

SERIOUS FEAST: VANCOUVER FOODIES IN GLOBALIZED CONSUMER SOCIETY

by

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Abstract

Just three American magazines were devoted to food in 1973, while today the number has grown exponentially to over thirty. In this research project I tell the story of why this happened at this particular historical juncture. I am also interested in researching a particular locale. Specifically, this dissertation studies Vancouver foodies in the context of globalized consumer society. “Foodies” is a term used by the media and, grudgingly, by foodies themselves. It denotes people whose identity is partly formed by eating “good food” and by regularly consuming a range of products from cooking magazines to kitchen tools. On the basis of semi-structured interviews with twenty Vancouver area foodies as well as “tours” of their pantries and refrigerators, I discuss foodies’ cooking, shopping, eating and reading practices. I also discuss their kitchen fantasies. In addition I analyze a typical issue of two favourite food magazines: *Saveur* and *Bon Appétit*.

The primary research question, which organizes the dissertation, asks about the structure of this social group? Is it predominantly a lifestyle formation coming together through leisure pursuits and consumption choices? Is it a taste culture stemming from a certain class fraction? Is it a subculture with alternative values? Or is it simply a target market identified by media and advertisers?

Foodies tend to be cultural and social specialists who use cultural forms of distinction over socio-economic forms; in Bourdieu’s terms they use “ostentatious simplicity” instead of conspicuous consumption. For example, their consumption of exotic or expensive regional specialties, like pomegranate molasses and *fleur de Camargue* salt, displays their cultural capital. At the same time their consumption of local, artisanally-produced organic food symbolically resists industrial agribusiness and genetic modification (GM) technology. Core foodies, such as upscale restaurant chefs, are moreover explicitly critical of both and may also be politically active in the organic or slow food movements. Foodies use their support of alternative farming practices as another sign of “culinary capital.” Cultural distinction thus works to reproduce consumerist values as well as to resist them. I explore these tensions at the level of everyday lived experience.

for Andrew

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... No one in my generation was
More skilled in eating. Whether oysters had been born
At Circei, by the Lucrine rocks, or spawned on a farm
In Richborough, he had learned to grasp with the first bite,
And would at a glance tell the seashore of an urchin
(Juvenal (55-138 AD) in Revel 1982: 38)

... and you understand about the difference between mussels from
Normandy and mussels from PEI and mussels we have here on the
West Coast and you understand the difference between the lobsters on
the East Coast and lobster coming from Normandy and - langoustine -
and you understand the flavour differences, because they're subtle, but
you understand ...

(Feenie in Shikatani 1999: 33)

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Glossary

Many of the terms below are taken from Prosper Montagné's, *New Larousse Gastronomique*. Montagné was a contemporary of Escoffier, the "father" of modern French cuisine. This classic text was originally published in French in 1960 before nouvelle cuisine became dominant.

AIOLI	Garlic mayonnaise
BIRYANI	A festive North Indian rice pilaf with chicken or lamb.
CASSOULET	Haricot bean stew which originates in Languedoc [a region in southwestern France]. It is prepared with pork and mutton, or with goose or duck in an earthenware dish which used to be known as the <i>cassolle d'Issel</i> , from whence derives its name (193).
CHARCUTERIE	The art of preparing meats (especially pork) in order to present them in various ways ... sausages, hams, puddings, <i>pâtés</i> , etc. (203-4).
CHEVRE	Goat cheese
CHICAGO-STYLE PIZZA	"Ike Sewell of Chicago invented the Chicago-style pizza. It is a deep dish creation and is 'stuffed' because there is a layer of crust on the bottom and one on top before cheese and tomato sauce is added. The filling is more tomato sauce and cheese along with anything else you'd care to add, like pepperoni, mushroom, eggplant, sausage, etc. The Italians invented Calzones, a folded dough that is stuffed with cheese and fillings, but Sewell invented the Chicago-style Deep Dish Pizza" (Saaristo, personal communication).
CHOUROUTE GARNI	An Alsatian dish of sausages cooked with sauerkraut.
CONFIT	Meat of pork, goose, duck, turkey, etc., cooked [slowly] in its own fat, and kept covered in the same fat to prevent it coming in contact with the air (262).
COULIS	The juices which run out of the meat during cooking (278). In nouvelle cuisine it has come to be associated with fruit sauces.
FAIR TRADE COFFEE	Coffee grown by coops or small producers which pay local workers a fair price.
FOIE GRAS	In cookery the name <i>foie gras</i> is used only of goose or duck liver fattened in a special way ... <i>Foie gras</i> is regarded as one of the greatest delicacies available ... The finest <i>foie gras</i> comes from geese reared in Alsace and south-western France (380-1).
FREE-RANGE AND FREE-RUN CHICKEN	Free range chickens run outdoors for a specified amount of time each day, while free-run birds have the lesser requirement of not being confined to cages.
GOOSENECK BARNACLES	While the gooseneck barnacle ... is becoming harder to find in Europe, Americans are just discovering their own supply in the Pacific Northwest ... [Their difficulty to capture] in addition to their rarity means they're always expensive (Peterson 236).

HEIRLOOM or HERITAGE VARIETIES	Also called ANTIQUE varieties. These are non-conventional varieties of fruits, vegetables and livestock which are used in order to preserve bio-diversity and local food security. They are typically more robust and less aesthetically pleasing than conventional varieties. The slow food movement calls them “endangered.” An example of heritage apples are Orange Pippin, while Granny Smith and Delicious are conventional varieties.
LANGOUSTINES	Also known as lobsterettes and scampi (McClane 176).
MANGE-TOUT	Sugar pea or bean of which the pod is eaten as well as the seeds. They are cooked in the same way as French beans (573).
MILLE-FEUILLE	A pastry ... made by arranging thin layers of flaky pastry one on top of the other with layers of cream or some other filling in between (590).
MOSTARDA or MUSTARD FRUIT	Perhaps the most remarkable of Italian preserves is the fruit mustard, <i>mostarda di frutta</i> , of Cremona [in Northern Italy]. Made of whole fruits, pears, cherries, little oranges, figs, plums, apricots, and slices of melon and pumpkin, preserved in sugar syrup flavoured with mustard oil ... Its origin goes back to the ... condiments of the [Ancient] Romans (David 197).
SHADE-GROWN COFFEE	A premium coffee that protects the environment, especially birds.
SWEETBREAD	Name of the thymus of calf and lamb. This organ [is] situated at the top of the chest. ... The flesh of the sweetbread is white and rather soft. Chemical analysis of this substance shows that it contains 3 times more albumin and 4 to 5 times more gelatine than beef and only half as much fibre. Calves' and lamb sweetbreads are considered to be the most delicate products of butchery (911).
TAKU SALMON	Wild salmon from the Taku River in northern British Columbia.
TARTE TATIN	Upside down apple cake with caramelized sugar.
TERROIR	This French term encompasses the soil, topography and climate of a particular region. Originally used to refer to a regional taste in wine, the term has been expanded to food.
TRUFFLES	Subterranean fungus of which a number of varieties exist. The black truffle of Périgord and that of the Lot are the most highly esteemed ... The truffle that grows at the base of 'truffle' oaks is gathered with the assistance of pigs and (more commonly nowadays) by specially trained dogs (936). Because of their expense North American chefs often use truffle oil which is cheaper but adulterated with artificial flavours.
VERJUS	Acid juice extracted from large unripened grapes, used like vinegar (967).
WILLIAMS SONOMA	An upscale American cookware store found in San Francisco, Seattle, New York, Toronto and other postindustrial profile cities, though not yet in Vancouver.

Is it the ingredients? Or the way they're put together?
THE NEW BLACKWOOD. Start with a 300-hp, 5.4 liter, 32-valve, DOHC InTech V8 engine. Fold in climate controlled front bucket power seats, and a Reverse Sensing System for an extra measure of confidence backing up. Add innovative swing-out rear-trunk doors for easy access and a power-operated hard tonneau cover to seal your belongings from the elements. Then all that's left to do is cook. Voila, one hot new limited-edition Blackwood ...
LINCOLN. AMERICAN LUXURY.

Lincoln ad in *Gourmet* (2001, October: 87-8)

1 **“Good food for good living”**

Here is a “recipe” for a car. Why do the advertisers of Lincoln think that using a genre from cookbooks will help sell a luxury vehicle? Is it because they expect *Gourmet* readers to enjoy reading recipes? Or is it because cooking has become fashionable and new trends help sell new cars? Let’s look at the ad in more detail.

The Lincoln ad is an unusual seven-page fold-out (pp. 82-88) in *Gourmet*’s popular annual restaurant issue. It is positioned facing the description of America’s top two restaurants in 2001: Chez Panisse in Berkeley and Jean Georges in New York. The first page of the ad shows a professional cook’s stainless steel workstation chock-full of stainless steel tools and lightly dusted with flour, suggesting a work in progress.

Overhead is a stainless steel rack with hanging pans and utensils. Just a few items offset the metallic silver: bronze sponged walls and floor tiles; a rolling pin, salt and pepper shakers and spoons in blond wood; a white bag of flour with a round red logo and a

cylindrical red oil filter. An oil filter? Looking closely one finds more metallic automotive parts placed among the stainless steel kitchen tools. A wheel rim, an air filter and two wrenches hang from the overhead rack. Another air filter and more wrenches are scattered over the counter, and sitting on a lower shelf is another wheel rim as well as a glass container full of nuts and bolts. By juxtaposing automotive parts and tools with cooks' tools this image connects the engineer with the cook.

On the following three pages we find elaborations on this theme using chefs from three upscale American restaurants. Bernard Guillas of the Marine Room in La Jolla, California holds a power wrench in a stainless mixing bowl. Danielle Custer of 727 Pine in Seattle carries a different model air filter on a cake stand, and Tim Goodell of Aubergine in Newport Beach, California tests the edge of a long dipstick as he would his chef's knife. All three chefs are photographed against the same bronze background as the workstation. When the fold-out is folded back in place, the first two chefs vanish and Goodell looks to be standing in his restaurant kitchen next to the workstation.

Turning the page we find a two-page photograph of the Lincoln Blackwood. This unusual cross between a pickup truck and a sport utility vehicle (SUV) is pictured in a showroom with bronze sponged walls and floor tiles. Below the black vehicle in white fine print is the recipe. Finally, opposite the cover story, more technical specifications are presented in white on the same bronze background, now resembling the empty showroom floor after the Blackwood has been purchased and driven away.

Until quite recently, technical specifications have been a principal feature of car ads. In their historical study of North American advertising, Leiss, Kline and Jhally (1990) found cars to be one of the few commodities still advertised on the basis of

performance and utility. In this Lincoln ad, however, the functional theme is overshadowed by the metaphor of the engineer as chef, thus reinventing him as a creative type. By linking this SUV with contemporary haute cuisine the advertisers emphasize the vehicle's expensive, quality components. By highlighting American west coast cuisine in particular, they associate themselves with the latest in culinary fashions. In fact, this ad stresses the Lincoln's cutting-edge in automotive fashion ("limited edition," "power moonroof" and "innovative swing-out rear-trunk doors") over its cutting-edge technology ("reverse sensing system").

None of the three restaurants featured in the ad is on *Gourmet's* adjacent list of the top fifty American restaurants. But judging from the insignia on his chef's coat, Guillas was voted "Chef of the Year" by the California Restaurant Association in 2001. Similarly Goodell was named one of the best American chefs in 2000 by *Food & Wine*. And 727 Pine is listed as one of the top restaurants in *Gourmet's* 2002 annual restaurant edition; sponsored this time around by the Lincoln Navigator, Aviator and Town Car. The food at Custer's Seattle restaurant is described as "stylish food with a northwestern accent." A sample menu item is curried Dungeness crab salad (*Gourmet* 2002, October, Supplemental Restaurant Guide: 30).

Custer's combination of Asian spices and local ingredients is typical of contemporary West Coast cuisine. Alice Waters has been cooking with fresh, seasonal, local ingredients at Chez Panisse since the early seventies. Greg Higgins in Portland and John Bishop in Vancouver, both of whom have also made *Gourmet's* top table lists in the past, now pride themselves on their exclusively organic menus. West Coast cuisine's cutting-edge mix of urban hipness with rustic nostalgia also makes sense of the

Blackwood's rustic appellation and its sport-utility fantasy of escape from the urban grind.

There are gendered messages to be deciphered on both sides of the equation as well. As powerful machines, cars and trucks have traditionally been coded as highly masculine. But as luxury vehicles they are feminine. This ambiguous symbolism is also present in macho, authoritarian high-end professional kitchens where restorative or nurturing work is done (Bourdain 2000). In the Lincoln ad it is evident in the choice of chefs' tools. Tim Goodell and Bernard Guillas are depicted wielding phallic, metal tools, while Danielle Custer is shown holding a tall, cylindrical, white air filter on a cake stand. This taps into a whole world of stereotyped gender oppositions: shaft/circle, dark/light, hard/soft, chef/pastry chef, knife/palette knife, savoury/sweet. As a result of these associations the Blackwood's masculine coding stands in tension with its luxury features: "climate controlled front bucket power seats" and "power-adjustable pedals."

Finally Lincoln is exploiting the relatively new phenomenon of celebrity chefs. Lincoln is not the only sponsor to feature chefs in their advertising. Chefs have appeared in ads for Visa and Crystal Cruises as well as for culinary products such as Illy coffee and Vitaprep blenders.¹ Chefs now appear on the charity circuit, on talk shows and in *People* magazine. Julia Child, Emeril Legasse and Nigella Lawson have become household names with their own cookbooks, television shows and commercial products; for example, Nigella-ware in cream or light blue designed by Stephen Conran. Chefs have been compared to sports celebrities, astronauts and rock stars (*Gourmet* 2001, October, LeMann 2001, Dolce 2001). In fact, on the cover of the 2003 *Gourmet* restaurant issue,

in a bizarre echo of the Lincoln ad, five top American chefs are portrayed as a rock band with instruments made out of kitchen tools.

Unlike the *Gourmet* cover, however, the Lincoln ad works. To answer the initial question, the ad works as a targeted appeal to amateur cooks, and it also works by connecting the Lincoln Blackwood with contemporary trends. Indeed the association of the vehicle with leading chefs of American West Coast cuisine enables further connotations: Lincoln Blackwood = American West Coast cuisine = creativity + luxury + masculinity + urban fashion + rustic nostalgia + celebrity. This sophisticated ad works all the better with the added significations because it can be read in more ways by more consumers.

In a consumer society, advertisements and goods and their meanings circulate in an endless cycle of promotion. For example, the ad (*Gourmet* 2001, October), promotes the commodity (Blackwood), which promotes the brand (Lincoln), which promotes other commodities (Navigator, Aviator, Town Car, LS sedan), which promote the magazines (*Gourmet*, 2002; *Car and Driver*, 2001), which promote serial versions of the magazines (*Gourmet*), which promote the original ad (*Gourmet* 2001), which promotes the restaurants (Marine Room, Aubergine, 727 Pine), which promote the chefs (Guillas, Goodell, Custer), who promote their culinary styles (California cuisine, Pacific Northwest cuisine), which promote the original ad, and so it goes. Andrew Wernick's apt term for this inescapable tangle of endorsements is the promotional "vortex" of consumer society (Wernick 1991).

By linking the Blackwood with culture and cuisine, the ad points to an aestheticization of everyday life or lifestyles. Its reference to haute cuisine restaurants

also underlines the growing importance of service industries which are in turn connected to gentrification and the new middle class. The reference to contemporary West Coast cuisine hints at green and artisanal values. Finally as an ad in *Gourmet* magazine it targets a specific market niche. Each of these four perspectives -- lifestyles, class, alternative subcultures and commercially-mediated market niches – highlight different aspects of contemporary consumer society.

The context of consumer capitalist society

Contemporary sociologists often argue that we have entered a third stage of capitalism: a transnational, postindustrial, information economy associated with a cultural shift to postmodernism. It has been called late capitalism (Mandel 1975, Jameson 1991), consumer capitalism (Leiss 1978, Featherstone 1993), disorganized capitalism (Lash & Urry 1987), postFordist capitalism (Harvey 1990) and digital capitalism (Schiller 1999). Since foodie consumption is the object of this study I will use the consumerist frame.

When capitalist production emerged in early modern Europe, new consumption practices developed in tandem. In *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism*, originally published in 1904, Max Weber articulated the cultural link between capitalist production and the Protestant reformation in northern Europe. Protestant values of individual self-sufficiency, reason, utility, thrift and hard work aided in the early process of capital accumulation. More recently Chandra Mukerji (1983) has argued that sixteenth century consumption was another economic force behind capitalism.

Mukerji claims that early modern burghers combined ascetic with materialist values in consuming objects with design simplicity such as dark colours and less ornamentation. Even ordinary folk purchased iron pots for everyday use as well as small

luxuries like copper pots, ribbons, theatre tickets and miracle cures advertised in occasional broadsheets. The biggest consumers were the aristocratic elite in London who commissioned annually changing fashions in clothing, particularly hats, as well as purchasing imported silk, fine china, wine and spices (McCracken 1988, Wilson 1994). Aristocratic sumptuousness was symbolically opposed by the restrained bourgeois fashions.

There was a second boom in consumption at both elite and popular levels connected with increased production by the manufactories in late seventeenth century England and in eighteenth century France and Germany. In this phase of entrepreneurial capitalism, aristocratic and haute bourgeois customers purchased fine china, furniture, pets, and imported umbrellas as well as American imports like coffee, tea and tobacco. These goods were often advertised in classified ads in the first newspapers. The sober bourgeois consumption of coffee was juxtaposed to aristocratic wine consumption (Leclant 1979, Habermas 1991). The artisans, day labourers and servants consumed earthenware, pewter, tea, tobacco, sugar, stockings and patent medicines as well as cheap imitations of luxury goods (Wernick 1991, Mintz 1985, McKendrick et al. 1982).

These new consumption practices were tied to a new hedonism in the late seventeenth century. In *The Romantic ethic and the spirit of modern consumerism* (1987), Colin Campbell argues that a hedonism of the imagination developed out of Sentimental Pietism, a sister to Puritanism and mother to Romanticism.² Both Pietism and Romanticism were (upper-) middle-class movements which emphasized pleasure and the emotions over utility and reason. Because their pleasures were mental rather than sensual, however, this hedonism was unlimited. The Romantic bohemian's "... basic

motivation is the desire to experience in reality the pleasurable dramas they have already enjoyed in imagination, and each 'new' product is seen as offering a possibility of realizing this ambition" (1987: 89).

Consumerism became dominant in North America in the 1920s. This was the age of monopoly capitalism when the majority of the population in North America lived in urban centres (Fowles 1996). Unprecedented mass consumption resulted from industrial mass production on the one side, and rising wages, consumer credit and modern advertising on the other (Ewen 1976). Ads in magazines and on radio began focusing on the consumer rather than the product (LKJ). Commercial media blurred the boundaries between the spheres of culture and the economy. The bourgeois elite bought new motor cars, radios, refrigerators, electric stoves and vacuum cleaners. But now ordinary folk could buy these items on credit, as well as buying sewing machines, furniture, packaged foods and new hygiene products (Forty 1986, Marchand 1985).

After World War II consumer capitalism became dominant throughout the West as well as Japan and promotional discourse was normalized. The logic of capital expansion drove industrial production to countries with lower wages and less stringent labour and environmental regulations. The urban elite in developing countries also become consumers of globally-marketed fashions. Meanwhile the most advanced capitalist economies have taken on command and control functions. Service industries such as the media and finance have become dominant in certain urban centres like London and New York as well as Toronto and Vancouver (Ley 1997). In a postindustrial service economy, culture and creativity become marketable commodities (Lash & Urry

1994). Just as the logic of the commodity took over the “cultural industries,” culture has also become central to the economy.

Accompanying this shift to service economies in the West there has also been a notable cultural shift. This has been described variously as an aestheticization of the everyday, stylistic eclecticism, and a nostalgia for the authentic (Jameson 1991, Baudrillard 1988). Such changes are said to manifest a postmodern phase of consumer culture, where leisure consumption is said to be more important than work in terms of identity formation. According to Pierre Bourdieu, a central principle of the contemporary consumerist ethic is the duty to have immediate pleasure (Bourdieu 1984).

As Bourdieu suggests there are clearly some problems associated with a radicalized consumer society. Before discussing these, however, I would like to deal with two common misconceptions about consumer society. First, that consumer culture is about individual greed. Consumption is primarily a social affair with individual expression restricted to unique combinations of mass-produced, brand-name items. What we buy are symbols of status and belonging. Belonging is a marker of a group identity, while status is a marker of distinction between groups. In Baudrillard’s terms, we buy something for its “sign value” more than for its “use value.” Consumers gain momentary satisfaction from the purchase of a product, they may even gain long term happiness from a particular item (Hirschmann in LKJ, McCracken 1988). But we continually need to buy more items to maintain our sense of status and belonging in a rapidly changing symbolic and material world. Designers began styling goods in the twenties to differentiate the newest models and colours from last year’s (Marchand 1985). Rapid technological advances from computers to sports gear now make it easier to buy new

goods than to repair old ones. Personal identities are said to have become unstable by continually trying to belong on these multiple fronts (Bauman 1996, Slater 1997).

The second misconception is the idea that consumer culture is about materialism; an obsession with buying and having things. As Campbell and others have suggested, it is the symbolic or “magic” aspect of goods and advertising that has been found to stimulate desire (Williams 1993, Baudrillard 1988). Symbolic values are determined in a circulation of meaning between marketers, consumers and goods. Advertising is central to consumer capitalism because it is one of the main sources of image manufacture. Individuals either read the goods as they are encoded by advertisers or they decode them in other, sometimes oppositional, ways. Both consumers and marketers are restricted by the material properties of the goods themselves, however. The Lincoln Blackwood is not easily read as a family vehicle or a farm truck.

Some commentators, such as Stephen Mennell and David Chaney, see nothing worrisome in dominant consumerist values. Mennell argues that when we consider changes over the entire course of modernity, the differences between social classes are seen to be diminishing (Mennell 1985). He is undoubtedly correct but there are new problems. If we expand our viewpoint to encompass the globe then we see these social inequalities reproduced between the advanced capitalist countries and the rest of the world. Given the limited amount of planetary resources, there is simply no way that ordinary citizens in so-called Third World countries could ever achieve the level of consumption of even the blue-collar American. Increasing gaps between the (information) rich and (information) poor have also been escalating domestically since the neoliberal turn to market norms (Giddens 1994, Ehrenreich 1989). Wildlife and the

natural environment are also under assault by the enormous quantities of waste and industrial byproducts produced by consumer capitalist society (Leiss 1978, Giddens 1994). In addition the ubiquity of advertising and promotion in everyday life undermines traditional ethical frameworks making values such as thrift and obedience increasingly irrelevant (Bell 1970). These new problems have brought about new social movements to address them: social justice movements, anti-poverty movements, environmental movements and voluntary simplicity movements. This is the context in which we must understand food consumption in North America.

Food consumption and foodies

Consumer society turns needs and desires for food into an infinite array of possibilities; from beef carpaccio and Jamaican patties to low-fat, frozen stroganoff and fast food burgers. This is the consumer capitalist answer to a popular Wendy's ad from the seventies which asked: "Where's the beef?"

Food consumption make an excellent case study of contemporary consumer society. The usual models for consumption are fashion, advertising and malls, and each highlights a different facet of consumer society. Clothing fashions are a rapidly changing system of social status maintenance with seasonal obsolescence. Advertising emphasizes desire and symbolic values. Malls emphasize shopping practices and spaces. Food has elements of all of the above. It offers seasonal menus, a semiotically rich material culture as well as grocery shopping spaces. In addition it emphasizes identity: belonging and distinction.

All hierarchical societies have used the consumption of food as a means of status distinction; whether it was the ancient Roman elite's predilection for seafood or men's

use of spoons among the Kagoro of Nigeria (Dietler 1996, Balsdon 1969, Visser 1991). Food consumption also marks belonging to ethnic and gendered communities as well as to subcultures such as vegetarians, health food and raw food aficionados and foodies.

There are at least four more good reasons for studying food consumption as a case study of contemporary consumer culture. First, "consuming" immediately connotes eating, and appetite is often used as a metaphor for desire in general, hence Baudrillard's designation of consumption as "a magical salivation" (Baudrillard 1988: 30). Indeed economic historian Sidney Mintz claim that food is the most significant cultural taste because it is so frequently consumed (Mintz 1985).

Second, consumption of food and the material culture surrounding it were among the earliest forms of consumption historically. The extensive trade in spices and fine china predates the early modern period (Shannon 1996). In the sixteenth century the aristocracy consumed wine and the common folk consumed iron and copper pots. In the eighteenth century Wedgwood developed three distinct markets for his pottery: Jasperware for the elite, creamware for the middle-class and earthenware for ordinary folk (Wernick 1991, Forty 1986). In the late nineteenth century Fry's Cocoa and Quaker Oats were among the first goods to become branded and advertised, and a century later Coca Cola and McDonald's hamburgers were among the first globally marketed commodities.

Third, from a feminist perspective food consumption is interesting as women have long been identified as the prime consumers of household goods including food. Women are still the primary shoppers and cooks in the domestic household though that is beginning to change, especially among middle-class professional couples (Warde &

Hetherington 1994). Finally, food consumption in the form of dining out and dinner parties is a growing leisure pastime across the social spectrum (Warde & Martens 2000).

Foodie culture is an intense and highly aestheticized expression of food consumption. “Foodies” is a term used by the food media as well as by foodies themselves, though usually with reservation. The term denotes people whose identity is formed in some way by eating “good food” and by regularly consuming a range of food related products from food magazines and cooking television shows to highly specialized kitchen tools. Foodies talk about good food “with the mystical awe and longing you might hear in surfers discussing the winter waves on Oahu’s north shore” (Gold 1995: 77).

In this project I give an account of foodie culture similar to Kent Pearson’s (1979) look at Australian surfer culture. I give a thick description of foodies’ cooking, shopping, eating and reading practices. Clifford Geertz (1973: 7) used Gilbert Ryle’s concept of “thick description” to emphasize the ethnographer’s interpretation of the complex meanings social actors give to their practices. This project is thus a new contribution to the empirical literature on subcultures.

Unlike traditional ethnographic accounts, however, I also attempt to explain the foodie phenomenon. I understand Vancouver foodies in terms of a case study of contemporary consumer society. I ask why cooking has become so stylish, and why now? There are over thirty cooking magazines published in America today as compared to three in 1973, from the professional *Food Arts* to middle America’s *Taste of Home*. There is Food Television as well as a growing market for full-service and especially fast food restaurants. There have been increases in cookware shops as well as in culinary

tourism and recreational cooking classes. Finally food retail was valued at 57 billion dollars in Canada in 2000 (Armstrong 2001).

Foodies make up a kind of avant-garde of this much broader “marketing ensemble,” as Steve Kline calls it. The primary research question here is theoretical: What social structure best describes foodies as a group? Are they primarily a consumption-based lifestyle (Giddens 1994, Wynne 1998)? A class-based taste fraction (Bourdieu 1984, Ley 1997)? An alternative subculture (Willis 1978, Ross 1992)? Or a media niche market? An answer to this question -- lifestyle or class? -- will also add to debates around the issue of postmodernism as well as the political economy of consumption. My aim is an ambitious one: to understand internal developments in a sector of the culinary sphere in relation to broader cultural, geographic, social and economic developments.

Methods

This research is based on semi-structured interviews with twenty Vancouver area foodies; eleven professional and nine amateur foodies. I taped fifteen interviews with individuals and two with family groups. One component of the interviews asked foodies to interpret a photo-spread from *Bon Appétit* magazine. I then analyzed this issue (September 1995) of *Bon Appétit* and *Saveur* using a combination of content and semiotic analysis to confirm foodie values.

The interviews lasted two hours on average. The shortest was just over one hour and several ran to three hours. They were ethnographic in spirit. In all but two cases I interviewed people in the “natural” setting of their home kitchens. In the other two cases interviews took place in public dining settings. Using an evolving question guide I asked

open-ended questions as well as asking for “tours” of their refrigerators and pantries (see Appendix D). These tours enabled a good degree of corroboration regarding foodies’ claims about shopping everyday and not buying convenience foods. The order of the questions followed the flow of conversation and I returned to the interview guide when it ran dry. I was treated to the hospitality of the participants who usually offered coffee and sweets; in one case I was fed barbecued chicken with new potatoes and beet greens.

I used my own personal and professional network and, more fruitfully, that of my husband, a chef, to contact people in the Vancouver food scene. My aim was to arrive at “maximum variation” (Patton 1990). I interviewed foodies from both professional and “lay” backgrounds as well as from a range of gender, ethnicity, age, neighbourhood and household types. This strategy ideally describes the widest possible range of practices and has the advantage of suggesting generalizations where there is a strong concordance of practices and values. Two professional foodies led me to four more (one professional and three amateur) foodies.³

Table 1.1: Demographic characteristics of twenty Vancouver foodies

OCCUPATION	9 amateurs	4 artisanal farmers	4 chefs	3 food writers	
GENDER	13 women	7 men (incl. 2 gay men)			
ETHNICITY	12 Anglo-Canadians	2 Euro-Canadians	2 Asian-Americans ⁴	1 Franco-Canadian	1 Jewish Canadian
AGE	8 in 40s	4 in 30s	4 in 50s	3 > 60	1 in 20s
NEIGHBOURHOOD	6 in downtown Vancouver ⁵	4 in West/North Vancouver*	4 on Vancouver Island	3 in Vancouver	3 in suburbs
HOUSEHOLD TYPE	8 families (incl. 2 with grown children)	6 couples (incl. 1 pair of roommates)	2 singles		

There is a complexity to the data that a simple table cannot convey. For example, one family is a part-time, single parent family and another is a blended family with both young and grown children at home. Some professionals with post-secondary education do manual labour like farming and cooking. Finally I have included Point Grey with the North and West Vancouver suburbs because this makes more sense socio-economically. The other suburbs included Surrey, New Westminster and Port Coquitlam.

In the industry subgroup I talked with artisanal farmers, chefs, and food media professionals. The latter did the work of editors, magazine writers, broadcasters, food stylists and restaurant public relations. The chefs ranged from high and middlebrow restaurant chefs to a personal chef. I contacted the personal chef via the web hoping, mistakenly, to interview some of her wealthy clients. The farmers ranged from vintners to market gardeners and both of these households were involved in agritourism. I decided not to expand the food professional category to culinary teachers, specialty food retailers and beyond. I wanted to interview at least two people from each category as well as to keep the overall number of interviews within pragmatic limits. Unlike the surfer cultures studied by Pearson (1979), professional foodies are idealized by amateur foodies.

The amateurs included: three teachers (one between jobs and one retired), two nurses (one retired), one public health researcher, one media professional, one municipal public servant and one retired supermarket employee. Despite this diversity in neighbourhoods, and hence income, I did not achieve as much occupational diversity as I would have liked in hindsight. I was not expecting to find blue collar foodies but I underestimated the diversity of the new middle class. In particular I interviewed only

two amateurs who worked in the private sector and no “new media” professionals, lawyers or businessmen. Though the literature supports my finding that foodies come primarily from the cultural rather than the business professions, ideally I would have liked to talk with amateurs from each of these areas. In retrospect I would also have liked to inquire more about foodies’ parents’ occupations. This is an indication of social mobility as well as an important factor in cultural capital, to use Bourdieu’s term.

The neighbourhood which most of the participants called home was downtown Vancouver, “the West End,” but I also drew people from the affluent suburbs of North and West Vancouver as well as from affluent neighbourhoods in Vancouver such as Point Grey and Kerrisdale. Four were from the less affluent suburbs as well as from East Vancouver. Another four were rural Vancouver Island farmers. A second gap was geographical. I did not interview farmers from the Okanagan Valley, nor did I find anyone from the newly gentrified area of Yaletown in downtown Vancouver. Other gaps included gay and lesbian families as well as young male amateurs. Despite these gaps I believe that I was successful in capturing much of the diversity of Vancouver foodie lifestyles.

I make no claims to have found a representative group of Vancouver foodies. Interestingly, however, there is some evidence to suggest that the composition of this group reflects that of the subculture as a whole in terms of age, race and gender. The demographics of cooking magazines show a similar skew to white women in their forties. A typical reader of *Bon Appétit*, for example, is a 47 year old, upper-middle-class, working woman with a family. As will be seen in Chapter Five, only 12% of the people pictured in the ads of a typical issue of *Bon Appétit* are visible minorities.

I confess that I too am a foodie (though I only managed a middling score on the foodie quiz at www.forfoodies.com). Living on the periphery of foodie culture for many years has, of course, influenced my interpretation. I understand that to some extent my biases will be those of the subculture and I will try to be as reflexive about this as possible. Undertaking this project has pushed me closer to the centre as I can now claim to be a foodie scholar. Before this project I was unaware, indeed uninterested, that I had been cooking with a Henckels knife and a Le Creuset enameled pot.

Being a participant in a culture that one is trying to analyze has its advantages and disadvantages. Some argue that one should be at least be a sympathizer to the area of one's study in order not to let the researcher's voice overwhelm those of her subjects (Jenkins 1992, DeVault 1999). Others opt for a more distanced perspective (Ross 1992). The latter approach, however, is not without its own biases which may be veiled behind its alleged objectivity. From a feminist standpoint it is preferable to openly display the biases of one's perspective.

Belonging to foodie culture also gave me access to the hardcore of the subculture. It gave me a vocabulary in which to pose my questions as well as the idea that things like cooking from scratch, regional cuisine, organic food and cooking magazines would be important. But being a foodie runs the danger of reading too much into a person's responses. Perhaps some people were also less honest because they were not anonymous, though I did not have this impression. People were often very blunt in their opinions of others within the local community given the assurance of confidentiality. Another disadvantage was lapsing into a foodie conversation rather than following the questions in the guide. Frequently I found myself asked where to find the best barbecued chicken

in the city or what I thought of Lumière. With respect for the participants' concerns and in the spirit of a conversational dialogue I briefly answered these questions and then steered my way back to the guide.

In analyzing the interview transcripts I used a qualitative analysis software package. I agonized over this decision. On the one hand, I wasn't sure that the time spent learning to use the new software would not be better spent in analysis. On the other, I reasoned that I might want to use this technology again. In the end my decision was pragmatic. After attempting to code one interview by hand I realized that I had too many themes I wanted to include. The software enabled me to code a very high number of categories or nodes (125 nodes excluding demographic categories). It also made the processual definition of categories possible because one can change coding definitions as one goes along. Many times during the coding process I felt frustrated that it was taking so long. But since I could not foresee what would become useful I was unwilling to give up much. Of course, I did not end up using all the categories I created.

I organized these 125 themes into four higher level nodes: belonging, distinction, resistance and media. I inferred these categories on the basis of the literature and what I thought were logical connections among the themes. Only later, after an emotional meltdown, was I surprised to discover that I had unconsciously chosen the very categories of my research question: Are foodies best understood as a lifestyle, a class fraction, a subculture or a niche market?

The cast of characters

Let me introduce you to twenty Vancouver foodies identified here by pseudonyms. My purpose here is to shed light on some of the multiple connections

among foodies in Vancouver. Eleven foodies worked professionally in some aspect of the Vancouver food industry. Teresa grows a variety of market vegetables on Vancouver Island. She knows another family of farmers on the Island, Tony, Cheryl and Hannah, who grow a single crop. Both families know several Vancouver chefs, among them Anne. At the time of the interviews Anne was chef of a well-respected Vancouver restaurant, as were Ellen and Pierre. The chefs all socialized with other chefs but to my knowledge none of these three knew each other. Anne did know Arthur and Charles, who are local food writers. Charles also knows Ken who works in restaurant public relations. Outside the group is Susan, a personal chef, who lives in the suburbs. She socializes with foodie friends rather than professional acquaintances.

Most of the amateurs knew several Vancouver chefs whose restaurants they patronized. Patricia dines out quite frequently and was also involved in events in the professional community. She knew both Pierre and Charles. Bob and Nancy live downtown and socialize with both professional as well as amateur foodies. Fran, a nurse who lives in Kerrisdale, socializes with amateur foodies in the health professions. Penny and Mary live in the affluent north shore suburbs and they attended Anne's cooking classes. Penny's best friend is a professional foodie. Kathleen lives in East Vancouver and socializes with professional as well as amateur foodies. Her mother Christine, who lives in the suburbs, also socializes with women who share her interests in cooking. Finally Larry, at 76, is the oldest foodie I interviewed. He socializes with his family.

Overview

In Chapter Two I describe foodie lifestyles in Vancouver and discuss the culinary development of Pacific Northwest cuisine from French nouvelle cuisine. I also examine

how the concept of lifestyle understands foodie practices. This concept was developed by Weber to explain autonomous cultural forms of status. It has since displaced class in the work of some sociologists, such as David Chaney and Rob Shields. Giddens' idiosyncratic concept of lifestyles leads us to further inquiries about foodie class positions and politics.

In Chapter Three I examine some of the external economic and geographic factors affecting the culinary world. In particular I consider Pierre Bourdieu, Michèle Lamont, David Harvey and David Ley. I like Bourdieu because he combines class analysis with cultural analysis. In a consumer society, where cultural and economic spheres are integrated, it is necessary to have a concept of class that includes a cultural dimension. In this chapter I discuss how foodie practices of culinary connoisseurship work to display cultural distinction which is not equivalent or reducible to socio-economic distinction.

In Chapter Four I look at the critical cultural studies frame and its attempt to combine class and culture. I situate foodies within a tradition of antimodern cultural movements from Arts and Crafts, the sixties counterculture and New Age. I discuss how foodie tastes for local, organic foods cooked from scratch encode antimodern resistance to biotechnology and globalized industrial agribusiness. Nonetheless foodies use their support of alternative farming practices as another sign of cultural distinction.

In Chapter Five I look at the development of cooking magazines in the context of the gamut of global food media. I discuss where, when and how foodies read the magazines. In particular, I analyse their interpretations of a *Bon Appétit* dinner party as well as their kitchen fantasies. I combine this with a semiotic and content analysis of the September 1995 issues of *Bon Appétit* and *Saveur*. This comparison highlights internal

differences within the subculture, especially that between professional and the amateur foodies.

2

“I am a foodie but:”

Food-centred identities and lifestyles in Vancouver

I’ve never met anyone who likes to be called a yuppie. Likewise few people wholeheartedly identify as foodies. *The Yuppie Handbook* and *The Official Foodie Handbook* (OFH) were both published in 1984. Both books denote young urban professional couples interested in nouvelle cuisine. Despite these parallels, however, I will argue that foodies are not necessarily yuppies. Foodies are fans of food who, unlike yuppies, are less interested in working overtime or working out. In the next chapter I will argue that foodies use ostentatious simplicity rather than conspicuous consumption as a means of social distinction. Here I will show that foodie identities are more complex than individual lifestyle choices. I want to begin by describing the beliefs and practices that make up foodie lifestyles.

The *Foodie Handbook* is a sympathetic parody of foodie culture. It defines foodies as:

...very very very interested in food. They are the ones talking about food in any gathering ... They don’t think they are being trivial – Foodies consider food to be an art, on a level with painting or drama ... The Foodie thinks about eating, talks about eating. The unexamined meal is not worth eating (1984: 6).

The foodies I interviewed in Vancouver tended to agree with the above characterization. They are food professionals and amateurs who “love food;” the hardcore “live, eat and breathe cooking.” Charles, a food writer, sums it up best when he claims that foodies have “a passion for the subject [of food] and a reasonable knowledge.”

A reasonable knowledge: New American cuisine

A foodie's knowledge includes cooking know-how as well as familiarity with contemporary culinary trends. One of the trends that Vancouver foodies follow is that of new American cuisine, specifically Pacific Northwest or Pan-Pacific cuisine. Both are developments out of nouvelle cuisine which began in southern France in the sixties. Nouvelle cuisine was not just about underdone and overstylized food. It was a rejection of classical haute cuisine and its heavy, flour-based sauces (Mennell 1985). The grandfather of nouvelle cuisine was Ferdinand Point, chef-owner of *La Pyramide* in Vienne. In 1933 he received three stars from Michelin which has been rating restaurants as a form of promoting automobile tourism since the early twentieth century. Point used fresh ingredients cooked from scratch everyday. In the mid-sixties one affluent Vancouver foodie, then a young nurse, went on a pilgrimage to Vienne for her first wedding anniversary.

Patricia (amateur): From these cookbooks that I'd been reading and all these articles and things, we made a list of some of the restaurants that we felt we really wanted to go to. And so one of the ones, that had amongst other things one of the most perfect cakes, absolutely exquisite cakes, was um in France in a little town called Vienne. And so we went there and they had it on the menu the day we were there. So I had to order it, of course, to see if what I'd been making, you know, measured up.⁶

Point influenced a new wave of young chef-owners, among others: Paul Bocuse, Jean and Pierre Troisgros, Roger Vergé, Michel Guérard, Albert and Michel Roux, and Anton Mosimann. After his death in 1955 they continued to experiment with simpler sauces and shorter cooking times. They returned to older, rustic traditions like reductions of meat juices and cream emulsions, while adding a new attention to health concerns as well

as to Asian influences (Hess & Hess 1977). In the late sixties and early seventies they too earned three Michelin stars for their establishments.

The principles of nouvelle cuisine include: simplicity, freshness, lightness and regionalism (Hess & Hess 1977, Mennell 1985).⁷ This is a shift to a more “natural” style where the flavour of the products is highlighted rather than embellished with sauces. It uses higher quality and fresher ingredients and as a result it is costlier. It’s elevation of rustic food into fine dining might be considered a culinary form of postmodernism insofar as it blurs the distinction between highbrow and lowbrow.⁸ In the seventies this tradition spread throughout France as well as to England and Germany and beyond. In 1976 Bocuse published *Cuisine du Marché* and Guérard published *Cuisine Minçeur*. Vergé published *Ma Cuisine du Soleil* in 1978. Note how each title evokes a different principle of the new cuisine: freshness, lightness, and regionalism, respectively.

In North America nouvelle cuisine became more radically severed from tradition, especially in connection with Asian exotica. In the seventies Alice Waters, Jeremiah Tower and Wolfgang Puck in California as well as Larry Forgione in New York developed variations on nouvelle cuisine with American ingredients. The emphasis on local ingredients sparked renewed interest in regional traditions such as southwestern barbecue or Cajun cooking. Cultural commentators have claimed that new American cuisine evolved along two opposing paths: one of local terroir⁹ and the other one open to Asian spices (Gopnik 2000, *Gourmet* 2001, September). Waters represents the former with her farmhouse style and interest in organic produce while Puck became the spokesperson for the fusion of Asian and French cuisine. His eclectic pastiche of

ingredients in his signature smoked salmon pizza, for instance, is arguably another example of culinary postmodernism.

The eighties were a boom period in both the restaurant and the cookbook publishing industries. French chefs opened restaurants in Japan as well as in America. Bocuse and Vergé opened Les Chefs du France at the Epcot Centre, Florida in 1987. Since then Jean-Georges Vongerichten, Alain Ducasse, Daniel Boulud and Eric Ripert have all opened restaurants in New York. In 1981 Puck published *Modern French Cooking for the American Kitchen*. In 1982 Waters published *The Chez Panisse Menu Cookbook*. In 1986 Tower published *New American Classics*.

Nouvelle cuisine and California-Asian fusion were imported to Canada in the late eighties in the kitchens of Anne Desjardins near Montreal and Jamie Kennedy and Michael Stadlaender in Toronto (Shikatani 1999). Like Waters, Desjardins and Kennedy began to get local farmers to grow heritage¹⁰ and organic produce for them. At Eigensinn¹¹ farm, Michael Stadlaender reinvented himself as an organic farmer as well as a restaurateur. In Vancouver John Bishop, Daryle Ryo Nagata and Michael Noble were among the first to promote regional haute cuisine (Shikatani 1999). Noble, formerly chef of Diva and a member of the winning Canadian Culinary Olympics team in 1996, defines this cooking as:

very much rooted in both the products and the ethnic influence of the Pacific Northwest ... The obvious thing is the seafood ... [W]e're only customizing the wheel to what our local bounty is and to what our most direct influences are (in Shikatani 1999: 71).

Bishop's opened in 1985 and was followed by The Raintree, The Raincity Grill, Lumière and Ouest/West.¹² At these Pacific Northwest restaurants you could find local fish and seafood, served with wild mushrooms, stinging nettles or sea asparagus and cooked by

the likes of Carol Chow, Karen Barnaby, Rob Feenie, Scott Kidd and David Hawksworth. Like its counterparts in Toronto and Québec, Farm Folk/City Folk was established to link organic and heritage farmers with urban chefs in 1993. Barnaby published *Pacific Passions* in 1995. Bishop published *Bishop's the cookbook* in 1996. Rob Feenie published *Rob Feenie cooks at Lumière* in 2001.

The Food Television Network started up in 1997. By 2000 its local content included Feenie's *New Classics* and James Barber's *Urban Peasant* in addition to such global brands as Iron Chef, Martha Stewart, Emeril Legasse and Julia Child. In 2002 Bishop starred in Vancouver filmmaker Marianne Kaplan's anti-GMO documentary, *Deconstructing Supper*. That same year he converted his menu to organic food.

Many North American chefs think that California is now the centre of the culinary universe: "I think we're a little more creative here. A lot of European chefs now look to North America ... You look at any of the gourmet magazines in Europe now, and they have articles about California cooking, or what's happening in the States ... There's still wonderful cooking going on in Europe, but they follow tradition almost to a T (Noble in Shikatani 1999: 77-8). Just as New York "stole" the idea of modern art in the late forties, so California stole the idea of nouvelle cuisine in the seventies (Guilbaut 1983). Adam Gopnik quotes New York chef, Peter Hoffman, on eating at the three star L'Ambroisie in Paris: "... I got talked into ordering one of the chef's specialties, a mille-feuille¹³ of langoustines with curry, and it was infuriating. It was a French dish with powder ... as though nobody understood that curry isn't a powder that you apply cosmetically ... curry isn't just a spice you shake but a whole technique of cooking you have to understand" (2000: 159).

New American cuisine is not a fad but a forty-year long trend towards simple and healthy, rustic and regional food. This is what foodies mean when they talk about good food. While there is certainly a competitive and consumerist aspect to following culinary fashions, there is also a 'core of truth in its historical-temporal dimension' (Adorno 1984: 274-5). In other words changing fashions are responses to real social changes. I have shown how these trends developed within the international culinary sphere. They are also connected to wider social changes. The resurgence of simple, rustic and regional foods is a reaction against the homogenizing effects of globalization on the one hand, and towards nostalgia for a slower pace of life on the other. It is also no accident that the Western fascination with exotic Asian cuisines is happening in a climate of accelerated globalization, where culinary styles migrate faster than the cultural groups that practise them (Harvey 1992).

Vancouver foodies cook according to the principles of new American cuisine. One would expect this of food professionals who need to keep abreast of developments in the food industries. It is equally true of the amateurs however. The latter may not have heard of new American cuisine but they have learned its values through the food magazines and other media. For example, one of the Vancouver foodies, Fran, appreciates fresh, seasonal produce: "I think about what's in season and ... if I plan to have something with green beans and the green beans look terrible ... I abandon that." Another one, Mary, cooks simply: "It's very simple recipes. Things that don't take a lotta time to do, like [Donna Hay's] *The New Fast Cook* is fabulous ... It shows things that are twenty minutes. They're absolutely wonderful." Bob cooks with health concerns in mind: "I roasted fifteen garlic bulbs and that was beautiful [with emotion]. I love

roasted garlic, and then I made ... an olive oil base and all fresh herbs, and it was very hearty and healthy for everyone.” Nancy is interested in regional foods: “We spent a month in France five or six years ago and I would eat tripe sausage ... They’re thick sausages cooked in a Dijon sauce ... but they’re a real specialty in Lyons and they’re actually best in Lyons we found.” Penny added exotic elements to her repertoire: “My pomegranate concentrate ... I’ll use it to brush on meat. And the Iranian lady [at the store gave] me this really elaborate recipe with ground walnuts and chicken ... So I’ll try that.”

A passion for food

Foodies are passionate about food as well as reasonably knowledgeable. Over and over again foodies enumerated their passions: growing food, reading about food, learning about food, experimenting with food, cooking from scratch, talking about food, eating good food at home and in restaurants, and socializing around food. These practices along with the knowledge of new American cuisine together make up the foodie lifestyle. I discuss reading about food in Chapter Five. Here I will look at the rest of these practices in turn.

