrates how wage labor and the ideology of assimilation altered gender roles with negative results for women. Women resist, she argues, through their insistence on maintaining traditional times for eating on weekends and during the annual harvest festivals, when Quichua cultural forms are asserted. More than maintenance of tradition, the practice of these women, she argues, is political, though it may not be seen as such by those not in the community: "the language of the debate within the parish over the racial implications of cultural practices is constituted in a form that, while clearly understood by parish residents, renders it invisible to outsiders as political discourse" (308–309). While she argues that the women are resisting the forces of assimilation and white supremacy, Weismantel also sees dangers for women and indigenous culture in reifying festivals that are no longer grounded in material realities of an agrarian economy when women's work was highly valued. Men working in the towns and children going to school internalize metropolitan ideologies about time and work, redefining work to include only that which is remunerated with wages. In this framework the work women do in the home to maintain family and culture, once considered vital to survival, may be devalued, and ethnicity defined as feminine, traditional, and unnecessary. Men's work, on the other hand, may be defined as productive, modern, and associated with whiteness, undermining both women's lives and indigenous culture.

Also exploring the impact of colonialism and resistance to it, Jeffrey Pilcher (1997) argues that community cookbooks, authored primarily

by women, maintained indigenous cuisine and were a resistance to pressures to incorporate imposed European standards of healthy and "proper" meals, and by extension, European culture. Comparing these cookbooks to their commercial counterparts, Pilcher traces the development of Mestizo cuisine as the national cuisine of Mexico through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and demonstrates that attempts by commercial cookbooks to transform Mexican diets from the corn-based food of the lower classes to the wheat-based diet of Europeans were unsuccessful even among elites, who might have eaten European food in public, but ate Mexican food at home. Using Benedict Anderson's notion of the modern nation being an imagined community constructed partially through print literature, Pilcher argues that the women authors of community cookbooks participated not only in resisting European cultural imperialism, but in the construction of a national cuisine which contributed to a Mexican national identity.

History/Popular Culture

Over the last decade a number of works of social history have focused on women and food. Mary McFeeley's (2000) and Sherrie A. Inness's (2001) books are both roughly chronological and topical approaches to the twentieth-century history of U.S. women and food. Inness's research is based on the messages directed at women in popular media, including cookbooks, advertisements, and articles in magazines about cooking. She argues that these images construct gender by depicting "kitchen work as 'naturally' rewarding to women both emotionally . . . and aesthetically" (12). She examines cooking literature for children, the representation of electric appliances as freeing women from drudgery while allowing them to be creative, the depiction of "ethnic" foods during the two world wars while racial and ethnic hierarchies were maintained, the shoring up of gender roles during the crises of the depression and World War II, and representations of women happily going back into their kitchens in the 1950s. While some of McFeeley's narrative is also based on media representations of women and food, she also uses other historical documentation and autobiographical narrative. Her topics include early twentieth-century farm kitchens, experiments with cooperative housekeeping, Fannie Farmer's introduction to scientific cooking, women's survival techniques during the depression, rationing during the Second World War, cooking in the 1950s, the Julia Child food revolution, the vegetarian movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and cookbooks by chefs.

In a 1992 article, Cindy Dorfman presents an analysis of the place of

the kitchen in contemporary American culture while providing an excellent historical overview of the American middle-class kitchen. Through descriptions of the actual space allocated within the home for cooking, and representations of the kitchen and cooking in cookbooks, domestic science literature, and the media, she demonstrates that while the kitchen "has undergone a wonderful metamorphosis through this century, from a formless room full of hodge-podge appliances to a streamlined, coordinated, multifunction room that can express its owner's taste" (37), it continues to define the place where women ought to be. Contemporary filmic images of the kitchen as a place of emotional and even sexual intimacy, she argues, are attempts to manipulate women back into the kitchen, a newly defined but no less limiting space for women.

Amy Bentley's (1998) volume on rationing during the Second World War also focused on the persistence of gender roles through women's place in the kitchen, arguing that gender hierarchies were maintained even while boundaries between public and private were blurred. Gender roles were challenged by men going off to war and more women going to work outside the home, and some even doing traditionally male work. In consequence, the family meal, Bentley posits, "became a weapon of war, and the kitchen a woman's battlefront" (5), a way to reassure Americans that not so much had changed because women's primary place was still in the kitchen. Looking closely at the gendered aspects of the food in that meal, Bentley finds red meat became associated with masculine virility, while sugar was identified with femininity.

Jane Dusselier (2001) examines the gendered representation of candy in advertising. Initially only for wealthy and middle-class women and connected with the hedonism associated with the Gilded Age, candy was transformed between 1895 and 1920 into a food that was also appropriate for men. Candy marketed to men was projected as necessary for stamina, culminating in the connection between soldiers and Life Savers during World War I, a sharp contrast to the indulgence that eating candy represented for women. She also found that the very shape and texture of candy was gendered; women's candy was soft and round, confections such as bonbons, and men's candy was hard or the newly fashioned candy bars.

The 1950s, a time when people were spending a higher percentage of their incomes on food, is the focus of Erica Endrijonas's (2001) analysis of the messages directed at women through cookbooks. Postwar prosperity and the new emphasis on cooking elaborate dishes as a way to get Rosie the Riveter back into the kitchen, along with the marketing of processed foods, she argues, produced enormous contradictions:

"Buy processed foods but cook from scratch; be creative but follow directions precisely; accommodate all family members' preferences but streamline the food purchase and preparation process; work part-time but be a full-time homemaker; and do it all with little or no training" (157).

Constructions of Identity

One of the most basic assumptions of scholarship in both food studies and women's studies is that the daily life of ordinary people is not only worthy of study but necessary to any understanding of past and present worlds. Necessary for physical survival, daily meals are no less crucial to the construction of cultures and the people within them. Cultural studies scholar Deborah Lupton (1996) takes a poststructural approach to food and the construction of identity, arguing that food is centrally implicated in whom we become. Food discourse and the power relations embedded within it and which it produces, along with early bodily experiences of eating, she theorizes, construct who we are. Providing a sophisticated and complex version of *we are what we eat*, Lupton identifies "food and eating . . . [as] intensely emotional experiences that are intertwined with embodied sensations and strong feelings . . . central to individuals' subjectivity and their sense of distinction from others" (36).

Also taking a cultural studies approach, Elsbeth Probyn (2000) examines food writing, food representations in media, food personalities, interviews with people about food, films, and literature. Not concerned with food per se, Probyn is instead interested in what food and its representations can tell us about the culture that constructs our identities, and how eating can refigure these identities and their relation to each other. She posits that bodies "eat with vigorous class, ethnic and gendered appetites, mouth machines that ingest and regurgitate, articulating what we are, what we eat, and what eats us" (32). Arguing that since the HIV crisis sex is no longer a useful lens to examine culture, Probyn turned to food in conjunction with sex. Connected to the flesh, and identifying the point at which "knowing the self and caring of the other merge," eating and sex are seen as "practices that open ourselves into a multitude of surfaces that tingle and move," that break us "into parts that relate to each other following different logics, different speeds" (70). When eating and sex are commingled rather than added to each other, they may have the potential to disrupt assumptions, make new lines of connections, increase the possibility for pleasure, and promote new ethics. She focuses on various sites that conflate food and sex including a gay and lesbian food festival featuring sexy chefs and a les-

bian "dominatrix of the kitchen" (65), and the Two Fat Ladies of the BBC cooking series, Clarissa Dickson Wright and Jennifer Paterson. While her discussion does nod to gender and sexual orientation, she is primarily interested in sex and eating because it "offers a way of returning to questions about pleasure within restraint, sympathy understood as a means of respecting the situatedness of lives and identities . . . to the very practical figuring of an everyday ethics of living" (75).

Focusing on African American women, Doris Witt (1999) uses food to explore the "mutual exclusions of psychoanalysis and Marxist political economy" (16). Informed by Julia Kristiva's psychoanalytic reinterpretation of Mary Douglas's work on pollution rituals, and influenced by Ann McClintock's work on the complicity of white women in imperialism, Witt aims to do "culturally contextualized psychoanalysis that is simultaneously psychoanalytically informed history" (15). She argues that the connection between Black women and food is the "central structuring dynamic of 20th century U.S. life" (5). Black women are represented both as nurturers and givers with no appetite themselves, and as women with huge appetites. The central concern of the book is the "tension between these two poles, with how the binary through which Black women have been designated as both provider/producer and castrator/consumer has structured U.S. culture . . . with the disjuncture between the minimal power that African American women have wielded in the United States and the often exaggerated perceptions of their power" (24). While her work is focused on representations of African American women and men through literature and popular culture, her project is to determine the construction of subjectivities in the United States.