(A passion for) Growing

At the time of the interviews, only four foodies (three professionals and one amateur) did not keep gardens. This was partly because these four lived in apartments or condos. One chef had kept a garden in her last house, while another chef would start one when he moved to the west side of Vancouver. Two other determined downtown foodies, however, did grow herbs and potted vegetables where and when they could.

Nancy (amateur): I used to grow arugula and all my herbs and spices. [On the balcony ?] And the back deck ... Since Emma’s been born [I’ve] grown towards flowers more, but ... I grew

arugula, spinach, garlic, thyme, rosemary, oregano, um just everything.

The rest of the foodies grew herbs and some combination of: lettuce, spinach, fennel, (heritage) tomatoes, beans and edible flowers like nasturtiums. Two urban foodies also harvested fruit from their backyards.

One of the most avid gardeners was Ken. He had grown up in a rural area and now had a large yard in North Vancouver. He grew strawberries, beets, carrots, peas, potatoes and tomatoes. Like several other foodies he was interested in the stories about growing food.

Ken (food writer): It's nice if you have a gift from somebody, something that they grew ... I like to go to Granville [Island farmer's market] and the guy says, "Yeah, this apple in this box up here was down at the south end of the orchard because that's where the sun shines more." "Oh, I'll take a couple of those." That's important. I'll take that home and treasure it and eat it and enjoy it.

Ken liked to pick his vegetables just before cooking them and he also liked to eat in his garden.

I also spoke with four artisanal farmers on Vancouver Island. Both households took professional pride in producing high quality food without the aid of chemical intervention.

Cheryl (farmer): Part of the reason why I like what I'm doing ... as a producer ... I love spending time out there because you can taste the effort, if you pick the tomatoes at the right time, and if they're healthy tomatoes, then you wait too long and certain flavours have gone away, you know, ... and catching that at that peak of flavour, so you know that the sauce is going to end up with that extra zing because you've done exactly the right thing, and picked it at the right time. That's what I love about food, is capturing that flavour.

Cheryl grows one crop commercially while Teresa grows a variety of herbs and vegetables that she trucks to a weekend farmer's market. Teresa likes growing as much of her own food as she can.

Teresa (farmer): Seeing something from start to finish. Putting the seed in the ground, or ... starting the seeds in the greenhouse um, and seeing things of, like, top quality. ... Eating things that I know exactly where they came from, I have a personal connection, either I grew them myself or I know who grew them. [Why is that important?] I think it's control actually. I think it's uh taking back control um, self-sufficiency ... I think it all has to do with controlling your own food system.

Teresa also raised chickens, ducks, rabbits and pigs for her family's consumption. Foraging, fishing and hunting are other means of controlling your own food supply. Cheryl liked to forage for dandelions, nettles and blackberries on her farm. Patricia ate salmon canned by her brother. Christine and Fran ate deer and moose that their fathers hunted. Teresa defined foodies as people for whom "the rhythm of ... life is governed by food."

(A passion for) Learning

For Tony, a foodie was someone who ought to know a lot about food. Anne, a chef, describes her love of learning in terms of professional development.

Anne (chef). There's no end to it ... It keeps on going forever. It's really interesting to see how my cooking has changed over time, and how I've become more relaxed and looser about things, and just incorporating more ingredients in different ways. The way I cook, I just love it. I love how it just changes, the more information I have.

Anne did not take formal chef training but four other food professionals had. A chef and a food writer had gone to a local institution, Dubrulle Culinary Institute. Two chefs had

gone to technical colleges outside the province. One of the above also did a course at La Varenne in France.

Anne also teaches cooking at several locations in and around Vancouver. In fact, two of my recruits came from Anne's workshops. Mary and Penny both enjoyed taking classes at Tools and Techniques, a cook shop in North Vancouver close to their homes.

Mary (amateur): Oh, I've been doing this, I'd say, for about three years now ...but more intense lately. I'd like to do one to two courses a month when they're out. I just really enjoy it. It's like \$57, and the entertainment is wonderful, and you're fed and everything else. It's a pretty good deal for an evening out, and it's close. I just love going to them, just love them. The one I really loved was Donna Hay ... She's from Australia. She's marvellous.

About half the amateurs had also taken cooking classes. Nancy had done continuing education courses in international cuisine as a young adult in Toronto. Patricia had taken classes with Jacques Pépin in Vancouver as well as at the Cordon Bleu school in London.

Going to school gave the professionals credentials while amateurs increased their culinary knowhow. Another way foodies learn more about food is by attending local events like Taste of the Nation, Feast of Fields or Vancouver's International Wine Festival.

(A passion for) Experimenting

Arthur uses the distinction between creative and utilitarian cooking as the basis for his definition of a foodie.

Arthur (food writer): I have friends that will throw a chicken breast in the microwave with salt and pepper because it's fuel for them. They want protein, you know. I have friends that will take a chicken breast and be creative with it. That's a foodie versus a non-foodie.

All the foodies enjoyed experimenting in their own kitchens. Even those who described themselves as ‘non-adventurous’ or ‘traditional’ talked about using different varieties of fruits and vegetables like yellow tomatoes or heritage apples. Christine and Mary said they never cooked something the same way twice. Susan and Ken preferred to experiment with leftover ingredients.

Ken (food writer): We had people for dinner the other night and I put some puff pastry in a square with an edge around it, cook it up in a four hundred oven and then filled the middle with everything else that was around by putting it in the CuisineArt ... I had bits and pieces of leftover cheese that were sort of getting on, and put them all in the CuisineArt with some sun-dried tomatoes, a little squeeze of some anchovy, about fifty grams of shrimp that were sort of in the corner, but were still okay, and some fresh herbs from the garden ... We used to have a friend who came over regularly who asked whether this was new food tonight. I think we have to disguise it pretty well.

Almost all foodies had experimented with other cuisines.

For some foodies a different ethnic tradition was introduced by a relative.

Penny (amateur): We went to Quebec and [my husband’s] sister [said] you have to make *pied de cochon*, which is pork hocks. You make a stock of pork hocks and um, then the ground beef, and you put this in together with new potatoes ... I get this recipe in French and I come home and ... [my husband] got pig’s feet. So I come home and open the pot, and there’s pig’s feet, like the cloven hooves boiling in the pot. I never made it. I said, “I’m not doing the pig feet thing.” Then we find later it’s the pork hock.

For others a new cuisine was encountered in cookbooks or restaurants.

Bob (amateur): Because I was there [a Punjabi restaurant in Toronto] so frequently and I expressed a real interest in things ... he said, you know, come on a Saturday. Stay *all* day in the kitchen, you know. So I did. So I watched her cook. ... and I got *very* interested then in, that’s what twigged my interest in spices, you know, how complex spices were. It was amazing. Amazing. And then, you know, every experience after that was seeking out, you know more complex mixtures of spices.

At home Bob tried to replicate these experiences, “successfully or unsuccessfully.” For still others it was encountered while travelling.

Kathleen (amateur): I’d never had risotto before and [an Italian friend] brought this with him. And then he invited us to Tuscany ... and we went back the next summer, and there was a whole world of Italian cooking that I had never [seen] ... So my whole time there I went, I sat and watched everything he did and learned about cheese and pastrami and salami which, I mean you don’t get that here, that exposure to that kind of stuff. So that really helped too. I learned all about provolone and taleggio and all these other kinds of cheeses, and how to eat them at different times in the meal.

The most unusual story comes from Nancy who used exotic experimentation as a form of teenage rebellion against a “meat and potatoes family.”

Nancy (amateur): Winnipeg is really traditional, but I would go down to downtown to find the right flour to make tempura, and my parents, you know, didn’t taste anything I made. My father would often make me eat in a different room because I would eat my steak blue or rare, and [his], of course, wasn’t just well done it was burnt, and he couldn’t bear to eat in front of me. So I was always banished to the living room with my plate, and I used to try to make perogies and doughnuts and just do adventurous things back then ... My parents thought it was just too absurd. They were a real meat and potatoes family.

Some felt comfortable experimenting in front of guests while others preferred to do their experiments on their own beforehand.

Patricia (amateur): I don’t always do tried and true things when people come. I’ll try something I’ve never tried before just ‘cause I want to try it. And confidence can only take you so far. You can still, no matter how you think, this is going to turn out really well, there’s always this chemical thing. Something can go wrong and if I don’t think it’s good enough to serve, it just gets stuck in a corner and not mentioned and we just carry on, yeah.

Arthur (food writer): I’ve been experimenting a lot on barbecue, smoking, using my gas barbecue, um doing different types of rubs on meat um, different types of grilling marinade for seafood. even vegetables you know I love to grill vegetables and not just

European style vegetables but you know trying to see what I can do with the Asian vegetables ... For me, when I entertain, I will cook food that I like to eat. I won't do new recipes, well when I don't do new recipes, I do recipes that I'm experimenting but I'm comfortable with them, and I know they'll work.

As the above quotations reveal, it wasn't always the professionals who were more adventurous. As Patricia's and Penny's experiences make clear, if one experiments one must expect some failures.

Several foodies reported cooking disasters ranging from fires on the back porch to inedible concoctions.

Ellen (chef): The fungus, that Chinese fungus, that dried fungus ... I wanted to experiment with it. So I went to a Chinese grocer, got the black fungus, soaked it ... I tried to cook it Indian style [laughing]. We threw it away. Yeah. [What] else did I make? ... No the fungus was worse.

Novelty for the foodie is not for novelty's sake alone. Novelty is for the sake of the experience.

Teresa (farmer): Michael Stadlaender ... On one hand what they're doing is so kind of grass roots and not dirty, but you know, they'll go out and forage around or kill their own ducks or do something, and oh that's what I notice about his farm, you know, the bathrooms, they're outhouses and they're really challenging, and yet people are paying three hundred dollars and walking around with their Riedel glass. Like people *like* that, that wacky imbalance. There's, you know, incredible decadence of the food and the wine and the beautiful glassware, but then, you know, they like walkin' over baskets of laundry and through chicken shit to get to the door of Michael Stadlander's house... and we have a little bit of that going here, not as much I hope [chuckling].

Cooking something new is also a form of self-expression. Foodies are omnivores who understand cooking as an arena in which they can express themselves creatively in everyday life.

(A passion for) Cooking from scratch

Not all chefs cook at home, nor all foodies. There were several male foodie spouses of female foodies who rarely or never cooked. The foodies I interviewed, however, all loved to cook.

Penny (amateur): I'll say, "I'm gonna garden," and I'll end up cooking ... Cooking must be more important to me than a lot of things. I'll say, "I'm gonna read that book," and I'll be cooking.

Several foodies claimed they preferred cooking to eating. They marveled at the magic or transformative aspect of cooking.

Stefanie (chef): It's the way, you know, things mingle together and the process ... I mean it's fascinating when you think about it, how you make bread, and you use the same basic ingredients to make a cake ... why you can make muffin batter ... and barely combine [the wet and dry ingredients], that sort of thing.

Susan is talking about how flour, sugar, milk, eggs and butter, in different proportions and with different techniques, yield three different kinds of baked goods.

Three foodies did not enjoy baking. Mary said she doesn't like making precise measurements. "I don't like it. I don't have the patience to do it. ... I'm not a measurer. I suppose that's why I cook instead of baking. I can't stand levelling stuff off, unless I absolutely have to." For the rest it was another example of how they liked to cook things from scratch.

Larry (amateur): I have made sticky buns. That was one of my mother's specialities ... So I tried them one day. I also made doughnuts ... They were the same as mother's sticky buns. They never lasted in the house.

Ken (food writer): Always make my own pastry and that kind of thing ... I make my own bread as well. There was a time when at one stage, I had some sourdough starter that I'd had for twenty-five years [laughing]. I took it with me when I left this house years ago and took it to Richmond and used it, sort of again and again and again and kept building it up. And I try to make bread most

Saturdays. I usually start it on a Friday night and let it rise in the fridge overnight. That way it's nice and slow. Saturday morning, put it out for the second rise and then make the bread and that's ready for whatever's happening on Saturday night.

Aside from Ken, two other foodies regularly made bread, and four more did so occasionally.

In addition to baked goods, foodies also make their own soup stocks, salad dressings and marinades. A smaller subset also make their own pasta, jams, preserves and pickles, even mayonnaise on occasion.

Cheryl (farmer): Nothing easier than homemade mayonnaise ... people don't realize, I think they're always afraid it's gonna break apart, and people have made it out to be such a hard thing to do. But it's so easy if you put the effort into it ... and it's perfect every time. And the balsamic mayonnaise is a an incredible mayonnaise, and we do that sometimes and serve it with either steamed salmon or boiled meats.

Patricia (amateur): We do sometimes try some of the [dried pasta] for their shape or whatever ... but if I want to have um some lasagna, I'd probably just haul out my funny little hand crank because you can get it really thin and it doesn't take long to do. I would do that.

More rarely still, they make wine and beer, ice cream, yogurt and charcuterie.¹⁴

Today all these products are available "ready-made" at supermarkets, and corporate entrepreneurs are continually pushing the boundaries of "value-added" foods like deboned meat and precut lettuce.

Pierre (chef): You go to Safeway, you know, it's pretty shameful. You can see what people are buying, already packaged salads and whatnot, right? Spinach already washed. That's the way we're going, and we're trying to reverse that, but that's it's gonna be very tough.

Foodies see themselves as salvaging rustic skills that earlier generations possessed.

Where foodies cannot make it themselves, they support local artisans who produce among other things cheese, yogurt, balsamic vinegar, chocolate and honey.

Cheryl (farmer): The first time we had that honey from Allen ... true blueberry honey or raspberry honey ... They do take ... the bees in the middle of a full hundred acres or something, and that's what they solely used. And the product is incredible. It tastes [like] raspberry-flavoured honey.

Ken sees foodies as people who like to cook.

(A passion for) Eating

Despite the above stated preferences for cooking, foodies talked extensively about their love of the material pleasures of food.

Cheryl (farmer): That's sweeter than candy, to take a vine-ripened tomato and bite into that. It's a real treat.

Arthur (food writer): I love buying whole fish, you know, because [I] love eating off the bone, because it's much more succulent. I love steaming whole rock cods and I love getting whole snappers and roasting them.

Pierre (chef): I mean, myself, I like to cook fat, you know. When I do mashed potatoes, it's cream and butter held together with potatoes [laughing]. That's what I like. I like duck confit. I like foie gras.¹⁵ I *love* that sort of stuff. Fat has so much flavour.

Bob (amateur): If I'm making a chicken breast, you know, I *love* that lengthy marinade, you know, hours and hours, go out of my way to, you know, I'll keep something going if it's ok for the dish, like an eight hour marinade or something and it's just like [with emotion] it's *so* moist and it's just soaked right through and I love that kind of thing. So yeah. Yeah.

A foodie's everyday enjoyment of food is intellectual as well as sensual. It is reflexive.

Foodies think about where and how and by whom something is grown, produced and cooked. Ellen, a chef, makes this the defining feature of a foodie. "To me a foodie is somebody who really *appreciates* the food ... somebody who really wants to know where

their food has come from, how it's being cooked, and is it fresh? Is it extra virgin olive oil?"

Foodies also find pleasure eating out, particularly in restaurants which offer new experiences.

Bob (amateur): One of my favourite Vancouver experiences and this one knocked my out ... There was a little restaurant called the Ruma Bali. [This was what year?] 1980. This was the early eighties. ... I'd never had food like that before in my life ... The food took forever. Once you went in there, you were there for a good three hours minimum, and then at the end of the night it was the, you know, these indonesian clove cigarettes and, you know, and the rijstafels that they made.... That was the most complicated food and I loved that place and fell in love with Indonesian food.

Cheryl (farmer): We went to Dunsmuir Lodge and we told ... the chef, ..."Okay just do something for us, whatever you like." And just an incredible meal, and we were served a sorbet in between courses and it was in a crystal container of some sort. It was incredible with sort of a jagged edge and ... it was beautiful and then, towards the end of the meal, I realised it was melting ... The *effort* that would go into a gorgeous presentation, even though it has nothing to do with nutrition or anything, that somebody went to that effort for the whole experience.

Foodies dine out as often as several times a week and as little as every two months.

(A passion for) Talking

Fran said that the way you recognize another foodie is by talking. Talking about food is called trivial by people who prefer to talk about important things like (high) art or politics. It is this assumption that lends the satirical edge to *The Official Foodie Handbook*'s emphasis on talking about food: foodies "don't think they are being trivial." Not surprisingly, then, foodies reported talking about "food, of course" at dinner parties and other occasions.

Arthur (food writer): This week talking about the great salmon run, you know, the salmon stocks, talking about GMOs [genetically modified organisms], or sustainable farming, or wild versus farmed salmon.

In Arthur's case talk about food is talk about politics, specifically environmentalism. For Bob it was about meeting people.

Bob (amateur): I've found I've learned a lot by just starting up conversations with people in food *places*, you know ... I was in Victoria ... in Chinatown. That's a sweet little Chinatown, it's one block but it's beautiful ... and it's very old, very very old, and I struck up this conversation with this guy. He was talking to me about, he's a cook, he cooks ... in a little restaurant there, Chinese, and he was going on about his life, how he came over, how he got into food, what I should look for. I was only buying beans, you know, ... and this guy, suddenly I got his life story.

For Penny it was a matter of culinary discoveries.

Penny (amateur): I love to pass on tips, like if you tried something different, you say, "Oh you've got to try this product" ... or "I tried this and it really worked" or "If you go to this store you can get this and it was good" ... whether it's a new kind of fish, ... or a recipe, or a product, or a restaurant or anything like that. A tip.

As an interviewer who belongs to foodie culture, I often found myself often drawn into such conversations. Here is an example of one such dialogue.

Kathleen: The best kept secret in all of East Van[couver] is uh, omigod I've forgotten the name of it at the moment. It's the little Italian store that's on the corner of Victoria and Francis. Bosa, and we buy all our Italian stuff there, so the risotto and the, we have Italian coffee. It's cheap. Have you been there?

Diana: No, it's kind of out of the way for us. We go to Renzullo's.

Kathleen: Yeah, it's a lot like Renzullo's, but it's a lot, it's cheaper.

Diana: Oh yeah?

Kathleen: Yeah. Renzullo's can be quite expensive. All those little tinned mushrooms and stuff. Those are so good.

Note how there is both sharing of knowledge as well as ascertaining a certain pecking order in this exchange. Note also that Kathleen has displayed more knowledge regarding East Vancouver's Italian grocers. I will come back to this point in the next chapter. Here is Ken's example of how foodies talk to each other.

Ken (food writer): "We had a picnic. We had this amazing stuff. We had this pineapple and we put sour cream on it. Wow, was it ever good." So that's how you might talk to a fellow food lover.

Foodies do not always talk about food, of course, but it is their talk about food that differentiates them from non-foodies.

Foodies love socializing for its own sake as well.

Pierre (chef): Food brings people together, and for me a dinner party, that's what it's all about ... Food and wine and whatever all brings us together, and we're having a good time but that's the important thing ... the company. Sure the food is a nice addition if it's nice, you know, and the wine as well, but I think it's a question of priority there. Absolutely.

Mary (amateur): My other sister ... wouldn't know a pot from a frying pan because she has no interest ... She has a dinner party and she'll go out to M&M's and buy all the frozen stuff and cook it. Which is fine too. It doesn't have to be, you know, handmade. As long as you have a good time with your guests. That's what it boils down to.

Foodies define themselves as people who love the cycle of food from seed to table. They love learning about and experimenting with food, cooking, and talking about food. These are central foodie practices and individuals will participate in some combination of the above. Core members will practice more of them than peripheral members. Marginal practices include entering cooking contests and collecting culinary objects such as salt and pepper shakers.

A central ritual in foodie subculture that encompasses almost all of the above practices is the dinner party. Foodies learn about new foods in cooking classes, magazines and restaurants. They experiment with new dishes at home and then cook up something from the garden, from

scratch, to impress their friends. At the table they discuss the food in front of them and eat heartily and find pleasure in socializing.

Dinner Parties

Dinner parties are popular throughout North America as well as in other Western industrial societies. Derek Wynne, who studied British professionals in a semi-rural housing estate near Manchester, found dinner parties to be their preferred social activity: “Indeed, obtaining or not obtaining regular and frequent invitations to dinner parties is a particularly salient feature of life on the Heath ... ‘the party’ is clearly the most popular form of leisure activity reported” (1998:76). As small or everyday feasts, dinner parties express social solidarity in the form of friendship as well as social competition, as we shall see in the next chapter. Socializing with friends is often described as middle class and contrasted with working class socializing with family. Many middle class professionals are geographically mobile and thus often removed from family relations (Bourdieu 1984, DeVault 1991).

A dinner party has more guests and more courses than you would see at an everyday meal. There are more timely preparations and more elaborate presentations. Invitations must be issued ahead of time and the table may signal the occasion with special china, silverware, stemware, linens, candles or flowers.

Those who emphasized special tableware at dinner parties were predominantly affluent amateurs.

Fran (amateur): I use, you know, better china and ... I try, you know, different flower arrangements, and I have different table runners and I have different, lots of different napkins, and, you know, just setting it, setting the table differently, eating in the dining room ... [and] silver and better wine glasses.

The professional foodies tended to rely on the food itself to signify the special event. What is emphasized here is the quality of the food as well as the innovation of the menu.

Anne (chef): Every course should be a little bit of a surprise, I think. If you're cooking so you want to impress people that know what they're eating ... So you start it with something, say, small and cold, like a little bit of vegetable thing. There can be some protein incorporated in there, like cheese or even fish. Or a little bit of a soup ... in an espresso cup or a little tiny, you know, rice bowl or something. And then ... because that's cold and soft, then maybe you want to move into something crunchy for contrast. Then maybe you want to move into something that's hot and cold, you know, just whatever's different, so your tongue never falls asleep, or your brain.

What is elaborate for a foodie might well be "absurd" for a non-foodie. DeVault quotes a truck driver who cooks talking about soufflés on cooking television shows: "... hell, I don't know anyone who eats that stuff" (1992: 220).

Vancouver foodies give regular dinner parties, as frequently as every other week. They described sit-down meals ranging from two to thirty-five guests. Some thought four people were ideal, others thought eight was the ideal number. They understood "good company" to mean fresh faces and a mix of ages, sometimes including children. About half of the foodies I spoke with had family in Vancouver or nearby. They tended to spend holidays with their families cooking traditional meals, while they cooked more adventurously for their friends.

Fran (amateur): In his family they love lamb, so chances are we do, you know, marinate a leg of lamb for them with, you know, very plain vegetables because that's what they like. But if I was having friends, I always um, I like to try new appetizers and we always try and put them together with um wines that we might have, or that we want to try.

Like good teachers foodies, especially professionals, know how to cook for their audience.

Therefore they prefer to invite foodie friends whose tastes are closer to their own and who give more appreciative feedback.

Nancy (amateur): I guess I like cooking for friends more because cause they will go, “Now Nancy what is that? Is that a little hint of vinegar I taste?” and whatever, you know, [my husband] would just barrel it down.

The closer one is to the core of foodie culture, the more likely it is that one’s friends are also foodies. Teresa even prefers to spend her holidays with friends.

Teresa: (chef): I don’t have family to spend holidays with, really ... and my mother passed away, and my father lives down in the States. I have a sister but she’s not really into food and wine, so I just, I’ve become really kind of selfish with my time [Do you have any friends who aren’t interested in food and wine?] Not really [after a pause].

The foodies I spoke with did not all know each other, but most of them knew at least one person from the professional core of chefs, food writers and farmers. All but Larry shared their interests in food with at least one like-minded friend if not more. The professionals did not all know each other but they generally knew of each other, or at least knew about the product, restaurant or media outlet professionals were associated with.

An ideal foodie dinner was described by Teresa. She is a former chef who moved to Vancouver Island to farm. An invitation to her table is doubly ideal because she has the cooking skills of a professional as well as her own fresh produce to work with. The dinner Teresa described happened in the fall and her menu was accordingly seasonal.

Teresa (farmer): I’m really in tune to like what is around at the same time now, you know. Tomatoes and pinot noir are kind of at the same time, and the siegerrebe grapes usually come off at the time of the Feast of Fields [a fundraiser for Farm Folk/City Folk]. So we made a really nice dinner last year around the time of the Feast of Fields. We probably had about fifteen people here, and all the restaurant people and chefs, and we made chicken braised in the verjus¹⁶ from the siegerrebe, with a sauce made out of the grapes ... with some of the verjus added back to the sauce, so it’s like creamy ... I get the most excited when I can make something, and everything on the plate is from our farm, you know. And maybe we’ll have zucchinies in the garden or maybe we’ll get wild mushrooms, chanterelles.

Equally impressive, by its elegant bounty if not by its simple rusticity, was a November dinner given by Patricia from Point Grey.

Patricia (amateur): Four or five courses ... Smoked salmon tart flambée ...I buy puff pastry made for me. I order it from Patisserie Bordeaux ... We had roasted vegetable napoleons, ... a dish with *many* different vegetables that have been separately roasted ... and then um you take rosemary sticks and you take all the bottom leaves off and leave a little tuft at the top and once got your stack of all these various vegetables you spear it with that, and it's got a little bit of fresh bocconcini in there and tomatoes and zucchini and eggplant and potato and various things and it's a nice starter. Especially if you don't know all your guests and you end up having a vegetarian ... And then we had a duck stew which was *delicious*. I loved it ... I did it over a couple of days so that I could take the bones out and make it more dinner party friendly, for eating. And it was very tasty with a little mange-tout.¹⁷ And then ... I made a passion fruit ice cream and a passion fruit sherbet and served them with a raspberry sauce. And then I made two different kinds of cookies.

The dinner party brings together a foodie's knowledge and practice. So far I have described what foodies do. Let's turn now to the questions of how and why people become foodies.

How to become a foodie

Let me begin by telling you how I became a foodie. My story fits a general pattern, and it will also reveal my place within Vancouver foodie culture. My mother is a very good cook. She was born on a farm in Eastern Europe and was expected to cook at an early age. She does not enjoy cooking, though she has always loved baking. Nonetheless her skill at making schnitzel as well as *Prinz Regenten torte* was recognized by her European friends in Canada whom she occasionally entertained at Sunday afternoon dinners. My father was also born into an Eastern European farming family. In Canada he continued to raise his own ducks and beef. He kept bees and smoked fish. Occasionally he would cook his Baltic specialties like sauerkraut soup. What I learned

from my parents was to enjoy fresh food cooked well from scratch. By friends in Ottawa I was introduced to Chinese dim sum and Japanese steakhouses.

When I moved to Toronto to attend university in the eighties I did not know how to cook (except for a few basics learned in compulsory home economics classes). In those years I also traveled through Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. I remember my first gnocchi in Venice and fish tajine in Morocco. Back in Toronto I shopped for bargains at Kensington Market's Portuguese and Jewish grocers as well as in Chinatown. When my housemates made hot and sour soup or fresh prawn dishes, I countered with peanut saté and fresh squid recipes gleaned from cookbooks. One of my housemates and I once had a big conflict over food. Lauren insisted that I cut off the brown stem ends of the tomatoes for a salad. I refused saying that it was too much trouble. As undergraduate philosophers we recognized the debate as one between aesthetics and pragmatism. Lauren went on to become a chef working under Jamie Kennedy and I, the pragmatist, went on to marry a chef.

When I met my future husband Andrew I had never been to a "fancy restaurant." At the time Andrew was working at a small French restaurant in old Montreal called La Bonaparte. Andrew introduced me to the French bistro L'Express, and for a birthday celebration his father took us out to Citrus, headed by well-known Montréal chef, Normand Laprise. The first thing Andrew cooked for me was a nouvelle cuisine choucroute garni.¹⁸ I was horrified because to my traditional tastes the sauerkraut was ridiculously underdone. But I soon learned to enjoy Andrew's experiments: from chicken roulade made with morel mushrooms we had picked to cassoulet¹⁹ and sushi. Then I began to browse through his cooking magazines. After long telephone conversations with my mother, I began to cook her festive dishes, including a

traditional sauerkraut. In Vancouver Andrew became the souschef of the Raintree under Karen Barnaby, a restaurant featuring Pacific Northwest cuisine.

My story intersects with those of my participants on several points though not always in the same order. I will now look at each of these initiating events, plus one, from the vantage of my participants: 1) a mother who cooks well, 2) dining out, 3) moving to a big city, 4) friends interested in food, 5) travel and 6) cooking professionally.

Growing up

All but one person I interviewed stated that their interest in food and cooking goes back to their childhood or teenage years. Arthur claims to have been born a foodie.

Arthur (food writer): I came from a food family, you know. My grandparents owned Chinese restaurants and supermarkets. My dad had a supermarket. I'm like a third generation foodie.

Arthur's parents and grandparents worked in the food industry so he was a third generation food professional. Some amateurs also said they came from families where food was considered important.

Penny (amateur): My sister-in-law will come over and the family will start [to] talk about different things we've eaten or cooked ... and it's just like, "Oh God," you know, she'll be going, "The Stewarts are at it again." And one year, I remember, Nellie bought my brother a microwave, and he bought her a drill press, 'cause she does the carpentry and he does the cooking.

Penny's mother had experimented with what was exotic for the fifties: Polynesian pork from *Good Housekeeping*.

There were also cases where food professionals had progeny who were amateur foodies and vice versa. Today's foodies are also passing the legacy on to the next generation. Here is Cheryl's daughter Hanna describing her little sister.

Hannah (farmer): [My sister] had those theme days at school too, right? where they're learning colours in, what, kindergarten or something. So you had [a] day for black. So kids were bringing licorice or stuff and she would bring [black olive] tapanade [laughing], something like that, and that's the way she grew up, which is really cool.

All but six foodies (five professionals and one amateur) claim their mothers are very good cooks.

Ellen (chef): My mother has convinced me that that's the healthiest way to feed your kids their stuff, ... instead of going out and buying all this canned stuff, why not just use the fresh stuff. And she's absolutely right. It really is the simplest thing in the world.

A couple of foodies qualified their mothers' skills by saying she was limited to her culinary tradition.

Charles (food writer): On both sides of family it was very WASP. Simple boiled meat and potatoes, you know, kind of kind of cooking [Is your mother a good cook?] She is in a, you know, in a pretty straightforward, simple kind of way. I think I, at one point, I wouldn't have answered that the same way, but she's certainly not adventuresome.

Aside from their skills in executing and coordinating the various cooking tasks, what makes these mothers good cooks is their use of fresh ingredients and their desire to try new things.

Unlike me, most of the foodies I interviewed, professionals as well as amateurs and men as well as women, learned to cook from their mothers by hanging around the kitchen and helping out.

Anne (chef): I've just always had an interest. I can't remember when it started, but ever since I was a kid ... I just always stuck around the kitchen. It was just interesting what my mother and grandmother were doing ... They both liked to cook.

Larry (amateur): My mother was an excellent cook. She was a prairie girl, prairie farm girl ... [And how did you learn to cook? From books or did your mom teach you?] No. Nobody taught me. Just, I always played around the kitchen with my mother and my wife.

Anne also mentions her grandmother and in some cases it was a grandmother who was the primary influence.

Arthur (food writer): My grandmothers, you know, one who lived with us ... and I miss her. I miss her country style cooking. I miss her passion. I miss her teaching me what to look for. She taught me a lot, you know, what to look for, for freshness ... [at what age did she teach you?] Oh four, five. I used to sit around helping her, you know, roll out dough for little dim sums [laughing].

Arthur counted his mother, father and grandfather as other important influences.

Similarly Bob included his grandmothers, his father and his older brother.

Bob (amateur): This particular moment that had an impact, I was sixteen. He was nineteen. He'd moved out of the house for all kinds of reasons and he had typically, you know, that approach of all young gay men at a certain time that are at the Ontario College of Art ... And it was a big dinner with all his friends from OCA and I couldn't *believe* it. But the thing I couldn't believe was the smell of the dinner. It just, I remember this moment as being the moment that I became both interested in *design* and I became *really* interested in food ... and the dinner was just *exquisite* and it was well-prepared ... He was also, he baked, he did it all. And it was a huge influence.

Although it was most often a mother who inspired these foodies, seven grandmothers, six fathers, three siblings and one grandfather also played important roles. What differentiates foodies from their grandmothers who also loved cooking is that the older generation remained firmly anchored in their ethnic culinary traditions.

In Marjorie DeVault's study, *Feeding the Family*, she contrasts the cooking of upper-middle-class women with that of lower-middle- and working-class women. She claims that professional women cook primarily from texts and prefer trying new things while working class women rely on their mothers' ethnic traditions. While I agree with this account of professional women's cooking, I find DeVault's opposition of traditional and textual practices suspect. In the stories discussed here, traditional cooking is only

rejected where ethnic traditions are perceived as dull; in this case English cookery. For the rest home traditions are embellished and added to. They become part of the culinary repertoire and are cooked at traditional holidays.

Bob (amateur): [My grandmother] made *chrain* or horseraddish for the ... gefillte fish. She grated it herself. It's amazing, 'cause I went to a Passover Seder a few years ago, and ... they said, "Okay, you prepare the horseradish." So I said, "Okay, I'm gonna do it. I used my processers.

When grown children expand their culinary repertoires some dishes ebb back to their parents too, especially in a consumerist context of supermarkets full of exotic products. My mother has cooked chicken biryani²⁰ for her Kaffeeklatch circle and my father now prefers to eat out at Chinese buffets.

Dining out

Several foodies told me that being taken out to restaurants as children had a big influence on them.

Penny (amateur): My parents would take me out when we were little. We would go out about once a month for dinner ... They just thought that was important. [What age were you?] I was six. Before too ... but I just remember going, three of us, because we'd always use better manners than we would at home apparently. [Where did you go?] We'd just go up to the hotel, and they'd have a little dining room that sat about, I was little then, but it was maybe ten tables, and it had five tablecloths. On the other side of the restaurant was the normal café kind with the stools and the booths ... We'd sit on the right side with the tablecloths when we'd go out for dinner ... I remember I had fond memories of that ... I don't remember seeing other families there.

Penny grew up in the interior of British Columbia in the sixties. Kathleen was frequently taken out by her parents as a child in Vancouver in the seventies, and her mother Christine had been taken out as a teenager in the fifties. Bob's family

in Toronto ate out at a Chinese restaurant every Sunday night. Charles too was taken out to Strasbourg as a teen.

Charles (food writer): [My older cousin] said, “Oh we’re going to go for a good dinner in Strasbourg” ... I remember this exquisite ancient building it was probably, it was half timbered whitewash, it was probably from the 1500s or 1400s -- who knows? -- on a canal, and we spent three hours having dinner and it was just course after course of ambrosia. I had no idea what I ate, but um it was just, oh my heavens. I think it was the first time I realized that, you know, dining would be a grand entertainment in its own right. That this wasn’t something you did before the other event. This was the event, and to be enjoyed in every aspect of it

Penny remembered learning good table manners while Charles remembered the experience of eating. The others remembered the food: barbecued pork, steaks, and Spanish coffees.

Christine (amateur): Everybody was drinking Spanish coffees or Irish coffees or something. And for the children they came along and put a drop of alcohol and lit it on fire and then put mostly milk with a little bit of coffee in it. Of course the children’s eyes were like *saucers*.

In all cases dining out was a special occasion that inspired fond memories.

Moving to the big city

Eight participants had grown up in Vancouver and another four in large cities. The rest had moved to Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver as young adults. They all mentioned the enjoyment of coming into contact with many different food cultures in the city.

Anne (chef): Moving to Toronto and all the great food there, and all this stuff to cook, and learning about Italian food ... People always think that if you’re on the West Coast there’s fish. No, no. More fish out east . There’s more fish because it all comes from the Gulf of Mexico and there’s more variety there than there is out here....In the east you have all the East Coast fish, you have Gulf

of Mexico fish, Australia, Europe. You go to a fish store ... you're blown away by the variety. It's incredible. You don't even know what the fish are.

Patricia (amateur): So I'm in my early 20s, and going out on dates in Montreal meant you went to little French restaurants, and so that was sort of a new dimension to eating *well* ... [Do you remember any of the names?] Oh boy [laughing]. *Pied de Cochon*, uh that was a lively fun place to go ... There was Le Troika that was a Russian one on Crescent Street. That was very nice ... And then, of course, we had things like smoked meat sandwiches at Ben's [deli]. There were um also some little Hungarian restaurants on Stanley Street. So, I mean the cultures were quite varied.

Patricia lived in Montreal in the early sixties and Teresa lived in Toronto in the eighties.

Despite these differences in time and space on the one hand, and between eating and cooking on the other, the pleasure at encountering a diversity of ethnic foodways in a large urban centre was the same.

Meeting friends and new relations

Influences beyond the childhood family vary greatly. Nancy tells how it was not her immediate family so much as her friends and neighbours that sparked her interest.

Nancy (amateur): They were a real meat and potatoes family ... Ribs and spaghetti and all the things that she made were very good, but very very suited to my father's tastes ... In my high school ... I had friends who were Jewish and Japanese and black and Icelandic and it, food was always an adventure to all of us. I don't know why. My next door neighbour was Dutch and she made Indonesian food all the time, so nasi goreng and bami goreng.

Several people talked about how meeting lovers or spouses sparked an interest in food and cooking.

Ellen (chef): John was in the restaurant business. That's how I really got interested in the food, was I married into it basically. He had opened [his restaurant] I think two months before I met him. ... And the more I hung around, the more I got a very good rapport going with the women in the kitchen, and obviously with

customers, and it just clicked at some point, and then I started changing one or two things on the menu.

Another variant was meeting in-laws.

Mary (amateur): [My husband's] father owned restaurants and ... he cooked better than his wife cooked. And he loved to bake. I would get up with him in the morning, and he'd get up and tell me all those stories, and he'd be making stuff for the restaurant and I'd just love it.

The influences of friends and lovers tended to build on those of the family.

Travelling

No one reported that travel initiated an interest in food but almost everyone told me how their travel experiences had sparked new interests in different cuisines.

Teresa (chef): I was fairly impressed with the food in Holland, which came as a surprise, and I think at that point, because I'd studied so much classical cooking, what started to inspire me a little bit was, Holland is really multi-ethnic, there's so many different cultures there, and I tried Indonesian food for the first time, and Surinam food, and Yugoslavian food, and 'cause there's just so many different restaurants there, and I really started to appreciate spicy food.

Most of the travel stories I heard were about Europe, but some were from Asia and the Caribbean.

Bob (amateur): If you check out any guidebook on Bangkok, everyone says, whatever you do ... go to the Atlanta for dinner. Don't miss it. it'll cost you, for two people with everything, including ... beer, maybe eight to ten dollars, and it's one of the finest restaurants ... So the menu is a novel, and every spice is described, and how things fit together, and yet the place is totally casual and informal and, you know, it's not a fancy restaurant, but the food is just *heaven*, heaven. I like Asia as well because of the markets and the street food, you know. The markets in Lahore and in India and in Thailand ... I like that. It's just the food, the smells, the stuff on the streets, and the full cultural hit, you know.

Bob brought back Teak from his travels in Asia. Other foodies also brought back culinary souvenirs like olive oil from Tuscany or the Barossa Valley in Australia, Indian poppadoms, and Russian caviar. When foodies return home they try to reproduce their travel experiences by cooking new cuisines at home as well as dining out at local ethnic restaurants.

Cooking professionally

For chefs and other food professionals significant turning points included mentors in the field.

Pierre (chef): Respect for the quality of the product, I mean it's been a long learning process. I mean my mentor now is my chef who I have been working with for the last five years, Michael Noble. And he's brought me over the edge I would have to say.

I was surprised to learn that several amateurs had also taken stabs at cooking in a professional way. Ken was asked to cater a large function for a neighbour.

Ken (food writer): There were seventeen people. I had two other people helping. Putting up a meal for seventeen with plates all across tables, and things in the kitchen, and tables set up inside with people waiting to be served, who I didn't know ... You get into systems and things then, because it became like a small restaurant with seventeen meals, or seventeen appetisers all had to come up together. Table is cleared. Seventeen meals come out hot. Boom. Peas, peas, peas, peas, peas, spud, spud, spud, spud, pour, pour, pour, and away you go.

Bob and Mary had also done similar dinners, while Christine enjoyed her antipasto "cooking parties" with her friends. "We start chopping and cutting, and we have everything ready, and we pressure can everything because we've been told we should, and it takes all day ... It's a relish with uh tuna and onions and cucumbers and tomatoes and black and green olives, and all that kind of stuff in it, and you serve it on a cracker."

What is important to note in the above stories is that there are multiple turning points for each individual. Foodies fondly recount many encounters with food. In terms of self-identification, foodies eagerly identify as food lovers. But this is a primary identity only in the case of food professionals: “It’s my life” or “the rhythm of ... life is governed by food.” Here work and leisure identities coincide. This extends Michèle Lamont’s claim that American professional men identify primarily with their work identities to women (Lamont 1992).

These core foodies also tend to socialize with other foodies. Generally speaking, the further one moves away from the hardcore of foodie culture, the less likely one’s friends are other foodies. Professional foodies see themselves as part of the community of the Vancouver food industry.

Pierre (chef): Oh it’s a very closed community I would say. It’s people from the industry ... [Do you have friends outside the industry?] Very limited.

Charles (food writer): I’ve certainly developed ... a number of close friendships within the food community just because it’s, you know, I think if you find people who are interested in food they tend to be damn good people [laughing].

Metropolitan Vancouver has a population of only two million people and while the chefs, farmers and media workers don’t all know each other, they know of each other. They meet regularly at industry events like the restaurant association’s or *Vancouver Magazine*’s annual awards dinners, or charitable events like Feast of Fields or Taste of the Nation which support organic agriculture and hunger awareness, respectively.

The amateurs did not feel themselves a part of any food-related community. When asked this question Nancy replied, “to some degree,” while Kathleen said, “not really.” Both Nancy and Kathleen socialize with a group of foodie friends but Nancy

knows more people in the hardcore of the Vancouver food industry through her own professional life as a media publicist. For example, she organized the book launch for *Five Star Foods*.

Nancy (amateur): The *Vancouver Sun* hired me to launch their first cookbook, and I threw a big opening party ... Bernard Cassavant who used to be [chef] at ... Whistler and now has his own little place, and Susan Mendelson, um all these people, a whole list of people contributed recipes. So each of them made [a dish] ... So I had different uh chefs donate their dish to the opening party. Eddie Chung made the corn and crab chowder. So all these people made a variety of things, and they hired Steven Wong to make about eight other dishes from the book that night ... It was so good. All these amazing foods.

For the amateurs food and cooking constitute a lifelong passion and a serious leisure activity. For some the workplace was a site where incorporated their foodie practices and where they socialized with other foodies.

Stefanie (amateur): When I was working in the corporate world, there were a lot of people I worked with -- they were taking cooking courses and they subscribed to cooking magazines and they came in after a weekend and say, "Oh, you know, I made this, you know, like, baked brie *en crouete* on the weekend and, you know, it was just wonderful." And you're sharing recipes and that sort of thing.

Others see their foodie lifestyle as secondary to their work identity. One man described himself as: 'an academic, a squash player and a rank amateur foodie.' We need to highlight all these ways that work identities are still important.

Amateur foodie identities are leisure identities because they centre around such activities as shopping, cooking and reading at home. They are serious because shopping and cooking are a central part of domestic work. They are serious because foodies make ethical judgements about those who do and those who do not consume convenience

foods; much as sports enthusiasts make positive moral judgements about people who keep fit and healthy.

Amateurs as well as professional foodies also found ways to connect their passion for food to other leisure pastimes from sailing to church breakfasts to volunteer work. Their passion for food is thus more than a simple lifestyle choice that one tries on like a pair of pants. Rather it is a longterm commitment, often going back to childhood, with a concomitant set of knowledge and know-how. Becoming a foodie is a personal choice from a range of possibilities open to the middle class in contemporary consumer society. It is no different than the choice to become a chef or a teacher or a lawyer. These are sometimes rational and sometimes emotional choices, like Pierre's first and second decisions to go to cooking school respectively.

Pierre (chef): There was no doubt as soon as the school [Institut de Tourisme et d'Hotellerie du Québec] started in September, you know, and I had a knife in my hand and I had a chef's jacket. It was like, "Okay I'm right at home now." [How did you decide to go there?] Well it was my first decision to go to cooking school because I wanted to be a cook, and then I went to university and then two three months into it, I'm like, "Omigod. What am I doing here? and just hating this, you know. I told my friends, "Okay, I'm going back to my first choice." And you know I just rocked in cooking school.

These choices can also have subconscious origins, such as identifying (or not) with a mother who was (or was not) a good cook. It is no accident that foodie habits run in families and Arthur's light-hearted claim to be born a foodie has some truth to it.

"I am a foodie but"

Only Patricia, a very affluent and knowledgeable woman, wholeheartedly embraced the "foodie" label: "I think it describes us fairly well [chuckling]. We're fairly

obsessed with what we eat.” By contrast Pierre vehemently denied he was a foodie: “No. I don’t think of myself as a foodie. Absolutely not.” For the most part, though, there was a definite ambivalence about the label. Arthur, a food journalist, said, “Yeah [reluctantly], I’m a foodie but I’m more of a research foodie, like I love, I love doing reading about ... food.”

The reasons for this resistance to the label centred on its pejorative connotations, especially its association with yuppies. Anne, a professional chef, didn’t like it because it was “diminutive.” The “ie” suffix as opposed to the “er” suffix certainly carries a passive connotation. For others the negativity came from its fanaticism. They all knew someone else who was more mad about food. For example, Ellen’s husband was more hardcore than she was because he was more concerned about the presentation of the food.

Ellen (chef): To me John is a foodie. [And you?] I guess I am but ... he’s a foodie from beginning to end of the process. I lose my foodie-ness when it comes to serving If I were just making him food, it would taste great, but it wouldn’t look as beautiful as John’s plate would look. It would be the same thing that I made, but if John were serving you that plate, even at home, it looks great ... He carries his foodie-ness one step further. For him presentation is ... very big, even when he cooks [the children’s] food.

Similarly Nancy, an amateur, claimed: “I’m not as devout as Tim and Yvonne,” two cultural industry professionals without children who belong to a scotch club as well as a wine club. Mary, an amateur on the periphery of Vancouver foodie culture, also emphasized that food was not ‘the end-all and be-all’ of her life. She had not heard of the “foodie” label before, but she too seemed to recognize a negative quality: “I can’t think of any quirky term that would come to mind. “Foodie” definitely doesn’t work for me at all.”

Most often the negative connotation of “foodie” was associated with being too trendy. For Hannah, a foodie is:

Somebody whose tastes change a little bit more often or who, I don’t know, who go through stages, I guess, more, whereas we pretty much know what we like ... I think that foodies are more into the experimental things and would be out there running around getting the newest things ... the newest equipment in the kitchen.

For these people the food media, whose function is to propagate trends, were considered to be foodies over chefs and amateurs.

Teresa (farmer): I’m a foodie but, yeah, not looking for the latest, greatest craze all the time ... And have you eaten here? And have you eaten there? And have you done this? And have you done that? And there’s a lot of keeping up with the Joneses ... I have contact with the food media, who I think are really the foodie community, in a way, not just chefs that love to cook.

Others made a different distinction between wannabe foodies and authentic foodies.

Pierre (chef): There are people who pretend to be foodies [chuckling]. Well for example ... we have a wine dinner. Some people are really into it. They’re really into the food. They’re really into the wine, and you can spot them from a million miles away. But then you have all the other people who take this occasion to be *seen* for example, you know, and these people don’t really want to be there. And they only find out they don’t want to be there once they’re there, ‘cause they’re with all these people who are so much into the food and wine ... So then these people, who have nothing better to do than to be seen, they have nobody to see them, ‘cause [chuckling], you know, there’s nobody to look at them there. So then they figure, why the hell am I here?

Ellen made a similar distinction between chichi foodies who bought the latest cooking gear and those who were interested in the food.

One affluent woman liked the term “gourmet” which she defined as someone who “cooks off the cuff.” But more often it was considered by both ends of the income spectrum as too “high falutin’” or “pretentious.” *Gourmet* magazine was also seen by some professionals and amateurs as pretentious. There is a history to this attitude that

goes back to Karen and John Hess who ridiculed the “gourmet plague,” represented by Julia Child and Craig Claiborne, for its use of canned escargots and truffles instead of inexpensive, fresh produce. *The Official Foodie Handbook* distinguished rich, old, (white) male gourmets’ tastes for escargots from aspiring foodie couples’ tastes for smoked eel (Barr & Levy 1984). In this scenario you could call foodies “post-gourmets.”

Foodies want to distance themselves from trendy image- and status-conscious consumers, in short from yuppies. Like “yuppie” and that other f-word, “feminist,” “foodie” is seen as a pejorative term. I initially hesitated to use a descriptive label which individuals themselves found wanting. But when I came to realize that they collectively shared this resistance with other subcultures I began to reconsider.

Like foodies, young music fans such as punks or goths typically deny association with mass-mediated trends. They attribute inauthenticity to individuals who passively follow trends and authenticity to those which were initiated face to face (Muggleton 2000). Unlike foodies, however, punks and Goths happily accept their musical labels despite mainstream moral panics. They also display their allegiances with alternative fashion statements. I would guess that the explanation for these differences lies in the demographics of youth on the one hand, and middle-aged people on the other. The latter are perhaps less willing to distance themselves from the mainstream.

There are two more reasons why I have decided to retain the term “foodie.” The first is that the subculture itself has not come up with a better term. A couple of food professionals had tried to do this -- Anne suggested “food savvy” -- but without effect. Food lovers is an acceptable term to foodies. But it denotes too broad a range including gourmets as well as grandmothers who cook within their traditional foodways. The

second is because the ambivalence of the term well reflects the tensions and contradictions in the subculture as a whole. And though foodies may not like the label they grudgingly accept it.

Foodie lifestyles

I have referred to foodies as a subculture, but another word that comes to mind when referring to groups whose identities are heavily shaped by their consumption practices is “lifestyles.” In *Lifestyles* (1996), David Chaney claims this concept needs little elucidation because it has become part of everyday language. I think the contrary is true. The concept of lifestyle has become hard to pin down precisely because it is so prevalent in everyday language. It can refer to an alternative subculture (*The underground lifestyles handbook* (1970)), a life stage (*Transportation for the elderly: changing lifestyles, changing needs* (1979)), a market segment (*Selling to a segmented market: the lifestyle approach* (1990)), even to animals and plants (*Animal lifestyles and anatomies: The case of prosimian primates* (1989) or *Fungal biology: Understanding the fungal lifestyle* (1996)).

Judging by the Simon Fraser University library catalogue, use of the term “lifestyle” peaked in 2000. It first gained widespread use in the seventies when it was most closely associated with countercultural phenomena like recreational drug use or “free love.” This use of the term is still current as witnessed by *The lifestyle: A look at the erotic rites of swingers* (1999). More common today, though, are marketing and sociological uses of the term to connote everyday leisure activities and the values associated them. In a consumer society these activities are based on consumption

practices. Lifestyles are interesting to study because they are a form of collective behaviour.

Given the resemblance between stereotypical yuppies and foodies, let's look first at marketers' understandings of the term. Marketers use the word "lifestyle" as a way of accounting for collectively shared consumption patterns. Their aim is to sell products and they have developed many techniques over the years to attempt to measure consumer motivation and behaviour. Marketers see lifestyles as temporary phenomena that follow the life cycle (Michman 1991).

Marketers began to segment consumer groups with psychographic profiling in the sixties (O'Connor 1997). This combined demographic information based on a consumer's age, sex, life stage, geographic location, income and occupation with profiles of activities, interests, opinions (so-called AIO profiles) and values. "Lifestyle describes how individuals spend their time, what they consider important about their immediate surroundings, their opinions on various issues and their interests" (Michman 1991: 1). Yuppies, or young urban professionals, are an example of a marketing lifestyle. Demographically, yuppies were front-end, urban baby boomers earning above average incomes in the eighties. In terms of psychological profiles, yuppies valued money, new American cuisine, fitness and popular culture. Specifically, they consumed European import cars, stainless steel appliances, squash rackets and Steven Spielberg films (Piesman & Hartley 1984). An archetypal yuppie is the broker Sherman McCoy in Tom Wolfe's *The Bonfire of the Vanities* (1987). In the U.S. in 1988 there were 75 million boomers yet only about 4 million, or 5%, could strictly be called yuppies (Michman 25).²¹ Marketers are interested in yuppies because of their large disposable incomes

ranging from \$30,000 U.S. (Light 20) to over \$50,000 U.S. (Michman 25) depending on the source. These boomers are in their fifties today and spend their leisure time in less demanding activities like golf, bird-watching and going on eco- (and presumably gastro-) tours (Foot & Stoffman 1996). On this view foodies are simply aging yuppies, who in turn were aging hippies.

For a more fine-tuned perspective it is useful to look at Klaus Grunnert's recent study of European food-related lifestyles. Based on quantitative survey data, his team identified six such lifestyles in Denmark: uninvolved, impulsive, conservative, traditional involved, eco-healthy and adventurous food consumers. The adventurous lifestyle offers the best fit for foodies.

They are very interested in cooking, score high on looking for new ways, involve the whole family in the cooking process, are not interested in convenience and reject the notion that cooking is a woman's task. They score high on self-fulfilment and low on security by traditional eating patterns ... Food and food products are an important element in these consumers' lives (Grunnert et al. 2001: 221).

Like eco-healthy food consumers, about half of the adventurous consumers buy organic foods. Unlike them adventurous consumers enjoy cooking. Like impulsive food consumers, adventurous consumers value novelty; unlike them they value self-direction and environmental protection over hedonism and achievement (Grunnert 2001). These impulsive food consumers are rather like the yuppies portrayed in *The Yuppie Handbook*. So we can use marketing research to differentiate foodies from both health food aficionados as well as yuppies. An archetypal foodie is the idealistic, young chef, Jeremy Papier, in Timothy Taylor's *Stanley Park* (2001). Papier cooks up a feast of fresh, local squirrel and raccoon, caught in the eponymous Vancouver park, for an unsuspecting, chichi audience.

In the sociological literature the notion of lifestyle is often referred back to Max Weber's styles of life (*Lebensstile*). For Weber class was not sufficient to understand relations of domination in modern industrial societies. He argued that one needed to consider cultural and political power independently of ownership of the means of production. Haute bourgeois lifestyles, then, were seen as cultural forms of power that took many years to master and thus worked to limit social mobility. Pierre Bourdieu continued to uphold this view regarding late twentieth century consumer society. Bourdieu saw social reproduction working through the cultural predispositions, called "habitus," of various class fractions.

Today the study of lifestyles is mostly undertaken by theorists of (post)modernity who see aestheticized lifestyle identities increasingly overshadowing class identities. These theorists pay more attention to everyday microstructures of power than to macroscopic structures such as class, gender and ethnicity. Lifestyle identities are based on leisure and consumption as opposed to work. They are reflexively-chosen, aesthetic self-expressions.²² For these sociologists too lifestyles are seen as unstable, short-lived choices in an ever expanding field of possible identities. This is roughly the reading given by David Chaney, Derek Wynne and Rob Shields among others. These authors, of course, have different interpretations of contemporary society as either consumer, postindustrial or postmodern, respectively. In each case, however, there is an interpenetration of culture and the economy, as well as a blurring of boundaries between art and everyday life. Mike Featherstone (1993) gives a more nuanced reading understanding urban youth lifestyles as emergent phenomena while class structures remain dominant. In particular Featherstone explains postmodernism in terms of

Bourdieu's rising class fraction of "cultural intermediaries" who struggle to gain legitimacy for themselves as well as for popular culture and everyday life.

I will discuss Wynne (1998) here because his case study of British leisure in a private housing complex in northern England offers an interesting parallel to this research project. Wynne's group was composed of over 200 young and middle-aged families headed by high grade professionals and managers. Compared to the foodies under consideration here, his is a much larger and more affluent group. With 44% of the women working as housewives, his group also has a much more traditional gender division of labour (1998: 57). Wynne's group of professionals is homogenous in housing but not in leisure. Their lifestyles are riven by gender, occupation, education and social origin.

Women's leisure is restricted by domestic work. 5% of the women are employed as managers as compared with 43% of the men. Professionals account for 33% of the men (1998: 57-67). Wynne finds a cultural cleavage between professionals and managers that is an effect of their differences in educational capital; twice as many professionals as managers had college degrees.

Residents with college degrees are more likely to practise sport and less likely to use the bar as compared with those who have high school educations and working class origins. Of the college-educated, those who had middle class origins tend to frequent sports facilities elsewhere, while those with working class origins are more likely to use the facilities in the complex. Residents with high education and working class origins are also least likely to attend dinner parties and most likely to maintain work friendships. All residents socialized with leisure acquaintances over work acquaintances and immediate

neighbours. Much like Featherstone, Wynne concluded that while work identities remain important they are declining with respect to leisure identities.

None of the sources I have drawn on above talk explicitly about foodies, though Grunnert's work denotes a European variant. Simple marketing accounts see foodies as aging yuppies, but Grunnert (2001) sees them as a segment of adventurous consumers who are interested in values of self-development as opposed to hedonism (except in France). He also claims they form a stable lifestyle because childhood experiences "in fact have decisive effects on food preferences for the rest of life."

Like Grunnert, Bourdieu and Featherstone also talk about the new cultural intermediaries as having ascetic tastes for health foods and personal growth (Bourdieu 1984; Featherstone 1993). They would see foodies as a subset of this stable class fraction which is in the process of legitimating itself by aestheticizing the domain of everyday cooking. (I will discuss this position in detail in the next chapter.) Sociologists such as Chaney and Shields, however, would more likely see foodie lifestyles as unstable associations based on passing interests in gourmet or exotic cooking. Lifestyles are "... ways of playing with identity" (Chaney 1996: 44). Zygmunt Bauman (1996) is more pessimistic. He sees postmodern identities as seeking to avoid fixation. He ties together four versions of postmodern identity under the metaphors of the flâneur (Benjamin 1986), the vagabond or nomad (Melucci 1989), the player (DeCerteau 1984) and the tourist (Urry 1990). On this view the foodie would be most like the tourist. She owns a home and insatiably seeks out new exotic experiences, albeit in a safe and domesticated form.

While foodies may be insatiable they prefer direct encounters with the exotic.

Here is Bob's story of his night in Seoul, Korea.

Bob (amateur): So I was looking for seafood and I found a seafood place and it's all, I could see the tank and it's like, they had like little octopuses and so I said I'd like that. I assumed that they were, you know, gonna prepare them somewhere but ... it was like womp, right? Right there in front of me, and then cooked as it's moving around, right before me, so that I could have it when it's just still quivering, you know. And squid same thing.... *chopped* right in front of me, I mean it splattered on me and as it's cooking like, the tentacles are moving, she's going, motioning to me to eat it now [laughing]. I waited a little bit but I had it, It was good, it was good.²³

More to the point they describe their interests in food, as well as their initial forays into the kitchen, taking hold as children and teenagers. This was as true for twenty somethings as it was for seventy somethings. Foodies do not see themselves as trying on various identities. Instead cooking simply with fresh organic produce is a long term interest as well as a set of skills mastered over time. One might wonder whether foodies are mistaken, in the sense that they retell their personal stories in line with changing interests and values. This may well be the case for some foodies but it was not the case for the four seniors I spoke to, nor for any of the food professionals. Two professionals had in fact made career changes but continued to hold on to foodie practices and values. Stefanie transformed herself from an amateur foodie into a personal chef.

Stefanie (chef): People ask me what's it like, do you still love cooking now that you've made it a business, right? And certainly the focus has changed. I don't read as much for enjoyment. I used to always be reading magazines ... I probably read as much and do as much research, but it's more targeted to clients or trends ... So it's a different focus, but I still love it ... Even entertaining at home has become simpler. ... [I no longer] live eat and breathe cooking.

Or consider Nancy, one of the amateurs, who was for a time married to another foodie in Toronto. At that time she and her husband liked to make bread and pasta from scratch. When this relationship dissolved she gave up many of her foodie practices, but she took many of them up again in her second marriage.

Nancy (amateur): I went through a period of not cooking a lot because my marriage broke up, and I ate out in restaurants every day, and I [cooked] one meal a year at my house, so Thanksgiving turkey or what have you, in Toronto. And uh it took many years, and then I started settling down again. Sam and I got together. I started cooking and then, when we moved here ten years ago, all of Sam's friends here are quite foodie.

In both these cases a significant turning point changed everyday practice but it did not affect overall lifestyle values and identities. From my own experience too, I do not see myself abandoning preferences for unpasteurized cheeses in the event of changes in my marital status. At the level of the social group as well, the style of new American cuisine and the penchant for stainless steel kitchens is still going strong after thirty years unlike, say, punk rock.

The concept of lifestyle as developed so far is of limited use for understanding foodies. It characterizes lifestyles as unstable choices where my interviews and experience in the culture suggest that foodie lifestyles are stable; at the level of the individual as well as that of the collective. The concept of lifestyles also downplays the role of work identities which are central to foodie culture given that the hardcore are high-end professional chefs. Work identities are also relevant for the amateurs who socialize with other foodies and engage in foodie practices at the workplace. This happens, as we will see in the next chapter, because occupational roles are structurally related to lifestyle choices. Occupational roles and educational fields are chosen to the same degree as lifestyles are chosen by the middle class. Finally, the concept of lifestyle,

except as used by Giddens and Chaney, ignores ethical and political dimensions to foodies' preferences for local, organic food.

Some thoughts on Giddens

Giddens' approach to the question of lifestyles is so idiosyncratic that I feel compelled to deal with it separately. His analysis, in fact, has direct bearing on the research at hand. Giddens too takes the postindustrial thesis as his starting point yet he avoids the pitfalls mentioned above. His notion of lifestyle has a political as well as an aesthetic dimension. He explicitly links his theoretical work with the empirical research tradition concerning new social movements. These are generally agreed to connote extra-parliamentary movements, and they denote the women's, environmental, sexual identity, peace, youth, anti-poverty, neo-religious and civil rights movements.

Giddens claims that modernization has now reached its global limits. We are living in a post-traditional (but not postmodern) society and a "denaturalized nature." In such a world abstract, global systems -- capitalism, industrialism, militarism, science and technology -- produce unintentional risks, such as nuclear war and environmental disaster. This situation has produced reflexivity at the level of individuals. We discursively construct identities and lifestyles which are at the same time fragile and "reasonably stable" (1991: 54). They are fragile because we are capable of changing our lifestyles but they are stable because our biographical narratives of identity weather important life transitions.

There is also increasing self-referentiality at the level of systems. Capitalism together with science and technology has undermined the authority of tradition. As a result only external ethical criteria can be applied, in particular those that arise out of the

existential human condition. Giddens identifies four basic existential issues: 1) nature, 2) human finitude, 3) other selves, and 4) the self. He then neatly matches these up with new social movements as follows: 1) radical ecology, 2) feminism, 3) the peace and anti-poverty movements, and 4) the human potential²⁴ and health food movements (Giddens 1991). Giddens holds out his greatest hope for a radical “lifestyle politics” in the ecology movement, which he distinguishes from reformist environmentalism.

To back up this optimistic claim Giddens cites Alberto Melucci’s work. Melucci has done empirical work with women, youth, ecologists and neo-religious movements¹⁷ in Milan. He does not use the terms “lifestyle” or “life politics” but talks about personal forms of politics which display themselves publicly on occasion. For the most part, social movements pursue experiments with forms of consciousness as well as with social organization away from the public eye. As a celebratory postmodernist Melucci sees the fragmentation and instability of contemporary social movements as strengths rather than weaknesses.²⁵ They better address the needs of contemporary, local struggles at the micropolitical level. Melucci (1985) also sees personal politics structured by class as well as by individual resources and unconscious personal motivations. For example, middle-class, educated youth and women are more likely to have green values.

Bauman vehemently disagrees with Giddens about lifestyle politics. He rants against what he sees as an overly personal politics that has no collective or “capital ‘P’ political” effect (Bauman 2000: 39). Bauman insists that class still matters because lifestyles are class specific and not randomly distributed across classes. Similarly Klaus Eder, a German theorist of new social movements, looks to the class fraction of cultural professionals as a potential agent of social change in struggles around the environment.

I agree with Bauman and Eder that class still matters. Giddens does not deny this but he argues that class politics is a politics of “life chances” as opposed to lifestyles which are political struggles around other structural issues such as gender and ethnicity. I think that Giddens underestimates the extent to which class is bound up with lifestyle and will pursue this idea in the next chapter through the work of Pierre Bourdieu. I am also skeptical of Giddens’ attempt to wrap up the world of practice in four neat existential bundles. But his understanding of reflexive lifestyle choices as part of the stable construction of identities in a post-traditional social world corresponds closely with foodies’ self-narratives. His emphasis on ethical lifestyles and environmental politics has direct bearing on foodies in Vancouver as well. To my understanding he is not arguing that lifestyle politics develop out of tastes but conversely that they express an ethical stand. In Chapter Four I will show how he is on the mark regarding foodies’ cultural politics centred around small-scale, local, artisanal, organic food.

Conclusion

It is tempting to situate the origin of a “post-gourmet” or foodie lifestyle in the seventies along with postmodernism and postindustrialism (Harvey 1989, Ley 1997). Like Harvey, we might choose 1973 as the origin. This was the year that the guidebook *Gault-Millau* coined the term “nouvelle cuisine” in France (Mennell 1985). It was the year that Craig Claiborne wrote a *New York Times* story on Betty Fussell’s new stainless steel kitchen (Fussell 1999). The seventies is the decade of the expansion of nouvelle cuisine around the globe and the birth of urban lifestyle magazines like *Vancouver Magazine*. We could locate hints of the transformation in the sixties with Patricia’s pilgrimage to Vienne, Julia Child’s television show on PBS, and Betty Fussell’s “kitchen

wars,” the competition among academic wives to cook authentic French dishes from scratch (1999: 157).

But then what would we make of Mennell’s (1985) contention that nouvelle cuisine’s quest for the simple and natural is part of a much longer historical trend going all the way back to 1651. This was the year La Varenne published the first book on distinctively French as opposed to European cuisine. At the turn of the nineteenth century Carême simplified haute cuisine presentations and codified procedures, and Grimod published gastronomic reviews which became the forerunner of contemporary restaurant reviews. At the turn of the twentieth century Escoffier rationalized the hotel restaurant kitchen and toward the end of his life moved towards more simple cooking (Hess & Hess 1977; Mennell 1985). Taking the long view, Mennell sees a continuity between gourmet and foodie tastes. Like gourmet lifestyles of conspicuous consumption before them, foodie lifestyles are a stable product of consumer capitalism.

Unlike early 20th century gourmets, many foodies are also women. Vancouver foodies are also less interested in the gourmet distinction between haute cuisine and popular foods. They tend to like both as long as they are fresh and local, whether this is wild Taku salmon,²⁶ Fanny Bay oyster burgers or sushi. In other words “local” can refer to the source of the ingredients or to local traditions from long-standing and vibrant Chinese, Japanese and Indian communities. Because Vancouver foodies are interested in their own regional culture, we should expect some regional differences in foodie cultures around the globe. Indeed on his food web log Tom Saaristo claims that Chicago foodies are particularly proud of their populist foods: “People come from all over the world to

have Chicago-style [deep dish] pizza²⁷ and Chicago-style hot dogs” (personal communication).

In this chapter we have also seen a slight difference between professional and amateur foodie lifestyles. The professionals typically have more culinary know-how than the amateurs. They also form a more cohesive community as they often socialize with other food industry professionals. Most importantly they have work and leisure identities which coincide and thus have a stronger investment in foodie culture. Where professionals and amateurs meet is in their values. They do not form two distinct cultures.

I have argued that foodies are not necessarily yuppies. Neither are they gourmets or post-gourmets though they are a contemporary variant on the food connoisseur. They practise a food-related lifestyle that is linked to broader forms of class distinction as well as to political issues. In later chapters I shall argue that a number of foodie identifications -- for example, the organic and slow food movements of recent years -- have a distinctly alternative character.

We had a pork hock in the cassoulet and that cooked *all* day and we had some sausages with that ... with Dupuy French lentils, you know, which is an AOC lentil. AOC in France, as you know, it means appellation d'origine contrôlée. So you have that on wine, you have that on cheese as well, thirty-three of them. But you also have that on specific fruits and vegetables, and lentils, French lentils Dupuy, is one of them ... But if it comes from a specific region it can have the label AOC on it. So it's basically control of quality and ... you can get these products here but they're very expensive. (Pierre, chef)

3

Please pass the mustard fruit:

Cultural distinction and the new middle class

Pierre is a chef at an upscale restaurant in Vancouver. He is a francophone Canadian who trained at the well-respected *Institut de Tourisme et Hôtellerie du Québec* in Montreal. He loves French food and made the above-mentioned cassoulet, a hearty winter dish from southern France traditionally made with white beans, pork, and confit.²⁸ In his version Pierre has substituted Dupuy lentils for the traditional white beans. He bought these lentils through his restaurant supplier though they are also available at select stores like Vancouver's Gourmet Warehouse.

At home Pierre is a foodie. (Not all chefs are foodies.) Foodies are passionate connoisseurs who shop at specialty stores for novel ingredients and continually experiment with new techniques and cuisines. They can taste the difference between white beans, brown lentils and French green lentils; some can even distinguish AOC French lentils Dupuy.²⁹ The fact that an AOC lentil costs ten times more than an

ordinary brown lentil leads to the question of whether foodies use cultural distinction as a sign of social status.

As we saw in the last chapter food has long been a symbol of status and yet foodies are not gourmets who value haute cuisine above all others. Vancouver foodies delight as much or more in exotic, regional and popular foods like Indian cuisine (Vij's) or Chicago smoked meat (Kaplan's Deli). In fact, Pierre's favourite restaurants are the Provençal Pastis and a modest Lebanese bistro called Habibi's. In this chapter I will explain the foodie phenomenon by looking at structural changes wrought by the shift to a postindustrial consumer society in advanced capitalist countries. The high end of the food service sector, like the media and tourist industries, is a paragon postindustrial service because like them it is culturally loaded. I will argue that foodie consumption practices are not simply a lifestyle choice but one shared by the class fraction of new middle class professionals. Many theorists of postmodernity deny that class continues to be important for lifestyles but I will present evidence to the contrary. Contemporary lifestyles are strongly linked with the middle class fraction of cultural and social professionals.

In *Bobos in Paradise* journalist David Brooks uses foodies as a prime example of the new information age elite he calls "bohemian bourgeois;" bobos for short (Brooks 2000: 11). Bobos express an uneasy mix of sixties bohemian cultural values with bourgeois economic mores. They marry intuition and self-expression with rationality and self-improvement. They tie pleasure to usefulness. For instance, bobos are hardworking travelers seeking the slowest routes and the most remote places, because what is important is bohemian edification and bourgeois effort. Bobo leisure, like their work, is

serious and self-actualizing. Bobos condemn luxury consumption but they happily spend large sums of money on sober, useful things such as professional quality mountaineering equipment, sports utility vehicles and healthy “cognoscenti lettuces” as opposed to formal wear, sports cars and foie gras (2000: 86). Brooks’ examples of archetypical bobos include: Al Gore, leader of the U.S. Democratic Party, Jerry Seinfeld, television comedian, as well as Lori and Ed Kerpius, owners of a franchise of the Great Harvest Bread Company.

Ed got his MBA in 1987 and moved to Chicago, where he was a currency trader. Then, as if driven by the winds of the zeitgeist, he gave up on the Decade of Greed stuff so he could spend more time with his family and community ... They greet you warmly as you walk in the door ... A short lecture commences on the naturalness of the ingredients and the authenticity of the baking process, which in fact, is being carried out right there in front of you ... If you ask them to slice the bread in the store, they look at you compassionately as one who has not yet risen to the higher realms of bread consciousness. But they give you an information sheet for those who might want to slice the bread at home when it is at a more appropriate temperature (2000: 56).

This particular store was also judged worthy by foodies at Food Television, where it was featured on the series *Best Of* in 2002. Like adventure vacations, culinary know-how combines nature and nostalgia with ambition.

It is no accident that Brooks often uses food connoisseurs to represent this elite group. As we will see in the next chapter, foodies have a foot in both the world of the organic counterculture as well as that of middle class distinction. Brooks is a journalist with keen observation who describes this elite in exquisite detail. And with only occasional self-loathing he applauds the bobo society as interesting, edifying and meritocratic. “It’s good to live in a Boboworld” (2000: 270).

I am more reserved in my judgement. I begin with Brooks because he offers an insightful and humourous introduction to the new middle class. Brooks' exemplars of this educated elite are, like himself, almost all cultural professionals in fields such as the media, politics and the academy. He himself does not note this fact but generalizes from his own particular experience. Since his account does not attempt to explain the foodie phenomenon, I will turn now to sociologists' attempts to grapple with cultural specialists in a postindustrial consumer society.

The new middle class

Sociologists on the left have been talking about a "new class" of educated professionals since at least the 1950s. The term was initially used by Marxists to describe the power of bureaucrats in Soviet Russia. It soon came to be used to describe technical and managerial positions between capital and labour in the West. In the seventies Daniel Bell and Alvin Gouldner noted divisions within the new class between humanistic and technical intellectuals. While Gouldner celebrated the humanist intellectual's criticism of the status quo, Bell lamented that the "culturati" were promoting a growing hedonism that threatened the Protestant work ethic (Gouldner 1979, Bell 1970: 43). Bell was moving to the right and the neoconservatives of the seventies and eighties appropriated the "new class" term into their populist rhetoric. Here the term denoted the so-called liberal elite; intellectuals in the academy and the media (Ehrenreich 1989). Since the nineties, analysis of the cultural professions has enjoyed renewed interest on the left. The new cultural class is still associated with hedonistic lifestyles, but now the class is also linked with gentrification, women, the public sector and a postindustrial service economy.

This shift from a primarily technical to a cultural new class can be witnessed in the work of Lash and Urry. In *The End of Organized Capitalism* (1987) Lash and Urry initially defined the new middle class in line with earlier sociological writing on the importance of administrators, professionals and technicians who implemented scientific management principles in a modern, industrial economy. In *Economies of Signs and Space* (1994), however, the term moves in a cultural direction. Lash and Urry here describe a class of professionals working in education, health, media, software and business services. Though software and business services are, strictly speaking, technical services, Lash and Urry see them as culturally laden because of the reflexivity involved. They are produced in small batches with constant innovation. They also stress the importance of reflexively appropriated cultural content at the level of consumption.

The services that the middle-class professional may consume, physiotherapy, psychotherapy, windsurfing lessons, jazz, symphony and rock concerts, “exotic restaurants,” exotic tourism and art museums, are all linked to a higher “quality” of life. What is important here is not so much the quality-of-life notion, but the increased symbolic content of the services toward the top of the hierarchy ... and contra Castells it is indeed symbols and not only information that is crucial here (1994: 221).

Here reflexivity is the mark of postindustrial society.

Like Bell, Bourdieu was one of the first to link the class fractions of the “new tastemakers” and “new cultural intermediaries” to a new consumer hedonism in his book *Distinction* (1984: 310, 359). This work, published in France in 1976 and based on surveys and interviews from the sixties, is concerned with the conflicting tastes that express class struggles among the haute bourgeoisie, the petite bourgeoisie and the working class. He aims to do for Kant what Marx did for Hegel, namely to give a material base for philosophical idealism. Bourdieu understands taste as a system of

meaning that can be mapped directly onto class fractions which differ by their amount and type of capital. Bourdieu distinguishes among several types of capital: economic, social, cultural, linguistic, educational and body capital. He uses this economic metaphor to highlight the ease with which one can convert one form of resources to another. He is best known for his concept of “cultural capital.” By this term Bourdieu means primarily an appreciation and knowledge of the fine arts (literature, painting, music, etc.) but also good manners and good grammar. These are correlated first with educational qualifications and second with early childhood familiarity.

Bourdieu argues that the tastes acquired while earning a university degree (especially at an elite university degree from the Sorbonne or the University of British Columbia) can be converted into economic or social capital. For instance, an elite degree gives access to higher paying jobs as well as enabling excellent social connections. Vice versa, a bourgeois social position can pay for an elite education.

Bourdieu analyzes social class in terms of a structuralist system of relations. Each class is broken down into fractions by occupational sector. Thus the (haute) bourgeoisie is made up of self-employed professionals, large industrial and commercial employers and higher education teachers. Traditional professionals, like doctors and lawyers, have both high cultural and high economic capital. The employers have high economic but low cultural capital, while the intellectual group (to which Bourdieu belongs) has high cultural and low economic capital. As a result of their lower economic position, the teachers are said to be ‘the dominated fraction of the dominant class’ (1984: 254). He claims they are therefore sympathetic to other dominated classes and sometimes use their cultural capital to subvert the bourgeois symbolic order. They do this by ostentatious

simplicity. In other words, by privileging simple goods over luxury items they condemn bourgeois excess.

The petite bourgeoisie can also be broken down into culturally-rich fractions (artisans and office workers) and economically-rich fractions (the small shopkeepers that French intellectuals like to ridicule). The working class similarly divides into workers with bourgeois origins and foremen.

For Bourdieu the appreciation of the arts is homologously related to tastes in sport, home décor as well as “elementary” tastes for food (1984: 196). The professionals, who have the means to meet their tastes, are temperate hedonists. They prefer haute cuisine, yachting, Van Gogh and Stravinsky. Factory workers, resigned to their lot, find convivial pleasure in heavy, elaborate casseroles, *boules* played in the local park, and Strauss waltzes). The culturally-rich teachers are serious ascetics who prefer exotic and rustic cuisine, hiking, Bach and Picasso. “The teachers ... pursue originality at the lowest economic cost and go in for exoticism (Italian, Chinese cooking etc.) and culinary populism (peasant dishes)” (1984: 185). The tastes of the dominated fractions are all formed by what Bourdieu calls “rational necessity” or rationalizations of what is necessary. In other words, since the teachers cannot afford the antique they buy what is rustic. Since they have less cultural capital than the artists they prefer rare but well-known modernist works. The principle involved here is an economic one: maximum distinction for minimum cost.

The new or “renovated bourgeoisie” is the rising class fraction of tastemakers; for example, young private sector executives in travel, fashion, media, and marketing (1984: 366). Like traditional professionals they combine economic and cultural capital but they

have more market-oriented values. Along with their employees, the new cultural intermediaries, they are said to be at the vanguard of an emergent ethic of hedonism. But as new or ascending fractions, they exhibit a concern with self-improvement and social anxiety similar to the petite bourgeoisie. Their ethic of sobriety includes educational leisure and countercultural health, diet and exercise lifestyles imported from California. They “invent and market a new form of poor-man’s elitism, close to the teachers’ version but more ostentatiously unconventional” (1984: 220).³⁰ As they struggle to legitimate themselves they blur traditional cultural hierarchies of high and mass tastes. They apply aesthetic criteria to previously illegitimate areas such as pulp fiction and everyday life.

I like Bourdieu’s work because of its complexity and longevity. His analysis is almost thirty years old and yet still compelling and lively. He makes extremely fine-tuned distinctions between rising and descending class fractions (new cultural intermediaries vs. primary school teachers), public and private sector cultures, Parisian and provincial tastes, occupational differences within a given fraction (artists vs. teachers), even new and old tastes in a single occupation. He is sometimes compared to poststructuralists like Derrida and Foucault because he details the microdomination of everyday life. But *Distinction* is very much a structuralist work. Bourdieu highlights the structures of possible subjective dispositions or “habitus” as well as objective economic structures which together reproduce consumer capitalist society. More importantly, he posits taste as a homologous system of class differences.

Bourdieu in North America

One question that sociologists have recently been debating is how applicable Bourdieu’s theory is to North America today. On the economic side, global

postindustrializing forces produce many similarities among neoliberal societies like France, Britain, the U.S. and Canada. On the cultural side, there are profound differences in the education and media systems as well as national cultural differences between France and America. For example, North America has a more democratic culture as suggested by the fact that the marked term is “upper middle class” here and “*petite bourgeoisie*” in France. In the United States, more people consider themselves middle class; including 61% of upper middle class professionals and 33% of blue collar workers. America has been and continues to be a highly socially mobile society with more college-educated professionals than France (19% vs. 11% in 1985) (Lamont 1992: 200).

There have been several empirical studies to address the question of Bourdieu in America. DiMaggio (1994) has shown that the opposition between high and popular tastes in the United States is not as pronounced as in France. In the U.S. higher education correlates positively with consumption of all forms of culture. Holt (1998), however, finds that homologous class consumption practices hold in food, décor and art between new class professionals and workers. In a U.S. rural college town, he found that professional consumption practices were more aestheticized, critical and individualized than workers’ practices.

For example, while both class fractions collect things, their collecting practices differ. Professionals collect as connoisseurs with a nuanced understanding of differences among objects, whereas workers invest collected objects with personal meanings and collect “‘almost anything’ for the right price” (1998: 15). Again, though both value diversity in consumption they understand very different things by this term. “What is exotic for LCCs [those with low cultural capital] is mundane for HCCs [those with high

cultural capital], and what is exotic for HCCs is unfathomable or repugnant to LCCs” (1998: 13).

The most sophisticated of these empirical comparisons is Michèle Lamont’s study *Money, Moral, & Manners* (1992). Lamont (a Québécois by birth) evaluated the cultural, moral and socio-economic distinction practices of French and American college-educated, professional men. Comparing them, she found that work rather than leisure formed the self-identity for both groups. Contrasting them, she found that Americans were less culturally exclusionary than the French, especially the Parisians, as well as more open to new cultural habits. She further found that though both American and French professionals interpreted intelligence and sophistication as cultural markers, they meant very different things by these terms. In France, intelligence means playfulness, eloquence and abstraction; while sophistication means refinement. In America intelligence is instead identified with competence, knowledge of facts and organization; sophistication is familiarity with scientific culture and European cosmopolitanism.

Lamont’s method categorized occupations based on their distance from the market in order to gauge internal class variation. She compares 1) “salaried social and cultural specialists” working in non-profit sectors, 2) those working in the private sector and other public sector professionals, 3) salaried private-sector professionals, and 4) self-employed professionals. She finds that the first fraction is the most liberal on social issues precisely because it is most removed from market norms:

...the relationship people have with economic rationality through their work – i.e. whether their work is oriented toward profit maximization or toward other educational, scientific, humanitarian, or religious goals – directly impinges on their political attitudes (1992: 152).

She also finds that social and cultural specialists draw the strongest cultural boundaries, especially those who were third generation upper middle class. These professionals draw an equal number of moral boundaries as compared to self-employed professionals yet the American cultural professionals do not draw corresponding socio-economic boundaries. Lamont also noted significant moral differences but few cultural differences between New York and Indianapolis.

Lamont thus argues that cultural and moral boundaries need not entail a system of social distinction or a zero-sum power game. Only where there is consensus around cultural norms is this the case. In other words American social and cultural specialists are less concerned with making socio-economic distinctions than either their French counterparts or their private sector compatriots. Lamont concludes that Bourdieu overestimated the importance of both cultural and economic boundaries while underestimating moral ones. She claims this is in keeping with his social location as a Parisian intellectual.

We can also look to the work of Vancouver geographer David Ley (1997) for a Canadian application. Ley studies gentrification, the phenomenon of inner-city residential and commercial renewal, which is most advanced in cities with an economy dominated by advanced services (professional, administrative and technical services). Like Lamont, he emphasizes the role of humanistic professionals and the public sector; unlike her he also addresses the question of gender in the new middle class. Women are implicated because they are overrepresented in public service. Ley uses a categorization of occupations similar to Lamont's to explain differences in the sequence of gentrification: 1) cultural professionals, 2) social science professionals and public sector

managers, 3) traditional professionals (doctors, lawyers) and 4) business professionals.

He notes that this sequence correlates well with university disciplines that were receptive to the countercultural values of the sixties student movement. Ley found that cultural professionals, especially artists, initiate gentrification processes while business professionals are the last group to move in.

... [T]he spatial sequence coincides with the sequence of political attitudes, and also because those attitudes of the 1960s have survived to reappear in the social geography of the city twenty years later. The spatialization of the critical values of 1968 leads to a zonation of residential options; from the standpoint of these values, the suburbs invoke conformity, the inner city, dissent. In both sequences the arts, and artists, are at the centre, simultaneously the core of adversarial values, and the most centralized in urban space (1997: 197).

Thus Ley adds inner city housing as another element of new cultural class distinction.

Though 80% of the new middle class live in the suburbs, the new cultural class is in the first wave of gentrifying the inner city. This class fraction is also linked with postindustrial profile cities, new household arrangements, municipal reform and the sixties counterculture.

Ley too notes that the new cultural class is not coextensive with stereotypical eighties yuppies. Ley admits there is some statistical evidence for the stereotype, notably the low number of children in gentrifier households. But he disputes the youth of gentrifiers as well as their conservative politics. Politics are instead correlated with occupational distance from the market such that the cultural and caring professions are the most liberal. While inner-city dwelling business professionals share the cultural class critique of suburban conformity they do not share its social critique of modernization.

Ley describes these new cultural class professionals as journalists, marketers and social workers and so on. He argues that new middle class self-identity is formed in the

consumption of cultural goods. Following Bourdieu he explicitly identifies them as new cultural intermediaries with an ethos of healthy hedonism. Both Bourdieu's term and Ley's term are slight misnomers because they marginalize those involved in the caring professions such as health and social services. Instead Ley emphasizes the leading role of the artist. This suits my purposes too. Though a "restaurant" can be considered a caring institution, as suggested by its etymology from the French "*restaurer*," in the context of consumer society food services have become cultural goods. High-end chefs are considered artists of the everyday. They are archetypal foodies setting the subculture's trends and values. Their culinary expertise or "culinary capital" can be seen as a subset of an expanded notion of cultural capital which includes popular culture and everyday life.³¹ Though Bourdieu sees chefs as art craftsmen, in North America they increasingly have college credentials (Ferguson & Zukin 1981). By applying aesthetic criteria to the mundane world of food they legitimate new arenas of culture. Chefs produce haute cuisine but because they themselves have low economic capital they cannot afford to pay the prices charged at their restaurants on a regular basis. Their preference for ostentatiously exotic and reasonably priced food describes Pierre quite well.³²

Pierre (chef): I'd rather go to ten restaurants on the same budget than one restaurant, you know what I mean? And I always try to find value for money, and around here there's this little place called Thai Away Home which is really cheap, and they do lovely food, and it's very convenient for me to get some food from there. So that's an example. I've never been to Lumière [one of Vancouver's best restaurants].

So despite Pierre's occasional indulgence in AOC lentils his everyday consumption is cheaper ethnic fare.

New cultural class members in this study

The foodies I interviewed were deliberately chosen from a variety of neighbourhoods with the aim of including a mixture of class and income levels. These ranged from the downtown Westend to working class suburbs of Surrey and New Westminister; from the wealthy northern suburbs of West and North Vancouver to rural Vancouver Island. Unexpectedly, however, I found that my participants were virtually all from the new cultural class. Partly this was a function of the research design which used my own and my chef husband's social networks as a starting point for recruiting participants.³³ Nonetheless this does not account for all the conformity. One participant who was related to a university colleague of mine was one of the few outside the new class while two others contacted through a local cooking class were both new cultural class members.

Based on occupation, all but one out of twenty participants occupied (semi-) professional or managerial positions in cultural and social services. Half of my participants were employed in the high-end food service industry, either as chefs, media professionals or artisanal farmers. As expected, the chefs here were highly educated. One chef was self-taught but two had college diplomas and one had a Master's degree. The farmers I interviewed were urban professionals who had moved back to the land. These are new farmers who are also involved in agricultural tourism, an advanced service, in order to make ends meet. Of the nine amateurs, eight were (or had been) new cultural class members: three teachers, a public health researcher, a media publicist, two nurses, and a public service officer. The remaining amateur was a 76-year-old retired supermarket employee.

In several households there was a mix of class fractions. The two most affluent households were headed by lawyers; one married to a former nurse and the other to a former teacher. Another nurse and former teacher were married to a male business professional and a salesman respectively. Also one chef was married to a telecommunications manager. In terms of education nine participants had a university degree (four with graduate degrees) and another eight had a college diploma. Three had completed high school.

Almost half the households (eight) were located in gentrified or gentrifying neighbourhoods such as the Westend, Gastown, Fairview and Grandview-Woodlands. Even more (eleven) had undertaken or were in the process of undertaking home renovations, especially kitchen renovations. And in the case of the rural households both had renovated old farmhouses. Ley (1997) notes that the meanings and values of the inner city were closer to those of the country than to suburbia.

The case of Larry

In order to underscore the importance of class I'd like to discuss the case of the only individual in this study who was not a member of the new cultural class. At 76 Larry was the oldest person I interviewed. His father had been a farmer. He completed high school in 1942 and then took a job at a North Vancouver Safeway supermarket. Over the years he worked his way up from stock boy to supervisor of the import section for the store. His wife never worked outside the home and together they raised four children. They continue to live in a modest bungalow in a working class suburb. As a mass retail service worker with a high school education and suburban lifestyle, Larry has low cultural capital.

On the one hand, Larry is unaware of both the current trends of new American cuisine and the latest hip restaurants. He socializes with no one outside of his family with an interest in food. He does not read the food magazines. When asked if he considered himself a foodie, Larry had never heard of the term. On the other hand, Larry has had a lifelong passion for food. He fondly recounted how his Cajun father-in-law had made a beef bourgignon for his future wife's sixteenth birthday. He traveled in Europe and enjoys sampling a variety of cuisines from Greek to Thai. Before his stroke he also tried his hand at cooking *pommes Anna*, spanakopita and chow mein and also made his own wine and beer. When he renovated his kitchen he put in a centre island and now desires stainless steel appliances. While he was still working he read the food magazines on his breaks, especially *Bon Appetit*, and he now enjoys watching food television.

Recall Charles' definition of a foodie as one who "has a passion for food and a reasonable knowledge" rather than credentials. Larry certainly has the passion and some knowledge but it is unclear whether other foodies in the study would agree he had sufficient knowledge. In my foodie mode I would question the authenticity of Larry's Chinese and Cajun recipes because his use of spices does not extend much beyond five spice powder, chili powder and Tabasco sauce.³⁴ A "reasonable knowledge" is of course not an objective matter but within the subculture there is agreement that it is the high-end professionals who set the standards.

Teresa (farmer): You can be serving the most decadent or expensive thing to some rich person, but I always feel it's the chefs, who maybe don't have as much money, that can appreciate the ingredient, who actually appreciate it more than the rich people, who can have it whenever they want.

Professional connoisseurship or expert knowledge is the foodie ideal. A reasonable knowledge for amateurs, however, is a basic culinary understanding with a willingness to learn more.

Arthur (food writer): One person I always admire is Julia, and I know Julia and she just turned 88, and she's always learning. Always!

At 76 Larry is still learning too. Though he no longer cooks he likes to watch food television, read cookbooks and eat out at new restaurants. He is a foodie though his lower culinary capital keeps him on the periphery of the subculture.

The case of P.L. Ragde

Consider now the case of a self-described amateur foodie with extremely high cultural capital. P.L. Ragde is not among my participants but his case underlines the importance of connoisseurship, authenticity and other forms of culinary capital for foodies.

While researching Vancouver restaurants on the web one day I happened upon a web page designed by a computer scientist at the University of Waterloo. Ragde is a public sector academic with heaps of cultural capital. Judging by his personal web pages he is a connoisseur of music and travel as well as food. While working at Simon Fraser University in the academic year 1997-1998, Ragde took it upon himself to review the various restaurants he and his family dined in and to post the results on the web. I have included his reviews in Appendix IV. He compares Vancouver restaurants with those in the U.S., France and Italy. For example, Ragde describes the local upscale seafood restaurant C in the language of a food critic:

Ragde (amateur): Not as pyrotechnic as, say, Eos in San Francisco, but perhaps that's an unfair comparison. Some items fall flat, but there are surprising notes: barbecued eel is overwhelmed by kimchee, but the kimchee itself is fresh and sweet rather than dull and sour. Good presentation, friendly and helpful service. An upscale destination of choice for the adventurous, but be prepared to shell out.

Regarding another high-end operation, Lesley Stowe caterers, he says: "Chi-chi operation with a few deli selections and some overpriced condiments. Limited and expensive though well-chosen cheese selection. Not to my taste, clearly." Ragde displays culinary capital when he makes distinctions among Korean condiments and French cheeses. And like Lamont's cultural and social specialists he explicitly makes stronger cultural than economic distinctions.

Ragde's preferences also substantiate Bourdieu's claim that exotic restaurants are chosen by intellectuals because they provide maximum distinction at minimum prices. Over the course of the year Ragde reviewed 80 restaurants, visiting some of them on several occasions. Thus he ate out with his family at least twice a week for lunch or dinner. Of these, 57 are ethnic representing Chinese (15), Japanese (14), Italian (6), Indian (6) and Greek (4). Diversity is clearly important to him whether this is the diversity of cuisines or the diversity of menu choices. Here he comments on an Italian ice cream parlour, Casa Gelato:

Ragde (amateur): In an industrial section of East Vancouver ... an ice-cream parlour stocks 120 selections at a time, including such oddities as ginger-garlic, wasabi, basil pernod, and durian, as well as a whole raft of more traditional chocolate- and nut-based flavours. In lesser hands this would be a joke, or 120 variations on vanilla. But the flavours are intense, the mouthfeel smooth without being cloying or overwhelming. It's rare to find an ice-cream place of this quality, so make it a priority to visit.

In terms of exotic culinary experiences he also values authenticity. The Malaysian Tropika is: “Clearly authentic (Chinese-Malaysian, that is; I have no idea if there's indigenous Malay cuisine) and catering at least partly to a home crowd” and Hombres is “not just the usual dull Cal-Mex.”

It is interesting to note is that Ragde’s choices reflect what is available in of the average metropolitan Canadian city. The top five ethnic cuisines in all metropolitan Canadian centres circa 1980 (not counting French haute cuisine) were: Chinese, Italian, Greek, Japanese and Indian (Zelinsky 1985). Zelinsky claims their patrons are primarily tourists, business travellers and residents of the gentrified neighbourhoods where they are located. I am inclined to believe that these similarities of taste among Canadian foodies show continuities both temporally since the eighties and structurally across the new cultural class

Ragde’s favourite restaurant was also the restaurant most favourably mentioned by the foodies I interviewed: Vij’s fusion of Indian and new American cuisine.

Ragde (amateur): Stunningly good food, using Indian cuisine as a point of departure. Friendly service (especially by the congenial and chatty Vij himself), ethereal atmosphere. Possibly my favourite Vancouver restaurant experience, and I say this as someone who grew up with Indian food and consequently can stand about three other Indian restaurants in all of North America.

Nancy (amateur): I *love* Vij's, probably one of my favourite restaurants. I've been there, oh maybe six, seven times. Oh, it's *so* good. My favourite is the lamb and the sweet potato curry.

Pierre (chef): I love Vij's, yeah. Every time I've been there it's been top notch. Absolutely.

Vij’s now has many local imitators located in gentrifying neighbourhoods: Sami’s, Monsoon and Velvet in Fairview; Asia in Kitsilano; Indika downtown, and Clove in Grandview-Woodlands.

“Food city: Vancouver”

The new cultural class has been linked to urban changes at the local level and a postindustrial service economy at the global level. Although it is impossible to separate out the mutually determining local and global effects, for the sake of clarity I will address the local first.

Residential gentrification had a commercial counterpart in the seventies. Inspired by a civic movement led by the new middle class (TEAM)³⁵ that was aesthetically and environmentally motivated, historic Gastown buildings were preserved and converted to upscale shops. Granville Island, a former industrial site, was developed into a “festival market,” a new middle class playground including specialty stores, farmers’ kiosks, licensed musicians, a community centre and restaurants designed in accordance with an industrial aesthetic (Hannigan 1998: 53). Ley emphasizes Granville Island’s “resistance to Fordist retailing” via niche consumption of unique, exotic, authentic and personalized goods by the new cultural class (1997: 301).

The commercial urban renewal included a restaurant renaissance at this time as well. In fact, restaurants are often considered one of the driving forces behind urban renewal (Bell & Valentine 1997, Hannigan 1998). Though fast food restaurant chains have grown much more rapidly than independent full-service restaurants in the U.S. since the sixties, it is the latter that are more prevalent in gentrifying neighbourhoods (with the exception of Starbucks coffee bars).

In Kitsilano in particular, Vancouver’s first gentrified neighbourhood, the number of restaurants quadrupled between 1961 and 1981 (Ley 1997). High-end as well as ethnic Vancouver institutions such as William Tell, La Belle Auberge and Umberto’s opened their doors as well as many more that didn’t survive like La Crèperie and Chez

Joelle. Also starting up in the early seventies was, *Vancouver Magazine*, a city leisure magazine reviewing restaurants and comparable to *New York*.