Recipes and Cookbooks as Creative Expressions

In 1997 Margaret Randall published a book of poems about women and food that contain actual recipes or refer to food preparation. A respected poet, Randall asserts that these works may be read as literature or used to cook food, but scholars of food and literature must do more. Some of the recent work on women and food makes precisely the argument that recipes and cookbooks can be read as literature. Linguist Colleen Cotter (1997) uses comparative linguistic discourse analysis of pie crust recipes from commercial and community cookbooks to establish that recipes are narrative forms. Recipes in both genres of cookbooks may be narratives, she argues, but those in community cookbooks also function to construct community. Unlike precise recipes in commercial cookbooks, directions in community cookbooks may be mini-

mal, assuming readers already have some knowledge. Those who have no firsthand knowledge of the community are outsiders, while for those who have presumably seen their mothers or grandmothers make pies, a list of ingredients is sufficient.

Also arguing that food writing has literary merit, Anne L. Bower (1997) reads cookbooks as fictions because they have settings, characters, and plot–all the necessary components of literature. Like most of women's art, she posits, recipes and cookbooks are a distinct genre that has not been recognized by a patriarchal literary establishment. The articles in this collection use literary theory to make this point, many authors referencing Susan Leonardi's 1989 piece which first made the argument that recipes and cookbooks are a form of women's literature. Anne Goldman (1992) critiques Leonardi's analysis for its essentialist notion of women's lives, and that critique could be applied to most of this work. Goldman contends that recipes and cookbooks are not constructed in a universal "women's culture," but within particular cultures. Her analysis of cookbooks is based not only in a gendered context, but in the political and cultural histories of the authors' communities. Colonialism is as central to Goldman's analysis of two cookbooks by the Mexican authors Cleofas Jaramillo and Fabiola Cabeza de Baca as patriarchy. These books, she posits, "demonstrate how political circumstance—the struggle for control of Mexican culture that succeeds the struggle for proprietorship of Mexican land–in this case helps to shape both the way people conceive of themselves and the manner in which they speak this sense of self-assertion. . . . self-reflection in both narratives is accordingly complicated by political and literary history, the demands of publishing and of the languages available to Hispana writers during the first half of the twentieth century" (175). Her comparison of these two texts with non-native Mexican cookbooks focuses on cultural appropriation. Goldman's analysis of a 1934 book of recipes from New Mexico by Edna Fergusson shows that Mexican food was taken by the United States just as the land had been. Citing Fergusson's assertion that since the annexation of Mexico the cuisine "belongs to the U.S.," Goldman concludes, "Cultural appropriation is thus justified by a political event, the U.S. military takeover of Mexico" (181). Arguing that the line between autobiography and ethnography is blurred in Jaramillo's and de Baca's works, Goldman posits that they resist both the unique individuality of the autobiography and the representative "ethnic type" of colonialist ethnographies, asserting instead that they make "ethnicity concrete, representing it as it is experienced by the individual, rather than invoking Culture as an abstraction" (189). Affirming that this cultural work is the difficult and conscious work of women,

Goldman is also clear that gender is central to this experience, but only within the context of Mexican history, politics, and culture.

In another analysis of women's food writing, Traci Marie Kelly (2001) categorizes three forms of storytelling through recipes. The first is what she calls the culinary memoir, primarily a memoir with food as a recurring theme, with recipes as an option. Kelly's examples of culinary memoir are Elizabeth Ehrlich's *Miriam's Kitchen* (1997) and Ruth Reichl's *Tender at the Bone* (1998). The second form she identifies is autobiographical cookbooks, such as *The Alice B. Toklas Cookbook* (1954) and Pearl Bailey's *Pearl's Kitchen* (1973), in which recipes are intertwined with memoir. Norma Jean Darden and Carole Darden's *Spoonbread and Strawberry Wine* (1994) is a prime example of Kelly's third category, autoethnographic cookbooks, a form which seeks both to represent the group within its own sense of its history and culture and to contradict dominant representations. Ntozake Shange's *If I Can Cook/ You Know God Can* (1998) is another excellent example of this type of autoethnography. While the stories and recipes focus on her experiences, the themes of the work are the history of slavery, the contemporary condition of Black America, and the cultural connections among Black diasporan communities resulting from the enduring connections to Africa. Rafia Zafar (1999) maintains that Black women cookbook authors have to work against the legacy of racist representations of Black women cooks—of the enduring images of mammy and Aunt Jemima. In her review of *Spoonbread and Strawberry Wine* and *Vibration Cooking: Or the Travel Notes of a Geechee Girl* by Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor (1970), Zafar argues these cookbook authors "enact a gastronomic Black Reconstruction" (451) by putting their families and themselves into the history and contemporary community life of African Americans. None of these autoethnographic works could be categorized as merely women's literature.