Prior to this time the city had relatively little in the way of dining aside from Continental cuisine in hotel dining rooms on the upper end and the White Spot chain of drive-in restaurants on the mass end. Several older Vancouver natives recalled the downtown hotels in the fifties and sixties. One affluent woman recalled a positive dining experience from the mid-sixties.

Patricia (amateur): There was a hotel on Granville Street called the Castle across the street from Eaton's and it actually had some fairly interesting things. I mean they were the first to sort of popularize wild rice and Cornish game hens and things like that.

More commonly I was told about the contrast between dining out then and now.

Christine (amateur): Omigod has it ever [changed] ... We would go to a hotel and you'd eat in their dining room. The Georgian Towers was one. The Waldorf on Hastings Street, that is a real dive, used to be *very* nice. We went in there and had dinner. Let's see where else did we go? Vancouver Hotel, The Georgia and the Whitespot Dining Room. ... And after, you know, we got married we used to go to Hy's.

Charles (food writer): I think there was sort of, there was supposedly high-end dining in hotels with, you know, the dining rooms, with the Devonshire and the Hotel Georgia and the Hotel Van[couver] and those sorts of places, and it was a lot of roast beef and Yorkshire pudding and fish with gloppy white sauces on them.

Patricia like Claire was a newlywed in the sixties and they frequented the same hotels:

Hotel Vancouver, Hotel Georgia, The Sands. Charles, who is ten years younger than

Patricia and Claire, was a Julia Child aficionado at university in the late sixties.

Nowadays they frequent a much greater variety of restaurants, from the best hotel restaurants like Diva at the Met and Chartwell's to small, high-end restaurants like

Lumière, Owest, and Bin 941. They also go to a variety of ethnic restaurants featuring Japanese, Chinese, Thai and Indian cuisine.

This focus on exotic cuisines is also relatively new. Both Christine and Charles dined at the Ho Inn in Chinatown in the fifties, though they agreed that few WASPs patronized the ethnic neighbourhood restaurants.

Christine (amateur): My parents used to talk about Chinese food. I didn't have any until I graduated from high school. I'd never eaten Chinese food before, you know. No Italian food. No Greek food. There were restaurants, I guess, but my cultural heritage said that that was all foreign food. You didn't eat it.

This is quite a radical change to today's situation where ethnic food is universally available. In *Food city: Vancouver*, a local foodwriter for the free entertainment weekly, *Georgia Straight*, writes:

In Vancouver, we do have a world of food to explore ... I live in Kitsilano, not a particularly ethnic neighbourhood. Yet, within five minutes' walk I can find poppadoms (both full size and cocktail size), Vietnamese spring-roll wrappers, Chinese sausages, feta cheese, Iranian rosewater and a dozen kinds of olives from around the Mediterranean. On top of that, Vancouver has the warmest climate in Canada. Vegetables and fruit flourish locally, and they all come fresh to our tables... (Murrills 1998: 9).

After the seventies renaissance another turning point for Vancouver's culinary scene was Expo 86.

In 1986 the city was celebrating its hundredth anniversary and wanted to present a sophisticated face to the world. It was around this time that Pacific Northwest restaurants like Bishop's and the Raintree opened.

Teresa (farmer): There's a movement on the West Coast. We have something unique and we realize that and it's what's already here. And I think in the last ten years, we've kind of been discovering it. Basically, the turning point was Expo. There were no restaurants here really. I mean there were, there were restaurants here, but it wasn't a real food city ... Rob Feenie [chef of Lumière] who's

going to have his own show, he's always talking about sablefish and West Coast this and West Coast that, and I mean there's other regions that speak that way, certainly in Italy, in places like New Orleans, but you don't hear people talking like that in Toronto really.

Since Expo Vancouver has also been successfully promoting itself on the global tourist market for its culinary reputation as well as its spectacular natural setting. Vancouver foodies no longer look to Toronto or New York trendsetting restaurants but rather to Seattle and San Francisco. These cities of the Pacific Northwest share a coastline and a rainy climate as well as frontier traditions and a large Asian population. Today Vancouver also sets its own style.

Nancy (amateur): I sent somebody from New York there [to Vij's restaurant] a couple of months ago. I was coordinating a satellite feed to Phoenix from our studio here and he came up. He works for MTV network ... He said, "Well where should we go to eat?" So I gave him a whole list of places and I said, "But you should really, if you like Indian food, you should really really try Vij's because he has just done some *amazing* things." And this guy eats out in New York all the time, and he said he's a big restaurant goer and he was *raving* about Vij's.

Vij's haute Indian cuisine has consistently figured on *Gourmet's* top table lists since the mid-nineties while New York's Tabla appeared for the first time in 2003. Vancouver chef Rob Feenie claims that while Toronto may have been more important in culinary terms in the eighties, by 1999 Vancouver produces "much better food than Toronto" and will soon be an international culinary destination (in Shikatani 1999: 43).

Vancouver is increasingly marketing what is locally and regionally distinctive on an international market. Several Vancouver chefs have been invited to cook for New York audiences. For example, its Pacific Northwest heritage is reinvented in restaurants as "wild Taku salmon confit with wild watercress coulis" and "gooseneck barnacle tempura"³⁶ (Maw 2002, L6). Distinctive regional products like "British Columbia

sablefish” or “Salt Spring Island goat cheese” use geographical product descriptors to emphasize their authenticity on the global market (Bell & Valentine 1997). And the prices soar for locals. If the local provides the global with a measure of distinctiveness, the global reciprocates with homogenous chains of restaurants and grocery stores whose products show minor regional variations.

Global political economy of food

Changes such as those in Vancouver are occurring in most post-industrial profile cities around the globe albeit on slightly different timescales. Gentrification is happening in cities from San Francisco to Montréal; London to Lyons. There are festival markets in Boston, Honolulu and Ottawa to name a few (Hannigan 1998). There are city lifestyle magazines in Toronto, New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. As well there is a restaurant boom, especially in exotic cuisines, happening all over North America, Europe and Japan. Among the new middle class professionals and managers in Wynne’s (1998) study in a northern English housing estate dinner parties were the most popular leisure activity. In England dining out is said to be the second-most popular pastime after television. Census data show that Britons have doubled their proportional food spending on dining out from 10% in 1960 to 21% in 1993 (Warde & Martens 2000, 23, 34).

In North America Zelinsky noted that ethnic restaurants were growing fast in the seventies due to gentrifiers and travellers. In 1920 the Philadelphia yellow pages advertised 23 different European and Chinese cuisines, whereas in 1980 there were 253 different cuisines including Latin American, South Asian, Japanese and regional North American (Zelinsky 1985). Even in urban centres in developing countries like India the

new middle class is engaged in developing new cosmopolitan culinary styles (Appadurai 7, Chauhan 1997).

What is common to the above mentioned cities is their postindustrial employment profile. In other words their local economies are dominated by services, especially advanced services, rather than goods. Vancouver is an international port as well as a large urban centre that functions as a regional hub servicing its provincial hinterland.³⁷ It is not a financial or legislative centre like Toronto or Ottawa, but an administrative centre with a large number of public service education and health employers like universities and hospitals (Ley 1997). Ley further argues that Canada is among the first postindustrial nations because our manufacturing base has always been weak. In the early fifties service-producing industries overtook the goods-producing industries. In 1991 approximately 73% of the national labour force was employed in (tertiary and quaternary) services as compared to 27% in the (primary) resource and (secondary) manufacturing sectors. Advanced service sector jobs, which are roughly equivalent to new middle class professions, have quadrupled since 1961 accounting for 30% of the total workforce in 1991 (Ley 1997: 128-9). By 1998 these numbers continued to increase to 34% (Jackson & Robinson 2000: 76).

This service-driven economy is often described by political economists as a third stage of capitalism after its entrepreneurial and industrial stages. It has also been called postFordism and described as a global economy associated with a cultural shift to postmodernism. PostFordism is usually dated to the cultural and economic crises of the early seventies: the oil crisis, the loss of a universal monetary standard and the collapse of the rational modernist ideal, especially in architecture. At this time global trade practices

accelerated when new transnational corporations began outsourcing production to the developing world where labour costs and environmental regulations were lower.

For instance, Friedland talks about the fresh system of agricultural production. Chilean grapes were first sold counterseasonally on a mass scale to American consumers in the seventies using a new technology of refrigerated ships and cool chains. Today the fresh system extends to most fruits and vegetables, especially new exotics every year. The third world has become a mass producer of fresh foods which are shipped to urban markets in advanced capitalist countries (Friedland 1994). Meanwhile agriculture in the affluent nations continues to be rationalized in agribusiness on the one hand and develops new specialty growers of regional products and agritourism on the other. More commonly, though, the advanced capitalist nations at the centre of the global economy take on steering functions. In 1991 the agricultural sector employed less than one million Canadians and was shrinking.

On the consumption front in the seventies, national markets fragmented with a proliferation of up-scale niche lifestyle markets alongside the mass market. This was due to an increased polarization of the population into the corporate elite and new middle class haves and the white, blue, pink, orange and no collar have-nots. Cultural changes include a postmodern plurality of tastes and the acceleration of fashion styles, new urban values and a nostalgia for the past, and of course the food boom in restaurants, kitchen stores, the media and, yes, the academy.

PostFordism and postindustrialism are misnomers on a global view because rationalized industrial production has merely shifted to new sites in the developing world. What is happening is better characterized as the acceleration of capital mobility in

production and radicalized fashion and reflexivity in consumption. In the *Condition of Postmodernity*, David Harvey gives a good description of the contemporary economic and cultural changes as intense time-space compression. Modern transportation and communication technologies such as the railroad, telegraph, automobile and radio had already effected forms of time-space compression described so well by Marshall Berman and Walter Benjamin. In economic terms postmodern time-space compression means: accelerated mobility of capital and the stock market, computerized, small-batch productions responsive to rapidly changing demand, and a global market with regional variations. On the cultural level it means accelerated fashions, a preoccupation with memory and history, an obsession with fast food and the transnationalization of cuisine faster than emigration (Harvey 1989). Sharon Zukin elaborates on Harvey's culinary examples. In *Landscapes of Power* (1991) she describes how both generically chic restaurants as well as McDonald's and pizzerias are replacing greasy spoons and cafeterias in a 24 hour downtown service economy. French and American culinary economies have become linked as chefs circulate through transnational networks of connections. Chefs like Paul Bocuse work on a global scale with restaurants in Lyons, Tokyo and New York.

Postindustrial society is also an accelerated consumer society. Consumerism began as a modern phenomenon involving the mass market of goods, mass advertising and a new consumer subjectivity which valued spending on new goods over saving or repairing old goods. It appeared first in London around the turn of the eighteenth century with the manufacturing industries like textiles and pottery producing for the luxury and popular markets (Forty 1986, Brewer & Porter 1993). In the metropolitan centres of the

nineteenth century it added two additional niches: dandy and bourgeois; bourgeois consumption was associated with exotic displays in the new department stores from the start (Williams 1982). In the 1920s in North America (and after the Second World War in Europe) Fordist mass-production, rising wages and consumer credit together with new conceptions of desire resulted in unprecedented mass consumption. In 1927 already General Motors president Sloan began to mass market cars with different styles and annual model changes (Marchand 1986, Friedland 1994).

Lash and Urry (1994) define postindustrialism in terms of radicalized reflexivity. Reflexive production entails labour processes that are more flexible with shopfloor innovation and managerial input. The design process is incorporated into the production process at the outset to be more responsive to changing market demands. Consumption is more reflexive as consumers interpret the plurality of signs invested in the commodities at the production, packaging, advertising, and consumption levels. Zukin identifies food writers, waiters and cheese sellers as new cultural intermediaries who engage in reflexive consumption and thus constitute new middle class identities. Let's go on to look at how these reflexive postmodern consumers distinguish differences in culinary capital.

Culinary capital

A subset of cultural capital is "culinary capital." Foodie practices distinguish them from mass food consumption. These include: dining out at upscale and ethnic restaurants over fast food joints; shopping at specialty stores and markets rather than supermarkets; buying expensive and exotic rather than mass market products. They also prefer Julia Child to the more popular Emeril. Foodies distinguish themselves not only by cooking meals from scratch everyday but by making dishes that non-foodies would cook as a

special occasion or have no desire to cook at all. For example Arthur, commenting on a *Saveur* article about San Francisco restaurateur Cecilia Chang, said he would cook her steamed rockcod on an everyday basis. Similarly it is not out of the ordinary for Patricia to cook quail or for Mary to cook crab cakes on a weekday night. Likewise Nancy makes risotto, Penny makes Thai curry and Anne makes Vietnamese chicken during the week.

Foodies also make subtler distinctions among themselves. They are able to make distinctions regarding one's place within the subculture based on the amount of culinary capital one has. Have you met Robert Feenie? What about Julia Child? Do you know where to find Dupuy lentils? Can you recommend an authentic Thai restaurant? What restaurant does your husband work in? During the interview process the participants and I were constantly gauging each other's level of culinary capital. These questions suggest a foodie hierarchy with high-end professional chefs at the core, other professionals next, new class amateurs somewhere in the middle and non new class members at the margins. Foodies must walk a fine line between displaying their knowledge casually rather than showing off which is considered a faux-pas.

Cheryl (farmer): That orthodontist who came to the party, one of the dinner things we did, and he said, "So did you cook your salmon to the translucent or the opaque stage?" you know, I mean, [laughs] "You were at a cooking school last week weren't you?" [laughs] Because this is not a restaurant. it's not like you cut from the belly, you know, this portion only. This is a whole salmon done on the barbecue [laughs], depends on which end of the salmon you get. [laughs] Be realistic here, buddy. It comes as it comes.

Like Lamont's social and cultural professionals these foodies are drawing cultural boundaries rather than economic boundaries. Tony explicitly compares making culinary distinctions to artistic distinctions, in this case Wagnerian opera.

Tony (farmer): It's the same thing as, "Well yeah, I [saw] Tannhaeuser the other day and I thought that she did a good job.

Well yeah, there was that little part that was a bit rough but it was okay.” So that steak, [it] was not that you enjoyed it, you’re there to prove that you’re actually at that level that you can enjoy Tannhäuser or whatever, you know, at that point. So if you go to a restaurant, is it so that you can afford to go to that restaurant, and especially if you’re intimate with the chef or at least you know them and so on, and with the wine they come to your table and so on. The whole thing is the next step towards success or ... more than success would be: I can tell things apart. I know what different things are. I know what, you know, I’m sophisticated okay.

Let’s look at foodies’ consumption practices and culinary distinctions in more detail.

Dining

Several foodies told me about visiting restaurants which are considered to be among the best in the world. Pierre and another chef, Anne, as well as an affluent amateur, Patricia, had all eaten at Michelin starred restaurants in France. Pierre described his experience at *Le Crocodile* in Strasbourg as one of incomparable service.

Pierre (chef): The food was just fantastic and the service, and I mean it’s a different level, it’s definitely a different level ... You can bring your dog in all the restaurants, right? They have dog menus ... So they extend the service beyond belief, right? So it makes it truly unique in that way and, of course, it’s very expensive, but you know you don’t go to these restaurants everyday, so you don’t care. You just spend the money, you know, the quality of the product, and it’s just the whole experience.

In North America Patricia had also visited Norman van Aken’s eponymous restaurant in Miami. Another chef, Stefanie, had visited the French Laundry in California’s Napa Valley twice on the same trip. Both of these restaurants were rated by *Gourmet* as being in the top 50 American restaurants in 2001. Teresa had eaten at Eigensinn Farm north of Toronto which is one of Canada’s best restaurant. These experiences were all highly praised.

In Vancouver the restaurants that received the most mentions by foodies were the high-end ones like Lumière, Vij's, Tojo's which appear in the city's promotional material. These are excellent restaurants which use fresh, local ingredients integrated into different regional styles: French, Indian and Japanese. Five professional foodies had also been to the well-reputed Sooke Harbour House on Vancouver Island. This is an ocean-side restaurant that prides itself on serving almost exclusively local ingredients.

Arthur (food writer): One of the most incredible places in the world because they serve nothing but regional cuisine. everything has to be within this province or more precisely within 30, 40 kilometres where they live you know they grow a lot of stuff they get a lot of fresh seafood that's local. They don't have olive oil. Obviously they have coffee or tea and orange juice for breakfast.

The professionals and the two above-mentioned amateurs (whose husbands are both lawyers) tended to dine out at high-end restaurants quite often, from several times a week to about once every other month. The rest of the amateurs dined out at these restaurants for special occasions like anniversaries, birthdays or entertaining out-of-town visitors.

Not all expensive restaurants were considered highly, however. Mary considered Bobby Flay's Mesa Grill in New York overpriced for what you got at over \$100 U.S. per person, and Anne hated Terence Conran's Metzo in London because "everything had green mango in it, like *everything*." Closer to home Tony criticized a Vancouver Island restaurant for its "designer food."

Tony (farmer): A good description of designer food is the following: seared yellow Island organic Chinook salmon, heirloom tomato, French goat cheese, basil, and golden Eleni extra virgin olive oil emulsion. That's designer food. Remove all of the adjectives and what do you have? You have salmon with some tomato ... The description of what you're gonna get is much more than what you're gonna get ... I mean there are one, two, three, well four adjectives for the word salmon. What does that mean? Yeah. Well first of all is it farm-raised? It has to be, right, but they

didn't put it there. So what are you getting? You know, crummy farm-raised salmon [laughing].

This distinction between designer food and quality food is similar to that between chichi foodies and authentic foodies which we saw in the last chapter. Tony dislikes designer food because the hype hides poor quality. The reasons for criticizing expensive restaurants all come down to lack of quality. By quality foodies mean fresh, local, seasonal and organic food not necessarily expensive food. Here again we see cultural distinctions over economic ones.

Like Pierre, most foodies went out to 'holes in the wall' more frequently and with equal enthusiasm. Everyone had their own favourite local sushi place: Yoshi's or Miko downtown, Taka in Kitsilano, or Gen in North Vancouver. They also tasted other exotic cuisines at Tinkado [Japanese], Thang Long [Vietnamese], Tio Pepe's [Yucatan], the Reef [Jamaican], and Kaplan's Deli [Jewish]. Arthur described why he liked the Westend's Tinkado so much.

Arthur (food writer): There's a wonderful noodle house around the corner it's Japanese it's very authentic ramen, home-made ramen ... it's all Japanese and it's authentic where you walk in and there's a huge vat of boiling stock with the bones and everything in there and you can order your stock um condensed like, or medium, or light stock, and even the type of pork: do you want fatty pork, do you want lean pork, you know, and that's pretty authentic for around this neighbourhood.

If Arthur's preference was for authenticity, Bob preferred the casual atmosphere of ethnic restaurants and Fran held to the quality of the food regardless of whether the genre was formal or casual.

Fran (amateur): There's a deli there on St. Lawrence Street [in Montreal] called Schwartz's deli. and I've taken friends from Montreal or from Vancouver there and they're like, "What are we doing here? this is, like, yuck!" But the food is fabulous. So it's, you know, they make great smoked meat sandwiches with great,

you know, salads and it's simple fare ... not pretentious. So I don't judge the cover by the book if someone tells me that um a restaurant wherever it is is good and has great food then we go there. ...so we enjoy it going to commercial drive to have pizza and a salad as much as we enjoy going to John Bishop's but it's a totally different ... you know the service is different and we know that we're gonna get different you know presentation is different and the foods will be very different and but we'll enjoy both meals equally well.

Less often foodies enjoyed dining in middlebrow, chain restaurants like The Keg and Earl's. As Andrew Ross points out, those with high cultural capital need to police the highbrow-middlebrow boundary (Ross 1992).

One could interpret this quasi-omnivorous dining pattern as typical of North American professionals' consumption of both high culture and mass culture noted by DiMaggio above. However the exotic restaurant experiences while economically cheap remain high in cultural capital. Lowbrow in restaurant terms means family-style restaurants and fast food. Some foodies dislike fast food and others appreciate the "best" regional products, whether these are hotdogs or barbecue.

Mary (amateur): Really good junk food. The best steamy hot dogs on the planet. Lafleur hot dogs [in Montreal] are to die for. That's what we lived for. [What's Lafleur?] It's a small, little chain of hot dog stands and they're incredible. The greasiest fries, honest to God ... Wonderful, good junk food.

I agree rather with Holt then that high cultural consumption practices differ from low cultural consumption practices even for the same products. This pattern of expensive and exotic consumption with its emphasis on quality and authenticity over price carries over into foodie shopping habits as well.

Shopping

Mass market supermarkets are also lowbrow in culinary terms and foodies do not like to shop there. Only a few people admitted to shopping regularly at supermarket giants like Save-On Foods or The Great Canadian Superstore. A couple of people even mentioned going out of their way to avoid such stores, Safeway in particular, because it was overpriced.

Kathleen (amateur): I hate Safeway. I really do hate Safeway. There's something about that store that, it's way too expensive ... That one on Broadway and Commercial upsets me quite badly. They rip people off. There's all those old pensioners. The store used to be filthy. It's better now but I just think that they're kind of irresponsible.

Foodies who shop at supermarkets are like Holt's (1997) new middle class members who apologized for their lack of connoisseurship. Either they avoided discussing it or offered up excuses of cost and convenience.

Penny (amateur): Superstore will have okay produce and I'll buy it there 'cause the price is, I'm a cheap shopper so I'll, and they'll have more things. Like if I want lemongrass they'll have it, or if they have unusual vegetables they'll have it ... I'll go over to Edgemont ... in North Van. It's a nice little neighbourhood and I wish I lived closer to it so that you could walk, you know ... go over and get your bread, your cheese, your meat and your sausages, and your produce, and you've got *everything*.

Stefanie (chef): Generally, I'll shop here. I'll shop at Save-On primarily, because I know the store layout. I've got to get in and out fairly quickly. But for the clients that I'm doing organics, I'm lucky where I live, too, because there are a lot of farm markets around here ... and so I'll shop there when I can, and go into town for the organic stuff.

One woman even spoke of this type of shopping in language that suggests a moral failing.

Mary (amateur): We had steaks the other night. I was really bad. I went and I bought them from Save-On-Foods and it was already marinated.

Only Larry, the former Safeway employee, was an unrepentant supermarket shopper.

The same foodies, however, happily shop at small, local supermarket chains like Choices and Caper's which carry a wide selection of organic goods.

Kathleen (amateur): There's a Choices downtown now too ... It's down near Yaletown. So that's good. That's a nice local grocery store. I think it's owned by some of the people that [my husband] knows ... I like that about it too, that it's local. Although I guess Save-On Foods is too. The Pattison [local entrepreneur] empire.

Cheryl (farmer): For instance at the Country Grocer up here, locally owned and operated, ... they do carry local stuff which is nice so you go there and you pick that stuff out. It's a bit more money but I'd rather go to the corner here and get stuff fresh almost every day you can walk up there rather than go to buy California produce at the Superstore which may be half or a third of the price but, hey, the gas you use driving in there I figure is an expense.

As you would expect, foodies also shop at upscale specialty food stores. They will drive across town to get the city's best offerings. The most favoured vendors were a cheese seller, Menusetters,³⁸ and the 'microbakeries,' Terra Breads and Ecco il Pane that bake hearty, rustic loaves with names like Casa and Integrale.

Charles (food writer): There's such good bread in the city. I mean ... it's expensive but, you know, it's just so good. So what's, yeah what's four bucks? Or two bucks for a demi-loaf of, you know, Terra's black olive bread is one of the best things I can buy on the face of the earth. I'm sorry and, you know, two bucks is, what?, less than a Starbuck's latté for God sakes. Good coffee I can make at home, you know [laughing].

They also shop at gourmet shops like Gourmet Warehouse, Meinhardt's and Urban Fare. Urban Fare is the most recent addition in newly gentrifying Yaletown. It is a gourmet mecca featuring imported English cheddar from the 'Long Clawson Dairy in Melton Mowbray' and \$200 loaves of bread flown in from France daily. Again several foodies with the highest culinary capital were critical of Urban Fare.

Arthur (food writer): It's a glamorized urban yuppie market. It's very overpriced but it serves a niche for that area. You have a lot of disposable income. You have a lot of independent or single people that live, they don't have time, they don't have the passion or the, no I think they may have the passion to cook or entertain, but it's not their career or work.

Anne (chef): I don't really like Urban Fare that much ... because they have [louder voice] crappy bread! You go there and try to get a decent loaf of bread, forget it ... I think it's way too expensive and it's full of smug people shopping [Laughs]. But I suppose since I'm there I must be smug, too ... I want to go into Urban Fare and just go, "Wow." I went in there and went, "Oh, yeah. Just the usual stuff." ... Overall it's ughh. So when I went in, because I was thinking about how excited I was when I went to places like Dean and DeLuca and Balducci's and all those places in New York. You just go in and you just go, "God," you know. You almost *faint* from the excitement of it all. I thought it was going to be like that so I was just disappointed.

Ostensibly this chef and food writer want to distance themselves from the derogatory image of the smug and glamorous yuppie. But since Anne still felt positively disposed to New York gourmet stores perhaps a better explanation is that they felt a need to distinguish themselves from the culinary rabble. As food becomes a marker of status for more and more people, those with culinary capital feel a need to up the cultural stakes. New American cuisine trends are already trickling down to lowbrow publications like Vancouver's *Province* tabloid and *Family Circle* where you can now find recipes featuring fresh cilantro and sesame oil.

Many foodies agreed that the best place to shop was from the farmers themselves.

Those in rural and suburban areas liked to go straight to the farmgate.

Cheryl (farmer): We know some people who sell from the farmgate and so that's that's what you do. you find ones that consistently do good quality and ... we do buy ducks and rabbits, mostly free range chickens. One of my favourite places is Cowichan Bay Farms.

Christine (amateur): I go out to Surrey. There's one [farm market] called Two E's out there that's *absolutely incredible*. You know I was coming home with black lettuce and all sorts of things it's, you know, but they have **so** much stuff....you know they try all the new varieties and apparently It's all done on their own land without sprays... there's a place out in White Rock called Mary's Garden. And I went in there because my girlfriend insisted that Two E's would not be good enough. It was too commercial.

Those in the city go to one of the weekly farmers' markets in Vancouver. On Saturdays there is the East Vancouver farmer's market as well as a spin off Westend market both started in the nineties by grassroots organizers. On Thursdays the farmers sell at Granville Island.

Patricia (amateur): I do appreciate the farmer's market and all the fresh stuff. We go to both. I mean Thursdays down at Granville Island and then Saturdays at Trout Lake [East Vancouver]. They're both great.

At the farmers' stands the produce is freshest and the service is personalized, a nostalgic sign of traditional social relations before the abstract forces of the market turn customers into consumers.

The rest of the week they like to shop at neighbourhood specialty stores like the local produce store or the butcher. They like to shop in ethnic neighbourhoods too. For example Iranian shops in West Vancouver, Asian shops in Richmond, and Italian shops in Grandview Woodlands. Ken just moved from Richmond to West Vancouver.

Ken (food writer): I discovered some, West Van has got a lot of people from Iran. And there's some great little stores. Wow, I just went crazy here, cause in Richmond, there were lots of great Asian stores. And I think that taking advantage of that sort of thing ... But I got some pomegranate stuff and used it as sort of a coulis one night with some slices of duck. I mean, it was just fabulous.

Hardcore foodies shop on a daily basis rather than weekly in order to maintain the freshest possible quality.

Arthur (food writer): I usually go to Chinatown at least once a week. I go to Granville Island four to five times a week. I go to the farmer's market obviously on Saturday's. And I'm a big advocate, I've gotten a lot of my friends to go to the markets now [laughs]. They hear my sermons about seasonal food.

Fran (amateur): I kind of do my shopping a little bit here, a little bit there. I buy most of my produce at, on Granville Island. We go to the cheese shop on Alma and Tenth Avenue, Menusetters. I pick up most, some of my wine vinegars, mostly at Granville Island at Duso's or at Meinhardt's. I don't do my shopping like once a week and go to Safeway ... I don't have a car so I am on the bus or my bike. So I buy a little here, a little there.

The ideal here is the professional chef who is featured in the food magazines as making daily trips to the market for fresh local ingredients. This is expressed explicitly by Kathleen.

Kathleen (amateur): I don't know. I have this utopian idea of what it would be like to be a chef and to go and pick the *finest* ingredients and then take it home and cook it and prepare it ... [What is it about the shopping aspect, the choosing the ingredients, that you like?] Well I think it's, it gets me into a place that has a, like Granville Island is quite a stimulating environment in and of itself, so it's an enjoyable place to visit. And there's also, there's something about being able to be quite discerning that is nice. To be able to go into a cheese shop and make a decision about kind of, what your, what it is that you're looking for, and to be able to judge different kinds and qualities of food and pick which is appropriate. ... It's a creative process. It's putting things together in a way that all fits.

This romanticized view of the chef only happens in some small and very high-end restaurants. Interestingly chefs and other food professionals tend to have more nostalgic ideals of shopping: Italian peasants or French housewives.

Pierre (chef): The most beautiful food experience, if you want to know, that I've ever had is ... we stayed a week [at a friend's parents' house in Alsace] and so every morning she was in the kitchen cooking, like I don't know what time, six o'clock she was already cooking. Every single day was like that, and we would go to the market, and such passion, "OK do you like strawberries? Look at these strawberries." ... So everyday was like that.

The themes found here at both expensive specialty shops and neighbourhood markets are quality, exotic, local/regional, fresh/seasonal, healthy and artisanal food. These also happen to be the values of the new American cuisine. In other words by buying fresh, local, organic or exotic ingredients foodies are following the most current culinary trends and thus displaying their culinary capital. They are distinguishing themselves from those who would eat, or at least find pleasure in eating, a supermarket hot dog. As Patricia puts it: "I don't like hot dogs. I like to know what's in my meat. No, I wouldn't eat a hot dog."

More shopping

Let's take a peek inside an amateur foodie fridge. Nancy is a media publicist. She lives with her husband, a journalist, and her five year old daughter, Molly, in a condo in downtown Vancouver. She is in the process of renovating her kitchen and she cooks almost everyday. She gave the following running commentary on the contents of her well-stocked fridge:

Vitamins, vanilla, Duso's [local prepared sauce], Molly's jell-O, salted butter, non-salted butter, vanilla yogurt for Molly, pimello cheese, and some tofu and blue cheese salad dressing, regular dijon, tarragon dijon, capers, horseradish, canola, anchovies, more dijon, tartar sauce, chili sauce, green salsa, molasses, Paul Newman's Own light vinaigrette -- which I don't think I've ever used after the first whatever -- martini olives, ketchup, syrup, mayonnaise, Coke, vitamins, more anchovies, more anchovies, more anchovies -- we like anchovies -- ginger, salsa, some other light salad dressing, creamy cucumber -- I keep thinking, I'll use these I really will, and then I end up throwing them out a year or two later when they get all hard -- ... orange oil, walnut oil, seville orange no-sugar spread, relish, -- I haven't used this yet, I bought it, it's a Japanese ... salsa. Okay, sweet potatoes, cauliflower, yams, squash, green pepper ... and parsley, carrots, grapefruit, oranges, kiwi, pears, apples, celery, mint, red onion, white onion, a lime, chicken hot dogs [laughs], parsley, tons of onions, carrots, tahini, Miracle Whip, this is Molly's spaghetti sauce, pineapple pop, basil, Guinness. Oh that's that cheese my neighbour made for me for Christmas, pork chops -- I'm getting rid of them --

marinated carrots -- I made for Christmas dinner, yeah, it's an Italian recipe-- and organic eggs, and maple syrup, uh more Soya Dream, apple juice, spaghetti sauce ... some organic chicken that's thawing out, and black cherry juice, relish, Avalon [local] cream, Avalon whipping cream, Sandhill chardonnay, eggnog, organic chicken stock -- Capers sells it. It's from Washington state ... and [local] pale ale and that's about it.

What distinguishes this fridge from an ordinary Vancouverite's is probably the sheer variety of ingredients: not just different kinds of vegetables but different butters, mustards and oils. There are also unusual homemade items like the Italian marinated carrots, salad dressing and cheese. Then there are the many health related items like vitamins, tofu, sugar-free marmalade, soy milk and fresh, organic eggs and meat. There is regional wine and imported beer. There is also relatively little in the way of processed foods. Though Nancy does have Coke, Kraft parmesan, Miracle Whip mayonnaise, bottled dressings and chicken hot dogs, like the supermarket shoppers above she makes excuses for these foodie indiscretions.

Looking in her cupboard we see the same variety again.

I've got four, well one high-end olive oil here, and three mid-end olive oils right now, and I probably have about eight or nine vinegars. I've got three balsamic ... I've got sherry vinaigrette, red wine, white, balsamic, two or three or four other balsamics.

In her freezer she had orange roughy fish from New Zealand and local Que Pasa corn tortillas.

In other foodie kitchens I found a similar combination of expensive and exotic items. On the expensive end there were goods imported from Europe: white truffles, Styrian pumpkin seed oil, fifty year old Modenese balsamic vinegar, French fleur de sel, and Italian mustard fruits. On the exotic end there was: Chinese fungus, dried curried peas, pomegranate molasses, smoked paprika, jerk seasoning and Australian vegemite.

In some cases there was stuff that was expensive and exotic like Kent's hand-picked Barossa Valley olive oil.

Ken (food writer): I just like the look of it. When I went to Australia, I brought back olive oil from those trees that I used to know as a kid because we never used to touch them there. But now a young lady started her own olive oil company, so it's not necessarily a brand thing. That looks like quality. I think I'll get it." ...well I mean I could say it's because of taste or because of price, but you sort of know.... I went into the store and I saw this and I thought, "That lady seems to be caring" and I read her little story on the back.... Yeah, I brought it back from Australia. I mean, you can't get it here, but it was 25 bucks or something, but you know hand-picked Barossa Valley olives, I thought, "Oh, yeah, I gotta do it.

This olive oil is exotic in time as well as place. It is from a hot, dry Australian valley and harvested in traditional, labour-intense ways. In British Columbia we also have regional, artisanal, labour-intensive exotica such as "pasturized chickens."

Penny (amateur): Pasturized chickens are way different from free range. Pasturized [chickens] are put on a cage that's on wheels -- so it's big, maybe eight by eight foot -- the chickens are put in this cage and one day they're on this plot, and the next day you push it forward eight feet, so their their debris is fertilizing the yard ... and you control what they eat.

Other examples of regional exotica are: wild nettles, dandelions, nasturtiums, morel mushrooms, heirloom tomatoes, and exclusively dairy-fed pork.

Even foodies have their limits when it comes to exotica. These very personal limits are closely related to one's position within the subcultural hierarchy. The closer to the professional core of foodie culture, the more daring the foodie.³⁹ At the edge of the subculture, Larry likes chicken livers but draws the line at calamari. Near the middle, Nancy will eat bone marrow, sweetbreads and tripe sausage but not tripe, blood sausage or chicken feet. The most adventurous was Arthur. He enjoyed not only tripe and

chicken feet but also waxed eloquent about the Japanese “mountain potato” (which I’m told is a literal translation of the Japanese term).

Arthur (food writer): We [Asians] love slimy snot textures like mountain potatoes in Japan ... It’s slimy like snot and it’s elastic, it has a natural elasticity to it.

Just as foodies were sometimes critical of haute cuisine, others claimed not to like exotica such as Asian condiments or opal basil. But behind the distaste for these new American cuisine values there are always other new American cuisine values like the artisanal, the authentic or the flavourful.

Tony (farmer): I never understood why opal basil. What’s wrong with plain old green basil which is more aromatic and so on. Yeah, but you can’t say green basil. Ah opal basil then.

Here again we see the themes of quality, exotic, fresh/seasonal, local/regional and artisanal.

These themes recur when outfitting the foodie kitchen. Many foodies don’t like to admit to being “utensil freaks” and several reported that they had only the “usual” or “standard” kitchen gadgets. This standard is expectedly high, however, including: knives and sharpening steels, Cuisinarts, copper-bottomed pots, Dutch ovens, spice grinders, butcher’s blocks, and track lighting. What foodies considered special was either expensive, exotic or artisanal.

At the expensive pole were imported, brand name items such as Henckels and Goldhamster knives, KitchenAid mixers, Norgear spatulas, Le Creuset pots, Emile Henri casserole dishes, Wedgwood china, a Thermidor double oven.

At the exotic pole were: Lebanese cookie molds, Filipino coconut shredders, Mexican hot chocolate frothers, and various mortars and pestles.

Anne (chef): The one I use most often is that sort of darker one in the back. That's a Vietnamese mortar and pestle. And then I have a Laotian one, which is actually at work. I usually make papaya salad in, and sort of different Laotian sauces. And then for grinding sesame seeds, for Japanese things, that shiny brown one is called a serabachi.

These preindustrial tools require immense amounts of hand labour. So do local artisanal tools like fruit dryers or coffee mills used as spice grinders. Another hand tool is the currently very trendy rasp or "micro-plane grater". Several foodies had the original wood rasp from a hardware store.

Patricia: I also think that this little rasp, it's being talked about more lately, but it really was designed for woodwork, and I bought it at Lee Valley but now they're available in cook stores everywhere ... It is absolutely wonderful for getting just the right amount of zest off the outside of a lemon or an orange or whatever. I like it a lot. It's a good little tool.

Others had the Williams Sonoma version enclosed in plastic at twice the price. When and where one got the rasp were both measures of culinary capital; as were the number of expensive and exotic items in one's pantry.

Consuming media

In Chapter Five I address the issue of food media in detail. Here I want to point to how consumption of the food media can also be a sign of culinary capital. Food magazines are the medium that foodies prefer. They have glossy, sensual photos for inspiration and articles and recipes for information. It is in their consumption of magazines that the difference between the professionals and the amateurs comes out the strongest. Despite a diversity of reading material including 17 different glossies, the overwhelming favourites were *Saveur* and *Bon Appétit*. The professional group leaned toward the former, while the lay group tended toward the latter. Both groups tended to

dislike *Gourmet* which was considered too mainstream by the professionals and too commercial by the amateurs.

Many foodies I interviewed claimed not surprisingly for people with high cultural capital not to watch much television. Those who did watch television admitted enjoying a variety of cooking shows from Canadian shows like the *Great Canadian Food Show* and Rob Feenie's *New Classics* to cult favourites like *Iron Chef* and *The Two Fat Ladies*. But as many people disliked *Iron Chef* and *Two Fat Ladies* as liked them.

Where foodies are unanimous is in their love of Julia Child who is described as a "goddess" and as 'my food book hero.'

Arthur (food writer): you know one person I always admire is Julia. and I know Julia and she just turned 88 and she's always learning -- always! you know and if I have half her energy when I'm her age you know I just want to keep on moving I just think it's fascinating.

Mary (amateur): I will listen to Julia Child. I think she's *just* a delight. She's a total delight. Something about her. She was with Jack Pepin and they were having a fancy meal and he brought this fancy wine, she wanted a beer, and I just thought, "Oh, you're really cool." I just love the way they both differ on things. You know how they prepare it, and she goes, "Well, I wouldn't do it that way at all." And she'll proceed to tell you why. You know so that's what I like about her. And also she's a wonderful cook. They both are.

Julia Child is the paragon of the authentic foodie: 'curious', 'passionate', 'knowledgeable', and with 'no airs.'

They were also uniform in their dislikes of Emeril and Martha. Professionals disliked Martha, the "Antichrist," for being too upscale and amateurs tended to see her as too perfect.

Pierre (chef): Some people try to be Martha Stewart and they try to *impress* people ... and they go and buy some very expensive wine,

and they figure that that's good wine 'cause it's expensive, but maybe it doesn't go well at all with the food that they're cooking.

Mary (amateur): Martha gets on my nerves. She just does, you know. I can't be that perfect. I don't aspire to that.

For both Martha is for women with “too much time on their hands”.

Emeril is the most popular show on the food network. You might then expect it to be a foodie favourite, but you'd be wrong. Both amateurs and professionals disliked *Emeril* because it was too American or too commercial. *Emeril* -- the show not the man -- represents the trendy image-oriented foodie. Despite the man's talent as a cook and as a businessman no one watched his show except as “entertainment.”

Ken (food writer): I tend to go for the straight-ahead kind of a show rather than an Emeril type thing. I mean, I think he cooks very well, but I don't need you know a whole bunch of “bam bams” going on as I'm watching television ... I mean, I like informational cooking. “The best way to peel an apple is like this.” Oh, wow, I didn't do that, you know, those sort of things.

Nancy (amateur): He's goofy but he's, you know, ... I don't know. It's so American, you know? [laughs] He's so bizarre. I don't know how good, I've never tried to make a recipe of his, so I don't know how good his cooking is.

As the last quote suggests, Emeril is too lowbrow. Although the standards used to judge Martha and Emeril are different both use cultural criteria; against the commercial mainstream on the one hand, and against lowbrow culture on the other.

Conclusion

Foodies spend considerable amounts of time and money on food. They dine out at fine restaurants. They eat AOC French Dupuy lentils, Italian mustard fruits and Vancouver Island pasturized chickens. They like to shop at local farmers' markets and specialty stores. This economic expenditure, however, is primarily a mark of cultural

capital. It is not enough to buy expensive foods. One must buy the right foods and the right tools and, ideally, know how to use them.

Foodies spend less money but more time on ethnic restaurants and exotic ingredients. Foodies use their connoisseurship to make nuanced distinctions between Gujurati, Punjabi and Goan regional cuisines as well as between Cantal and Comte cheeses and thus they display their culinary capital.

Economic capital and cultural capital are both necessary to practise a foodie lifestyle. A certain level of disposable income is needed to eat out, even at ethnic restaurants, as well as to indulge occasionally in expensive foods. But one's status in cultural terms is more important than socio-economic status. As the *Official Foodie Handbook* puts it, "Businessmen like food almost as much as Foodies. Many *are* Foodies ... Like Foodies they want the best. *If only they knew what it was*" (1984: 39).

The discussion in this chapter builds a strong case that foodies primarily belong to the class fraction of social and cultural specialists rather than to a broad-based cultural movement. They are new middle class members with large amounts of cultural capital. Not all foodies are college-educated cultural professionals, but the farther one moves from that ideal the further one moves away from the core of elite professional chefs.

Foodie culinary capital is based on a knowledge of current culinary trends. These are the trends of new American cuisine for what is regional, seasonal and artisanal on the one hand, and for what is new and exotic on the other. New American cuisine is a cultural movement that combines the antimodern and the modern together in a contradictory mix that is typical of consumer capitalism's tension between the bohemian and the bourgeois.

This analysis of foodie consumption practices as a competitive display of knowledge is certainly correct but, speaking as a cultural professional, it is too simple. It ignores other cultural and political dimensions of the foodie experience that we have only alluded to here, whether these are countercultural values of quality of life or political resistance to biotechnology. It neglects the utopian traces in foodie subculture. It is to these issues that I turn in the next chapter.

4

“My gut says that something is not right about this:” Vancouver foodie subculture and resistance to industrial agriculture and genetic modification technology

Foodies tend to be middle-aged members of the new cultural class. They are not a “subordinate, subaltern or subterranean” group (Gelder & Thornton 1997: 4). Nor are they a spectacular, style-based subculture, nor a street culture like those studied by the Birmingham and Chicago Schools respectively. Still foodies aren’t exactly mainstream either. The mainstream media disdain foodies, much as they do media fans (Jenkins 1992), as being preoccupied with trivial, aesthetic concerns. “A touch of tangerine would have made it so much better,” is how one of my media interviewees described the ridicule foodies received from the non-food media.

In Chapter Two I argued that foodies are not necessarily yuppies. In Chapter Three I argued that they are primarily social and cultural specialists with more cultural than economic capital. In particular, their consumption of fresh, organic products from local, artisanal farmers displays their culinary capital. Here I will argue that it also displays their resistance to industrial agriculture and genetic modification (GM) technologies. Moreover core foodies may in addition be politically active in the environmental and slow food movements. I want to begin by looking at foodie culture in historical context. Specifically, I will examine its relation to other middle-class cultural movements like its New Age sibling as well as its forebears in the sixties counterculture and the Arts and Crafts movement.

Middle-class antimodernism

The first antimodern movement, Romanticism, was born alongside modern capitalism and industrialization in eighteenth century Europe, especially in England, Germany and France. Like Enlightenment thought, Romanticism developed out of Protestantism, but in this case it was not Puritanism but Pietist sentimentalism, an eighteenth century literary and an ethical movement which privileged emotions over reason (Campbell 1987). While Kant was heralding modern, universal reason against the superstitions of tradition, his Romantic challengers like Hamann, Herder, Schlegel and Schelling idealized religion, myth, art and nature respectively. Romanticism was not a unified system and its themes included the mystical, the particular, medieval chivalry, the diversity of folk traditions, the exotic, artistic creativity and a return to nature (Field 1965). Both Sentimentalism and Romanticism were primarily middle-class movements (Campbell 1987).

German Romantic philosophy was put into practice by the artistic avant-garde in Paris in the 1830s-40s (Campbell 1987). When the German poet Heine first arrived in Paris in 1831 he wrote: ‘a fish in the sea feels like Heine in Paris’ (Field 1965: xviii). He became part of the city’s bohemian counterculture; flirting with Saint-Simonian socialism, contributing to Marx’s journal and writing political poetry. In “The Silesian Weavers,” published in 1844, he protests industrial mechanization.

Im düstern Auge keine Träne,
Sie sitzen am Webstuhl und fletschen die Zähne:
Deutschland, wir weben dein Leichentuch,
Wir weben hinein den dreifachen Fluch –
Wir weben, wir weben!

[In gloomy eyes there wells no tear.
Grinding their teeth, they are sitting here:
Germany, your shroud's on our loom;
And in it we weave the three-fold doom.
We're weaving, we're weaving!]
(Heine 1982: 52-3)

The weavers' three curses are for God, king and country of "old Germany." By the 1860s bohemian countercultures had spread to other major European and American urban centres (Campbell 1987).

Here I will discuss three twentieth century romantic movements: the Arts and Crafts movement, the sixties counterculture and the New Age movement. Each movement spread throughout Western industrial countries and, since the sixties, beyond. All share romantic themes resisting modernization and industrial technology. Only one of these formations deals with youth culture and, while age may affect the intensity of resistance, it will become clear that class is more significant in these traditions. All three formations are directly related to the contemporary foodie movement. The Arts and Crafts movement of the nineteenth and twentieth century is a forerunner of the sixties counterculture, which in turned spawned both the New Age and the foodie movements along with feminist and environmental movements.

Arts and Crafts societies formed in England in the mid-nineteenth century and were imported to North America as industrialization here grew. The Vancouver society was founded in 1900 by British emigrants and its legacy of half-timbered, cottage-style bungalows survives to this day (Lochnan et al. 1993). Arts and Crafts was the middle class arm of a wider antimodern movement, including working class resistance to industrial technology as well as evangelical crusades against urban vice. Within the

middle class too resistance ranged from utopian communities and socialist agitation to boycotting machine-made goods and collecting handmade objects (Lears 1981). The latter practice earned Veblen's criticism that the passion for "bumpy vases" was another form of conspicuous consumption (Veblen in Lears 1981: 77). William Morris's crafts were priced out of the range of the middle class but for the most part Arts and Crafts objects were inexpensive, beautiful and useful domestic pieces. The leaders of the Arts and Crafts movement were mostly middle-class, urban professionals with high cultural capital like Harvard professor Charles Norton or furniture maker and publisher Gustav Stickley (Lears 1981).

Lears argues that the Arts and Crafts movement showed a "characteristic antimodern blend of accommodation and protest" (Lears 1981: 66). Its middle-class location gave it an ambivalent relation to material progress and economic success from the start. Like the broader Romantic movement, the Arts and Crafts movement protested against the modern industrial values of efficiency, standardization and material excess. It favoured the simple, useful, even joyful, labour of the medieval craftsman.

It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do (Morris 2003, 2).

William Morris, with whom the movement is most closely identified, advocated a kind of guild socialism (Lears 1981). He aimed, on the one hand, to preserve traditional community and, on the other, to preserve the autonomy and integrity of the worker, whose life was increasingly fragmented into work and play. The Arts and Crafts critique of modernity was aesthetic as well as political: machine-made goods were ugly (Lears 1981).

According to Lears the North American movement began to accommodate itself to industrial capitalism by the time of the first World War. As it gained wider acceptance it changed from supporting workers' joyful labour to advocating a joyful spirit on the job plus vocational education in leisure hours. For the bourgeois class it advocated manual carpentry as a hobby. In both cases its emphasis on individual therapeutic leisure revitalized both the workers and the bourgeoisie, and so aided in the shift to consumer capitalism in North America in the twenties. Its pastoral and craft ideals, however, survived in the leisure practices surrounding the weekend cottage and the do-it-yourself movement, respectively. More importantly for us it survived in the writings of Frank Schumacher and Lewis Mumford who would influence the sixties counterculture (Lears 1981).

The sixties counterculture was a mix of hippie, yippie (youth in protest), and back-to-the-land lifestyles. Hippies are probably the best known group. The stereotypical hippie dropped out of middle-class life and lived communally, practised free love, listened to experimental music and experienced new realms of consciousness with the aid of recreational drugs. In *Profane Culture* (1979), Paul Willis studied a group of hippies in northern England. He identified core hippie values: the natural and experiential as well as individuality, creativity and non-functionality. In this they were closer to the first bohemians than to the Arts and Crafts movement which had produced useful objects within the bourgeois economy. In the Birmingham tradition, Willis claimed that the hippies exaggerated a tendency toward hedonism already present in their middle-class parent culture. But he also claims that they implicitly challenged bourgeois notions of reason and progress as well as technology.

It is the back-to-the-landers who are of most interest here for their agricultural and culinary practices. American cultural historian Warren Belasco calls this formation the “countercuisine.” They farmed communally with low-tech tools and labour-intensive methods. They also prepared food this way, for example pickling and canning preserves on wood-burning stoves. In the late sixties there were 3500 rural communes in the United States linked to urban food coops and restaurants. These centred on the twin poles of Boston and the San Francisco Bay area. In Boston the “Red Chef” reviewed restaurants based on their proletarian atmosphere and cheap food (1989: 107). In Berkeley Alice Waters, guru of contemporary new American cuisine, was cooking for student radicals. In the neighbourhood of Haight-Ashbury twentieth century Diggers, dressed in monks’ robes, drove a yellow submarine bus and distributed food free to the resident freaks. And in Vancouver too radicalized youth distributed free food grown by local communards.

Like the hippies, the countercuisine was comprised of middle-class youth who shared a mix of environmental, health, experiential and spiritual values (Belasco 1989). They struggled against the “food establishment” or food processors, agribusiness, chemical companies, the American Food and Drug Administration, university scientists and nutritionists, and the mass media. In particular they wanted food that was natural, creative, handmade, slow, local, ethnic and light. “Natural” food was neither laced with chemicals, nor processed, nor conventional. “Brown rice became the icon of antimodernity” (1989: 27). Their taste for brown rice entailed an aesthetic critique of industrial food processing technology.

Willis argues that the hippies provided only symbolic resistance to capitalist society because they refused political engagement. Belasco too admits to accommodation. Countercuisine members turned into hip capitalists who literally sold out to the corporations, as Celestial Seasonings tea sold out to Kraft in 1984 (Belasco 1989). The organic farms that survived turned back into family farms. But Belasco also maintains that the countercuisine reformed the mainstream public and media to healthier, greener ways with mandatory food labelling, dietary guidelines emphasizing whole grains, and the institutionalization of sustainable agriculture in universities.

This assimilation of countercuisine values by a wider public was helped by both the media and, surprisingly, by food marketers. The media initially portrayed the countercuisine in terms of a moral panic about health “fanatics.” But it also reported a constant barrage of health scares throughout the seventies from DDT to saccharine. As the opinion of the affluent forty per cent of the population shifted, so did marketers’ practices. Food marketing began advertising “all-natural,” “old-fashioned,” and “country” products. Even Velveeta processed cheese spread, for example, was heralded as a “blend of natural cheeses” (1989: 221)

Belasco identifies the end of the movement with the arrival of granola bars and sweetened yogurt in the late seventies. At its peak it espoused a radical communalism and ecology. In 1973 Elaine Sundancer wrote of her California commune,

We want to eat food that has the things our bodies need to grow, food that hasn’t had all the goodness processed out of it, food in its proper season. And we’d like to eat food that has been grown and picked and cooked with love, by people who enjoyed what they were doing, food with good vibes in it. We want to stand in a good relation to the soil – to feed it well, so we will be fed by it. We’re not fanatical about any of these things, but that’s the general shape

of what we want, and we think it's possible to have it." (in 1989: 78).

Note how food "grown and picked and cooked with love" links the countercuisine with the earlier Arts and Crafts movement. "Food in its proper season" foreshadows the regional food movements and foodies. Similarly "a good relation to the soil" and "food with good vibes" connects it to the environmental and New Age movements respectively.

New Age has been described as a mix of personal growth, Eastern mysticism and environmentalism spliced onto Protestant responsibility. It went mainstream in the late eighties and has since spread to tens of millions of followers across the globe (Ross 1992). New Agers come from all levels of white collar work and so are not part of a "tidy class constituency" (1992: 536). Nevertheless, Ross admits they are generally white, middle-class and middle-brow. Like foodies, New Age followers believe in personal growth and natural foods. Unlike them they advocate other "natural," therapeutic practices such as: aromatherapy, biomagnetics, chakra therapy, deep tissue bodywork, etc. (1992: 539). This movement is engaged in a cultural struggle against medical technology and instrumental reason. If modern science characterizes the struggle as between itself and superstitious pseudoscience, New Agers see the battle as between nature and high technology.

New Age thinking both reinforces and contests Protestant individualism. On the one hand, it makes no connection between the health of the individual and that of society. On the other, it articulates a connection to social change, albeit in a mystical way with a critical mass of positive thinking individuals. New Age views nature as asocial, ahistorical, and good. In *Keywords* (1985), Raymond Williams shows how this understanding is inherent in the historical development of the term "nature" itself. Its

modern meaning connotes 1) unspoiled countryside, 2) plants and animals, as well as 3) goodness and innocence. The latter comes from the Enlightenment's association of nature with an immanent divine force.

Ross claims New Age is an alternative rather than an oppositional movement as its members hope that Western science will legitimate their practices and beliefs. Like Belasco, he argues that the New Age movement has reformed mainstream institutions (Ross 1992). For example, public health has shifted to a preventive paradigm and small scale technologies like acupuncture are increasingly recognized by the medical establishment. The movement has been most successful in struggling for a "kinder, gentler science" which posits a more holistic approach to the body (1992: 530). Ross argues that the movement is not just a product of the aging of the counterculture because there remain genuine utopian elements, such as the reappropriation of folk knowledge such as massage. Ross also wants to push this critique into more radical directions such as worker self-management, local self-government and health rights as well as toward a more socio-historical understanding of nature.

In sum, all three romantic movements contest and reinforce mainstream values at the same time, or to use Lears terminology they both protest and accommodate. They are all middle-class movements critical of industrial technology. Arts and crafts was critical of industrial mechanization in steam- and electric-powered production. The countercuisine extended this critique to post Second World War rationalized industrial agriculture. The New Age movement continues to criticize large scale medical technologies including biotechnology. All three movements are also nostalgic for what is "natural" whether this is understood as pastoral communities, health food or alternative

medicine. Next we will see how foodies too criticize industrial agriculture as well as the new biotechnologies because they are nostalgic for nature. Again they idealize the artisan.

Organic food as symbolic resistance to industrial agribusiness and GM technology

In the last chapter we saw how foodies prefer to consume local, artisanal, organic food. Here I will show that these preferences often stem from a commitment to environmental values. As a rule, Vancouver foodies are quite critical of industrial agriculture and genetic modification technology. Let me define some of these terms.

Genetic modification of food is a cutting-edge biotechnology that uses enzymes to remove segments of DNA with desirable characteristics, an antifreeze gene from arctic char or a growth gene from ocean pout, for example. These segments are then transferred into the cells of target organisms, in this case tomatoes and salmon respectively. Since these transfer procedures have a low success rate, new plants or animals can only be grown in the lab using another technology called tissue culture which basically clones the modified cells (National Centre for Biotechnology Education 2002). What is new in all of this is not human intervention into life because crossbreeding is as old as agriculture itself. Nor is the crossing of fundamental boundaries new as viruses are capable of transferring genetic material between plants and animals. What is new is the systematic crossing of these boundaries for economic gain. The risks of GM technologies are currently being debated with scientists, farmers and GM producers like Monsanto on one side, and scientists, farmers and environmental activists on the other.

Organic food production is a sustainable practice that is a low technology alternative to industrial farming, more commonly called “conventional agriculture.”⁴⁰ By

definition, organic farming uses no genetically modified seeds. Organic farming uses “natural,” labour-intensive methods of pest, weed and disease control to enhance soil fertility and biodiversity. For instance it uses a variety of heritage seeds bred for local climates and disease resistance instead of those bred for aesthetics and a long shelf life. Organic agriculture also uses crop rotation and composted manure as fertilizers. Weeding is done by hand and by applying mulch or sulphur. Botanical soaps and beneficial insects discourage harmful insects (Canadian General Standards Board 2002). Neither of the farm households I interviewed were certified, though both used some organic practices.

Organic food processing is free of GM foods as well as irradiated foods. Of the approximately 7000 food additives used in processing, organic processors are permitted seven additives, such as salt, sugar, yeast (Spevack 2001). Organic foods are certified by many different organizations. There are fourteen in B.C. alone and Canada has recently adopted a voluntary national standard. The U.K., which has the second largest organic market in Europe after Germany, has had a national standard since 1987. This is a minimum standard which permits 5% non-organic “contamination.”

One of the chefs I spoke to, Anne, believed that food professionals were more interested in organic food than amateur foodies because they had more knowledge about contemporary agricultural practices. My research shows some support for this belief. While consumption of organic food was evenly split between professional and amateur foodies, the former consumed organics within a political frame. I also noticed a strong split along gender and age lines. The four interviewees who did not express a preference for organic food were, interestingly, all men over fifty; two professionals and two

amateurs. Ken, a food writer, said he was interested in quality foods, orange juice that isn't made from concentrate, for example.

Ken (food writer in 60s): It isn't a matter of affordability. It's saying, "Let's go on the high road on this kind of thing and get the good stuff." Although I don't necessarily buy food from the organic section.

Researchers who study the environmental movement find a similar over-representation of urban middle-class women and cultural workers as well as youth (Melucci 1985).

Among the rest of the foodies there were varying degrees of commitment. Nine foodies bought mostly organic food; seven women (three professionals, four amateurs) and two male professionals.

Arthur (food writer in early forties): I'm a big advocate for natural organic food ... Most of the oils I use are organic.

Christine (amateur in early 60s): I go out to Surrey. There's [a farm market] called Two E's out there that's *absolutely incredible* ... They try all the new varieties and apparently it's all done on their own land without sprays ... You kind of watch for the bugs ... I buy organic beef and chicken. I can't get organic pork, not at my butcher shop.

The remaining seven foodies ate organic food occasionally though these four women (three professionals, three amateurs) and one male professional agreed that they should do it more often. Cheryl's ideals were overridden by concerns about the cost.

Cheryl (farmer in mid 40s): So more and more I would prefer to be able to eat [an organic] chicken from Kathy's place or from Cowichan Bay [Farm], but again, realistically speaking, it's price ... If I had the money, there'd be no question. I'd be there all the time.

Patricia was concerned about reliability.

Patricia (amateur in early 60s): I'm still not there yet but as soon as we can have a reliable source of organic vegetables, particularly lettuces and broccoli and things like that, I'd probably be buying them. Anything I can peel I'm not too fussed about ... because it

takes a long time for the whole world to be um organic and, you know, you can be adjacent to somebody who's certified and you can kinda ruin his life if you use chemicals. So I don't know how much the wind drifts things around, and water systems under the ground.

For Penny, an amateur in her early 40s, it was a matter of availability. "I try to buy organic but, you know, I can't always go to Capers to get it, and they don't offer it always at our [North Vancouver] stores.

Vancouver foodies were primarily concerned about organic fruits and vegetables, followed by organic meat and dairy products. Stefanie, a personal chef with a clientele that likes to eat organic food, found the same emphasis. "I have one client who wants totally everything organic -- that's flour, oil, sea salt -- everything. Most clients, if they're looking organic ... it's dairy and meat and good vegetables."

People converted to organics from different motives. Some are primarily interested in the taste.

Anne (chef in early 40s): It tastes alive. I mean, all the flavours are alive. It's bright. It's fabulous [whispering]. There is a big difference."

Other foodie concerns are about health.

Mary (amateur in early 40s): I'm careful ... It's really scary with fruits and vegetables that are exposed, you really have to wash, and I'm very fussy about that. ... So I make sure everything is really clean beforehand. And I like to get things that organically grown. They are different. I even get it for the horse. And they say, "Oh my God, you're not buying [organic] carrots for the [horse]" ... but I do. I think it's important.

Other foodies are more concerned about environmental issues.

Arthur (food writer in early 40s): More and more I like reading more about technical aspects about GMO products, um farmed salmon versus wild salmon, farming techniques, you know. This food has to come from somewhere so ... how do they farm? Organically?

Kathleen (amateur in early 30s): The organicness is less about my health and more about environmental health. Like I'll eat other vegetables that aren't um organic, but I think that it's something that you can do to help promote healthy farming, which is better all around for everything.

Most respondents were concerned about some combination of taste, health and the environment.

A nationally representative survey of 819 American homes by Wimberley and his team (2003: 13) found that 60% of Americans would pay more for food grown without chemicals. Similarly in a 2001 (March) survey of *Bon Appétit* readers, the editors found that 69% bought organic produce. These figures suggest that Vancouver foodies are slightly more committed to organic agriculture than the average American as well as the average reader of this food magazine because they buy more organic products more often.

Another interesting finding is that the consumers of organic food and the avoiders of genetically modified food do not neatly overlap. Only two men over fifty (not a subset of the above group!) were sanguine about eating genetically modified food. Larry, a suburban amateur in his seventies, was even celebratory: "In fact, probably anything they can think of scientifically would be good as long as they don't genetically change the flavours."

Overall less foodies regularly avoided GM food than regularly ate organic food, despite the fact that people felt more strongly about genetically modified food. Again and again people reacted vehemently against genetic modification. One exception was Cheryl who was a scientist by training. She wasn't against genetic modification in principle but she still wasn't ready to eat GM foods.

Cheryl (farmer in late 40s): When I was first going to university and ... all these courses we took with David Suzuki, and at that time they started injecting plasmids into bacteria, so that the bacteria could produce insulin, and that's genetically modified organisms. I think that was an extremely great advance. I don't know enough about [genetic modification of food] and I would prefer to err on the side of caution until I know more about it.

More often I heard a fear of the unknown.

Anne (chef in early 40s): I avoid it ... Who knows what it's doing to you? It's not been proven. It's a new thing. It's scary. It's not, you know, it's just not *right*. It's just not meant to be. It's not meant to *dick* around with stuff like that. It's bad.

A few expressed fear about the consequences of crossing of the animal-plant boundary.

Patricia (amateur in early sixties): *That* [arctic char genes in strawberries]⁴¹ really bothers me ... Because I don't think you should mix species [kingdoms] like that. Like I *really* feel that mixing mammals or animal life and plant life is a no no.

Another concern was that the claims of the biotechnology industry were suspect.

Ellen (chef): My gut says that something is not right about this. My gut really does strongly feel that ... [it's] this corporate takeover ... So my gut says it's not right. And this thing, "Oh we can feed a lot more people," and all that stuff, it doesn't jive.

While these sentiments may be expressed in strong emotional terms they are rational fears. Some are also echoed by the American Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS).

These scientists argue that biotechnology's promise to feed more people is flawed because the prime cause of world hunger is not an issue with supply but distribution.

These experts also argue that genetic modification of food is a new technology which brings unknown risks. "Novel organisms bring novel risks" (UCS 2002b: 1). These risks are in addition to foreseeable risks such as the creation of "superweeds" resistant to herbicides sprayed on GM herbicide-tolerant plants. And like Cheryl, they believe that the genetic modification of bacteria in the drug industry is beneficial. As a result they

recommend that GM technologies be evaluated on a case-by-case basis. They also recommend food labelling.

Europe and Australia have adopted labelling policies. But in North America labelling of GM food has been left to industry self-regulation (except in the case of export (Whitman 2000)). As a result it is much easier to find organic food here than it is to avoid GM food. Sixty per cent of the corn grown in the U.S. is modified and processed together with conventional corn (Public Citizen 2001: 2). So despite the stronger feelings it is harder to do something. As one amateur put it,

Bob (amateur in early fifties): I have a healthy opposition to genetically modified food, but clearly it's a losing battle to avoid all genetically modified food, until governments here in Canada adopt a more stringent code of GM identification.

The only way North American consumers today can be sure their food is GM free is to buy direct from a trusted farmer or to buy certified organic food. A 1999 Environics poll in Canada found that 80% of Canadians want labelling (Organic Advocates 2002: 1). Similarly Wimberley (2003: 8) found that 92% of Americans want labelling of GM products. However his team also found that only 28% thought GM foods unsafe. The views of foodies in Vancouver are thus closer to public opinion in Europe than to that in North America.

Knowledge about GMOs

Given the vehemence of foodies' responses to GMOs and their rational fears, I was surprised to discover that there was a lack of knowledge about GM foods among food professionals as well as amateurs. Only three interviewees had a solid understanding of genetic modification technology. Two were farmers; one with a science degree and the other politically

active in the organic food movement. The third was an amateur who worked as a public health researcher. These foodies understood that GM transfer techniques are statistically unreliable.

Kathleen (amateur in early 30s): Hybridization is a chemical process. It's extremely different from gene splicing ... They make it sound so scientific but if this [hand motion] is your helix, they actually bomb the helix with the other gene and they *hope* that it gets to the right spot.

Almost everyone else I questioned about GMOs segued into a discussion of less invasive forms of human intervention in conventional agriculture, for example chemical pesticides and antibiotics among others. In fact, the quotes above expanded read as follows:

Christine (amateur in early 60s): Because I don't think you should mix species like that. Like I *really* feel that mixing mammals and or animal life and plant life is a no no, you know. Mad cow disease. I don't think that you should do this kind of thing.

Anne (chef): It's not meant to *dick* around with stuff like that. It's bad. It's funny, when I was in Urban Fare this week, there were these two people that knew me ... so I started talking to them and the woman was holding, I think, strawberries, and the man will say, "Oh, those don't look very nice," and I said, "They don't look nice because they're local." He didn't realise that. He didn't *realise* that local strawberries don't look as good as the stupid California ones. They taste a billion times better. They don't look nice, but they just taste fantastic.

Ellen (chef): But my gut says that something is not right about this. My gut really does strongly feel that ... it's ... this corporate takeover. I mean even apples in the U.S. for example. Apples are basically dead now before we eat them, you know. They're stored in these big huge refrigerators. You're not really eating a fresh apple when you get an apple from Safeway and so, like I mean, I think if we let it happen, I think we are going to realize that the same fresh food that we took for granted is going to be a lot more expensive in ten, fifteen years.

To be fair, people readily admitted that they did not know much about the subject and wanted to learn more.

To a lesser extent foodies also segued from talk of organic food to talk about home-grown food or free-range meat.⁴² This blurring of human interventions, however, makes sense in light of the romantic antipathy to ‘dicking around’ with nature. It also makes sense viewed from the continuum of food activism. One chef put it this way:

Anne (chef in early 40s): Fair-exchange coffee and tea and that kind of stuff. ... I think they’re all, they’re all linked. As one will grow, the other ones will keep pace. I think it’s gonna happen. I think in ten years we’ll see this really come to fruition.

If one visits the website of Farm Folk/City Folk, a Vancouver foodie site linking chefs to farmers, one will find links to the Canada Alert on Genetic Engineering (anti-biotechnology), Small Scale Food Producer Association (food security), Sustain (sustainable agriculture), Biodynamic Association of America (holistic agriculture), Community Kitchens (anti-poverty) and Slow food (anti-fast food). One also finds links to non-food sites such as World Wildlife Fund (endangered species), Finlandia Natural Pharmacy (New Age), Planet Peace, Infact (corporate watchdog) and misc.activism.progressive. All these left-leaning groups overlap in terms of strategies and events as well as in membership.

In the end Anne was right to single out food professionals. Though I did not find greater consumption of organic food among food professionals, I did find greater political awareness as well as explicit resistance to corporate control of the food supply. Whether they were farmers, media professionals or chefs, these core foodies had strong views against corporate greed, especially in industrial agriculture and biotechnology.

Pierre (chef): Everybody is pushing the limits and it’s all dictated by economics. ‘Cause *personally* I think all these companies they don’t care. They don’t care. They’re companies that produce it. They do not care what they sell you, as long as they sell lots of it and they make money out of it. Whether it’s genetically modified, whatever, they don’t care.

Arthur (food writer): We have to have food to survive, and to feed the ever growing world population, but I don't know. I'm a big advocate for natural organic food, but ... I don't mind that corporations do it to feed the ever growing population, but I don't like seeing it from a big money-grabbing, you know, economic point of view.

Teresa (farmer): [In biodynamic agriculture] you have to bury manure in a cow's horn at a certain cycle of the moon and then dig it up at a certain cycle of the moon and create a tonic with it that, you know, with this manure tea, where you have to stir it in a vortex ... and then you apply it to your plants, yeah. But I think plants will just benefit from that kind of attention. ... So to some people, that might seem like a lot of hocus-pocus, but to me it actually makes more sense than large scale industrial agriculture which I think is all about money.

The food professionals also offered general criticisms of contemporary consumer society.

Charles was critical of contemporary neoliberalism.

Charles (food writer in fifties): To a large extent those things [food safety] have been beggared by the cutbacks and, you know, people saying "Why should we support all those damn bureaucrats?" ... "I need my new Lexus more than we need, say, food." Well I can't buy that argument but that's, you know, the endless outcome of Reaganomics, I suspect [laughing].

Ellen, a vegetarian, condemned its waste and the welfare of animals.

Ellen (chef): What bugs me the *most*, more than anything, more than even throwing away vegetables, I cannot stand to see meat thrown away. You first kill the goddamn animal and then you don't even eat it. That just to me is, just the epitome of how you're abusing this system.

Anne was critical of immediate gratification.

Anne (chef): One point of cooking seasonally is that you eat something when it's right to eat it. So it's always a treat, you know. You have strawberries in February, it becomes less of a treat ... People want access to everything all the time and that's sad, but they want it ... Yeah, you know, everything on demand. It *bothers* me ... It just makes me insane sometimes.

Many of these chefs were also politically active. Ellen was interested in organizing with other chefs on a project related to genetically modified food. Pierre was involved with the local small-scale producers and Arthur with hunger awareness. Teresa is active in Farm Folk/City Folk and Anne with Community Kitchens, an organization that teaches people on low incomes cooking skills. Anne has also taken several small steps towards greening her restaurant kitchen.

Anne (chef): It's so expensive to get certain products ... to switch your oil over from [GM] canola oil. To use safflower is hugely expensive, like for a year. ... So there's economic things to consider. So I try to, you know, do a little bit, a little bit at a time, like not serving sea bass.

Chilean sea bass, like swordfish and Atlantic salmon, is an endangered fish. There is another project called Seafood Watch and sponsored by West Coast aquariums which produces a seafood guide listing which fish are made available according to environmentally friendly practices and which are overfished or have problems with farming.

Anne recounts how she became politically active.

Anne (chef): When Team Canada was here and we were doing a lunch for the hockey wives. And they'd already had breakfast at who knows, nine o'clock. Lunch was at noon. They didn't eat anything. Of course they're not going to eat anything, they're not hungry. And I thought – you know, I thought this is disgusting. And I'm part of perpetuating this. So what I have to do is do something, sort of wash my hands clean. That's why I started getting involved in volunteer work. I thought, "I can't do this anymore." I mean, I have to do it because it's part of my job, but just doing it – it's terrible. Why do these hockey wives deserve food? What makes the so special? They deserve all this treatment, and there's people that have nothing. So that was a pivotal moment.

When the New Democratic Party was in power in British Columbia, Teresa also engaged in "capital 'P' political" activism at a foodie dinner party.

Teresa (farmer): I find the table is a very strong medium for social change. And in the beginning when we had a couple of dinners with the Minister of Agriculture, I remember my boss at one point ‘cause it cost a bit of money, and it cost a lot of work for Stephen and I, and I remember my boss at one point saying, like, “What are we doing this for?” But I just think that the very act of bringing people together around a table is so strong ...I just read something here, “At the table of peace, there will be bread and justice.” Yeah, it encourages a civility with people.

Let us now turn to the amateur foodies.

As we have seen amateurs also supported environmentalism and local producers as well as vegetarianism and the New Age movement. Kathleen worked on public health relating to the dangers of pesticides and Patricia was involved with the small-scale producers. On the whole, though, the amateurs were less active regarding environmentalism. Professionals may be more committed because of their greater emotional investment in foodie culture. I am not claiming that foodies comprise a social movement. They are an antimodern cultural movement which symbolically resists industrial agriculture and GM technology. However, individual foodies, and especially core foodies, are active in alternative social movements. Some chefs and farmers moreover are active collectively as chefs and farmers in the organic movement.

Jody Berland has suggested that Toronto foodies are not as green as Vancouver foodies (personal communication). Perhaps like New York and Los Angeles foodies they are more interested in social status than either green politics or cultural distinction. *New Yorker* writer Adam Gopnik claims that anxiety about whether or not you are seated at a “power table” in a restaurant is an important part of the dining culture in New York and Los Angeles (Gopnik 2000: 165). A comparison among regional foodie cultures would make an interesting study.

Slow food and resistance to modern convenience

While the organic movement emphasizes health and natural methods, slow food focuses on quality and traditional methods. Sometimes these go hand in hand, as when Alice Waters started a Slow chapter or “convivium” in Berkeley. Similarly on Vancouver Island Sinclair Philip of Sooke Harbour House and Mara Jernigan of Engeler Farm started a convivium in 2001.

Slow food is based in Bra, Italy. It was established in 1986 by Italian journalist, Carlo Petrini, in reaction to the first McDonald’s in Rome. Slow food is a regional food movement that has since spawned a slow cities movement in Italy as well as a decentralized, global federation including seventy chapters in forty-eight countries. Canada has thirteen chapters from coast to coast with two in British Columbia both in the Vancouver area. In addition to a website, the organization hosts an annual conference and produces expensive, glossy consumer quarterlies: *Slow* and *Slowine*

The stated goal of the movement is to protect small-scale food producers from the deluge of “industrial standardization, hyperhygienist legislation, the rules of the large-scale retail trade and the deterioration of the environment” (Slow Food 2003). To this end it has developed a database of “endangered” foods, its “Ark of Taste,” represented symbolically as a ship. By “endangered” foods it refers not only to protecting biodiversity with heritage seeds and breeds but also to protecting quality in regional culinary traditions worldwide, such as Parma ham, the Tennessee Bourbon Red turkey and Australian Aboriginal foods. Slow’s combination of environmental and biblical rhetoric emphasizes its nostalgic elements. Its logo too, the snail, symbolizes resistance to modern speed and convenience. As *escargot*, however, it equally symbolizes haute

cuisine. This tension of elitism and politics is also manifest in their aim to promote gastronomic taste education.

There has been debate among food studies academics about the elitism of the slow food movement. For example, traditional parmigiano Reggiano from Parma is much more expensive than mass market reproductions such as the powder packaged in green cylinders by Kraft. Indeed all artisanal products are affordable only to the middle-class. But because of the movement's decentralization one has to make a case-by-case assessments of individual chapters. Slow food in affluent West Vancouver organized pricey culinary events, while slow food on Vancouver Island works closely with the organic movement.

Three food professionals explicitly mentioned an interest in the slow food movement or its aims. One occasionally bought *Slow* magazine, the other two practiced counter-hegemonic environmental education.

Teresa (farmer): We really believe in seasonal cooking and ... I really believe in educating children around food issues, environmental issues. But just in kind of natural holistic way, not in a preachy [way] ... I'm interested in [slow food] because it's seems like a really well-organized organization ... At the October conference in Italy ... Fiat, Parmigiano Reggiano, La Vazzia coffee were local, ethical commercial sponsors.

Arthur (food writer): I'm growing heirloom tomatoes this year ... Regional cuisine, that's part of my historical interest, you know ... What are people still making that's local and special, before it gets homogenized and gentrified into the globalization of food ... In Australia, you know, what the Aboriginees ate or eat.

Arthur was also against salmon farms on the West Coast which pose a threat to indigenous Pacific salmon. Note how both Teresa and Arthur have explicit political aims. By ethical businesses Teresa means those that make financial commitments to

environmental or community needs like Ben & Jerry's ice cream in Vermont or Small Potatoes Urban Delivery service in Vancouver.

The other farm household was ambivalent about heritage seeds but did support traditional agricultural methods, even over organic methods.

Tony (farmer): All those bags ... they say Butterfield [organic chicken feed]. That's organic. That's not my idea of organic. My idea of organic is sit on the porch stair and watch my chickens, you know, pecking the grass there and so on.

For Tony it is more important that chickens are let outside than that their feed is all-organic. He also produces cider using traditional labour-intensive methods. One of the affluent amateurs also mentioned buying heritage tomatoes, but for the most part it was the food professionals who were interested in preserving regional foods and traditions.

Both amateurs and professionals, however, were concerned about the loss of traditional domestic cooking skills. In Chapter Two we saw that foodies prefer consuming artisanal products as well as cooking from scratch, including making bread and preserves.

Arthur (food writer): I love getting whole snappers and roasting them which is another dying art. A lot of people don't know how to cook whole fish, you know ... That's really sad because we should know. We live on the coast, you know. We should know how to debone a fish or cook a crab or gut it.

Kathleen (amateur): 'Cause it seems to me, the actual production of your own food in a way is almost a dying trade ... I don't know many other people that can or preserve food. It seems to be something that is dying ... People don't even make jam.

Others expressed a similar concern about the threat of homogeneity from multinational franchises.

Ken (food writer): There's nothing Australians like more than meat pies ... and they used to have little oval tins ... I went back after about fifteen years away from Australia and discovered that they

were now being made by the multinationals, and they were rectangular and not oval anymore. So I went back to my old baker and I said, “Whatever happened to the oval tins, Harry?” And he said, “Ah, we get them in from the big cities now and all.”

Bob (amateur): I prefer the smaller, especially South Asian, Southeast Asian family-run places that are, and there’s tons of them still, and I bemoan the fact that many people don’t find pleasure in this at all. I mean food is functional, instrumental. Dining is, well there’s no experience to it at all and ... everything is increasingly franchised.

As well as labour-intensive methods of food production, the slow food movement also aims to preserve leisurely conviviality and enjoyment in consumption . We have seen the sensual love of eating in Chapter Two. Here is another example which emphasizes the slow component in eating.

Cheryl (farmer): I get really turned on by flavours, and ... you can taste the effort if you pick the fruit at the right time, and if they’re healthy apples. Then you wait too long and certain flavours have gone away, you know, because of peak character. You make it more and more ripe fruit but the flavour is different, and catching that at that peak of flavour, so you know that cider is going to end up with that extra zing because you’ve done exactly the right thing and picked it at the right time. That’s what I love about food is capturing that flavour. To me it’s a sheer physical pleasure.

Bob (amateur): One of my favourite Vancouver restaurant experiences ... was a little restaurant called the Ruma Bali ... Once you went in there you were there for a good three hours minimum ... and the rijstafels that they made, the complexity of all of these ... thirty, forty dishes ... That was the most complicated food and I loved that place and fell in love with Indonesian food.

In Chapter Two we saw how all foodies also like to sit leisurely at the table and have meaningful conversations. They rate this as highly or more highly than the food itself.

Arthur (food writer): What makes a great dinner party? I think great conversation ... Because entertaining doesn’t have to be elaborate. People always forget entertaining is to share friendship and the company of each other and to sit around a table sharing each other’s company. It doesn’t have to be the food.

Penny (amateur): Every Sunday we'll get together and have a bottle of wine and ... sometimes it's really plain but [for] some people food isn't important, and I think when people say that, I also find socializing isn't as important ... I like the social aspect around food.

Ken expressed this sentiment in the most nostalgic vein.

Ken (food writer): We can sit around the table and partake, and that's pretty nice, because I think that if we go back to that good old Italian family on the hillside in Tuscany, where there's twenty of them, hey, doing their thing and the paesanos are all having their fun. We don't see a lot that.

In the last chapter we saw foodie preferences for artisanal foods bought in small, local shops as elements of cultural distinction. Here the same practices are seen, especially by food professionals, as preserving local traditions and food security against the homogenizing effects of globalization.

The concept of subculture

The intersection of the foodie movement with the organic and slow food movements supports a reading of foodie culture as a subculture practising symbolic resistance to industrial agriculture and GM technology. This is the sense of "subculture" used by both the Birmingham and Chicago Schools.

The Chicago School was a group of sociologists who studied American urban life in the twenties and thirties. They used ethnographic methods such as participant observation to understand groups outside the mainstream of American life. For example, Paul Cressey studied the dance hall and Robert Park studied African-American culture from the perspective of a liberal critique of capitalism.

During the cultural upheaval of the sixties scholars at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) combined this microsociology of deviance with

the Frankfurt School's Marxian cultural analysis. They found the former's ethnography to be insufficiently theoretical but they preferred their understanding of agency. They were also influenced by other Western Marxists such as Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser. This interdisciplinary group of cultural theorists understood subcultures as a terrain of struggle, or what they called 'symbolic solutions to specific historical contradictions' (Hebdige 1979). They are renowned for not having a unified approach, nevertheless there is agreement that their paragon text was *Resistance through Ritual*. Here Stuart Hall, Dick Hebdige and Mike Brake among others offered semiotic readings of working class youth cultures in Britain. Paul Willis (1978), who also belongs to this tradition, understood the hippie lifestyle as a cultural but not an economic critique of bourgeois values.

Some might wonder why I am interested in using a critical concept of subculture to describe foodies. In their *Subcultures Reader* (1997) Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton argue that the concept needs to be broadened today to include any minority culture. Others, like Andy Bennett, want to go further and jettison the concept entirely because it is seen as too rigid to understand today's more fluid associations. I think the critical concept is relevant to foodies because romantic formations with antimodern themes like the sixties counterculture are still very much alive. I will address three groups of arguments against the critical concept.

The first posits that the term has become so widespread in academia and the media that it no longer has any coherent meaning at all. In fact Bennett (1999) claims that it has come to denote contradictory things, for example, mainstream glitter rockers as well as deviant punks. More importantly the very distinction between a mainstream and

a subculture is being called into question as the mainstream itself has fragmented (Thornton 1997, Muggleton 2000).

Now it is interesting that Bennett categorizes glitter rock (David Bowie, Gary Glitter) as mainstream when Birmingham scholar Mike Brake (1980) saw it as deviant in terms of both class and gender. The music may have been mainstream but, stylistically speaking, working class boys in makeup and heels were subversive of traditional masculinity. Despite this example, however, the point remains that academics like Gelder and Thornton prefer a more comprehensive and thus less critical definition of subculture. This is an instance of a struggle within cultural studies between critical and non-critical variants. So the issue within critical cultural studies then becomes whether or not we can still speak of a mainstream. And it is plain that there is no unified national culture in Western countries today.

Mainstream popular culture has indeed been fragmenting since the fifties when the youth market split off from the mass market. This fragmentation accelerated during the seventies and eighties when the market began to break into multiple niches. However it is a mistake to think that the mainstream was ever homogenous. It is also a mistake to confuse mainstream views with those of the majority. Gramsci (1972) has argued persuasively that consent must always be won for dominant belief systems, and that differing social locations entail different interpretations of and emotional investments in the dominant discourse. The mainstream has always been a suppression of subordinate voices that are loudest in times of social upheaval. Today's mainstream is less stable and less homogenous than it was in the fifties but to deny its existence is tantamount to denying power and the meanings which serve it.

Critical cultural studies is the study of power in the cultural arena. It is therefore useful to have a distinction between social groups which pose a critique of society, however implicit or inarticulate, from those which promote dominant beliefs. Or more accurately, since subcultures also contain conservative strands, we need to distinguish the radical potential from the ideological functions within a given group. In the case of foodies, what is critical is symbolic resistance to industrial agribusiness and genetic modification technology. For food professionals, who have higher culinary capital and more emotional investments in the field than amateurs, this critique is sometimes also explicitly political. Now GM farming, unlike industrial agriculture, is not yet a mainstream practice but it is aggressively promoted by mainstream scientific and political elites in Canada which, not coincidentally, is the world's third largest producer of GM crops after the U.S. and Argentina (Whitman 2000).

A second group of criticisms about "subculture" centres on the issue of resistance. Critics say that the Birmingham School overemphasized resistance by focusing on street styles over more prevalent everyday behaviour (Gelder and Thornton 1997). Birmingham scholars are also said to have oversimplified the story of media diffusion and defusion, in which the commercial media coopts the stylistic resistance of an authentic subculture by popularizing a milder form of it. There seems to be consensus today that the media have been involved from the outset in defining subcultures, both negatively in terms of moral panics and positively by shaping their iconic styles (Gelder and Thornton 1997). Bennett is most dismissive here claiming that spectacular styles were not strategies of resistance but that such readings were foisted on subcultures by the CCCS (Bennett 1999).

Now I too have my reservations about some of the more dubious forms of resistance in cultural studies, for instance Fiskean window shopping which I see as reinforcing consumerist longing (Fiske 1989). But symbolic resistance was never understood as conscious strategizing. It was rather an emotional dissatisfaction with society from which links to critical social movements could be built, or so it was hoped. All the same I accept that the media play a central role in constructing subcultures. But this does nothing to lessen the validity of a more complex media diffusion model. In cultural struggles between unequal groups the dominant group is able to dictate the frame of discourse. If it absorbs ideas, it adapts them in milder versions compatible with its institutions. This is exactly what happened with the term “subculture” in the hands of the media). It is also what happened to cultural movements such as the Arts and Crafts movement or the sixties counterculture. This mainstreaming process in which the mass media has a central role is called cooptation by Marxists and reform by liberals, but either way it defuses social critique. When chefs’ resistance hits the pages of *Gourmet*, as it did with Greg Higgins’ organic restaurant in Portland in January 2002, it is watered down as simply one choice among twenty restaurants to visit (Bates 2002).

The strongest criticism of subculture is that the concept is alternately too rigid, too static, or too tied to class or to masculinity. This is by now a classic poststructuralist argument. The unity and coherence of social formations has been overstated. Accordingly “post-subcultures” exhibit internal differences as well as multiple stylistic identities (Muggleton 2000: 47). Thus Bennett discusses European variants of hip-hop cultures. Thornton highlights power politics within dance clubcultures and Muggleton notes how clubculturalists have a variety of musical tastes that belie the homologies of

taste in music, dress and decor that Paul Willis described so well. Muggleton also makes the stronger claim that the sixties and seventies subcultures were equally diverse:

“Reading *Profane Culture*, it seems beyond the bounds of possibility that some bikers may have become suedeheads or that certain hippies could have transformed themselves into glam rockers or punks, so imprisoned are they by group homologies” (Muggleton 2000: 26). Andy Bennett (1999) takes this argument the furthest when he claims that lifestyles or neotribes which come together in temporary, fluid formations are a more accurate portrait of what has been going on in Europe since the Second World War.

A parallel argument here questions the class coherence of the Birmingham subcultures. Both punks and hippies came from a mix of working and middle class backgrounds. Muggleton (2000) argues that the connection to class is therefore contingent. Bennett again goes furthest suggesting that “a freely chosen game” best describes the choice among lifestyles (1999: 607). A comparable argument holds that the Birmingham scholars had a masculine bias which highlighted deviant street behaviour over domestic life (McRobbie & Garber 1997).

Now there are several good points here. We can no longer take male behaviour or class behaviour as the focus in every analysis. But from my perspective this debate is not pressing. Cultural studies in Canada has never had an exclusive focus on class or masculinity; partly because it was adopted during the heyday of debates on identity politics and partly because North American society is not as rigidly class divided as British society. Here it is often more important to emphasize links between subcultures and class. I tend to agree with Nancy Fraser who argues that identity politics needs to be

integrated with political economy, precisely now that global capitalism is accelerating economic inequality (Fraser 1999).

In any case Birmingham scholars also upheld individual agency. You could choose to be a straight youth or political rebel. You could be an upwardly mobile mod or a downwardly mobile rocker. Or you could be “class defector” as working class hippies were described. But you couldn’t deny the consequences of class origins. Class is only contingently related to subculture, but it remains empirically relevant. Brake, for instance, noted that the working class drifters who made up one third of his hippie sample were marginalized by middle-class hippies. Class location was carried over into the subculture to create an internal hierarchy between an alternative bourgeoisie who set the core hippy values and the lumpenhippies (Brake 1980) If the Birmingham School sometimes erred on the side of structure (especially in its more Althusserian variants), the critics here err on the side of agency.

Willis’s account of hippie subculture is admittedly too unified. His homologies are rigid and he overgeneralized the hippie lifestyle based on a single urban sample; one heavy on the freak side. Though to be fair his freaks also displayed elements of mysticism and affinity with nature. This research supports Muggleton over Bennett. Muggleton (2000) argues that contemporary youth style cultures (hiphop, bhangra, goth) are postmodern in being fragmented and temporary, but they remain modern in their boundary maintenance, commitment, and self-perception of authenticity. Foodies are even more modern and more stable. Though they sometimes express multiple identities and heterogeneities of taste, they also have a strong relation to the class fraction of the new cultural class. Individually they expressed an interest in food going back to their teens

and childhoods. As a formation they have been around since the seventies when nouvelle cuisine was exported from southern France. I am not claiming that neo-tribes might not better describe some youth formations such as football fans (though class and gender investigations here surely yield interesting insights). I am saying that we still need to account for more stable practices.

To sum up, cultural studies needs a critical concept of subculture. Foodie subculture exhibits cultural resistance to contemporary consumer society. Artisanal foods and local, organic foods are seen as tasting better than industrially-produced foods. But this seemingly simple issue of taste implies something much larger. For example, core professionals express explicit political criticisms of agribusiness and GM technologies. As individuals some food professionals engage in public education, slow food and anti-poverty work. There is also collective action among chefs and farmers in the organic movement. For this reason, and despite their own reluctance, I like Gelder and Thornton's description of subcultures. A subordinate, subaltern or subterranean group has the advantage of being broad enough to account for a wide range of cultural practices (not limited to youth) without abandoning a critical edge. The prefix "sub" packs multiple resistance to power in a simple expression.

Foodies are a borderline subculture because they are not strictly subordinate. Like Arts and Crafts and New Ager members, foodies are better described as an alternative culture. They are not oppositional because they uphold mainstream science as well as economic success. They are a fraction of the middle class; that fraction with more culinary than economic capital. As Bourdieu puts it, they are part of the

‘dominated fraction of the dominating class’ (1984: 254). And this tension is precisely what makes them so interesting.

Foodies as another “antimodern blend of accommodation and protest”

When Henry Jenkins (1992) studied hardcore media fans he found not only critical readings of media texts but active cultural production and alternative social communities. As we will see in the next chapter, foodies have a similar demographic profile to these media fans. They tend to be middle-class women over thirty-four. Foodies don’t produce zines like some hardcore media fans, but they do produce healthy, leisurely meals from scratch in a context of mass-produced, convenience foods. They are salvaging skills of home canning as well as biodiverse heritage seeds. As well some professional foodies are part of an alternative community based on environmental values.

Foodies are one of the most recent examples of middle-class antimodernism. Chandra Mukerji and Colin Campbell have argued that the tension between hedonism and asceticism is inherent in capitalism from the very start. The granola bar, which Belasco read as the end of the countercuisine, embodies this tension. Like the Arts and Crafts movement, foodies’ cultural practices are critical of industrial technology. Just as the cultural politics of Arts and Crafts held machine-made goods to be ugly, so foodies believe that foods mass-produced by industrial agriculture tastes awful: “California strawberries ... It’s like eating *cardboard*, right?”

Like the other romantic movements studied here, foodies idealize the natural.

Teresa (farmer): I love the haphazardness of nature ... We had this crazy chicken that just kind of came and lived in our barn, ‘cause she heard our rooster crow, and she was an aracana [breed]. She was grey. She laid blue eggs. She came from somebody else’s farm and then, she was a very strange chicken, she stayed. She

laid a bunch of eggs. She hatched out fourteen baby chicks and a lot of chickens nowadays are not broody, and they won't do that. And out of the fourteen chicks, like, four were brown and six were black and two were yellow, and, I mean, I love that haphazard diversity that happens when you let nature have its way a little bit. I don't like monocultures.

Foodies are nostalgic for nature in a "denaturalized" world and are part of the new struggle against GM technology's domination of nature.⁴³

Foodies form a cultural movement that overlaps with other antimodern cultural movements including environmentalism, slow food/slow cities, anti-biotechnology, anti-globalization, voluntary simplicity, vegetarianism, animal rights and New Age. The foodie movement is closely tied to both the organic and slow food movements. Their backward-looking utopian values of the natural, organic, slow and convivial are fused with modern ones like individualism and new gender roles. These critical elements can also lapse into their opposites. Sensual pleasure has its dystopian side in an insatiable demand for new products and experiences. Conviviality and home cooking can be reduced to therapeutic rejuvenation like hobby carpentry. "People get around a table ... and forget sometimes their daily grind." In addition a commitment to environmentalism may be used as a form of cultural distinction. "And they say, 'Oh my God, you're not buying [organic] carrots for the [horse]'."

It is a complex situation when green consumption itself can be a marker of distinction. Organics are mainstreaming in North America now with supermarkets, restaurants and suppliers providing organic options. There are ads for Organic Farms in *Gourmet* (2003, September) and Hollywood testimonials about organic conversions in magazines devoted to organic lifestyles (*Organic* 2001, Summer). Another such magazine, *Organic Style*, promoting organic clothing and beauty products, was recently

launched in Vancouver. It has come to the point where longterm organic activists like farmer Michael Ablemen are calling for activism “beyond organics” to small-scale, local production and food security.

We have to ask ourselves who really benefits from the concentration of control of the food production system? Are rural communities really better off; have we provided more safe and well-paid jobs; is the air and water cleaner; does the food taste better and is it safer to eat; does it have more nutritional value; is the society healthier and better fed? (Ableman 2003: 29).

Ten years on from Belasco’s diagnosis of the death of the countercuisine, food activism is not dead; nor is organic food an “embarrassing memory” (Belasco 1989: 108). The cultural struggles around organic food are still being waged. In fact the old arguments are still being used.⁴⁴ The Diggers are gone but Community Kitchens, the organic movement and the anti-biotechnology movement are thriving. Belasco and Ley both identify foodies as the gentrified end of the counterculture. Ley’s arguments are slightly more nuanced. He claims that first wave gentrifiers, who are made up of artists and other cultural professionals, tend to keep their youthful liberal values albeit in more moderate form. This research finds that the closer one comes to the core of foodie subculture, the more critical the values. It is the chefs and farmers whose values are most critical. Unlike most artists, however, chefs are private-sector professionals. Their alternative views are tempered by their social location. But alongside foodie accommodation to consumerism, there are pockets of political as well as cultural protest. It is productive to understand Vancouver foodies as engaged in acts of antimodern cultural resistance.

Saveur: Savor a world of authentic cuisine
Bon Appétit: The food and entertaining magazine
Gourmet: The magazine of good living
Cucina Italiana: Good food for good living
Cooking Light: The magazine of food and fitness
Chile Pepper: For those who like it hot
Veggie Life: Growing green, cooking lean, feeling good

5

“And warmed with a drizzle of hot soy marinade:” Foodies read cooking magazines

In *Mythologies* (1956) Roland Barthes described working-class women’s fantasies played out in the food columns of women’s magazines.

This is an openly dream-like cookery, as proved in fact by the photographs in *Elle*, which never show the dishes except from a high angle, as objects at once near and inaccessible, whose consumption can perfectly well be accomplished simply by looking (79).

Barthes’ diagnosis may have been correct for France in the mid-fifties but times have changed. The cultural sensibility toward food and cooking has shifted since the new wave of French cuisine was exported around the globe in the seventies. In 1973 there were two food magazines published in North America: *Gourmet* and *Bon Appétit*. Today there are over thirty; over forty if we count foreign English language titles. In this chapter I will address how and why this cultural shift played itself out in the media, particularly in food magazines. I will look closely at two food magazines, *Bon Appétit* and *Saveur* from the viewpoint of a media analyst as well as from the various viewpoints of foodies themselves.

Cultural studies scholars use the terms “text” and “reading” to refer to the gamut of contemporary media from television shows to academic journals. By “reading” we mean interpreting the meanings and social values found in visual as well as in the print media. Indeed most magazine reading these days consists of “reading” images as we will see.