Arguing that Chicana and Native American women reclaim their ethnic and gender identities through writing about food, Benay Blend (2001) reads their recipes and other food writing "as political commentary" that is a resistance to the "commodification of their culture" (146). Food writing, she theorizes, may also be autobiographical, but in the case of Chicana and Native American writers, the "I" is always embedded in the context of the cultural and political "we." It creates women's cultural space, and "destabilizes certain predominant values that support the dominant culture[;] the culinary metaphor provides women writers with a discourse of resistance in which the self in relation to an ethnic group is empowered" (162).

Also examining the use of food writing to maintain community bor-

ders, Janet Theophano (2001) argues that cookbook writers are "constructing, defending and transgressing social and cultural borders . . . as points of departure for reflection" (139). In an analysis of Buwei Yang Chao's 1945 cookbook *How to Cook and Eat in Chinese*, Theophano demonstrates how the author guards the borders of the Chinese community and challenges white assumptions about Asians, while creating allegiances with her American readers. Whites can learn to make the Chinese food in Chao's book, but Theophano argues that she repeatedly indicates that the cultural differences between the two groups are so deep that Americans could never learn to eat the food Chinese eat at home. The recipes in the book, Chao states, are not authentic Chinese cuisine but what she has adapted for Americans. One example of this cultural gulf is the difference between Chinese and American cultures in acceptable levels of intimacy. Because they are comfortable with intimacy, Chao says, Chinese eat from a common bowl, while Americans not only eat on separate plates but must talk incessantly during a meal to cover up their lack of genuine connection (148). Chao's cultural commentary is autobiographical, and she uses this medium to again challenge white assumptions by discussing the negative effects of her missionary education on her sense of self (149). Theophano's analysis of Chao's cookbook clearly shows how she used food writing to convey much more than instructions on how to prepare Chinese food.

Eating Problems/Disorders

The issue that comprised nearly all of the work on women and food until the 1990s is still a serious concern to feminist scholars. In a sociological study of women with what she calls eating *problems* rather than disorders, Becky Thompson (1994) argues that binging/purging or starving oneself begin as coping or survival strategies in response to both childhood sexual abuse and societal injustices. Characterizing the sexual abuse of children as an epidemic, Thompson argues that binging or starving is an attempt to deal with the pain of physical or psychic bodily intrusions. Consciously multiracial in her analysis, Thompson critiques feminist scholars for their exclusive focus on white middle-class women and the exclusion of race, class, and sexual orientation from their analysis. She points out that standards of beauty in Latina and African American communities do not favor thinness, so that analyses that cite the images of ultra-thin models as the cause of young women starving themselves cannot be applied to women whose communities give them another message. Similarly, feminist arguments that blame eating disorders on the expectation that women will be able to manage

both careers and their domestic responsibilities are found to ignore African American married women's history of labor force participation. Common assumptions that lesbians do not care about their personal appearance because they are not interested in attracting men have rendered lesbians invisible, denying both the possibility that they may have eating problems and the spearheading role they have taken in politicizing fat oppression and constructing alternate models of female beauty. Thompson's approach to eating problems roots them in intersecting social formations. Citing race, class, gender, and sexual oppression in the society and the abuse of women and girls in families as important causes of eating problems, she maintains that eating problems will be cured only when the society cures itself of injustice.