In the seventies the American journalist, Alexander Cockburn, coined the term “gastroporn” (Zukin 1991: 206). This was a reference to glossy food magazines which offer visual pleasure alongside seductive language: “Teochew braised goose, garnished with rich, shiny chunks of goose liver and warmed with a drizzle of hot soy marinade” (Gold 1995: 84). I must also confess to enjoying food magazines. I rarely buy them myself but we have plenty on hand at home. Mostly it is the photos that draw me in. I can fantasize about escaping my daily responsibilities and walking down the streets of Nice, sipping soup in Singapore or drinking tea in the ideal kitchen. I try some of the recipes and store away the information of where to find the best barbecue, should I ever find myself in Texas.

The food media

Every commercial medium has been affected by the explosion of interest in food and cooking. Even radio, which is not a medium that can convey the multisensory appeal of, say, a sizzling hotpot, has its share of food shows like Don Genova’s *Pacific Palate* on CBC. The most noticeable change has probably been in television broadcasting.

A channel devoted solely to food, The Food Network (FN), was introduced in the nineties alongside other lifestyle channels like Golf and Home and Garden. The Food Network is a specialty cable channel which showcases celebrity chefs like Jamie Oliver

and Emeril Legasse. In 2000 Canadian cable companies began broadcasting Canadian content on the network, including *New Classics* a show by Vancouver chef Rob Feenie. In just three decades, there has been a monumental shift from a few cooking shows scattered across a few channels -- Julia Child's PBS show was one of the first -- to round-the-clock food programming each day. Eleven foodie households subscribed to food television and seven did not (including three chefs and one food writer). Larry, a seventy-six year old, retired manager, now preferred watching food television to reading food magazines. He watches before and after the news everyday: "I like Emeril and *Canadian Living [Cooks]*."

Web sites devoted to food also started popping up in the late 1990s. These include commercial media sites like foodtv.com, epicurious.com and mybc.com/food. These provide recipes, restaurant reviews, product information and on-line ordering. In addition there are the activist sites which provide alternative information on agriculture and genetically modified foods such as slowfood.com and Farmfolk/Cityfolk.org. There are also personal sites or blogs, such as P.L. Ragde's *Food Space* and Tom Saaristo's *Confessions of a Foodie*, where individuals post their own opinions of restaurants, culinary events and food products. Eleven foodies (five professionals, six amateurs) surfed the web for recipes and cooking information on occasion. One amateur was in the process of having a computer installed in her kitchen for this purpose. Two of these professional foodies were also regular contributors to food sites. The site most often mentioned was epicurious.com; one professional and four amateurs had it bookmarked.

Bob (amateur): What I do these days ... if I want to do something new, I'll scoot through my favourite website, which is [epicurious](http://epicurious.com). I love [epicurious](http://epicurious.com). And it gives you ideas and, you know, what I love about it, I love the reviews of people from all over that have

tried it, and you can read what they say, and they go, ... 'This is a great idea' ... These are the latest printouts ... There's like thirty pages and then I've got a binder of pages as well.

Bob browsed the web instead of reading food magazines while the other foodies browsed in addition to buying the magazines.

All the foodies read cookbooks. Julia Child and Simone Beck's *Mastering the Art of French Cooking*, published in 1961, was a favourite. While celebrity chefs today continue to publish general cookbooks less well-known authors need to chart new territories. These have moved beyond books about vegetables or desserts to books devoted to squash and chocolate cake for instance. In Vancouver there is even a cookbook specialty store. Barbara Jo's Books to Cooks is located around the corner from the gourmet shop, Urban Fare, in recently gentrified Yaletown. In addition to magazines and books by local and international celebrity chefs Barbara Jo also offers cooking classes by local and international authors, from John Bishop to Joyce Goldstein. Pierre has "never been a big cookbook fan," but Ellen reads cookbooks instead of magazines. Books also comprise Patricia's bedtime reading.

Patricia (amateur): I often have a cookbook at my bedside. It stays until it's finished. I try, when I get a new book, to go through it from cover to cover and put a few little markers here and there, about things to try. I used to write out great long lists ... [but] it's better to really devour a cookbook when you first get it, and get the feel of it. And then you remember, when you're looking up something, you remember that that was the style of that particular writer.

At the time of the interview, the book by her bed was Jean-Georges Vongerichten's *Simple Cuisine*.

The New York Times, *Chicago Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and *Los Angeles Times* are considered the newspapers with the best food writing in North

America today. The *Vancouver Sun* runs food articles in its Wednesday and Saturday Style sections. Here you can find recipes, book reviews and features on celebrity chefs or food trends. According to Robert Hanke, who studied the *Philadelphia Inquirer* from the sixties to the eighties, there was a shift from a functional, domestic food aesthetic to a gourmet aesthetic in the seventies. Between 1979 and 1983, 38% of the larger circulation (100,000+) newspapers added lifestyle sections (Bogart in Hanke 1989). In the eighties there was a more subtle shift to consumerism in the form of culinary trends and restaurant promotion. Hanke too associates this cultural shift with gentrification and emerging urban lifestyles across North America. Two foodies were devout newspaper readers. Charles, a journalist himself, loves reading the *New York Times*.

Charles (food writer): The other thing that I still read religiously just because, you know, I love the newspaper and the section, is the *New York Times*. [I] always buy it on Wednesday for the food section, and for the quality of food reviewing and the writing ... It's lovely to see somebody who still does it and does it well.

Charles reads the food magazines as well.

There has been an explosion of food magazines around the world, particularly in the last twenty years. Just a fraction of these include *BBC Good Food* (1989), *Vegetarian* (1992), *Ready Steady Cook* (1997) and *Food Illustrated* (1998) in England. *Saveurs*, *Cuisine Actuelle* (1987) and *Maxi Cuisine* (1998) are from France. In Germany there is *Savoir Vivre* (1994) and *Elle Bistro* (1997). Poland has *Sol i Pieprz* (1996) and Russia has *Priyatnogo Apetita* (1997). Down under are *Cuisine* (1987) from New Zealand as well as *Australian Good Taste* (1996) and *Australian Table* (1999). Argentina publishes *Mia Cocina* (1986) while Japan publishes *Lettuce Club* (1987) and *Elle Donichief* (1997). Even India has *The Food Magazine* (1997).

Table 5.1: Selected food magazines available in North America

NICHE	MAGAZINE	EST'D	CIRC.	PUBLISHER
Foreign	Australian Gourmet Traveller	1967	84k*	ACP Publishing
	[Australian] Vogue Entertaining	1978	62k*	Condé Nast
	Slow	1996	60k*	Slow
	Food Illustrated	1998	unavailable	Waitrose
Trade/ Technique	Cook's Illustrated	1980	150k*	Boston Commercial Press
	Chocolatier	1984	151k	Haymarket
	Art Culinaire	1986	13k*	F.X. Mitterer
	Food Arts	1988	52k*	Shanken Communications
	Fine Cooking	1994	186k*	Taunton Press
Epicurean	Gourmet	1941	985k	Condé Nast
	Bon Appétit	1956	1.3M	Condé Nast
	Food & Wine	1978	964k	American Express
	Eating Well	1990	609k*	Hachette Filipachi
	Saveur	1994	378k	World Publications
	Cuisine at Home	1996	200k*	August Home Publishing
	Cooking Pleasures	1998	572k	N.A. Media Group
	Great Chefs Magazine	2001	300k	Cuisine Media
	Intermezzo	2001	275k	Intermezzo
	Cuisine Tours	2002	100k	Cuisine Publishing
	Martha Stewart Living Everyday Food	2003	900k	MSL Omnimedia
Regional	Chile Pepper	1987	97k	Chile Pepper
	La Cucina Italiana	1996	1.4M	Italian Cultural Institute
	Louisiana Cookin'	1997	40k*	Kreidt Enterprises
	Gemma's Homestyle Italian Cooking	1998	130k	Roxbury Media
	Arizona Gourmet	2000	29k**	Oser Communications
	Italian Cooking and Living	2001	75k	Italian Cultural Institute
Health	Vegetarian Times	1974	340k*	Sabot Publishing
	Cooking Light	1987	1.6M	Southern Progress
	Veggie Life	1993	113k	EGW Publishing
	Quick & Light	1997	54k	Sunwest
	Diabetic Cooking	1999	250k*	Publishing International
Homestyle	Home Cooking	1973	60k*	House of White Birches
	Come & Eat	1992	150k	Pillsbury
	Taste of Home	1993	5M*	Reiman Publications
	Mr. Food's Easy Cooking	1997	unavailable	Hearst
	Mary Dee's Quick & Tasty Recipes	1999	127k*	Roxbury Media

Sources: SRDS (2003, November); *Ulrich's International Periodical Directory On-line (2003, October); ** Gary Allen (personal communication).

There are no Canadian culinary glossies available in Vancouver but in the United States alone there are over thirty consumer magazines devoted to food. (See Table 5.1). This does not include wine magazines, lifestyle magazines or the many small circulation newsletters (<10,000) produced for esoteric tastes like *Vinegar Connoisseur's International Newsletter* or *Bread Pudding Update*. Nor does it count international magazines available at specialty magazine shops or on-line, such as *Australian Gourmet Traveller* or Italy's *Slow*. Nor does it include the many short-lived food publications since the nineties such as *Pasta Press*, *On the Grill*, *Shape Cooks*, and in Canada *Gusto*, *President's Choice Magazine* and the spin-off from *Canadian Living*.

The largest circulation magazines are the most established, *Bon Appétit*, *Gourmet* and *Food & Wine* as well as the more recent *Cooking Light*. Each has circulation figures close to one million or more. This figure is comparable to fashion stalwarts such as *Shape*, *Vogue* or *Chatelaine* though behind more popular titles like *Glamour* (2.1M) and *Cosmopolitan* (2.5M). It is well behind traditional women's titles like *Good Housekeeping* (4.7M) or *Family Circle* (4.6M) as well as men's magazines such as *Sports Illustrated* (3.2M).⁴⁵

High-end food magazines are known in the industry as "epicurean" magazines. According to the Oxford Dictionary "epicurean" means fond of pleasure and luxury.⁴⁶ *Gourmet*, aimed at "wealthy sophisticates," is the original model (Katz & Katz 1997: 640). This "magazine for good living" was launched in New York in 1941. This was the same year Le Pavillon restaurant opened in New York and just eight years after Prohibition was lifted. Prior to this time cooking was featured alongside needlework and childcare in women's magazines.

For example, in *Good Housekeeping* the emphasis was and remains on homestyle cooking. In 1955 (August: 86) typical recipes included ingredients such as canned stew, canned onions, canned peas and packaged biscuits to make “Beef Pie Alamode.” But once in a while *Good Housekeeping* also offered something more authentic. In the society column, “Who’s Who Cooks” (1955, September), Mme Ahmed Hussein, the Egyptian representative to the UN’s Status of Women, gave a recipe for Egyptian-style pot roast using fresh lamb, garlic and eggplant. By 1995 (September) these types of recipes were more common: for instance Chinese Ginger Chicken and Apple Curry Chicken used fresh chicken, fresh ginger and rice wine vinegar. Foodies would still disdain the latter recipes for their common use of curry powder however. Nevertheless working-class women in North America today are no longer simply fantasizing about exotic dishes as Barthes suggested.

In fact Stephen Mennell (1985) disputes Barthes’ conclusions about fantasy cooking in *Elle* in the fifties as well. He finds that the ornamental cookery Barthes described was not typical of *Elle* for this period. Nor were the recipes elaborate (as opposed to the photos). He adds that in the sixties and seventies *Elle* began to change in line with the developments of nouvelle cuisine. It featured new restaurants and regional recipes.

Gourmet’s first rival, *Bon Appétit*, was launched in Los Angeles in 1956. The sixties and seventies saw increased segmentation in the newspaper and magazine industries that went hand in hand with advertisers’ search for target markets (LKJ 1990). *Tennis* (1965), *Sewing and Knitting* (1966), *Vancouver Magazine* (1968), *Dog Fancy* (1970), *Home Cooking* (1973), *Vegetarian Times* (1974), *Canadian Living* (1975),

Parents' Magazine (1977) and *Food & Wine* (1978) all stem from this time. Since the eighties magazine segmentation has been raised to the second power. Now there is not only *Dog Fancy* but *Boxers, Pugs* and *Modern Dog: The Magazine for Urban Dogs and their Owners*. There are also at least five sub-genres of cooking magazines available in North America today: trade/technique, epicurean, regional, healthy, and homestyle.

The established media giants have all owned titles in these genres: Condé Nast (*Gourmet, Bon Appétit*), Time (*Cooking Light*), Hachette-Filapachi (*Eating Light*), Meredith (*LightStyle*) and Hearst (*Mr. Food's Easy Cooking*). Condé Nast, which also started epicurious.com, acquired *Gourmet* in 1983 and *Bon Appétit* ten years later (Cohen 1996). From television to magazines, each medium tells its version of the story of increasing interest in food across North America, beginning in the seventies and showing no signs of waning.

Reading food I: Foodies and food magazines

Just as foodies are ambivalent about the term “foodie,” so they are ambivalent about the magazines which disseminate food trends. Initially I took their claims dismissing the media and its trends at face value. But after reading the literature on subcultures, I began to interpret this resistance as an expression of the belief in individual sovereignty over media influence more than as dissatisfaction with rapidly changing consumer trends.

Muggleton (2000) argues that mods and goths, for example, do not identify themselves with mass-mediated trends. They see themselves as authentic if they were initiated in person or at least before mainstream recognition of the subculture. Alternately they attribute inauthenticity to those whom they see as passive followers of

commercial trends. Muggleton concludes that the value of romantic individualism is strong in these subcultures and goes back to the sixties counterculture. I would have to agree that much of this also applies to foodies. They too see themselves as beyond trends, even when they are themselves engaged in setting and diffusing them.

I was also surprised by the intensity of foodies' contempt for the magazines. Two foodies with graduate degrees said they never read cooking magazines.

Ellen (chef): A lot of these cooking magazines, I just cannot figure out who they're writing for. They're not writing for me, because half of it makes no sense to me.

Bob (amateur): I'll leaf through them in stores but I don't buy them ... I'll look at this stuff on the shelves, but I find it a little, it doesn't speak to me ... I mean, I just look at it and go: "This is too alien."

Even those who consumed the magazines regularly expressed contempt. Teresa, a young chef who had moved to Vancouver Island to farm, expressed the strongest disdain about the media and its trends.

Teresa (farmer): I think a lot of the food media is, it's all about glitz and what the latest and the greatest is, and it's kind of jaded in some ways. And I think there's a lot of people who are knowledgeable about food, supposedly really interested in food, and a lot of them are probably food writers, but when it comes to ethics and values ... I want to say, like, why don't you write something more about, like, a value system ... I think anybody who's been cooking for a long time, you get really caught up in that in the beginning, and you've got to buy lots of cookbooks and food magazines, and then after a while, like, the latest and the greatest and the hottest and the newest ingredient, it just becomes really tiresome after a while, and you're looking for something with more soul.

Despite her disavowal of trends Teresa still keeps up with them and, in fact, was quite knowledgeable about them. At her cooking classes she serves local, wild mushrooms, as

well as meat and vegetables from her farm. She was able to maintain this tension between dismissing and keeping up with trends by reading “unusual” magazines.

Teresa (farmer): I buy lots of magazines and I like to, not so much *Gourmet* and *Bon Appétit*, but kind of more unusual stuff and I like to see what’s happening ...[So what magazines do you buy and read?] ... I always buy *President’s Choice*, once in a while *Saveur*. And then I read, like, the stuff that’s just kind of industry-related ... lots of agricultural stuff, *Country Life* and *Harrowsmith Magazine* ... And what else do I read? I read something called the *Ram’s Horn*, which is the food system analysis by Brewster Kneen.

Unusual for Teresa means something educational, whether it is a recipe from *President’s Choice*, Petaluma duck farmers in *Saveur*, or the political analysis by Kneen. Teresa was not alone in her ambivalence about the magazines as well as their trends and images.

Even food writers criticized aspects of their own profession.

Arthur (food writer): I have a tough time with some of the articles in these food magazines, you know, because a lot of their entertaining segments are so ... upscale, Martha-Stewart-style, you know. That’s not real people.

Most of all, though, foodies disliked magazine advertising. In fact two had quit and a third was thinking of quitting subscriptions due to increased advertising. As Mary put it: “It bugged me where it got to page 60 and it was still all advertising.” Anne, a chef, dealt with the ads in a creative way. I watched her calmly and methodically rip out all the ads while she drank her morning coffee. Despite these disavowals all but the two foodies mentioned above enjoyed reading the food magazines.

At the time of the interviews ten foodies (five professionals, five amateurs) either subscribed to food periodicals or bought them regularly each month. Another seven liked to buy them on occasion. The range of magazines read was quite broad, encompassing over twenty titles from the popular *Martha Stewart Living* to the hard-cover publication

Art Culinaire. Not surprisingly foodies prefer the epicurean and technique titles over healthy and homey magazines. While values of health are important to foodies they usually take a back seat to taste and exoticism. One exception is Stefanie, a personal chef, who preferred *Cooking Light*.

Despite this diversity of reading material the overwhelming favourites in 2000 were *Saveur* and *Bon Appétit*, with the professional group leaning toward the former and the lay group toward the latter (See Table 5.2 below). The professionals said *Bon Appétit* was “for beginners” while the amateurs said ‘the skill level was beyond them’ in *Saveur*. I was initially surprised that *Gourmet* did not have a larger fan base. It is the most established magazine and the one outsiders most readily identify with the subculture. There are varied reasons for this lack of interest. Anne thought that prior to Reichl taking over as editor in 1999 the magazine had been out-of-date with its focus on French cuisine. Kathleen stated that its American restaurant reviews and pricey ingredients were too remote from her experience. And Stefanie didn’t like the way the ads separated the recipes.

Gourmet’s advertising is certainly more intrusive than that in either *Bon Appétit* or *Saveur*. The magazine had almost 50% more ad pages than *Bon Appétit* in 1997 (Kerwin 6). In the October 2001 issue of *Gourmet* the table of contents comes after ten pages of ads as compared to three for the same issue of *Saveur*. Anne’s instincts about Reichl were also good. Since 2000 *Gourmet* has developed a more favourable opinion among foodies while *Saveur* has declined in popularity. By 2003 *Gourmet*’s circulation climbed by ninety-three thousand, while *Saveur*’s fell by seventeen thousand (SRDS 2003, November; 2000, December). *Saveur* also had a change of editor-in-chief recently,

from Dorothy Kalins to Andrew Coleman, as well as a change in ownership. World Publications bought *Saveur* from Meigher in 2000 in order to complement its travel and lifestyle titles: *Flyfishing in Saltwater* and *Caribbean Travel and Life*.

Foodies read food magazines in many different situations. Ken likes to read them on vacation. Arthur likes to read them on the ferry to and from Vancouver Island. Mary reads them while she waits for her daughter's riding lesson to finish. Patricia said she reads them anytime, but preferred Sunday afternoons during Vancouver's long rainy season.

Patricia (amateur): In the winter, you know, when it's filthy out. I think it's wonderful on a Sunday afternoon to just pore over magazines and cookbooks and things.

At home, they read them at the kitchen table, in comfortable armchairs, in the bath and most often in bed. Fran said, "I have magazines in every room of the house."

Professionals read differently than amateur foodies. Professionals read for work as well as pleasure. They need to keep abreast of culinary developments. Two were quite methodical about this and said they read "everything." Everything for Arthur included *Food Illustrated*, *Australian Vogue Entertaining* and *Australian Gourmet Traveller* as well as seven American titles: *Saveur*, *Food & Wine*, *Gourmet*, *Bon Appétit*, *Cook's Illustrated*, *Art Culinaire* and *Fine Cooking*. He said, "I'm four months behind reading, because I get 8 to 10 magazines a month [laughing]. There's *stacks* next to my bed." Anne, a chef, set aside a day or two each month to read the magazines.

Anne (chef): I buy them all, then I'll spend a couple of hours and I'll read them all. Yup. Sitting right here, I'll just glance at them. But I'll say, "Okay, this is the day I'm gonna read all the food magazines ...I don't read every article. I only read things that grab my attention.

Table 5.2: What Vancouver foodies read in 2000

MAGAZINES (circulation)	FAVOURITES	REGULARLY READ	OCCASIONALLY READ	TOTALS
<i>Savour</i> (378k)	4P/1A	3P/1A	5P/2A	8P/3A=11
<i>Bon Appétit</i> (1.3 M)	2A	3P/2A	3P/4A	6P/6A=12
<i>Cook's Illustrated</i> (150k*)	2A	1P/1A	2P/1A	3P/2A = 5
<i>President's Choice</i> (out of print)	2P	1P	1P/1A	2P/1A = 3
<i>Food & Wine</i> (964k)	1A	3P/2A	1P/1A	4P/3A =7
<i>Food Illustrated</i> (unavailable)	1P	2P		2P = 2
<i>Cooking Light</i> (1.6M)	1P	1P		1P = 1
<i>Food Arts</i> (52k*)	1P	1P		1P = 1
<i>Vegetarian Times</i> (340k*)	1A	1A		1A = 1
<i>Gourmet</i> (985k)		3P/3A	2P/1A	5P/4A = 9
<i>Australian Gourmet Traveller</i> (84k*)		1P	1P	2P = 2
<i>[Australian]Vogue Entertaining</i> (97k*)		1P	1P	2P = 2
<i>Fine Cooking</i> (186k*)		1P	1P	2P = 2
<i>Slow</i> (60k*)		1P	1P	2P = 2
<i>Canadian Living</i> (555k*)		1A	1P	1P/1A = 2
<i>Chocolatier</i> (151k)		1P		1P = 1
<i>Martha Stewart Living</i> (2.4M*)		1A		1A = 1
<i>Australian Women's Weekly</i> (700k*)			1P/2A	1P/2A = 3
<i>Art Culinaire</i> (13k*)			2P	2P = 2
<i>Cucina Italiana</i> (1.4M)			1A	1A = 1
<i>Veggie Life</i> (150k*)			1A	1A = 1
<i>Family Circle</i> (4.6M*)	1A			1A = 1
TOTAL	16	11	7	

Sources: SRDS (2003, November); * Ulrich's International Periodical Directory On-line (2003, October).

Everything for Anne meant seven American and two European magazines: *Saveur*, *Fine Cooking*, *Cook's Illustrated*, *Food & Wine*, *Chocolatier*, *Gourmet*, *Bon Appétit*, *Food Illustrated* and occasionally *Slow*. She also stores her magazines methodically and has a special notebook for jotting down recipe items for future reference. Stefanie, a personal chef who reads the magazines less religiously, has catalogued them and also uses a notebook for recording recipes. At the other extreme Ellen, another chef, read no food magazines though she did read a literary environmental publication called *Orion*.

The amateur who read the most was Mary. She described herself as a magazine “addict.” She subscribed to *Cook's Illustrated*, *Saveur*, *Bon Appétit*, *Food & Wine* and *Gourmet* as well as *Canadian Living*. She used to subscribe to *Martha Stewart Living* and picked up *President's Choice* magazine on occasion. Mary liked to keep the food magazines but donated the lifestyle magazines to a hospital. Patricia too has copies of *Gourmet* magazine going back to the sixties. The amateurs who read the least were Larry, who looked through his wife's *Family Circle*, and Christine who picked up *Australian Woman's Weekly* on occasion. Like Mary, three more amateurs and one professional expressed the sentiment that they bought too many magazines. Fran put it this way: “I’m trying not to buy so many magazines [laughing]. I’m trying to use my cookbooks that I have.”

Foodies read different magazines for different reasons. Both professionals and amateurs read magazines for inspiration. The professionals tended to read the imports from outside North America while the amateurs read more mainstream titles.

Arthur (food writer): I’m always looking and reading, “Oh that’s kind of a neat idea, *but* what if I try it with this? Or what happens if I would it adapt to something local? ... That’s why I like *Saveur* or *Australian Vogue* [*Entertaining*].

Kathleen (amateur): Often I find that they [magazines] require ingredients that I just don't have, like I don't have veal demi-glace, you know, and I can't make it. I just don't have the gear, and the time, and the patience to go ahead and do that. Or they'll [show], you know, some exotic mushroom that there's no way I can afford. So I find it kind of out of my league. But still it's quite inspiring ... I like the beginning section [of *Bon Appétit*] where they talk about different restaurants, and recipes that they get from restaurants.

Other professionals also preferred *Saveur* as well as the imports for new ideas because they were seen as showing cutting edge trends.

Professionals and amateurs also read magazines for their recipes. But while the amateurs tended to follow a recipe more closely, the professionals tended to use it as a base.

Nancy (amateur): I've been buying vegetarian magazines to try ... I'm keenly interested in developing my culinary skills to cook more grains especially, I mean I have buckwheat, I have all those things there, but I just don't use them, because I don't know what to do with them well enough ... I'm a real recipe and magazine follower [until] I've made a recipe a few times.

Anne (chef): I was down in the basement looking for this *Saveur* that had a crab recipe in it ... because I want to adapt it. I usually don't use a recipe verbatim but I'll look at it and go, "Oh yes, that was how it's done." So then I'll make something, start from a starting point. I don't see any point in reinventing the wheel [laughing].

"Not reinventing the wheel" seems to be a common idiom in the Vancouver restaurant scene as I heard it used by several chefs.

Some professionals and amateurs also read the magazines for their information on cooking techniques. Both liked *Cook's Illustrated* for this purpose.

Stefanie (chef): *Cook's Illustrated* is a good one, 'cause they do a lot of comparisons on recipes and tools and that sort of thing.

Penny (amateur): I don't get it [*Cook's Illustrated*] every month. I just get it once in a while. But it's a really good technique

magazine ... They have good things on ... product[s] and techniques, on really basic things ... I would get this more often..

Anne and Arthur liked *Fine Cooking* as well. Anne, in particular, liked its food science column.

Finally foodies also liked to read general, historical background about food. Most often they cited *Saveur* for this purpose.

Arthur (food writer): Here's one on the "Island of Ancient Food," from Crete, you know. I think this is really interesting, about skillet cooked escargot. ... Look at *Saveur*, "The Real Camembert," you know, it's ... much more detailed. Or Ipswich [soft-shell] clams ... This is how the real people live. This article on Cecilia Chang ...and her life, coming from China, and the food that she's even teaching is really basic, country-style food. (See *Saveur* 2000, May/June, 5.)

Mary (amateur): I love *Saveur* for the stories ... [What kind of stories do you like?] Oh just, this sounds silly, but where pipettes came from ... At Easter time, it's spun sugar, and so they had a whole thing about pipettes and it's just fun reading. Or ... how they make wasabe. (See *Saveur* 1996, March/April, 58, 101).

One could summarize foodie reading practices by saying that the professionals read more deeply while the amateurs read more broadly. Professionals tended to read more foreign or specialized food titles, like *Food Illustrated*, *Food Arts*, *Chocolatier* or *Petits Propos Culinaires*. The amateurs tended to read traditional women's titles and lifestyle magazines as well as epicurean magazines. Because of their greater culinary capital, professionals also read the magazines slightly more critically.

Saveur was read by a total of ten foodies and a favourite for four professionals and one amateur. The first issue appeared in 1994 and the magazine won three national magazine awards within the first five years. It is now published eight times a year and features regional cuisines from America and around the world; from Syrian-Jewish cuisine in Manhattan to the truck stops of Lyons. *Bon Appétit* was read by twelve foodies

(five professionals and seven amateurs) and favoured by three amateurs. It appears monthly and is more mainstream and more American in focus. Typical here are features on entertaining, culinary trends and celebrities. The publisher's statement claims that each issue of *Bon Appétit* covers American culinary diversity as well as the 'best and latest trends in entertaining, wine and spirits, tableware and kitchen design' (SRDS 2003, November). The circulation of these magazines is just under 400,000 for *Saveur* and just over one million for *Bon Appétit*. The total audience of these magazines is usually estimated at four to five times the circulation, in other words around two million and five million respectively.

These two magazines can be said to represent the professional and amateur poles of Vancouver foodie subculture. Because of the different audiences an analysis of both magazines enables an understanding of distinctions within the subculture. It also allows corroboration of Vancouver foodie values with those of North American foodie culture as a whole.

The target audience for epicurean magazines in general is baby boomers. Not all readers of cooking magazines are foodies but those regular readers with interests in the natural and the exotic are likely to be. The "typical"⁴⁷ *Saveur* reader is a 44 year-old, married, professional woman with a household income of \$86,780. The "typical" reader of *Bon Appétit* is a 47 year-old, married, working woman who attended college and has a household income of \$74,439 U.S.⁴⁸ 45% of *Saveur* readers are men while only 25% of *Bon Appétit* readers are men. This compares to *Family Circle*'s primarily female audience of "family managers" with a median household income under \$50,000 U.S.

Reading food II: *Saveur* and *Bon Appétit*

I have chosen to analyze the September 1995 issues of *Saveur* and *Bon Appétit* magazines. I chose the latter issue because it contained an article about a chef's dinner party that I used in my interviews. I could have chosen any number of articles about young chefs or artisanal farmers entertaining at home, but this particular piece had a good combination of images of food preparation as well as various stages of dining. I discuss foodies' readings of this dinner party in the next section. Here I want to compare the advertising and content for both magazines in order to flesh out distinctions within foodie subculture.

As a media analyst I read both issues in a way no reader would. I read the magazines from cover to cover, paying equal attention to ads and content. From the perspective of a media analyst, acquiring advertising revenue is the primary aim of magazines. As Dallas Smythe convincingly argued, what is sold in the commercial media is the audience. The bottom line means that the content is there to attract an audience for the ads. Advertising pays between 50% to 100% of the costs of magazine production depending on the publication (LKJ 1990). Ads are mostly found in the front half of the magazine and, more often than not, on the right hand side of the page directly engaging the reader's eye. The number of ad pages is a direct indicator of the economic success of the magazine. *Saveur* had 506 ad pages in 1997 while *Bon Appétit* had 885 (Kerwin 1997: 6). Accordingly I will discuss the ads first.

“Savor a world of authentic cuisine”

The September/October 1995 issue of *Saveur* magazine had 65 ad pages (39 full page) out of 139 pages. Advertising thus accounts for almost half (47%) of the

magazine's bulk. Surprisingly the biggest ad category in *Saveur* is not food with five ads, but alcohol with eleven. (See Table 5.3). The latter included four wines and seven name brand liquors such as Tattinger French champagne and Stolichnaya vodka. *Saveur*'s media kit boasts that, compared to other epicurean magazines, its readers are '#1 in drinking domestic and imported wines.' The predominant appeal in the food and alcohol ads was a functional appeal to flavour.

On the one hand, the food ads included name brand, premium-priced products that one would expect to find in foodie kitchens. For instance: Haagen Dazs ice cream, Evian bottled water and Maille Dijon mustard. On the other, they also included Contadina vacuum-packed ravioli and Godiva cinnamon praline flavoured coffee which are less likely to be found there. Foodies like to buy their ravioli fresh from Italian grocers or, like Tony and Patricia, prefer to make their own. Foodies may also be coffee aficionados who distinguish Columbian from Kenyan beans and who buy shade-grown, fair-trade coffee like Anne.⁴⁹ I expect they would not enjoy additional flavours muddling the taste of the coffee beans.

Saveur's media kit also claims that its readers take first place in consuming home entertaining, home furnishing and travel. So it is not surprising that other ad categories in this issue included clothing and cars with five ads each, tableware and furniture with three apiece, and home insurance and travel with two each. There were also three single ads for *Garden Design* magazine (also owned by Meigher in 1995), information technology and a diamond. What is noteworthy here are prestige advertisers like Rolex, Rolls Royce and deBeers. Just over half the full page ads in *Saveur* used a status appeal.

Table 5.3: *Saveur* (1995, September) Advertisers

PAGE	ADVERTISER	COMMODITY
Inside cover-1	Rolex	oyster perpetual GMT master II chronometer
2-3	Saks/Christian Lacroix	department store/fashion designs
4	Ralph Lauren	china, crystal, flatwear, linen
6-7	Guess	jeans, shirts
9	Absolut	citrus vodka
10-11	Aetna	insurance
12-13	Principality of Monaco	vacation
15	Brunschwig & Fils	fabrics, wallpapers furniture tables lamps
16-7	Saab	900 convertible
18	Domaine Chandon, Napa	sparkling wine
23	Roche Bobois	furniture
25	Stolichnaya	orange flavoured Russian vodka
27	Haagen Dazs	sorbet (raspberry)
29+	Royal Copenhagen	china, crystal, flatwear
30-1	Chrysler	Town & Country minivan
35	Waterford	Ben Franklin crystal bowl
37-9	Cakebread Cellars, Napa	cabernet sauvignon, chardonnay,
40	Contadina	packaged fresh ravioli
43	Hunter Douglas	window blinds
44	Godiva chocolatier	specialty ground coffee: cinamon praline
47	Tattinger	French champagne
49	Morocco Tourist Board	vacation
50	Chubb	insurance
52-3	Speedo	athletic clothing
54	Godiva	liqueur
56-7	Buick	Park Avenue Ultra sedan
73	Remy Martin	cognac
85	Breitling	Navitimer 92 watch
87	Bombay Sapphire	English dry gin
95	Dunnewood	cabernet sauvignon
105	B&B	cognac liqueur
107	Rolls Royce	automobiles
111	Evian	bottled water
113	Meigher publications	Garden Design magazine
114	Landrover	Range Rover SUV
117	Maille	Dijon mustard
122	ALOS micrographics	handheld scanner
137	DeBeers	diamond ring
Back cover	Hennessy	Hennessey VS cognac

The inside front cover of this issue of *Saveur* shows a two page spread for a “Rolex Oyster Perpetual GMT-Master II Chronometer.” This ad makes explicit appeals to functionality and expert testimonials. It describes the “history of performance” of the watch and its users, from Mercedes Gleitze swimming the English Channel in 1927 to Royal Geographic Society scientists enduring Saharan sands in 1986. Interspersed throughout the text are seven snapshots of these intrepid adventurers as well as three photos of the watch and its mechanical parts. Because of the price of the watch and the cultural resonance of the name “Rolex,” however, one cannot help but read this ad as selling social status.

The appeal to status is made explicit in the Rolls Royce ad where the car is not pictured at all. Instead a close-up of “the Flying Lady mascot, the [RR] badge and radiator grille” metonymically stand in for the product. The fine print reminds us that all three are registered trademarks of Rolls Royce. And the headline drives the point home. A Rolls is: “The Reward of Leadership” (107).

The appeal to status was perhaps most pronounced in a Principality of Monaco travel ad conveniently facing the editorial about nearby Nice. Here a young white couple, dressed in French-style, striped sailing shirts, white pants and dark sunglasses is seen cavorting on a marina dock. According to Bourdieu, yachting is a sport preferred by those with high economic capital (Bourdieu 1984). In other words, only the wealthy can afford to own large boats and pay the annual membership fees of yacht clubs. The travelling couple are running so fast their faces are out of focus. This blurry black and white image invites the reader to imagine herself having a ‘romantic dream holiday’ in their place (12-3).

The other foreign travel destination advertised in this month's *Saveur* was Morocco. This ad shows snow-capped mountains behind palm trees and an ancient fort. Two smiling Berber girls beckon the reader. What is emphasized here is pleasure and exoticism "just 6 ½ hours from New York" (49).

Only one-third of the full page ads in *Saveur* featured people; twenty-one men and seventeen women. Four (8%) were people of colour and only one is represented as "us:" an illustration of a black figure in the back seat of a Saab convertible. The Berber girls and an Asian mushroom grower in the Cakebread Cellars ad are clearly other. Except for one ad for Chubb insurance, all the women looked young and upper-middle-class. The Chubb woman could be in her early thirties but everything else about the image points to a middle-aged woman. The photo shows a long shot of a married couple in brightly-coloured rain coats on a stone patio bordering a boathouse and a lake. Her greying husband looks to be in his fifties. In the background is a large vacation home with a glass conservatory surrounded by tall conifers. The sky is ominously foggy suggesting a need for insurance against a "rainy day" or a thief concealed by the fog. This is the only visual representation of a woman from the target demographic in the ads.

The content of magazines is called "editorial" in the industry lingo and is summed up in Table 5.4. The September 1995 *Saveur* has five feature stories. The cover story, "Secrets of Vieux Nice," starts on page 58. Illustrating this piece are thirty-five photos ranging from full-page shots of narrow, medieval streets to small, chronologically-sequenced insets showing how to make socca, a local chickpea flour crêpe. Colman Andrews, the executive editor of *Saveur*, introduces us to three restaurants, four chefs including Franck Cerutti and one fishmonger, Thérèse Plusquelle.

Two other features also looked beyond American shores: “Singapore Street Food” (p. 74) and “Where the Chocolate Tree Blooms” (p. 96). In the former Jonathan Gold visits several outdoor food courts in Singapore. He tries turtle soup, munches on Teochew braised goose, but forgoes pig’s intestine with noodles. He finds “a fourth-generation hawker family that still makes a certain kind of Victorian-era Chinese noodle, brought over from a small town in Fujian or Hainan, that has probably been extinct on its native soil since the 1930s ”(Gold 1995: 78). But Gold does not introduce us to any of these vendors. Similarly Elizabeth Schneider explains in detail how criollo cacao pods are grown, picked, dried and processed at the El Rey factory in Barquisimeto, Venezuela, but does not name any of the chocolate producers. These anonymous people of colour represent the limit of *Saveur*’s interest in exotica. They are on the other side of the boundary that defines the exotic as other. The remaining two features focused on American regions. “The Time is Ripe” is a nostalgic memoir of a New York state farm. “Slightly North of Chardonnay” featured David Lett, an artisanal pinot gris winemaker from Oregon.

Saveur also ran nine regular columns in this issue. “Saveur Fare” featured food briefs from around the world, for instance: the late “barbecue master” C.B. Stubblefield of Texas, Trattoria der Pallaro in Rome and Honduran tortilla makers. Again, we are introduced to Paola Fazi, chef of the Roman trattoria but not to the South American tortilla makers. “Lives” featured Ruth McVey, a retired American professor of Oriental and African studies producing extra-virgin olive oil in Tuscany. “Source” discovered artisanal honey and nut confections made by the Laney family in Indiana. Overall there were 36 recipes and 22 ‘magically salivating,’ full-page photos this issue.

Table 5.4: *Saveur* (September 1995) Content

PAGE	REGULAR FEATURE	DESCRIPTION	RECIPES
5, 8	TOC		
13	FIRST	Letter from the Editor	
19-22, 24, 26, 28	SAVEUR FARE	Brief pieces on food from around the world Book review: <i>Joy of Coffee</i>	
32-4,36	ORIGINS	Maine lobster	1
41-2	REPORTER	Marcello Moretti at the French Culinary Institute in Manhattan	
45-6,48	LIVES	Ruth McVey's Tuscan olive oil	
51	SOURCE	Laney Family honey nut confections in Indiana	
55	CLASSIC	Chicken Pot Pie	1
58-72	COVER STORY	"Secrets of Vieux Nice"	7
74-84, 86	FEATURE STORY	"Singapore Street Food"	11
88-94	FEATURE STORY	Memoir of growing up on a NY state farm	5
96-104, 106	FEATURE STORY	Venezuelan cocoa production	5
108-10, 112	FEATURE STORY	Profile of Lett's pinot gris vineyard in Oregon	
115-6, 118-9	IN THE SAVEUR KITCHEN	Tips on cooking this issue's recipes	5
121	THE PANTRY	Sources for products featured in stories	
136	SAVEUR MOMENT	Boris Karloff at Universal Studios in 1935	
TOTAL (Including ads)			36 (37)

The last page before the back cover in each issue is called "Saveur Moment."

Here a photograph above a captioned time and place captures a slice of everyday life with a subtle food reference. In this month's magazine it is Universal Pictures studio in 1935. Boris Karloff is in costume on the set of *The Bride of Frankenstein* drinking tea from a dainty cup.

Looking at the Saveur Moments from the last ten September issues, half show American images and half show exotic ones. The exotic includes a National Geographic like image of grape-stained legs stomping tempranillo grapes in Rioja, Spain at noon,

September 25, 1997 (*Saveur* 1999). The local includes rushing New York City sushi chefs at 5:30 p.m. on May 2, 2000 (*Saveur* 2001). If there is a unifying theme it seems to be the aesthetic sensibility or quirkiness of the photo.

As the magazine's subtitle promises, a predominant theme in *Saveur* is the authentic which is evidenced by what Albert calls "real people" or at least real Americans like Ruth McVey in Tuscany. It is also apparent in the recipes. In the article on Singapore street food we are given instructions for making Mee Swa soup, with ground pork and fish balls, and Hainanese chicken. These require ingredients such as cloud-ear fungus, jasmine rice, live shrimp, sesame oil and Indonesian sweet soy sauce which are often only available at Asian grocers. No substitutes are suggested. Even *Saveur's* domestic stories highlight distinctive regional traditions in the United States, whether Texas barbecue or Maine lobster. Other themes in *Saveur* include the exotic, the regional and artisanal.

"The food and entertaining magazine"

The September 1995 issue of *Bon Appétit* has 45 ad pages out of a total of 158 pages. That makes it over one third advertising or the same ratio as primetime television which airs about twenty minutes of ads every hour. 38 pages are full page colour ads, and here 10 were for food products. Here again the bottled waters are likely foodie purchases, as is catfish, a southern American specialty. While farm-raised catfish might be less authentic than "line-caught" fish, catfish farms do not pose the same environmental risks as ocean-based fish farms.

Table 5.5: *Bon Appétit* (1995, September) Advertisers

PAGE	ADVERTISER	COMMODITY
Inside cover-1	Estee Lauder	refirming creme
2-3	AT&T	cell phone, pager & services
4-5	London Fog	trench coats for men and women
7	Absolut	vodka
9	Lord & Taylor	Princess Marcella Borghese moisturizer
11	Pendleton	wool pant suit
13	Mauna Kea	hotel service
15	IBM	Thinkpad 755ce
17	Clarins/Macy's	eye make up remover, contour balm, etc.
25	Johnson & Johnson	acuvue disposable contact lenses
27	Waterford	crystal champagne flute
31	DeBeers	diamond ring
33	Perrier	bottled water
35	Spain Tourist Office	vacation
37	LL Bean	mail order service
39	Catfish Institute	MS farm-raised catfish
41	Italian Trade Commission	Italian Wines
43	Gevalia Kaffe	Swedish coffee
47	Toyota	4 Runner SUV
49*	Evian	bottled water
50/51	Dunnewood	cabernet sauvignon
55	Lenox	china figurines and frames
57	Royal Caribbean	cruise service to Far East
58-9	Honda	Odyssey minivan
73-4	Conorzio	flavoured vinegars
83	Milk Promotion Board	2 % milk
85	Viking	VGSC Professional Series domestic range
91	U.S. Dairy Farmers	butter
94-5	Frigidaire	stainless steel fridge, range, dishwasher
103	Contadina	packaged fresh ravioli
107	Pier 1 imports	wicker table, chairs & shelves
123	Carlton	cigarettes
135	Reynolds Wrap	aluminum foil
139	Dole	canned pineapple
141	Conde Nast	online travel service
157	Benson & Hedges	long cigarettes
Back cover	Mazda	Millenia luxury sedan

Less likely foodie purchases are Swedish Gevalia coffee and Consorzio fruit-flavoured vinegars. These are expensive items but not necessarily displaying high culinary capital. Sweden is not especially renowned for its coffee-roasting. And as with pasta, foodies prefer to make their own flavoured vinegars or to buy them from artisanal or premium producers. Fran said, “I was going to try and make my own this year but I ran out of time ... I do like these vinegars from France.” Near East packaged rice pilaf and, especially, Dole canned pineapple constitute definite foodie transgressions.

Also in *Bon Appétit* this month were four ads for travel services and beauty products; three ads each for alcohol and cars; as well as two for kitchen appliances, clothing, communications technology, and cigarettes. There were two single ads for such food-related items as Reynold’s aluminum foil and a Waterford crystal bowl. As in *Saveur*, most of the ads in *Bon Appétit* use functional appeals to flavour as well as appeals to socio-economic status.

In addition there were two ads appealing to celebrity. Cellist Yoyo Ma’s name is used to sell an IBM laptop computer, and tennis player Gabriella Sabatini promotes milk. The latter is part of a successful series of celebrity “Got Milk?” ads. These celebrity appeals need to be distinguished from the expert appeal to Joyce Goldstein, the cookbook author in the Near East pilaf and Colavita olive oil ad. The former merely attach a well-known name to an unrelated product.

The beauty product ads selling refirming cream, time-defying moisturizer and eye contour balm imply a middle-aged, female audience. The Honda minivan and Mazda luxury sedan ads, suggesting children and a mid-career income, reinforce this message. Three women out of twenty-one pictured in the ads were clearly past their thirties. One

was Joyce Goldstein and the second was represented as a grandmother. So again only one woman from the target demographic is portrayed pictorially. This inside cover, two-page AT&T ad for a pager and cell phone stands out as a result. It is a portrait shot of a casually dressed woman against the backdrop of a bridge and blue sky. Her toothy smile brings out her wrinkles.

Half the full page ads in *Bon Appétit* visually represented people; twenty-one women and ten men. There were four (13%) people of colour (and a textual reference to Yo Yo Ma). A young, black woman was shown exercising on her balcony for Evian and a black male professional was one of ten commuters in a Benson & Hedges ad. Two dancing native Hawaiian women flogged Mauna Kea Resort. Here the pictorial ratio of “us” to “them” in the advertising is 1:1.

The September issue is *Bon Appétit*'s annual restaurant issue and much of the content reflects this theme. *Bon Appétit*'s regular columns are listed in Table 5.6 below. The cover feature, “The American Restaurant Goes Casual,” begins on page 60 after 27 pages of ads. Four more articles profile American chefs or restaurants from New York to Denver, for example. The last feature discusses twenty ethnic restaurants in Washington including lesser known cuisines such as Ethiopian and Iranian. The regular travel feature describes a trip to Puerto Rico and the wine column features Montepulciano wines from Italy.

Table 5.6: *Bon Appétit* (September 1995) content

PAGE	REGULAR FEATURE	DESCRIPTION	RECIPES
6, 8	Table of Contents		
14	Letter from the editor		
16-23	R.S.V.P.	Favourite restaurant recipes	
24	Collecting the Best	Belle Epoch food posters	
26	People and Places	Fishs Eddy vintage restaurant china shop	
30	Editor's Choice Book Reviews	Flay's <i>Bold American Food</i> , <i>The New Cuisine of Hawaii</i> among others	
32, 34	Reservations for Two	Travel piece on Puerto Rico	1
36, 38	Wine & Spirits	Montepulciano wine	
40	Tasting Panel Report	Top 10 wines Wine of the Month: 1993 Lindemans Chardonnay Spirit of the Month: Paul Masson Brandy	
42, 46	Flavors of the World	Anchovies	1
48, 50-51	Going Out	9 Restaurant Reviews	
52-4, 56	Bon Vivant: What's New. What's Hot. What's Good.	Food, Tableware, Clothing, etc.	
60-69	Cover story	The Great American Restaurant goes casual Bistro, trattoria, steakhouse, café	14
70-2, 75	Feature Story	Denver's Café Iguana chef-owner Kevin Taylor hosts a Margarita Party	8
76-82, 84	Feature Story	Chocolate desserts by seven American chefs	7
86-90,93	Feature Story	Chef's Best Pastas	7
96-102	Entertaining with Style	Miami chef Jonathan Eismann's dinner party	7
104-6	Entertaining and the Home	4 casual table settings: bistro, cafe, diner, trattoria	
108- 122,124,129	Travel & Restaurants Special Report	20 American Ethnic Restaurants	20
130-1	Cooking Class	Tarte Tatin ⁵⁰	1
132-4	Too Busy to Cook?	Timesaving recipes submitted by readers	8
137	Ask Bon Appetit	3 questions from readers	
138,140	30-min. Main Courses	Recipes	5
142-3	Cooking for Health		4
144	DietWatch	Health news	
145-6	Readers' Best Recipes		6
154	Menu Guide		
155	Recipe index		
156	Feedback	Celebrity interview with Francis Ford Coppola	
		TOTAL (Including ads)	101 (117)

Another regular feature of the magazine is called “Entertaining with Style.” Here an ideal dinner party is presented each month. The host profiled in this issue was Miami chef Jonathan Eismann and I discuss this piece in detail in the next section. A sample of issues, one from each of the last twelve years, yields the following occupational information about ten hosting families: two restaurateurs, two caterers, one chef, two winemakers, three artists, an advertising director, a doctor, two lawyers and one property developer.⁵¹ Only one host was black and here again we find that foodies tend to be white upper middle class cultural and social specialists.