Philosopher Susan Bordo (1993) also focuses on the cultural meanings of the prevalence of eating disorders among women, theorizing that anorexia nervosa is the "logical (if extreme) response to manifestations of anxieties and fantasies fostered by our culture" (15). Maintaining that the "natural" body is a fiction, Bordo takes a social constructionist perspective to the body, including in her analysis the effects of both patriarchy and white supremacy. Anorexia, she argues, is not an individual disorder but the result of the convergence of cultural "currents or streams" or "axes of continuity" inscribed on women's bodies (142). The Western philosophical dualism of mind and body in which the body is alien from the self, a limitation and an enemy that must be overcome because it threatens the loss of control, is the first axis Bordo identifies. This dualist axis manifests in anorexics' extreme alienation from their bodies. Their hunger, Bordo posits, is not a response to lack of food, but is seen by them as a force from outside themselves, the demands of disconnected bodies. Purity and intelligence are functions of the mind which are counterposed to the body. A desire for thinness, Bordo holds, is a logical response to the West's "historical heritage of disdain for the body" (139–140). The second axis is the desire to control this alien body. Unable to control other aspects of their lives, women go to extreme measures to control their bodies through dieting and exercise, gaining a sense of accomplishment by their ability to achieve a perfect body, bending their bodies to their wills, gaining mastery *over* their bodies. Finally, Bordo defines the gender/power axis as having two levels, both rooted in the duality of body versus mind and fear of the body. The first is the "fear and disdain for traditional female roles and social limitations," and the second is the "deep fear of 'The Female' with all its more nightmarish archetypical association of voracious hungers and sexual instability" (155). Young anorexic women's fears about growing up to inhabit traditional gender roles are expressed in their

revulsion at female anatomy and bodily functions. Citing the epidemic of female invalidism in the mid nineteenth century and the contemporary dramatic increase in anorexia, Bordo holds that these responses of both groups of women, seen by some feminist scholars as a protest, must be understood as cultural anxieties "written on the bodies of anorexic women, not embraced as conscious politics" (159). Bordo distinguishes these relatively mundane fears about what they must do as adult women from the fear of "The Female," "hungering . . . voracious . . . extravagantly and excessively needful . . . without restraint . . . always wanting . . . always wanting too much affection, reassurance, emotional and sexual contact, and attention" (160; ellipses in original). Rooting constructions of the body in history, Bordo maintains that fear of "The Female" is in ascendance during times of extreme social stress and when women are asserting their independence. Nineteenth-century corsets that severely inhibited women's physical movement and contemporary injunctions to thinness are attempts to rein in women's bodies, instances of power relations between women and men expressed and maintained through constructions of woman's body.

In a provocative essay that looks at cross-cultural constructions of the body and eating disorders, Carole Counihan (1999) finds that "tribal" societies in New Guinea and a number of societies in the Amazon consider male and female bodies to have many similarities, a construction which is in sharp contrast to the gender dichotomies that exist in the West. In New Guinea and the Amazon, men actually fear women's penetration of their bodies and the resulting loss of their male identities. In the West, on the other hand, male bodies are seen as impermeable while female bodies are vulnerable to penetration. The bodily penetrations of eating and sexuality pose a threat to Western women because of this vulnerability, and women see fasting as a viable option to protect themselves. Counihan's other work on eating disorders (1999) also brings important cross-cultural material to the discussion, showing that in the West patriarchy, Judeo-Christian ideology, Cartesianism, and identification of women with food create the possibility of lethal fasting, a practice fundamentally different from ritualistic fasting in non-Western societies where systems of gender complementarity rather than gender dominance prevail.

This new scholarship on women and food addresses the basic issues raised by women's studies more than two decades ago and yields new insights into both women's lives and the contexts in which they are embedded.

Notes

1. Claude Lévi-Strauss's *The Raw and the Cooked* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1970) is the classic in this genre.

2. Recent books or chapters in books include: a history of ethnic food by Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); a study of identity and food by sociologist Deborah Lupton, *Food the Body and the Self* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1996); a chapter on colonialism, culture, curry, and the construction of Indian women by political scientist Uma Narayan, "Eating Cultures" in Narayan, ed., *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Harry Levenstein's histories of the American diet, *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) and *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Oxford University Press, 1993); a collection of essays edited by philosophers Diane Curtin and Lisa Heldke, *Cooking, Eating, Thinking: Transformative Philosophies of Food* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Anne Murcott, ed., *The Sociology of Food and Eating* (Aldershot, U.K., Gower, 1983); Doris Witt, *Black Hunger: Food and the Politics of U.S. Identity* (Oxford University Press, 1999); Phyllis P. Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Richard Pillsbury, *No Foreign Food: The American Diet in Time and Place* (Boulder: Westview, 1998); Don R. Brothwell and Patricia Brothwell, *Food in Antiquity: A Survey of the Diet of Early Peoples* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Martha Carlin and Joel Rosenthal, eds., *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe* (London: Hambledon Press, 1998); Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik, eds., *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Stan Griffiths and Jennifer Wallace, eds., *Consuming Passions: Food in the Age of Anxiety* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); and Barbara Harriss-White and Sir Raymond Hoffenberg, eds., *Food: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994).