There are also four articles here which promote culinary products from the regular collecting column to the feature on restaurant-style tableware. In *Bon Vivant* you also find celebrity chefs hawking their own lines of products; for instance Larry Forgione’s “Flurry of Curry Relish” and Los Angeles chef Tommy Tang’s “‘Greatest Hits’ gift box” of Thai-condiments.

The last page of *Bon Appétit* is a brief celebrity interview alongside a prominent photograph. In this issue it is Francis Ford Coppola talking about Italian food. We are offered a glimpse into his fridge where he keeps authentic dry sausage and chunks of parmesan as well as his favourite cheese, Stilton. We are also informed that Coppola is co-owner of the Rubicon restaurant in San Francisco and Niebaum-Coppola Estate winery in Napa.

In the twelve issues mentioned above the Feedback piece featured food celebrities like ice cream icons Ben and Jerry (1994, March). It also included celebrities better known for acting, modeling or music like Martin Sheen (2002, November), Barbara Smith (2001, October) and Esa-Pekka Salonen (2003, December) respectively. While

Smith and Coppola own a restaurants, these back page celebrities usually have no connection to the food industry. The phenomenon of the celebrity food authority is not unique to *Bon Appétit*. For example *TV Guide* also runs a regular column, “Celebrity Chef,” on television actors and their favourite recipes. As the publisher promised, the predominant themes of *Bon Appétit* are American culinary diversity and what is trendy.

Contrasting the content

Though *Bon Appétit* is twenty pages longer, both magazines have roughly the same structure. There are four to five ads before we reach the table of contents. The regular columns begin around page 13 or 14. The cover story appears around page 60 followed by three or four more special features. The length of the featured articles is four to seventeen pages, with the average length for both being about ten pages. Both give at least one book review and featured recipe each month. Finally both wrap up with a memorable photo and two more glossy ads. There the similarity ends.

Given the reading preferences of professional and amateur foodies, we would expect *Saveur* to display more culinary capital than *Bon Appétit*. Let’s see how this works out in the details. One conspicuous difference between the magazines is their last page. With images of exotic locales within a National Geographic aesthetic, “*Saveur Moment*” aims at middlebrow to high cultural standards (Lutz & Collins 1993).

Feedback’s celebrities, by contrast, feed into the promotional vortex of consumer culture. In the fifties *Good Housekeeping* used an appeal to Society ladies. Today the appeal is to Hollywood celebrities and supermodels. In this issue, *Bon Appétit* promotes Francis Ford Coppola and Coppola uses the opportunity to promote his restaurant and vinyard. At another level, Coppola promotes the Hollywood star system and by regularly

plugging into this system *Bon Appétit* promotes it as well. In return Coppola and Hollywood add their high profile to the magazine.

Another striking difference between these two cooking magazines is the number of recipes delivered. A reader of *Saveur* will add thirty-six recipes to their collection; thirty-seven counting the ads. The *Bon Appétit* reader, however, collects 101; 117 with the ads. The extra pages in *Bon Appétit* are filled with recipes, including those from readers. The number of recipes and their expert sources both emphasize *Saveur*'s cultural distinction. You are not buying quantity but quality.

If *Saveur*'s content can be summed up as the authentic and exotic, *Bon Appétit* is more mainstream and celebrity-oriented. The exotic items in the latter are also closer to home: Puerto Rico as compared to Nice; Ethiopian cuisine in Washington, D.C. as opposed to Singapore street food.

The authentic items in *Bon Appétit* are also questionable by foodie standards. The recipes given from Ethiopian cuisine is a simple spinach and yogurt salad as compared to complex dishes from familiar cuisines, such as Jamaican oxtail stew or Vietnamese beef in rice paper. In the restaurant recipes, you can find authentic items like fermented fish sauce, dried ancho chillies and lemongrass. But you also find canned chickpeas and canned chicken stock.

Without irony *Bon Appétit* promoted a "Spirit of the Month" as well as a "Top 10" wine list. Here again the magazine plugs into the promotional vortex. Though the distinction between advertising and content is blurred in all commercial media, *Bon Appétit* is more blatantly promotional than *Saveur*. Judging by a Milwaukee reader's question about the difference between espresso and cappuccino (p. 137), its culinary

capital is certainly lower. But with three columns devoted to questions and recipes from readers *Bon Appétit* is also much more accessible and reader friendly.

Comparing the ads?

The target markets for *Bon Appétit* and *Saveur* are rather similar. Both are primarily read by working women in their forties with household incomes over sixty thousand American dollars. The readers of *Bon Appétit* are slightly older with a slightly lower median household income. A more significant difference is that *Bon Appétit* has relatively less male readers. Nevertheless one might reasonably expect the advertising for both magazines to be similar. Indeed both magazines showed low levels of representation of people of colour, likely reflecting the under-representation of people of colour in the higher income brackets. They also highly under-represented women in their target demographic.

Bon Appétit and *Saveur* both advertise the same categories: food, alcohol, cars, travel, clothing, and furniture. There are more food ads in *Bon Appétit* but not for foods that foodies particularly covet. There are more ads for alcohol, and no ads for either kitchen appliances or beauty products, in *Saveur*. These likely result from its larger proportion of male readers. This audience might also explain why there are less people pictured in *Saveur*'s ads.

But it is less likely that this gender difference accounts for the following differences. In *Saveur* you can dream of driving a Rolls Royce or Land Rover; in *Bon Appétit* you must choose between a Mazda luxury sedan and a Toyota sport utility vehicle. In *Saveur* ads the clothes are from Saks and the furniture from Roche Bobois. In *Bon Appétit* they are from Pendleton and Pier 1 Imports. In *Saveur* you imagine

travelling to Monaco and Morocco. In *Bon Appétit* you go to Hawaii, Spain and to the Far East on a safe Royal Caribbean cruise.⁵² None of the latter travel options is as culturally distant as Morocco. *Saveur*'s ads rather suggest a target audience with higher cultural capital as well as slightly higher incomes.

Despite the fact that *Saveur* has a higher number of ads, both relatively and absolutely, the experience of reading the magazine does not give this impression. One reason is that *Saveur*'s table of contents and editorial both appear on a right hand (or odd-numbered) page. *Bon Appétit* reserves this space for its advertisers. A second factor is the high production values of the feature photography in *Saveur* which match if not surpass the quality of the advertising photos. In fact one of *Saveur*'s magazine awards was for photography.

For example, in *Saveur*'s cover story on Nice there is a two page spread detailing the making of beef and chard ravioli. There are nine sequenced steps showing the sous-chef at Don Camillo's restaurant preparing ravioli, from the pasta press to the sauté pan. On the opposite page is a close-up of an inviting bowl full of ravioli sprinkled with freshly grated parmesan cheese. By contrast Nestlé's Contadina ad in the same issue depicts a forkful of gorgonzola cheese and walnut ravioli against a plain orange countertop. It is grotesquely enlarged so that the parsley leaf garnish is the size of a small maple leaf.

The main reason *Saveur* doesn't feel saturated with ads, however, has to do with how the ads and content fit together. *Saveur* tends not to insert ads into its feature articles, though *Bon Appétit* does so regularly. Instead you find the ads between the

regular columns and the features as well as between the features from their travel information.

Interestingly, the September 1995 issues of the magazines happened to contain six of the same advertisers. Nestlé's Contadina ravioli and the Dunnewood 1991 cabernet sauvignon used basically the same ad though positioned on different pages in each magazine. Absolut vodka, Debeers diamonds, Evian bottled water and Waterford crystal advertised slightly different products with very different ads. This suggests that despite similar demographics advertisers are attuned to different psychographics. We can use semiotics to tease apart these differences.

For example, the two Waterford ads are from the same campaign which used a seven-by-seven inch, black and white image on a white background. In *Saveur* we are shown an oval dining room table with four chairs. In the background are four mullioned windows, one of which trails potted ivy. Below the windows are nine framed art photographs, and below these are three rows of leather backed books on a hardwood floor. Leaning against the back wall are several more framed photographs and on the right are floor to ceiling book shelves. A beautiful, young woman with long curly hair is seated at the table. She is dressed for comfort in a bulky sweater and a long, floral-print skirt, with casual yet elegant shoes. She has been interrupted from her reading and is looking up at the viewer. On the table is a cup of tea, a sugar bowl and, in the centre of the image, the Franklin bowl containing large citrus fruits, maybe grapefruit or pomelos. The headline reads: "In a room with a thing of beauty, you are never truly alone" (1995, September: 35). This is an image of a well-to-do, young cultural professional, perhaps a

writer or a gallery owner given the many books and prints. It is a direct appeal to the lifestyle of a younger version of the target demographic.

The ad in *Bon Appétit* depicts crystal champagne flutes with a crystal wine cooler. This image portrays a young couple with arms entwined seated on single chair. They are dressed semi-formally. He wears a white shirt, suspenders, dark pants and penny loafers while she wears a dark, ankle-length dress with a high frilly neck and trailing sleeves. Her dark hair is done in an elaborate arrangement on top of her head. The background is a large empty room with an ornate fireplace and large oval mirror reflecting elaborate wall mouldings, chandeliers, and floor to ceiling windows. On the floor beside them is a Waterford champagne cooler and two champagne flutes. Because of the dark dress the occasion is not a wedding but perhaps an engagement or a university graduation. The image of an empty ballroom belies the text: “An occasion is simply a decision to celebrate something” (27). This is a straightforward romantic pitch.

Note that the *Bon Appétit* reader is expected to use Waterford crystal for a once in a lifetime event, while it is a part of everyday life for the *Saveur* reader. There are similar subtle differences in the other ads. In *Bon Appétit* we see a plastic bottle of Evian used by a woman exercising while in *Saveur* a glass bottle is shown in a fine dining context. Again the DeBeers ring in *Bon Appétit* is inset with many small diamonds but the *Saveur* ring features a ‘brilliantly cut 2.05 carat center stone ...so rare that fewer than one percent of women will ever own one’ (1995, September:137). Finally “Absolut Nantucket” in the mass magazine references social capital while *Saveur*’s “Absolut appeal” for lemon-flavoured vodka is a visual pun on a lemon peel. Despite the similar target markets, semiotic analysis of the advertising reveals that *Saveur* readers are

presumed to have more economic capital. Judging by the Waterford dining room, the Evian restaurant and Absolut's linguistic play they are also presumed to have higher cultural capital. Content analysis yields the same result with a higher number of prestige advertisers and appeals to status for *Saveur* as well more exotic locales.⁵³

Reading food III: The textual dinner party

The scene on page 96 of *Bon Appétit* (1995, September) shows a large white verandah where three casually dressed white couples sit in wicker rocking chairs painted white. Outside a massive tree dapples the late afternoon sunshine. The guests are being served cool beer in lager glasses by the smiling hostess. In the foreground a side table is set with more beer as well as platters of skewered shrimp and steamed mussels. In the centre sits a man in a baseball cap and blue plaid shirt. This is Miami chef Jonathan Eismann hosting a dinner at his home. Eismann's restaurant, Pacific Time, specializes in "Asian-American cuisine."

On the following pages of this "Entertaining with Style" feature we see eleven inset photos. We see Jonathan choosing fish at a seafront shop near a marina and then, with his wife Nia and business partner Yves Picot, he is getting ready to chop tomatoes in the kitchen. Later we see Yves and a female guest holding skewered appetizers on the porch that afternoon. Next is Jonathan inside serving a multicoloured tomato salad at a dining table set with a blue wave-patterned cloth. Nia smiles as she raises a forkful to her mouth. Other guests are also smiling at the table. Then Jonathan is seen plating the dessert and finally we see a few guests in the living room with tea and dessert. In addition there are three close-ups of the salad, the main course and the dessert.

This piece is titled: “Tropical Tastes on Biscayne Bay.” Browsing the text we see that the menu starts with appetizers of tamarind barbecued shrimp and mussels steamed with saké and lime. The first course is a red, green and yellow tomato salad with curried vinaigrette. The main dish is grilled pompano fish with a soy-Szechuan sauce and tempura sweet potatoes. Dessert is broiled grapefruit with ginger-lemon cookies and jasmine tea.

There are several indicators of new American cuisine in these images. The tomato salad is made with unusual green and yellow as well as red tomatoes. The seafood is healthy, light, local and fresh; presumably bought that morning at the marina. There are exotic elements in each dish. Tamarind and saké in the appetizers, curry in the first course, soy and tempura in the main course, and finally ginger in the cookies that are paired with grilled grapefruit.

Coincidentally hot grapefruit is an example of ornamental cookery for Barthes (79). Mennell (1985: 251) agrees with him that *Elle*'s grapefruit soufflés in the fifties were a “degenerate survival” from mid-nineteenth century haute cuisine. But in North America at the end of the second millennium grilled grapefruit is a sign of the simple and natural. Pierre, a chef, said: “I can relate to the food. It's nice and simple. You look at those grapefruit there. That's beautiful.”

I asked foodies to tell me how this dinner party compared to their own. Several amateurs identified with these images. “That's me there,” said Larry. He meant the casually-dressed host entertaining outside. Other amateurs also identified with the casual style.

Patricia (amateur): This is like our house in the summer. You sit outside and the hors d'oeuvres I would put out on the table ... The flowers and casualness of it is perfect. I love it.

Kathleen found it too casual however: "I'd make that man take his hat off." But she commented favourably on the flower arrangements and fantasized about the porch: "It would be nice to have a big veranda that you could have an outdoor party on."

Other foodies found these images ridiculous.

Anne (chef): *Bon Appétit* irritates me. This all just looks too styled ... the way (laughing), the way three people are standing around cooking ... I mean there's nothing wrong with being styled, but there's being overly styled. And you can just tell this guy had to take, had to bring this tomato thing into the scene five hundred times, you know. Click, click.

Charles (food writer): I think it's just *puke*-making. It's so self-absorbed and it's *all* these *perfect* people standing around in *perfect* poses and the *perfect* living room with everything done to the max ... the forerunner to Martha Stewart, you know. The absolutely *perfect* existence, and it's crap [laughing].

Fran (amateur): Some of it's a bit, you know, it's a bit airy-fairy ... There's no way that I would go out and buy -- well I do sometimes buy the things that I will have for many years -- [but] you can't always afford to go out and set a table to look like something in the picture of a magazine. Because you'd have to buy new napkins, a new tablecloth, a new this, a new that ... If you're on any kind of budget it doesn't make sense. So you work with what you have, right?

Mary (amateur): They're too proper for me. I would be in jeans and a T-shirt ... It's a little bit too contrived for me ... I don't know. They look too, too set-up if that's the word, like that's a little bit much for me. We're definitely lower-key than this. Definitely.

Both amateurs and professionals are reflexive and critical readers of the magazines.

Almost all of them, however, praised Eismann's food. The amateurs were impressed with the presentation.

Kathleen (amateur): The presentation's nice. I wish that we could do more ... I think we're just working up to that, 'cause it makes it nice when your food looks nice.

They applauded the use of fresh ingredients

Mary (amateur): Oh, these look beautiful. I love all fresh ingredients. I swear I could have been Chinese in another lifetime, because I don't mind going and buying the ingredients every single day. I love things like this. I think it's marvellous.

They appreciated the regional qualities.

Patricia (amateur): Cilantro ... I find it's a very good flavour in Miami, and it's very good in small amounts in some of the cuisines here, but I think most of our tastebuds, um if you like good, great wine, you would be happier with something a little more subtle.

Two chefs too commended the menu for its health and simplicity.

Stefanie (chef): It's interesting when [food] professionals cook at home. It's usually a lot more simplistic than people think ... They'll do one stellar dish and the rest of them will be quite simple, 'cause you'll see, like, for dessert, a grapefruit. You know, that's really easy. And it's the same with the salsa. You're using really good ingredients, and quite unusual ingredients, 'cause you don't see too many yellow tomatoes ... It seems like quite healthy food.

Only Bob was critical of the food and he was the only foodie who read the text.

Whaddyamean a tablespoon of curry powder? Why is there *curry* powder? ... So I'll look at that kind of stuff and just go, I don't think that's right. [What's wrong?] I don't know, you should make your curry, or you should put it together. And what kind of curry powder? What do they mean? And what chili powder is that? like what, ancho chilli? like what kind of chillies? ... I mean you read the thing and you go, well it's a kind of fusion between Thai and Japanese, so they've got lime leaves and lime but there's saké in there, which the Thais don't drink, but then there's a red curry base ... and then they're using Hungarian paprika ... and then suddenly we're into Szechuan and, I don't know, it's just all over the joint ... When I see that, I just think it's this stylised, designer, Asian fusion thing.

Had the other foodies read the text more closely, I'm sure they would have agreed.

Referring to California-Asian fusion, Pierre said: "I don't cook confusion cooking for example. I don't like that at all."

In 1995 *Bon Appétit* presented a hodge-podge of Asian ingredients drawn from different foodways under the banner of East-West fusion cuisine. Because of these "unusual" combinations, foodies grew tired of fusion.

Charles (food writer): Fusion ... is a sort of a bonding together of really disparate elements. They sort of come together and lock and they aren't meant to be together, and I think in skilled hands um, they come together beautifully ... [Rob Feenie will] sauté scallops and then serve them in a hajiki, you know, seaweed broth or something ... it's not fusion, it's using two things extremely well that go together well. I don't think there's anything jarring about it, but a lot of fusion stuff really, I think, probably was jarring.

Vancouver foodies prefer authentic regional cuisine to fusion. While they like aesthetic presentations, they are also suspicious of styling and they disavow trends.

Reading food IV: The ideal kitchen

Foodies are critical of both trends and advertising but that does not mean that they are unmoved. I asked foodies to describe their ideal kitchens. Nancy said she prized an ocean-view while chopping vegetables. Mary sought a tabletop fountain. Kathleen wanted "cold drawers" for storing root vegetables. Patricia was partial to a double oven. These were personal quirks.

There were also collective dreams for bright, efficient kitchens with butcher's blocks, herb gardens and wine cellars. Both David Brooks and the *Foodie Handbook* give anecdotal evidence for foodie penchants for knives, gadgets and stainless steel kitchens.

[They] want cool gizmos, like a lava-rock grill, a built-in 30,000 Btu wok burner, brass burner igniters (only philistines have aluminum ones), and a 1/2 -inch -thick steel griddle. They want an oven capacity of 8 cubic feet minimum, just to show they are the sort of people who could roast a bison if necessary. And they want the whole awesome package covered in metal with such a high nickel-to-chromium content that magnets won't stick (Brooks 88-9).

Brooks is exaggerating but he is not far off. The most common dreams consisted of large kitchens with gas stoves, stainless steel appliances and hanging pot racks above centre work islands.

Pierre (chef): *Gas* is the first thing. Big burners so you can put big pots on them 'cause a conventional kitchen stove is not wide enough; um refrigeration would have to be a little bit different ... A big island with a big working space, a huge wooden board, a big hanging thing so you can put pots and pans and whatnot, copper, um huge sink ... So a very expensive kitchen [chuckling] but yeah definitely a bigger one for sure ... Gas, it makes a big difference especially for braising and whatnot.

Kathleen (amateur): It would be all stainless steel. One of those fridges where the freezer is in the bottom and those big stainless steel kitchens. I don't know about a gas stove ... Some people say they're bad for you ... I've always wanted a gas stove ... And um I'd have pots hanging from the ceiling. I think that's nice.

Professionals and amateurs had similar fantasies.

Out of sixteen foodie households,⁵⁴ five had a large kitchen and seven wanted a large kitchen.

Penny (amateur): I just wish it [kitchen and dining room] was just one room, you know ... I don't think it's necessary to have two tables five feet away. It just seems like a waste of space to me ... I'd just rather have one great big table right there, and then you could work at one end ... but renovations are expensive. We won't be changing that for a while.

Six foodies had gas stoves. Five more foodies wanted gas stoves though one worried about their safety.

Pierre (chef): Gas is the first thing ... It makes a big difference especially for braising ...and baking.

Three foodies had islands and two had “peninsulas.” Five more wanted an island.

Nancy (amateur): I had the peninsula made [laughing], well it’s not an island, ... so I could prep while people were visiting instead of facing the wall.

Two foodies had hanging pots above the island and seven more wanted hanging pot racks.

Charles (food writer): There are other things I want to do. Put in some hanging rails so I can hang pots and things.

Four foodies had and four more wanted stainless steel appliances.

Larry (amateur): If I had the money, I'd like to have it all stainless steel.

Brooks too noted the educated elite’s penchant for stainless steel appliances and gas stoves.

At the time of writing four households, two professionals and two amateurs, had all of the above since they had remodelled their entire kitchens.

Ellen (chef): We’ve done major, we actually re-gutted the whole house so it’s got four floors, the original, we restored it to its original, so fir wood floors. So the kitchen’s always warm. This is all stainless steel ... the counter space is all stainless steel. The sink it’s a double sink stainless steel and it’s a bigger size it’s not the regular home size it’s the bigger, and we’ve got ... all cupboards like up there as well ... we just bought the stove. So we need to somehow figure out how to do an exhaust system in the house so that’s going to be more stainless steel going up like that to get the, you know, the exhaust out. We’ve got a hanging here. We’ve renovated the house but we haven’t decorated the house.

Mary had even put in heated floors and burn-resistant Corian countertops in her new kitchen. She claimed that the whole process was unleashed with the purchase of her

Webber barbecue just as the Enlightenment philosopher Diderot's elegant new dressing gown effected a makeover to his comfortable study (in McCracken 1988a).

Overall seven foodie households had renovated their kitchens by making them bigger and adding a gas stove or other new appliances. Another five foodies were in the process of planning renovations. All but two, who had just moved in, had made minor modifications to their kitchens like adding a gas stove, new cupboard doors or halogen track lighting.

In a similar vein, both amateur and professional foodies talked about their "chef's knives," "heavy-duty blenders," "industrial barbecues" and "two sinks like a restaurant kitchen." Bob describes his ideal cooking experience in professional terms as well.

Bob (amateur): There's a big centre aisle, a centre block, where I did all my prep cook and I could walk all the way around this sink on one side and I *loved* the industrial stove and oven, I loved it, and it was like thick and *gritty* and I *loved* that and it was metal and there were eight burners and then there was another warming oven and it was all heavy duty, that's what I like.

The kitchens described by these foodies and their contents all resemble commercial kitchens. They make the professional foodies capable of their best performance and they make the amateurs feel like professionals. In the words of one Frigidaire ad for stainless appliances in *Bon Appétit* (September, 1995: 94-5), they "speak to your inner chef."

What is startling here is the degree to which foodies, differentiated by income, education, and culinary capital, profess the same fantasies. Foodies are reflexive readers of the magazines. They resist the styling of the magazines and especially their advertising. But as Lemann (2001) astutely notes they cannot resist the fantasy of being a professional chef. In *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Adorno and Horkheimer write that "consumers feel compelled to buy its [advertising] products even though they see through

them" (1972: 167). Advertising influences us at an emotional not a rational level and reflexivity is little help against it.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen food media explode especially since the seventies. In fact there has been exponential growth in food magazines since *Gourmet* first appeared in 1941 with titles doubling every fifteen years or so. Since the mid-eighties they have been doubling at an even faster rate and this is not counting titles that have not survived.

According to foodie initiation narratives, the media typically do not play a role in inducting foodies into the subculture. But they remain central to foodie subculture in several ways. First, food media professionals themselves are core foodies who help set the standards and values of the culture. Second, the media are also central in defining foodies, as *New York* magazine writer Gael Greene is said to have done when she coined the term "foodie" in the late seventies (Barr & Levy 1984: 7). Third, media propagate culinary trends and circulate knowledge between cities and regions around the globe. Fourth, the media are integral in constructing celebrity chefs as promotional vehicles in consumer culture. Finally and most intriguingly they are implicated in propagating almost identical fantasies despite reflexive and critical readings. As Ellen's case demonstrates you can be a foodie without reading food magazines. You cannot be a foodie, however, without some knowledge of culinary trends. Ellen used cookbooks for this purpose as well as knowledge accumulated working in the industry.

This chapter has also shown distinctions in media practices between amateur and professional foodies. Professionals with low economic and high culinary capital prefer to read *Saveur* for its articles on Singapore street markets as well as Australian and

European magazines. The amateur foodies with somewhat less culinary capital enjoy *Bon Appétit's* American-Iranian recipes. There are also other food media niches. The one for those with high cultural and high economic capital is represented by *Food & Wine's* haute cuisine. In 1996 (March) it was showcasing how to cook with varietal wines. The media niche for the affluent yet culinary lowbrow is Emeril and his eponymous premium-priced products. On the mass market there is the homestyle aesthetic of *Good Housekeeping* with its powdered curry chicken. Each of these niches has been growing since the seventies but it is the foodie niche, including passionate professional chefs, which sets the track.

6

Conclusion: **Serious feast**

In this dissertation I have described Vancouver foodies using four different frames. I have discussed foodies in terms of lifestyles, class fractions, subcultures and mediated niche markets. As a lifestyle, foodies' highly aestheticized consumption of regional, exotic and organic foods is seen to embody values of self-actualization over hedonism. These foodies are split into a professional and an amateur pole. With more culinary capital, the professional foodies set the culinary ideals for the movement as a whole. They have work and leisure identities which coincide, as well as social lives which remain somewhat bounded within foodie circles. I have argued that foodie lifestyles are not temporary life stage identities. Rather, as Giddens suggests, they are stable social identities connected with cultural capital on the one hand, and cultural politics on the other.

I have also argued that foodies tend to be social and cultural specialists from the new middle class. The perspective of the political economy of consumption explains this class in terms of an integrated global economy and local service- and knowledge-dominated economies in certain Western cities. New cultural class professionals make up the leading wave of gentrification in these postindustrial profile cities. They have more cultural than economic capital and thus use ostentatious simplicity and ostentatious exoticism instead of conspicuous consumption as a means of distinction. Vancouver foodies use their consumption of expensive, globally-marketed, regional specialties, like

wild British Columbia smoked sockeye or *fleur de Camargue* salt to display their culinary capital. But their consumption of inexpensive ethnic ingredients such as pomegranite molasses displays it even more.

As a subculture, Vancouver foodies engage in practices of cultural resistance to globalized industrial agribusiness and genetic modification technology. Just as their Arts and Crafts predecessors criticized industrial goods as ugly, so the foodie movement criticizes counterseasonal, industrially-grown strawberries as tasting “like cardboard.” Worse still, tomatoes genetically spliced with arctic char are “not right,” a source of visceral repulsion. Vancouver foodies constitute a regional cultural movement which has counterparts in other postindustrial profile cities around the globe such as Toronto, San Francisco, London and Mumbai. They do not constitute a collective social movement, but individual foodies, especially hardcore chefs are active in the organic and slow food movements. Here the professionals set environmental values for the subculture. Just as countercultural health food and New Age holistic medicine have been assimilated into the mainstream, so now is organic agriculture. As a result, the organic social movement is moving “beyond organics.” Vancouver foodies will likely split into those who consume organics for personal well-being and those who are committed to the environment, local production and food security.

In terms of media markets, I showed how media discourse around food expanded and became more aestheticized in the seventies. At this time food niche markets began to grow with new magazines and television shows as well as more restaurants, cookware shops and cooking classes along all axes of Bourdieu’s foodspace. In the eighties food and lifestyle magazines, and later food television, created the new phenomenon of the

celebrity chef. I argued that foodies do not like to admit to media influences, though their knowledge of trends as well as their fantasies are profoundly shaped by the media. The audience analysis underscored distinctions within the subculture as well. Professional foodies preferred specialist food media like *Saveur* or *Inn Chef* to mass media like *Bon Appétit* and *epicurious.com*. This is not a high culture/commercial culture distinction since both poles are highly commercial. It is a distinction between high and middlebrow culinary capital. Both professional and amateur foodies also tended to distinguish themselves from lowbrow food media like Emeril and other celebrity chefs.

Despite all these influences foodies themselves identify neither in terms of lifestyles, nor media targets. Nor do they identify as social and cultural specialists, though core foodies sometimes identify in terms of their local industry community. Most often, foodies see themselves as a cultural movement of food lovers with tastes for the natural and authentic.

To sum up, foodies tend to come from the class fraction of the new cultural class and use cultural forms of distinction over socio-economic ones. They practice a food-centred lifestyle which entails consuming diverse food products as well as kitchen accessories and food media. This lifestyle embraces local and exotic, natural and artisanal values. As a result Vancouver foodies form an antimodern movement which symbolically resists industrial agriculture and technology. Core foodies tend to have stronger environmental values and may also be active in social movements.

We can conclude that the foodie phenomenon is described to some degree by each of the above frames. Traditional lifestyle approaches stress the growing importance of aestheticized leisure identities adopted by choice. They typically explain the current

interest in food in terms of a postmodern aestheticization of everyday life. They also explain how individuals may have multiple identities and lifestyles. But aside from Giddens they do not address how lifestyles are related to both structural conditions and political implications. When Chaney says that class still underlies lifestyles he suggests that this is changing. This change can better be described as class relationships growing more complex in a rapidly changing globalized consumer society.

Traditional political economy tends to underplay the cultural dimensions of this structural change. But in a consumer society we need to integrate cultural and economic analyses as Bourdieu does with cultural capital and taste fractions. The political economy of consumption explains the recent interest in food as connected to consumer capitalism developing new markets and new cultural specialists trying to legitimate themselves. One drawback of Bourdieu's view is his limited account of human agency. Not all social and cultural specialists are foodies. Foodies choose to become foodies in much the same way they have chosen to become chefs or journalists or teachers. These choices are in part rational individual decisions and in part emotional and/or unconscious motivations.

Critical cultural studies also integrates culture and the economy. It understands cultural politics developing out of lifestyle values propagated by the media and articulated on top of class. It accounts for agency in terms of lifestyle choices and alternative media decoding practices and highlights struggles around issues of GMOs and food security.

No one perspective completely does justice to the complexity of the foodie phenomenon. I believe this study makes contributions to each one. Vancouver foodies

can be understood as an alternative subculture practising antimodern resistance to industrial agriculture and biotechnology. They also make up a vanguard of culinary fashions in the marketplace. As a lifestyle study this is a thick theoretical description of foodies in a specific local variant. This work supports Giddens by giving a counter-example to those who claim contemporary lifestyles are unstable. Most significantly the foodie phenomenon can be read as a case study of globalized consumer society showing the continued importance of class, especially cultural class fractions.

There is a modern/anti-modern tension in foodie culture that manifests in each frame. This is not just the tension between cultural distinction, which reproduces and legitimates consumer capitalism on the one hand, and antimodern green cultural politics which resist it on the other. There is the tension within new American cuisine between local terroir and Asian exotica. There is the same tension in foodies' distaste for market norms expressed by means of the market. It appears again in foodie cultural politics as antimodern resistance to biotechnology united with modern gender roles. Finally in the media, we see foodies making preserves from scratch in industrial-look kitchens. Vancouver foodies prefer the local over the global; yet our locality is infused with rich traditions of Asian foodways. Foodies may be more bohemian than bourgeois, to use Brooks' terminology, but they are also more accommodating than protesting.

The term that I think best describes foodie consumption is: "serious feast." This oxymoron expresses well their interrelation of work and leisure; with domestic work becoming leisure enjoyment and leisure becoming subject to professional norms. It also expresses both the modern utopian promise of collective material satisfaction as well as antimodern nostalgia for a non-instrumental relation to nature.

Endnotes

- ¹ *Food Arts* is a restaurant trade magazine that has been featuring “famous chefs naked with their blenders” each month. Sometimes a woman is pictured and sometimes a couple but most often it is a man. In the May 2000 issue, Guenter Seeger, chef-owner of Seeger’s in Atlanta, poses against a plain backdrop. He is standing with his back to the camera, wearing only a wristwatch and holding the blender in front of his ass. This homoerotic pose is also unusual for this advertiser though it has become commonplace in youth fashion ads like Tommy Hilfiger.
- ² This is the sensibility that Jane Austen mocks in *Sense and Sensibility* (1811).
- ³ I also posted notices at two gourmet food shops but only found a reporter fishing for a story.
- ⁴ One was born in Canada and the other in the United States.
- ⁵ Downtown Vancouver abuts a large city park and is the neighbourhood with the highest density population. West and North Vancouver are affluent suburbs across Burrard Inlet from the city of Vancouver. Vancouver is a one and a half hour ferry ride away from Vancouver Island where the farmers live in rural areas.
- ⁶ At the time of the interview I did not understand the significance of the reference to Vienne and unfortunately I did not probe further.
- ⁷ The cooking of the Roux brothers and Anton Mosimann in England, as well as that of French chefs in America, has been more heavily influenced by Asian flavours.
- ⁸ I am relying on Mike Featherstone’s (1991) characterization of postmodernism as: “the effacement of the boundary between art and everyday life; the collapse of the hierarchical distinction between high and mass/popular culture; a stylistic promiscuity favouring eclecticism and the mixing of codes; parody, pastiche, irony, playfulness and the celebration of the surface ‘depthlessness’ of culture; the decline of the originality/genius of the artistic producer; and the assumption that art can only be repetition” (7-8).
- ⁹ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ¹⁰ See food glossary on pp. x-xi. See also the discussion of heritage seeds in Chapter Four.
- ¹¹ *Das Eigensinn* means obstinacy in German. Literally it means my desires.
- ¹² Owest changed its name to West in 2003 with a makeover of the dining room, but without a change in ownership or chef. I can’t help wondering whether this was prompted by its clientele of francophobic Westerners who didn’t understand (or couldn’t pronounce) the reference to a fusion of French and Pacific Northwest cuisine.
- ¹³ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ¹⁴ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.

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- ¹⁵ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ¹⁶ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ¹⁷ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ¹⁸ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ¹⁹ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ²⁰ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ²¹ The Canadian baby boom was larger and longer than its American counterpart lasting from 1947-1966. It also constituted a larger proportion of the population: 9.8 million boomers made up one-third of the Canadian population in 1996 (Foot & Stoffman 1996).
- ²² See the discussion of middle-class antimodernism in Chapter Four.
- ²³ John May, a British geographer, describes foodies' cross cultural explorations as an example of cultural appropriation. Elaborating on the arguments of bell hooks and Edward Said, he claims that foodies use exotic cultures as background colour and spice instead of as opportunities for dialogue. At worst they operate with racist stereotypes: "... truly exotic food was food which still has the 'gristly bits' in, food from the West Indies or Africa that hadn't been 'cleaned up' and 'sanitised' like 'modern food'" (May 1996: 62). Now I won't deny the lingering racist undertones. But I also want to point to the implicit antimodernism that sees the exotic other as superior. May could be right in some cases but I also found several examples of genuine exchange such as Bob's account on page 40. Here too is Fran's account: "As I worked with people, you know, from different cultures, the Filipino women and the women from the Caribbean and the women from India -- it was a real melting pot of people -- and they wanted to know, you know, what were your ethnic foods ... And because my father hunted and my brothers hunted, I used to bring them back things like moose and venison and things like that. So yeah. So I would always get recipes from them and just you know experiment a little bit. And I would do things, you know, we would exchange dinners almost, you know. ... We had a gal from India when I worked under surgery and she loved coming to my house for baked ham and scalloped potatoes and pumpkin pie or apple pie or, you know [laughing]. But something totally different, right. And I would enjoy going to their place and having east Indian food. So it was friendship."
- ²⁴ What I call New Age in Chapter Four.
- ²⁵ Jameson categorizes theorists on their positive and negative attitudes to both modernity and postmodernity which he understands as historical eras. Like Tom Wolfe Melucci favours postmodernity against modernity and is thus a celebratory postmodernist (Jameson 1991).
- ²⁶ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ²⁷ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ²⁸ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.

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- ²⁹ AOC also requires a limited production per hectare which ensures quality (Hess & Hess 1977).
- ³⁰ In France, Californian lifestyles may be ostentatiously unconventional. In the Pacific Northwest they are closer to the mainstream.
- ³¹ New cultural intermediaries are also keen to develop their culinary capital as is evidenced by “serious” *Globe & Mail* columnists like Jan Wong, John Allemang and Cicely Ross who frequently write about food.
- ³² I follow Zelinsky’s definition of “ethnic restaurants” as those advertising food to an outside community (Zelinsky 1985: 54).
- ³³ Before beginning this project I had encountered similar issues. During the course of my doctoral program I became a new mother and suddenly found myself in the company of several nurses and social workers. I thought it was because of the neighbourhood we lived in but soon realized that the working class women who came to the infant information sessions run by the public health system did not return. I also found that we shared similar left leaning values and only on reading Ley and Lamont did this begin to make sense.
- ³⁴ See Larry’s recipe for Texas chili in Appendix D.
- ³⁵ The Electors Action Movement.
- ³⁶ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ³⁷ Delany (1994) made the opposite claim that Vancouver is a postmodern peripheral city. With the booming Pacific Rim economy today this reading is harder to accept. I also find his argument discounting the relation between postmodernism and postindustrialism highly unconvincing.
- ³⁸ See also Ragde’s review of Menusetters in Appendix B.
- ³⁹ In fact there is a separate subculture of bizarre food aficionados which does not intersect with foodies much though Anne does subscribe to John Thorne’s newsletter: *Simple Cooking*.
- ⁴⁰ This is an example of the dominant discourse framing the debate. “Conventional” agriculture is produced by means of chemical fertilizers, pesticides and herbicides. Agriculture is several thousand years old and this has only been the convention for the last fifty years.
- ⁴¹ In her survey of scientific articles on genetic modification, Whitman (2000) reports that she found no mention of the antifreeze gene in strawberries, though it has been patented in potatoes and tobacco. She went on to report that claims of char genes in strawberries were found in newspapers. A 2002 Greenpeace shopper’s guide listed they had been developed but not yet commercially available.
- ⁴² See glossary on pp. x-xi. The differences between free-run, free range and organic chicken is one of increasing requirements. Free-run chickens must not be confined. Free-range chickens must be let outdoors for a specific amount of time. Organic chickens must have organic feed and no antibiotics as well.
- ⁴³ It could possibly be called a postmodern domination of nature for its blurring of universal categories of plant and animal life.

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- ⁴⁴ Now as in the sixties opponents of organic foods argue that organic manure fertilizers may be pathogenic because insufficiently composted. Recently British geographer Philip Stott claims that organic agriculture is nothing more than New Age misconceptions such as “organic salt” (Spevack 32). Stott himself is guilty of a logical fallacy here. He equivocates between the meanings of organic chemistry (where salt is inorganic) and those of organic food production (where salt is without artificial additives).
- ⁴⁵ All circulation figures are from *Ulrich's International Periodicals On-line* (2003, October) unless otherwise specified.
- ⁴⁶ Epicurus himself ironically preferred the pleasures of the mind over those of the body because they were less transient and associated with less pain. “I spit on luxurious pleasures, not for their own sake but because of the inconveniences that follow them” (Epicurus in Russell 1945: 242).
- ⁴⁷ This typical reader is composed out of the average and/or median demographic data supplied by the magazines’ media kits for advertisers
- ⁴⁸ This information comes from the *Saveur* and *Bon Appétit* media kits.
- ⁴⁹ See glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ⁵⁰ See food glossary on pp. x-xi.
- ⁵¹ I looked at issues from January 1992, February 1993 and so on to December 2003. I could not compare September issues across this timespan because the occupational locations tended to be seasonally specific; September issues focused on chefs and October issues highlighted winemakers, for example.
- ⁵² Bauman describes the postmodern tourist as seeking a safe and comfortable experience (Bauman 1996).
- ⁵³ Before 1999 *Saveur* also displayed higher culinary capital than *Gourmet*. *Gourmet* would not do a feature on Singapore street food until 2000 (October). In both cases it was Jonathan Gold who wrote the piece though in each case accompanied by a different photographer.
- ⁵⁴ Data was missing for two households.

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Appendix A **Recipes**

In contemporary consumer society recipes are no longer found only in cookbooks and women's magazines but in novels, films and other texts. This dissertation explains the phenomenon in terms of a political economy of consumption as well as an aestheticization of everyday life. The growth of the food service industries along with the increase in new middle class consumers and the commercial media's expansion of space devoted to culinary content are all tied to the emergence of new food discourses.

I asked the participants in this study if they would be willing to share recipes. I encouraged them to submit recipes that reflected their particular tastes or identities. This exercise was initially envisioned as a way to give something back to participants who had given generously of their time and knowledge. A secondary goal was to flesh out the characters' identities by means of the recipes they chose. A third aim was to gauge individual positions in the foodie hierarchy.

I expected to receive more complicated and original recipes from the professionals, but this did not happen. While one professional as compared to three amateurs submitted a recipe from someone else's cookbook, and one chef's recipe for sablefish was highly original as compared to an amateur's questionable recipe for Texas chili ('whaddaya mean chili powder?'), overall professionals were hesitant about sharing recipes. They typically contributed simple recipes that were anonymous in character or that had already been published elsewhere. For food professionals recipes are culinary capital and they are wary about sharing them.

The second aim was more successful. This section will help the reader get to know the foodies mentioned in the work. I came to see that their choices did indeed reflect the range of foodie tastes from local B.C. sablefish to Québécois tourtière, rustic French eggplant caviar and vegetarian Indian pilaf. There was also a mix of family recipes, such as the onion scallop and the Austrian yogurt torte, as well as cookbook favourites. Note that half the cookbooks are by Western Canadian authors and the other half are by internationally known authors. The following recipes are identified by pseudonyms and ordered by meal sequence:

Pierre's Chanterelle Soup

Ken's Winter Warmup Soup

Patricia's Caviar d' Aubergines

Diane Clement's Les Dames Pacific Northwest Salad (from Kathleen)

Anne's Miso Sablefish with Waldorf Salad

Marcella Hazan's Pork Scallops in *Marcella Cucina* (from Charles)*

Marcella Hazan's Hot House Lamb Roman-Style in *Classic Italian Cookbook* (from Nancy)

Bobby Flay's Blue Corn Tortilla Crabcakes available at www.foodtv.com (from Mary)*

Karen Barnaby's Chicken in the Style of Fish Soup (from Penny)

Best of Bridge Tourtière (from Christine)

Larry's Texas Chili

Andrew Skorzewski's Gnocchi with Oven-dried Tomatoes and Smoked Mozzarella
(from Diana)

Ellen's Cauliflower Rice Pilaf

Cheryl's Mushrooms and Cream

Stefanie's Mother-in-law's French Onion Scallop

Teresa's Yogurt Torte

P.L. Ragde's Five-minute Low-fat Tiramisu

*Not reproduced below

PIERRE'S Chanterelle Soup

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

400g	chanterelle mushrooms, fresh, washed and sliced
1	medium size onion, diced fine
4	cloves garlic, minced
1	leek, sliced and washed
	celery branches, diced
100g	button mushrooms, sliced
100g	unsalted butter
30g	all purpose flour
1250ml	chicken or mushroom stock, hot
1	bay leaf
250ml	whipping cream
	sea salt and freshly ground white pepper

Method

1. In a heavy bottom pan over medium heat, melt half of the butter. Sauté the chanterelle mushrooms until tender, remove from the pot and set aside. Put the remaining butter in the pot, sauté the onion and garlic until just translucent. Add the leek, celery, white mushrooms and sautéed chanterelles, season lightly with salt and pepper. Continue cooking until the vegetables are soft then dust them lightly with the flour and continue cooking for one minute while stirring.
2. Add the hot stock to the vegetables, flour mixture together with the bay leaf. Bring the soup to a simmer, stirring constantly. When the soup is simmering, reduce the heat slightly and continue cooking the soup until the vegetables are tender. (Approximately 30 minutes) When the soup is cooked, purée it in a blender until smooth. Strain the soup into a pot through a strainer. When the soup has been all blended and strained, return it to a simmer, season to taste and finish with the whipping cream which has been tempered with a little of the hot soup. Enjoy.

PATRICIA'S Caviare d'Aubergines

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

1-2
1-3 eggplants
1 large onion
1 small red pepper
4 tomatoes
1 clove garlic
7-9 tbsp olive oil
 salt and pepper to taste
1-2 tbsp dry white wine
1-2 tbsp parsley, finely chopped

Method

Prick with a fork and bake 1 or 2 eggplants in a 400F oven for 1 hour. or til soft. Peel and chop 1 large onion, 1 small red pepper, 4 tomatoes & 1 clove garlic. Sauté them in 6 - 8 T. olive oil until golden and softened (onions must be tender to bite). Peel baked eggplant, chop flesh and add to other vegs. Simmer gently, stirring occasionally, until mixture is fairly thick. Season to taste with salt and pepper and allow to cool. Then stir in 1 - 2 T. each dry white wine, olive oil and finely chopped parsley. Chill and serve with thin slices of French bread.

KEN'S Winter Warmup Soup

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

When you have 1,000 square feet of allotment garden that at many stages of its late summer life is in non-stop production, you must be nimble with the daily pick. As well as fresh-from-the-garden food, stock pots are invariably bubbling with soups, stews and chowders that end up late at night in the freezer. Recipes? You work them until they taste great, then you stop. In January, February or any time you need a nice surprise when it's cold out, break open the memories of summer!

6	large carrots diced
2	large onions diced
1	large potato diced
1 tbsp.	butter or margarine
1 tbsp.	olive oil
1 tsp.	sesame oil
1 tsp.	curry powder
1 tsp.	cardamom
1/2 cup	whipping cream
6 cups	chicken stock
Dash	Tabasco sauce
Dash	Worcestershire sauce
Dash	soy sauce
Handful	finely-chopped fresh or dried herbs such as oregano, rosemary, sage
	Blue or Stilton cheese
	salt and fresh ground pepper

Method

Simmer and sweat the diced vegetables in the butter, olive and sesame oil over medium-high heat. Add the curry, cardamom, ground pepper, tabasco and worcestershire and herbs, bringing all of the ingredients together. Add the stock and bring to a boil, then reduce heat and simmer for 30 minutes until the vegetables are soft. Blend the mixture in your Cuisinart then additionally season with salt and soy to taste. Your soup may be frozen now or served. Before serving, stir in the whipping cream. Do not boil. As an extra touch, add a knob of Stilton to each bowl. If you wish, a minute or so under the broiler will work extra wonders.

Clement's Pacific Northwest Salad with Maple Balsamic Vinaigrette from KATHLEEN

Reproduced with permission from *At the Tomato* (1995) published by Raincoast.

This recipe also appears in *Clement's Zest for Life* (2002) also published by Raincoast.

Serves 6

1 lb	Indian candy smoked salmon
3 cups	mixed wild mushrooms, e.g. shiitake, oyster, chanterelle
2 tbsp	olive oil
2 tbsp	butter
	freshly ground pepper to taste
1 lb	mixed seasonal field greens
8 oz	chèvre, crumbled

Method

1. Peel skin off the salmon, slice in finger-length strips, and set aside. Remove the stems from the mushrooms and slice the caps thinly. Just before serving, heat the oil and butter in a skillet, add the mushrooms and sauté until softened. Add pepper to taste and keep warm.
2. Divide the greens evenly among 6 salad plates, mounding them high. Sprinkle about 2 tbsp of chèvre over the greens. Stand the salmon strips upright against the greens, arranging them around the mound. Divide mushrooms evenly around the outside of each plate. Drizzle a little of the warm Maple Balsamic vinaigrette over the greens and serve immediately. Pass more dressing if desired.

Dressing

5 tbsp	balsamic vinegar, or to taste
1 tsp	Dijon mustard
3 tbsp	pure maple syrup
	pepper to taste
1 cup	olive oil, or a blend of olive and canola oils

Up to one week ahead, whisk the ingredients [for the dressing] together in the order listed, adding oil slowly at the end. Taste to correct the balance of sweet and sour flavours, add more vinegar or maple syrup if needed. Store the vinaigrette in the refrigerator. Just before serving, heat the vinaigrette in a skillet over low heat, keeping it warm until you assemble the salad.

Note

This dressing is equally tasty served cold over greens.

ANNE'S Miso Sablefish with Waldorf Salad

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

Sablefish has been one of my favourite fish since moving to the West Coast. I was so impressed with it that I couldn't believe that it was not widely eaten except in the Asian community. Happily, that is slowly changing. I have come up with many different preparations for it including an osso buco style dish and curing it like corned beef. This particular preparation is Japanese influenced and the Waldorf salad provides the perfect foil to the rich and succulent texture of the sablefish.

Serves 4

3/4 cup	white miso
1/2 cup	sugar
1/4 cup	saké
6 tbsp	mirin
4 6 oz.	sablefish filets, skin on
3	egg yolks
2 tsp	lemon juice
1/4 tsp	salt
1 tsp	Japanese prepared or 2 tsp Dijon mustard
1 cup	vegetable oil
3 tbsp	white miso
sprinkle	white pepper
1/4 tsp	grated lemon peel
2 cups	Fuji, or other flavourful apple, cored and cut into 1/4-inch dice
1/4 cup	celery hearts, cut into 1/4-inch dice
1/2 cup	daikon radish, peeled and cut into 1/4-inch dice
2	green onions, thinly sliced
2 tbsp	pine nuts, toasted
2 tsp	black sesame seeds, toasted

Method

1. In the top of a double boiler combine the miso, sake, sugar and mirin. Cook for 1/2 hour, stirring frequently. Remove from the heat and let cool. Coat the sablefish with the miso mixture. Cover and refrigerate overnight or up to three days.
2. In a food processor, combine the egg yolks, lemon juice, salt and mustard. With the motor running, pour in the oil in a slow steady stream. When the mayonnaise has emulsified, add the miso and lemon peel. Pulse to combine. Cover and refrigerate until needed.
3. When you are ready to serve the cod, combine the apple, celery, daikon, green onion, pine nuts and sesame seeds. Add 1/2 cup of the mayonnaise. Mix well and refrigerate.
4. Position the oven rack approximately 8-inches under the broiler. Preheat the broiler on high. Place the cod skin side up on a baking tray and broil until browned and crisp around the edges, about 5 minutes. Turn over and broil 5 minutes longer. Serve immediately with the salad on the side.

Karen Barnaby's Chicken Stew in the Style of Fish Soup from PENNY

Reproduced with permission from *Screamingly good food* (1997) published by Whitecap.

2 tbsp	olive oil
2 lbs	bone-in chicken breasts, cut in quarters
2 lbs	bone-in chicken thighs
1 cup	onion, finely diced
3	large leeks, white and green part only, thinly sliced
2/3 cup	fresh fennel bulb, finely diced
4	cloves garlic, minced
3 cups	well-drained, canned plum tomatoes, finely chopped
3 cups	chicken stock
2 cups	dry white wine
	large pinch of saffron threads
2	bay leaves
1 tsp	fennel seeds
1/2 tsp	crushed dried chilies
2	small sprigs fresh thyme
1	strip fresh orange rind
	salt and pepper to taste
1 lb	small red potatoes, quartered
2 tbsp	fresh parsley, finely chopped
6	thick slices good-quality toasted baguette
	aioli

Method

1. In a large frying pan, heat 1 tbsp of the olive oil over medium heat. Remove the skin from the chicken if you prefer and season the chicken with salt and pepper. Cook in batches until golden brown on both sides. Transfer to a plate.
2. In a large heavy pot, heat the remaining olive oil over medium heat. Add the onion, leeks, fennel and garlic and cook, stirring occasionally, until the vegetables become soft but not brown, 4-5 minutes. Add the tomatoes and cook, stirring frequently, until most of the liquid has evaporated. Add the chicken stock, wine, saffron, bay leaves, fennel, chile, thyme, orange rind and the chicken pieces with any liquid on the plate. Season lightly with salt and pepper.

Marcella Hazan's Hot House Lamb Roman-Style (from Nancy)

Reproduced with permission from *The Classic Italian Cookbook* (1973) published by Knopf.

2 tbsp	cooking fat, preferably lard
3 lbs	shoulder/leg of very young lamb, boned and cut into 2" cubes
1/2 tsp	salt
6-8 twists	freshly ground pepper
1/2 tsp	garlic, finely chopped
1/2 tsp	dried sage leaves, chopped
1 tsp	dried rosemary leaves, chopped
2 tsp	all-purpose flour
1/2 cup	vinegar
1/3 cup	water
4	large anchovy fillets, chopped

Method

1. In a saucepan, melt the lard over medium-high heat. Put in the lamb pieces and brown well on all sides.
2. Add the salt, pepper, garlic, sage, and rosemary and continue to cook briskly for another minute or so, long enough to turn all the pieces once.
3. Dust the lamb with flour, sifting it through a sieve. Continue cooking at a lively heat, turning each piece once. The meat will have turned a rather dark colour.
4. Add the vinegar and boil it briskly, turning up the heat, for 30 seconds. Add the water, cover the pan, lower the heat, and cook at a very gentle simmer for about 1 hour. (The exact cooking time depends entirely on the age of the lamb. When done it should be very tender at the pricking of a fork.) Turn the meat from time to time as it cooks. If there is not sufficient cooking liquid, add 2 to 3 tablespoons of water.
5. When the lamb is done, take 2 or 3 tablespoons of sauce from the pan and put it in a small bowl, together with the chopped anchovies. Mash the anchovies with a spoon or a pestle, then spoon over the lamb in the pan. Turn and baste the lamb with its sauce over very low heat for about 30 seconds. Transfer to a warm platter and serve immediately.

Tourtières with Rhubarb Relish from CHRISTINE

This traditional recipe originally comes from the Gaspé Peninsula in Québec.

It is a public domain recipe that appears in *Best of bridge: Royal treats for entertaining*

Makes about 6 pies

6 lbs	chopped meat (after removal of bone and fat); pork (Boston butt or ham or a combination of both) and beef pot roast, chicken breast optional
	butter enough to brown all meat
1 tbsp	allspice
1 tbsp	savory
2	medium sized onions
1 cup	bread or cracker crumbs
	salt, pepper, chili powder, poultry seasoning to taste

Method

Cut meat into bite-sized cubes, removing all excess fat. Brown meat in butter, add seasoning. Cover with hot water and simmer uncovered for three hours. Allow to cool. Skim off any excess fat. Drain off water, correct seasoning, and place in unbaked pie shells. Bake at 350F until crust is golden.

Relish

Makes 4 half pints

2 qts	cut rhubarb
1 cup	chopped cooking onions
_ tsp	cinnamon
_ tsp	allspice
_ tsp	cloves
1 cup	white vinegar
2 cups	white sugar
1 tbsp	salt

Simmer uncovered approximately 4 hours (sometimes more) until quite thick. Watch closely as it burns easily. Pour into hot, sterile half pint jars and seal immediately.

LARRY'S Texas Chili

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

Makes 8 cups

1 tbsp	oil
1	medium onion chopped (1/2 cup)
2-3	cloves crushed garlic
2 lbs	lean ground beef
3-5 tbsp	chili powder (to taste)
1 tsp	ground cumin
1 tsp	ground oregano
1/2 tsp	red pepper flakes (optional)
1-3 drops	Tabasco sauce (optional)
1/2 tsp	salt
1/2 – 1 tsp	black pepper (to taste)
2 (14 oz) cans	crushed tomatoes undrained
2 (16 oz) cans	kidney beans

Method

Heat oil in 4 quart dutch oven over medium heat. Add onions and garlic and cook 2 minutes until onion is tender. Crumble ground beef into pot and cook 5-7 minutes. Add remaining ingredients and bring to a boil. Simmer uncovered until thick.

Potato Gnocchi with Oven dried Tomatoes and Smoked Mozzarella (from Diana)

Reproduced with permission from Andrew Skorzewski

Serves 4

12	plum tomatoes
1 tbsp	coarse salt
3 tbsp	olive oil
1 tbsp	minced shallots
1 clove	chopped garlic
1 tbsp	fresh thyme
_ lb	fresh peas
1 cup	vegetable stock
_ cup	grated smoked mozzarella

Tomatoes

Preheat oven to 175°F. Cut the tops off of the tomatoes and cut them in half. Toss them in the pickling salt. Let them sit for half an hour. On a well oiled cookie sheet place the tomatoes cut side up. Place the tray in the oven for 6- 8 hours or until the tomatoes are about 1/2 their original size and starting to colour. Remove to a container and keep refrigerated until needed.

Gnocchi

2 lbs	baking potatoes
1 tbsp	salt
1 large	egg yolk, lightly beaten
2 cups	flour

Method

1. Wash, dry and slit potatoes lengthways about 1/2 inch deep. Bake @ 375F for 45-55 minutes until potatoes are soft. When cool enough to handle peel the potatoes and rice them directly onto a work surface. Add the salt, egg yolk and 1 1/2 cups of the flour.
2. Work the mixture until it starts to stick together. Then start to knead, adding a little flour if the dough remains sticky. Do not knead for more than 4 or 5 minutes. The dough should be soft and pliable and slightly sticky. Roll into gnocchi.
3. Cook the gnocchi in well salted water until they start to float, drain and hold. In a large casserole sauté the garlic and shallots in the olive oil over medium high heat until cooked but not coloured add the gnocchi and the chopped thyme and cook a further minute. Add the all the remaining ingredients except the smoked mozzarella and cook for about two minutes. Taste and season with salt and freshly ground pepper. Divide amongst four bowls top with grated mozzarella and serve immediately.

Note

Both the sauce and the gnocchi can be made ahead and frozen. If making more than a few hours ahead, freeze the gnocchi on well-floured trays and then bag once well frozen. Cook them frozen- if they thaw first they will turn to mush.

ELLEN's Cauliflower Rice Pilaf

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

Serves 6

2 cups	Basmati rice
4 cups	water
1/2 tbs	butter or margarine for rice (optional)
1 tsp	salt for rice
1	cauliflower, cut into 1" florets
2 tsp	cumin seed
1	large onion, chopped
1	serrano pepper, chopped (optional)
1 1/4 tsp	ground turmeric
1 3/4 tsp	salt for cauliflower
10	cloves
2 -3 tbs	canola oil

Method

1. In a medium to large size pot, combine the rice, water, butter or margarine, and salt and place on high heat. When the water starts to boil, immediately reduce heat to low and place a tight lid over the pot. Let simmer for 15 minutes. Check to see if rice is completely cooked. If not, cover again and simmer for an additional 5 minutes.
2. In a separate frying pan or wok, heat the cumin seeds in 2 tablespoons canola oil on medium to high heat. Once the seeds are sizzling for 30- 45 seconds, reduce heat to medium and add the onion, serrano pepper and cloves. Fry until the onions are golden brown. Add the turmeric and salt. Continue frying for another two minutes. Add the cauliflower florets and stir fry for 10 minutes on medium heat (cook for lesser or more time, depending on how you prefer your vegetables). If necessary, add additional tablespoon of canola oil to avoid any sticking to the bottom of the pan.
3. When the rice and cauliflower are cooked, combine them in the rice pot (or the wok if it is a large one) and stir with a large fork until the rice has turned completely yellow (from the turmeric).

CHERYL'S Mushrooms and Cream

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

1 lb.	small whole fresh mushrooms
1/2 cup	whipping cream
1/2 cup	aromatic white wine
50 g	unsalted butter
1 tbsp	all purpose flour
	salt and pepper to taste

Method

Melt half the butter in a heavy skillet and when it starts foaming, throw in the whole mushrooms. Keeps simmering, shaking the pan, until the mushrooms are nicely browned. Add the salt, pepper and wine and, over low heat, simmer until the liquid has reduced to less than half. Now, sprinkle the flour on the mushrooms and stir quickly to prevent sticking. After a minute or so, add the cream and cook, stirring frequently for another couple of minutes. Turn the heat off and stir in the rest of the butter cut into small chunks. Stir in the balsamic vinegar and serve immediately. Goes well with meat main dishes and fried fare or poured thickly over pasta with generous sprinklings of freshly-grated parmesan cheese.

STEFANIE's late mother-in-law's French Onion Scallop

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

Serves 6

Many people influence our lives and we attribute them with helping us to achieve success. My step-mother-in-law is such a person. A warm loving lady of Ukrainian heritage, she was an excellent cook. It was from her that I grew to learn about good food and proper preparation and in part due to her influence that I wound up making cooking my profession. Unfortunately she succumbed to a swift and vicious battle with cancer 4 years ago and so missed seeing my personal chef service become a reality. In her honour I offer her recipe for French Onion Scallop, one of the side dishes I prepare for my clients.

6	large onions, sliced
4 tbsp	butter
4 tbsp	flour
1/2 tsp	salt
1/2 tsp	white pepper
2 cups	milk
1 tsp	Worcestershire sauce
6 oz	strong Swiss cheese, Emmenthal or Gruyère, sliced into thin pieces
	buttered bread crumbs for topping

Method

1. Melt 1 tbsp butter in skillet and add in 1/2 cup dry fine bread crumbs. Cook over medium high heat until the crumbs are coated with butter, hot and crunchy.
2. Bring a large pot of water to a boil, add 2 teaspoons of salt. Add sliced onions and cook at a moderate rolling boil for 10 minutes or until the onions are cooked but still firm. Drain them well in a colander and return to the pot.
3. While the onions cook, make a cheese sauce with the remaining ingredients (except for the butter breadcrumbs). I use a 4 cup Pyrex glass measuring cup and make the sauce in the microwave as it always turns out smooth and lump free. Melt the butter at medium high for 1 ^ 2 minutes. Add the flour and mix thoroughly. Cook at medium high for 1 minute longer. Add the salt & pepper and the Worcestershire sauce, then gradually and thoroughly stir in the milk. Cook at high power for at least 5 minutes, stirring every minute and making sure to get all the flour/butter that sticks to the bottom well incorporated into the sauce. Now that the sauce is thick and hot, stir in the cheese pieces and microwave for 1 minute more. Stir again until the cheese blends into the sauce.
4. Pour the sauce over the cooked onions and stir well to coat the onions evenly. Pour into prepared dishes (I use 7 inch round aluminum containers for 2 ample servings each and spray them well with cooking spray) and sprinkle the bread crumbs around the edge. Cool, cover and freeze.
5. To serve, thaw overnight in the fridge. Bake, covered, in a pre-heated 350° F oven for 4) 40 minutes, uncover and cook 10 minutes more or until the scallop is hot and bubbly and the breadcrumbs are brown and crispy. Enjoy!

TERESA'S Yogurt Torte

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of interviewee.

Crust

1 1/3 cup graham cracker crumbs
_ cup granulated sugar
1/3 cup melted butter or margarine

Filling

5 cups plain, Balkan-style yogurt
1 cup granulated sugar
1 orange, zested with grater
1 tsp vanilla extract
5 tbsp gelatin powder
2 cups whipped cream

Method

1. Mix ingredients for the crust and press into a lightly greased springform pan.
2. Bake crust in 350F oven for 8-10 minutes, until crust is slightly golden.
3. Drain any excess water from yogurt.
4. In a bowl, combine yogurt, orange zest, vanilla, and sugar and whisk together.
5. Remove 1 cup of the mixture and heat in a pan until warm. Do not boil!
6. Dissolve gelatin powder in _ cup warm milk.
7. Whisk gelatin mixture into warm yogurt mixture, then *mix the cool yogurt mixture into the warm one.*
8. Scrape bowls with a rubber spatula to ensure all the gelatin is incorporated into the mix.
9. Sit mixture over a bowl of ice, stirring frequently.
10. Whip the cream to stiff peaks.
11. When yogurt mixture is cool and starting to thicken, fold in the whipped cream.
12. Pour mixture into the springform pan with the cooled crust.
13. Allow to set in the fridge for at least 8 hours.
14. Serve as you would a cheesecake, with fresh berries or a fruit purée.

PR's Five-minute Low-fat Tiramisu

Permission to reproduce recipe courtesy of P.L. Ragde.

1 lb	low-fat ricotta (available at most major supermarkets)
1	egg
1-2 oz	rum
1/2 tsp.	vanilla extract
1 cup	sugar
1/2 cup	espresso or very strong coffee
1 package	savoyardi ("ladyfinger" biscuits, look in Italian groceries)
1/2 tsp.	cocoa

Method

Combine first five ingredients in food processor and whiz until smooth (a minute or so). Arrange savoyardi in a single layer in the bottom of a 9x13 pan or casserole. Dribble half the coffee over them. Spoon half the cheese mixture over top, evenly. Repeat with second layer. Dust top with cocoa (I put it in a fine strainer and tap it ever so gently over the top). Refrigerate for at least a day.

Note

This is authentic except for the ricotta; usually mascarpone is used. You can find mascarpone at some supermarkets and at Italian grocers, but it triples the cost and calorie count. Ignore any recipes you see which call for cake, whipped cream, or chocolate. If you don't have a food processor, you can use a blender with a lot of careful poking with a rubber spatula. If you don't have either, you must use mascarpone, and icing (confectioner's) sugar. You can't get the smooth texture otherwise.

"Tiramisu" means "pick me up!" in Italian.

Appendix B

P.L. Ragde's Vancouver Restaurant Reviews

Available at <www.plg.uwaterloo.ca/~plragde/food/van-rests.html>

Reproduced with permission from the author.

We spent the academic year 1997-98 at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, BC. While there we took advantage of the large number of restaurants. Here are some of our favourites (not just restaurants, but prepared food sources in general), with date of last visit, and brief comments. Note our kids (ages 5 and 3) were with us for all of the dinners and most of the lunches described here. Your input is welcome.

Anton's Pasta Bar (2/98)

Cute marketing concept. Charge twelve bucks for a plate of pasta but make it bigger than the customer's head, so they automatically get leftovers to take home. Double your volume, keep everyone happy. Only one thing missing: taste. Sauces puddle greasily in the bottom of the plate rather than clinging to the pasta. No flavour. Too bad.

Arriva (11/97)

It's nice (and rare) to find a Italian restaurant where pastas taste like they do in Italy (as opposed to austere upscale compositions or downmarket piles of slop). Brisk yet friendly service. On Commercial Drive.

Ashiana (10/97)

Lush decor will appeal to those who want to recreate the Raj Quartet. Food isn't up to snuff - dry tandoori, small portions. Rubina is better. On Kingsway.

Bagel Street Cafe

Chain pushing fake bagels. If you think of it as oddly shaped bread, it's okay when you're desperate for a snack or breakfast. But you can do much better.

La Baguette et L'Echalote (11/97)

The Parisian atmosphere evoked is that of one of the factory chains choking Paris, not the high-quality bakeries so hard to find even there. No spark to this bread. On Granville Island and at Lonsdale Quay.

Benny's Bagels (3/98)

The closest you'll get to real bagels this far from New York or Montreal, which is to say, close enough if you don't think about it too much. Lots of locations, including near UBC and on Cambie south.

Bread Garden (9/97)

The success of this chain is mystifying. Dull microwaved food served by incompetents (or maybe they just can't hear you over the din). The prices aren't even that good. You can cook better than this. Piles of locations, including Metrotown Hell.

Bon (4/97) CLOSED

Full-service Japanese restaurant in odd location. The bento didn't condescend to us: lots of Japanese pickles of various sorts, and a mashed-potato korokke in tonkatsu sauce. On a subsequent visit the bento was chock-full of great fish, from sashimi to snapper. Sushi and sashimi tastes really fresh; real crab in the California roll. Our choice for sit-down Japanese in Vancouver. First block of west Broadway, near Mountain Equipment Co-op.

Boulangerie Parisienne (4/98)

Good stab at the atmosphere, down to the accent of the server, but bread is only so-so and pastries expensive. In Yaletown.

C (6/98)

Nice False Creek location for this contemporary restaurant attempting a wildly eclectic approach to seafood. Not as pyrotechnic as, say, Eos in San Francisco, but perhaps that's an unfair comparison. Some items fall flat, but there are surprising notes: barbecued eel is overwhelmed by kimchee, but the kimchee itself is fresh and sweet rather than dull and sour. Good presentation, friendly and helpful service. An upscale destination of choice for the adventurous, but be prepared to shell out.

Casa Sleigh (6/98)

Spanish restaurant in Steveston. No excuse for charging \$5.95 for six small shrimp fried with garlic, when you can get a pound of them for that price fresh off the boats docked just across the street. Paella has a decent flavour, but is also skimpy with both rice and shellfish for its \$16.95 price. And it comes out in seven minutes, which means it's partially precooked. No, thanks.

Capitol Hill Szechwan (2/98)

Time-warp Chinese food: cheap big portions, lots of filler and recipes of dubious authenticity. Still, a decent alternative to cooking for yourself, if you're in the neighbourhood.

La Casa Gelato (7/98)

In an industrial section of East Vancouver (Venables at Glen), an ice-cream parlour stocks 120 selections at a time, including such oddities as ginger-garlic, wasabi, basil pernod, and durian, as well as a whole raft of more traditional chocolate- and nut-based flavours. In lesser hands this would be a joke, or 120 variations on vanilla. But the flavours are intense, the mouthfeel smooth without being cloying or overwhelming. It's rare to find an ice-cream place of this quality, so make it a priority to visit. Second location in the Parker Centre on heartless Number Three Road in Richmond, with many fewer selections.

De Dutch Pannekoek House (7/98)

Chain of breakfast eateries with cute plasticized menus and decor. Food can really add up here, considering that it's mostly starch. The basic pancakes are all right, but toppings are mostly artificial or out of a can. Skippable. At east end of East Hastings in Burnaby, scads of other locations.

Delhi Darbar (4/97)

Weekend "chaat" lunch offers both South and North Indian items, a rare mix, including items like uthappam and rava dosa that are really difficult to find in North America. Unfortunately, they're at best only competently done.

Dundarave Cafe (10/97)

Very friendly service, and a nice patio (though there's not much to look at on this stretch of Marine Drive). The food is completely forgettable. In West Vancouver.

Ecco Il Pane (5/98)

Great basic breads; specialty items vary. Nice sour-cherry chocolate bread, good selection of well-flavoured biscotti, interesting and nicely balanced desserts. Seasonal gubana was an expensive failure, and perennial dolce de mio's texture is all wrong. Still, the best bakery in town. The location on 5th in the industrial zone has sandwiches, including a stunning ahi tuna; the one on Broadway in Kits has an evening bistro Thursday through Saturday. This looked promising, but needs work. All of the plates at our table came with the same garnishes, except the potatoes promised on mine had been replaced with sauced pasta -- fine, but mine was calves' liver, and it was jarring.

Ezogiku Noodle House (1/98)

Minimalist menu offers mostly slight variations on Japanese noodles in broth, which come close to perfection. Great for a cold, rainy day. Near the downtown library; another location at the other end of Robson.

Floata Seafood (12/97)

So you crave dim sum but it's already noon and you'll never get in anywhere? No problem, this place seats a thousand. But the wait between carts can be considerable, and the food isn't that good. Next time, reserve, or go early. In Chinatown.

Flying Wedge (12/97)

Designer pizza with decent crust, varied and unusual toppings. Three bucks a slice, but not bad for the price. In the airport, in the main downtown library, and several other locations.

Fortune House (10/97)

Dim sum with no concessions to the outsider: overwhelmingly Asian clientele, a warren of rooms means carts get tantalizingly close before retreating, and almost no one speaks English. Some good and unusual items, but others are just so-so. Go with a Cantonese speaker and it might be worth it. In a shopping mall at Cambie and 41st.

Fuji Sushi (9/97)

Coquitlam strip-mall operation offers low prices, but slow production, incompetent service and ragged sushi. On North Road.

Fujiya (Coquitlam) (7/98)

Japanese grocery with sizeable kitchen operation: really fresh sushi, decent tempura and donburi, and bento to go (a bargain for variety and quantity), all at reasonable prices. I could eat here every week (and came close to doing so). A few tables and chairs. On North Road.

Fujiya (Vancouver) (2/98)

More groceries than the Coquitlam location but fewer menu choices and more clientele. On Clark.

Grand King Seafood (6/98)

Menu-driven dim sum, oddly located in a Holiday Inn, but with a well-known chef presiding. Terrific sticky rice, good har gow and noodles, terrible eggplant. Menu changes periodically. Pleasant and professional service. Possibly the most consistently good dim sum we've had in the city. Dinner is imaginative Cantonese. This does not appeal to me as much as northern or southwestern Chinese cuisines, but within this framework Grand King does quite well, particularly with rock cod and sea bass.

Habibi (5/98)

Great concept. Small plates of high-quality Lebanese food (including some unusual items, like shinkleesh, a dynamite combo of dried marinated goat cheese and diced tomatoes), all for five dollars; attentive service in a pleasant casual space. Vegetarian, but you won't notice. Only the falafel is a disappointment; light, but not crisp enough.

Haru (7/98)

When the New Japanese Deli on Powell (where my older child at the age of three had her first-ever full serving of tuna sashimi and exclaimed "This is my favourite food in the whole world!") closed, downtown was the winner. Haru is a full-service Japanese restaurant shoehorned into an old house. Cozy atmosphere, very friendly, and superb food. While the kids vacuumed up their sushi, we had the multicourse kaiseki meal. This varies according to the whim of the chef, but here's what we had: taro root cooked in dashi; eggplant with small shrimp; lemon prawns; clam soup; sashimi (toro, scallop, amaebi, tai, and with incredible freshly-grated wasabi); scallop and shellfish hotpot; tempura with green dipping salt; eel donburi in an unusual reddish sauce with lemon pepper; pear jelly and special after-dinner tea. This cost us \$35; I can't imagine what the higher-priced kaiseki would be like. Recommended, needless to say.

Hombres (6/98)

Located for twenty years in Gastown, owners retired, didn't like sitting around, opened a place in Burnaby on Hastings. Vancouverites can't afford to be choosy about Mexican food. This is decently done, not just the usual dull Cal-Mex. Mole poblano, chile rellenos, tacos that are baked instead of fried, as well as enchiladas, burritos, and quesadillas, and a daily special or two. Homey, amateur service. A pleasant alternative to eating at home.

Hon's (10/97)

Why the raves for this place? I can make better potstickers at home. Greasy food, zero decor. In Chinatown, and various locations around the city.

Imperial (6/98)

High-class room in art-deco Marine Building, with two-story windows looking out onto Coal Harbour and the North Shore mountains. Dim sum is carried on trays by young women. Good variety, pretty tasty. The place to take someone you want to impress. At the foot of Burrard Street.

Incendio (6/98)

Airy room in older building on edge of seedy neighbourhood, best approached from the north. Decent wood-fired pizza, though some arrived soggy. Columbia at Powell.

Japolo Sushi (11/97)

Pleasant if undistinguished Coquitlam eatery offering a lengthy menu and weekday lunch specials. On North Road.

Joey Tomato's Kitchen (6/97)

Run by the same people who run the "Earl's" chain of restaurants. Ordered wood-fired pizza. Watched a "chef" who looked about twelve put a lump of dough through a machine to flatten it, then take containers of toppings out of a fridge and sprinkle them on. The finished pizzas sat on the counter for five minutes until a server came by to deliver them. After this I decided to skip Earl's. Life's too short to eat corporate food. But if you must, it's on Lougheed Highway near North Road in Burnaby.

Jun Sushi (11/97)

Another neighbourhood restaurant with good cheap lunch and dinner specials. On Hastings in Burnaby; second location out in Kits, on Broadway, and two on deathly Number Three Road in Richmond.

Kalamata (5/98)

I have a problem with this place. I can't imagine going without ordering the roast lamb shoulder, which is fork-tender and aromatic with garlic. Sides of rice, potatoes, and salad were superior to the usual indifferent approach of most Greek restaurants. Calamari was well-spiced, tender, and crisp. Recommended. On Broadway at Cambie.

Kirin Mandarin (4/98)

The power failure the day of our visit put them to the test, but they came through with an excellent (if slow) dim sum lunch. Revisits proved it wasn't a fluke. Nice airy room, tables well spaced, not overly crowded on weekends. Service can be downright aggressive, only drawback. Downtown.

Kirin Seafood (6/98)

Run by the same people as Kirin Mandarin, but a completely different experience. Small room, lots of tables, view, a madhouse on weekends, and dim sum is not as good -- steamed items were soggy, deep-fried ones were oily. In City Square on 12th, centre town.

Kitto (11/97)

A major disappointment. Downscale Japanese is a good idea, but the tempura was far too greasy, and the sashimi expensive. Fried noodles lack flavour; yosenabe is competent, but only due to the mix of items, not to any skill on the chef's part. Too close to Robson, perhaps, but the Granville location is no better. We've had food like this in Hilo, and it was both cheap and delicious, so there's no excuse.

Koko Japanese (8/97)

An air of faded glory, the coldest service we've had in the city, and ragged chirashi heavy on roe. No miso soup included, either. On East Hastings. Rumoured closed.

La Villetta (11/97)

Friendly neighbourhood Italian; food a bit sloppy, but service and atmosphere is comforting. For a night when you don't want to cook. On Hastings in Burnaby.

Las Margaritas (9/97)

Pseudo Tex-Mex for those who've never been south of the border (the Canada-US border). Missable. On 4th in Kits.

Le Grec (6/98)

Commercial Drive operation relocated in '97 to 4th in Kitsilano. New room is airy and pleasant. Greek small plates and grilled foods with an up-to-date flair. Currently running a special where twenty menu items cost only \$3.75 from 2:30 to 5:30, definitely worthwhile.

Lesley Stowe (10/97)

Chi-chi operation with a few deli selections and some overpriced condiments. Limited and expensive though well-chosen cheese selection. Not to my taste, clearly. On Granville near 5th.

Lombardo's (9/97)

Supposedly one of the best pizzas in town; crust was crisp but greasy, toppings only so-so. Too bad. On Commercial Drive, in the only mall around.

Martini's (9/97)

Convivial atmosphere, good pasta, credible pizza. Right across from Mountain Equipment Co-op on Broadway.

Meinhardt's Fine Foods (12/97)

Large "gourmet" store has comprehensive selection of cans and bottles plus produce section, cheeses, deli items, baked goods, and more. You'll pay for the convenience, though. Nine bucks for a pound of Berkeley granola, even if made by Alice Waters, is too much. On south Granville.

Menu Setters (4/98)

Now this is a find. A successful mother-and-daughter catering service runs a cheese operation on the side, a labour of love. I noticed they had raw-milk Cantal and mentioned I had the artisanal version, Salers, in France. On my next visit two months later, they remembered me and pointed out they now offered Salers. They're generous with samples and advice, and the prices are stunningly reasonable, especially compared with clip shops with attitude like Forster's Fine Foods in Kerrisdale. In a strip mall on Alma near 10th. Go now.

Mi Hacienda (7/98)

North American Mexican-style standards prepared by what appear to be Mexicans, and served with total incompetence. If they'd just prepare for us what they eat at home, I could forgive them. Patio lets you experience Hastings traffic at its noisiest. At Hastings and Broadway.

Miki Sushi (11/97)

Lougheed Highway location amid car dealerships does not bode well, and in fact the bento lunch special is pretty generic. In Burnaby.

Misaki (5/98)

In the tony Pan Pacific hotel, but tucked away on the second floor. I had the most expensive lunch item, "exotic sushi" at 24.50. Ten pieces of nigiri, half a roll, and tamago. Some upscale pieces, like toro, uni, and amaebi, but you're paying a lot for the location; the food is not as good as you'd expect given the number of Japanese businessmen who must eat here. Okay, I confess, I paid half-price using my Entertainment card, but otherwise I would have been the only one in the place (which was full) footing the whole cost of my meal. On Canada Place, near "the sails".

Montri's (11/97)

Thai food that is so full of flavour, it makes you realize how much other Thai restaurants are coasting on the basic appeal of coconut milk. Pleasant room, cool but efficient service. Some nightly specials. Highly recommended. On Broadway near Alma, in west Kitsilano.

Noor Mahal (10/97)

Like eating in the living room of nice strangers. Unfortunately, the food (South Indian with a kitchen sink of variations) is pretty pedestrian. On Fraser, south of the city.

Olympia Seafood Market and Grill (4/98)

Fish and chips from a small fish retailer just off Robson on Thurlow: cod, halibut, and an exotic special (marlin the day we visited). Good fries, nice batter on fish fried properly. A few stools on which to perch. My choice for eating in this overtouristed area.

Ouzeri (5/98)

Mezes, little Greek plates, and some mains. Nice casual atmosphere, inexpensive wines, and a bit of an outdoor patio. Food was authentic and quite tasty. There's not much choice this far west, so it's nice to know this place exists. 3100 block of West Broadway.

Pajo's (5/98)

Fish and chips from on the docks at Steveston, much more appealing than the alternatives in the Fisherman's Wharf wannabe development nearby. Unfortunately, fish and chips were both a bit greasy, if tasty. We had better luck at the branch out in Port Moody, about the only reason to live east of Burnaby Mountain.

Paradiso (1/97)

Arty decor, big banquettes, Mediterranean menu with influences from all over. Food is competent but lacks spark. Watching the other patrons, it seemed they were more interested in a Casual yet Stylish Night Out or what was in their glass than what was on their plate. On 3000-ish Broadway in Kits. Now turned into Sansi's Cantina and Grill, same chef/owner, and from the reviews, much the same flaws.

Patisserie Bordeaux (10/97)

Passable croissants, pain au chocolat, and pain aux raisins, made less edible by the haughty Gallic service which, to be honest, is more of an affectation expected by ignorant North Americans than anything you are likely to encounter outside of tourist zones in France. At 10th and Alma.

Pear Tree (7/98)

A decent restaurant in Burnaby? Not impossible. Small but comfortable space, minimalist menus (five main courses), but food is well prepared, served with understated elegance, and not expensive for the quality. A place to take visitors if nothing else about the city (Burnaby, that is) impresses. Watch this place, it deserves more attention. On east Hastings.

Pink Pearl (11/97)

Suburbanite-friendly dim sum. Large room, mega-lineups. Coverage is spotty, though, and what you do get is undistinguished. On East Hastings.

Planet Pizza (1/98)

Competent whole-wheat pizza out in Maillardville. Sports TVs a bit distracting. In Coquitlam.

Planet Veg (3/98)

Indian food adapted for an over-the-counter trade: rather a jumble, but really tasty and very cheap. Good concept. Service can be slow. On Cornwall near Kits Beach.

Sami's (6/98)

Former owner of Star Anise tries recession cooking: staff of recent culinary-school graduates, single-page menu with all mains for ten bucks. I hope he can make it work. Lamb shank vindaloo was great, seafood medley so-so (overcooked), and basmati paella just did not work. Nice chilled mango soup to start, and my five-year-old wouldn't let anyone else eat a bite of pears poached in red wine with vanilla gelato. Worth patronizing in the hopes they get the bugs ironed out.

Sansi's Cantina and Grill
See Paradiso.

Savary Island Pie Company (5/98)

Neighbourhood hangout bakery/cafe with pleasant atmosphere, good place to take out scones for the walk on the West Vancouver seawall. Muffins are so-so, bread is mushy, coffee is swill. Haven't tried the pies. On Marine Drive.

Sfinaki Greek Taverna (4/98)

This Burnaby neighbourhood restaurant offers a little more than the usual set of Greek dishes, though we weren't feeling that adventurous. The horiatiki was made without lettuce, the mixed seafood platter was generous, the tzatziki was really garlicky, and the atmosphere was most pleasant. On Hastings in the Heights.

Sha-Lin (4/98)

A noodle house: noodles stretched in front of you, or cut into boiling water from a mass of dough. Noodles themselves are great, but the broth and garnishes are merely okay. Ezogiku has the edge over this place. On Broadway, 500 block.

Sophie's Cosmic Cafe (9/97)

I want to like this funky place, but the food is for the most part awful, the kind of stuff you get when ideology takes precedence over taste. Good organic house white could make you forgive that. Lineups on weekends; clearly, I'm in the minority. On 4th.

Sun Sui Wah (5/97)

Upscale Cantonese. Braised e-fu noodles were simply okay and prawns with vegetables generic, but fried Alaskan black cod in soy was stunning, so much so we were tempted to eat all the bones. Expensive at dinner, so order carefully. Dim sum was quite good, probably the best if you insist on watching carts roll by. Parking is a hassle, get there early. On soulless Number Three Road in Richmond.

Sushi Boy (6/98)

Takeout sushi (there are three or so stools to perch on) from a hole in the wall on Broadway near Cambie. Very generous nigiri fingers, great house rolls, impeccably fresh, and a bargain. Our choice for picnic fixings in midtown. Discount on call-ahead orders.

Szechwan Chongqing (2/98)

Really good dim sum, and probably the best service I've ever had in a Chinese restaurant. Dinner is another matter; service more oriented to selling you expensive dishes than filling your glass, and food lacks zip. On Kingsway in Burnaby; other location on Broadway.

Terra Breads (2/98)

Basic breads forgettable, specialty items (like seasonal pumpkin bread or perennial fig/anise) are good. Terrific pane al'uva. Stall in Granville Island Market, some stools in larger location on 4th in Kits.

Thai Garden (5/98)

Really bad Thai out in Coquitlam. Starters were all deep-fried straight from the freezer, green curry was pale yellow and tasteless, and the same diluted plum sauce was served with everything. Pictures of the Thai king on the wall, but the second language on the menu was Chinese. Hmmm. I would say the burbs can't do ethnic, but just down the street is the fabulous Fujiya. On NOrth Road.

Tojo's (5/98)

We were fortunate to eat at Tojo's soon after it opened; walking the street during a visit to town, I noticed a posted review that mentioned the previous restaurant at which Tojo Hidekazu worked, which we'd found closed. We have returned many times since. But little things started to nag me on our last return. The service in the tatami room was erratic. Specials were described in two-word broken English, no prices given. The house specialty rainbow roll was ragged (though it tasted fine). My guess is that if you sit at the sushi bar or order chef's choice, carte blanche, this really is "Vancouver's best Japanese restaurant". But for those of us with less than six-figure incomes, who tend to order off the regular menu and worry about the bill adding up, it may be time to start looking around for a new contender. (See Bon, Haru.)

Toko (10/97)

Noodle factory opens a narrow front room. Results are mixed, but the noodles are damn fresh. Near False Creek.

Tomato Cafe (4/98)

Funky atmosphere, big portions of hearty food, retro-ish (milkshakes, turkey sandwich with cranberry sauce) without being a throwback. A bit expensive, but you feel good about paying. On Cambie, south of the city.

Tropika Malaysian (10/97)

Cool room, colourful & descriptive menu. Clearly authentic (Chinese-Malaysian, that is; I have no idea if there's indigenous Malay cuisine) and catering at least partly to a home crowd. Some of the dishes tasted too much of the same sambal, but it's still a nice change. On 3000-ish Broadway in Kits.

Victoria Chinese (4/98)

Menu-driven dim sum with some unusual offerings (e.g., ostrich dumplings). Professional but very friendly service. Fall menu was better than the winter one, but spring sprung back. Good choice for a large party; booking ahead helps only slightly. Seems quite popular with the Asian community. Downtown.

Vij's (11/97)

Stunningly good food, using Indian cuisine as a point of departure. Friendly service (especially by the congenial and chatty Vij himself), ethereal atmosphere. Possibly my favourite Vancouver restaurant experience, and I say that as someone who grew up with Indian food and consequently can stand about three other Indian restaurants in all of North America. Just off south Granville.

Vong's (12/97)

In Vancouver's Best Places and Where to Eat in Canada, but... This strikes me as nothing more than generic Chinese food offered up for undemanding suburbanites, and I am at a loss to understand why these sources laud this place. Unthreatening, I guess. On Fraser, south of the city.

Waazubee Cafe (9/97)

Great post-punk atmosphere, but the food is really awful. Go and hang out over a beer or something, just don't eat anything. On Commercial Drive.

Won More Szechwan (12/97)

Interesting to compare this to Capitol Hill Szechwan. The neighbourhood is a bit more upscale here, so prices are higher, there's a bit less filler in the food, and it's slightly less sweet. But the clientele looks the same, and I have the same doubts as to the purity of the approach. On 4th in Kits.

Appendix C

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF RESEARCH ETHICS



BURNABY, BRITISH COLUMBIA
CANADA V5A 1S6
Telephone: 604-291-3447
FAX: 604-268-6785

January 5, 2004

Ms. Diana Ambrozas
Graduate Student
Department of Communication
Simon Fraser University

Dear Ms. Ambrozas:

Re: Serious Feast: Vancouver foodies in globalized consumer society

The above-titled ethics application has been granted approval by the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board, in accordance with Policy R 20.01, "Ethics Review of Research Involving Human Subjects".

Sincerely,

Dr. Hal Weinberg, Director
Office of Research Ethics

Appendix D

Interview Guide

Address Identification:

Date:

I. EVERYDAY EATING

I want to interview you because of your passion for food. What is it about food that really gives you pleasure?

Can you describe a typical evening meal?

Who is present at a typical evening meal?

Do you or your family have any special food rituals or rules (eg. saying grace)

Do you often go out to eat? order take out? what occasions?

Where do you like to go? Give specific names

II. SOCIALIZING/ DINNER PARTIES

Do you give or go to dinner parties? Which do you prefer?

Can you describe in detail the menu of your last party?

Who do you like to invite?

How do you make a dinner party different from an ordinary meal?

What happens when it goes well? badly?

III. COOKING

Now what about cooking? Do you enjoy cooking too? why?

Where did you learn to cook?

What convenience foods do you use? how?

Where does your family usually shop for food? Give specific names of stores.

What is the most unusual food item you used in the last month, say?

What is the most unusual kitchen tool you have? Do you use it?

Have you done anything to fix up your kitchen? If money were no object what would you like to do to it?

Have you ever entered any culinary contests?

Would you like to share a recipe?

IV. READING FOOD

What are your most used recipe sources
(prof. training? family? friends?books? mags?)

Do you surf the Web for food sites? Any favourite sites?

Do you watch the Food Network? Any favourite shows?

Do you regularly read/subscribe to any magazines for cooking info? which do you like best? why?

Can you tell me what you see going on in this image [of a foodie lifestyle]?

V. IDENTITY

Some people call these people foodies, do you use the term? Give an example?

What kinds of things do foodies do?

Are there different kinds of foodies?

Do you consider yourself a foodie? why/not?

How did you become interested in food?

Do you belong to any food-related organizations:
(Slow food, FarmFolk/City Folk, Opimum Society, Community Kitchens, Farmer's Market)?

Have you ever taken a food themed vacation?

What values do you associate with food(novelty, exoticism, safety)?

Do you have any food themed clothing or jewelry?

Do most of your friends share your interest in food?

Do you have any (other) hobbies/passions (eg. gardening)?

Is your job related to the food industry? Your spouse?

What do you need to do to be successful in your business today?

What makes food an important (political, cultural) issue today?

Do you have any formal schooling?

Any children living at home? Ages?

Do you identify with any ethnic groups?

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Is there anyone else I should talk to?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.

Interview Guide (late)

Address Identification:

Date:

I. COOKING/EATING/ENTERTAINING

How did you become interested in food? Any particular turning points?

Do you like to cook too? Why?

How did you learn to cook?

Have you ever taken courses? entered culinary contests?

Have you ever taken a food themed vacation? bought themed clothing/jewelry?

Can you take me on a tour of your refrigerator?

What kinds of things you make from scratch (stock? bread? pasta? sauces?)

What convenience foods do you use?

Where does your family usually shop for food? Give specific names.

Are there any food brands you swear by?

What is the most unusual food item you used in the last month?

What is the most unusual kitchen tool you have? Do you use it?

Can you take me on a tour of your work space and show me your kitchen tools?

Have you done anything to fix up your kitchen? If money were no object what would you like to do to it?

Can you describe a typical evening meal? (Who is present?)

Do you or your family have any special food rituals or rules (eg. where you sit)

How often do you have wine with dinner?

Do you often go out to eat? order take out? what occasions? (Give specific names)

Do you often give or go to dinner parties? Which do you prefer?

Can you take me on a tour of your dining/entertaining space?

How do you make a dinner party different from an ordinary meal?

Who do you like to invite?

Do most of your friends share your interest in food? your partner?

Can you describe in detail the menu of your last party?

What happens when it goes well? badly?

II. READING FOOD

Can you take me on a tour of your reading space?

What are your most used recipe sources?
(prof. training? family? friends?books? mags?)

Do you surf the Web for food sites? Any favourite sites?

Do you watch the Food Network? Any favourite shows? How often?

Do you regularly read/subscribe to any magazines for cooking info? which do you like best? why?

When/how do you read them?

Can you tell me what you see in this image [Miami chef “entertaining with style”]?

Some people call these people ‘foodies’, do you use this term? another term?

What kinds of things do ‘foodies’ /gourmets/food lovers do (dinner parties? fine dining? courses? exchange recipes? contests? “reading” about food?)

Are some of these things more important/necessary than others?

Are there different kinds/levels of ‘foodies’?

Do you consider yourself a ‘foodie’? why/not? What term do you use?

What is it about food that really gives you pleasure?

What values do you associate with food(novelty, exoticism, safety)?

Do you do any volunteer work? Is it food related?

Do you have any (other) hobbies/passions (eg. gardening)?

If your job is related to the food industry, can you describe your work and explain how it affects your domestic culinary practices.

What makes food an important (political, cultural) issue today?

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Is there anyone else I should talk to?

I’ve found most people reluctant to give me recipes? Can you think why?

III. DEMOGRAPHICS

Age?

Hhld members? Occupations? Any children living at home? Ages?

Do you have any formal schooling?

Do you identify with any ethnic groups?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME.

Appendix E

Qualitative software analysis nodes

(1)	/demographics
(2 1 1)	/distinction/new cuisine/regional-local
(2 1 2)	/distinction/new cuisine/different
(2 1 3)	/distinction/new cuisine/exotic
(2 1 4)	/distinction/new cuisine/fusion
(2 1 5)	/distinction/new cuisine/fresh
(2 1 6)	/distinction/new cuisine/flavourful
(2 1 7)	/distinction/new cuisine/artisanal
(2 1 8)	/distinction/new cuisine/seasonal
(2 2 1)	/distinction/haute cuisine/french-european
(2 2 2)	/distinction/haute cuisine/quality
(2 2 3)	/distinction/haute cuisine/presentation
(2 2 4)	/distinction/haute cuisine/wine
(2 3 1)	/distinction/knowledge/restaurants
(2 3 2)	/distinction/knowledge/trends
(2 3 3)	/distinction/knowledge/people
(2 3 4)	/distinction/knowledge/techniques
(2 3 5)	/distinction/knowledge/authentic
(2 3 6)	/distinction/knowledge/manners
(2 4 1)	/distinction/display/accumulation-renovation
(2 4 2)	/distinction/display/shopping
(2 4 2 1)	/distinction/display/not supermarket
(2 4 2 2)	/distinction/display/not convenience
(2 4 3)	/distinction/display/party meal
(2 4 4)	/distinction/display/everyday meal
(2 4 5)	/distinction/display/time
(2 4 6)	/distinction/display/collections
(2 5 1)	/distinction/media/not emeral
(2 5 2)	/distinction/media/not martha
(2 5 3)	/distinction/media/not bon appetit
(2 5 4)	/distinction/media/not gourmet
(2 6)	/distinction/recognition
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(3 1 2)	/belonging/practice/entertaining
(3 1 3)	/belonging/practice/pleasure of eating
(3 1 4)	/belonging/practice/travel
(3 1 5)	/belonging/practice/learning-teaching
(3 1 6)	/belonging/practice/events
(3 1 7)	/belonging/practice/talking
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(3 2 2)	/belonging/cooking/experiment
(3 2 3)	/belonging/cooking/passion
(3 2 4)	/belonging/cooking/serious
(3 2 4 1)	/belonging/cooking/serious/big
(3 2 5)	/belonging/cooking/disasters
(3 2 6)	/belonging/cooking/baking
(3 2 7)	/belonging/cooking/leftovers

(3 3 1) /belonging/identity/longterm food lover
 (3 3 2) /belonging/identity/turning points
 (3 3 3) /belonging/identity/foodie
 (3 3 4) /belonging/identity/heritage
 (3 3 5) /belonging/identity/memories
 (3 3 6) /belonging/identity/gender roles
 (3 3 7) /belonging/identity/experience
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 (3 5) /belonging/family
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 (3 6 2) /belonging/values/giving
 (3 6 3) /belonging/values/value for money
 (3 6 4) /belonging/values/food ties everything together
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 (3 6 6) /belonging/values/no waste
 (3 6 7) /belonging/values/comfort
 (3 6 8) /belonging/values/efficient
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 (3 8 3) /belonging/hobbies/pastimes
 (3 9) /belonging/vancouver

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 (4 1 2) /resistance/media/'foodie'
 (4 1 3) /resistance/media/trends
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(5) /reading media
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 (5 1 2) /reading media/magazines/bon appetit
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 (5 3) /reading media/web
 (5 4) /reading media/books
 (5 6) /reading media/julia
 (5 7) /reading media/emeril
 (5 8) /reading media/martha
 (5 9) /reading media/ideal kitchen