3. *Social Research: An International Quarterly of the Social Sciences* 66, 1 (Winter 1998).

4. The ASFS newsletter is sent to members. To join the email discussion list send a message as follows: Address: listproc@listproc.umbc.edu Subject: leave blank. Message: subscribe asfs.

5. Andre Simon, *The Art of Good Living: A Contribution to the Better Understanding of Food and Drink, Together with a Gastronomic Vocabulary and a Wine Dictionary* (New York: Knopf, 1930), J. George Frederick, *Cooking as Men Like It* (1939), and A. J. Liebling, *Between Meals: An Appetite for Paris* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962).

6. Elizabeth Spelman used this phrase in her groundbreaking book *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought* (Boston: Beacon, 1988).

References

Avakian, Arlene Voski. 1997, 1998. *Through the Kitchen Window: Women Writers Explore the Intimate Meanings of Food and Cooking*. Boston: Beacon.

Bailey, Pearl. 1973. *Pearl's Kitchen: An Extraordinary Cookbook*. New York: Harcourt.

Barndt, Deborah, ed. 1999. *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain: Women, Food & Globalization*. Toronto: Second Story Press.

———. (1999) "Whose Choice? Flexible Women Workers in the Tomato Food Chain." In *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain*.

Belasco, Warren. 1989. *Appetite for Change: How the Counterculture Took on the Food Industry, 1966–1988*. New York: Pantheon.

Bentley, Amy. 1998. *Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Beoku-Betts, Josephine A. 1995. "We Got Our Way of Cooking Things: Women, Food and Preservation of Cultural Identity among the Gullah," *Gender and Society* 9, 5 (October): 535–555.

Blend, Benay. 2001. "In the Kitchen Family Bread Is Always Rising!" In *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Bordo, Susan. 1993. *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture and the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bower, Anne, ed. 1997. *Recipes for Reading: Community Cookbooks, Stories, Histories*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Cotter, Colleen. "Claiming a Piece of the Pie: How the Language of Recipes Defines Community." In *Recipes for Reading*, ed. Bower.

Counihan, Carole. 1999. *The Anthropology of Food and Body: Gender, Meaning, and Power*. New York: Routledge.

———. 1999. "Food, Power, and Female Identity in Contemporary Florence." In *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, ed. Counihan.

———. 1999. "An Anthropological View of Western Women's Prodigious Fasting: A Review Essay." In *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, ed. Counihan.

———. 1999. "Food Sex and Reproduction: Penetration of Gender Boundaries," In *The Anthropology of Food and Body*, ed. Counihan.

Counihan, Carole, and Steven L. Kaplan, eds. 1998. *Food and Gender: Identity and Power*. Newark: Gordon and Breach.

Counihan, Carole, and Penny Van Esterik. 1997. *Food and Culture: A Reader*. New York: Routledge

Darden, Norma Jean, and Carole Darden. 1994. *Spoonbread and Strawberry Wine: Recipes and Reminiscences of a Family*. New York: Main Street Books.

David, Elizabeth. 1977. *English Bread and Yeast Cookery*. London: Allen Lane.

———. 1998. *South Wind through the Kitchen: The Best of Elizabeth David*. North Point, CA: North Point Press.

DeVault, Marjorie. 1991. *Feeding the Family: The Social Organization of Caring Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dorfman, Cindy. 1992. "The Garden of Eating: The Carnal Kitchen in Contemporary American Culture." *Feminist Issues* (Spring): 21–38.

Douglas, Mary. 1966. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. New York: Praeger.

Dusselier, Jane. 2001. "Bonbons, Lemon Drops, and Oh Henry! Bars: Candy, Consumer Culture, and the Construction of Gender, 1895–1920." In *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender and Race*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ehrlich, Elizabeth. 1997. *Miriam's Kitchen: A Memoir*. New York: Viking.

Erica Endrijonas. 2001. "Processed Foods from Scratch: Cooking for a Family in the 1950's." In *Kitchen Culture in America: Popular Representations of Food, Gender and Race*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fisher, M. F. K. 1954. *The Art of Eating: The Collected Gastronomical Works of M. F. K. Fisher*. Cleveland: World.

Friedman, Harriet. 1999. "Remaking Traditions: How We Eat, What We Eat, and the Changing Political Economy of Food." In *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain*, ed. Barndt.

Goldman, Anne. 1992. " 'I Yam What I Yam': Cooking, Culture, and Colonialism." In *Decolonizing the Subject: The Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*, ed. Sidone Smith and Julia Watson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Harris, Jessica. 1989. *Iron Pots and Wooden Spoons: Africa's Gifts to New World Cooking*. New York: Atheneum.

———. 1995. *The Welcome Table: African American Heritage Cooking*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Helkde, Lisa. 1993. "Let's Eat Chinese: Cultural Food Colonialism." Paper presented at the Midwestern Conference of the Society for Women in Philosophy.

———. 2001. "Let's Cook Thai: Recipes for Colonialism." In *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Inness, Sherrie A. 2001. *Dinner Roles: American Women and Culinary Culture*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

Kanafani-Zahar, Aida. 1997. " 'Whoever Eats You Is No Longer Hungry, Whoever Sees You Becomes Humble': Bread and Identity in Lebanon." *Food and Foodways* 7, 1: 45–71.

Kelly, Traci Marie. 2001. "If I Were a Voodoo Priestess: Women's Culinary Autobiography." In *Kitchen Culture in American: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1997. "The Temple Emanuel Fair and Its Cookbook, Denver 1888." In *Recipes for Reading*, ed. Bower.

Leonardi, Susan J. 1989. "Recipes for Reading: Pasta Salad, Lobster à la Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie." *PMLA* 104: 340–347.

Levenstein, Harvey. 1988. *Revolution at the Table: The Transformation of the American Diet*. New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 1993. *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1970. *The Raw and the Cooked.* London: Jonathan Cape.
Lupton, Deborah. 1996. *Food, the Body and the Self*. London: Sage.
McFeeley, Mary. 2000. *Can She Bake a Cherry Pie?: American Women and the Kitchen in the Twentieth Century*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
Mennell, Stephen. 1985. *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Mintz, Sidney. 1985. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Viking.
Narayan, Uma. 1995. "Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity and Indian Food." *Social Identities* 1, 1: 63–86.
Pilcher, Jeffrey. 1997. "Recipes for Patria: Cuisine, Gender and Nature in Nineteenth-Century Mexico." In *Recipes for Reading*, ed. Bower.
Probyn, Elsbeth. 2000. *Carnal Appetites: Food, Sex, Identities.* New York: Routledge.
Randall, Margaret. 1997. *Hunger's Table: Women, Food, and Politics*. Watsonville, CA: Paper-Mache Press.
Reichl, Ruth. 1998. *Tender at the Bone*. 1998. New York: Random House.
Shange, Ntozake. 1998. *If I Can Cook/You Know God Can.* Boston: Beacon.
Shapiro, Laura. 1986. *Perfection Salad: Women and Cooking at the Turn of the Century*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.
Shiva, Vandana, 1992. "Development Ecology and Women." In *Cooking, Eating, Thinking: Transformative Philosophies of Food*, ed. Diane W. Curtin and Lisa M. Heldke. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Theophano, Janet. 2001. "Home Cooking: Boston Baked Beans & Sizzling Rice Soup as Recipes for Pride and Prejudice." In *Kitchen Culture in American: Popular Representations of Food, Gender, and Race*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Thompson, Becky W. 1994. *A Hunger So Wide and So Deep: American Women Speak Out on Eating Problems.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Toklas, Alice B.. 1984. *The Alice B. Toklas Cookbook*. New York: Perennial.
Visser, Margaret. 1986. *Much Depends on Dinner: The Extraordinary History and Mythology, Allure and Obsessions, Perils and Taboos of an Ordinary Meal.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
Weismantel, M. J. 1996. "Children and Soup, Men and Bulls: Meals and Time for Zumbagua Women." *Food and Foodways* 6, 3–4: 307–327.
Witt, Doris. 1999. *Black Hunger: Food and the Politics of U.S. Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Zafar, Rafia. 1999. "The Signifying Dish: Autobiography and History in Two Black Women's Cookbooks." *Feminist Studies* 25, 2: 449–469.