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Cuisine, globalization, and the role of cultural intermediaries.

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CUISINE, GLOBALIZATION, AND THE ROLE OF CULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES

by

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A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION
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Title Cuisine, Globalization, and the Role of Cultural Intermediaries

The purpose of this study was to examine types of cuisine served and the role that cultural intermediaries in the form of restaurant owners and chefs play in affecting types of cuisine served. This study applied and advanced contemporary cultural theories of globalization and the influence that cultural intermediaries have in the globalization process through a study of restaurant owners and chefs in Atlanta and a selection of chefs throughout the United States. This study also explored the ways in which larger global cultural themes related to health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism affect the development of cuisine and the activities of chefs. The importance of this project lies in the empirical evidence it provides regarding the globalization of culture reflected through cuisine as mediated by restaurant owners and chefs. This study was accomplished through the use of mail-out and telephone questionnaires which were collected from a random sample of restaurant owners or managers in Atlanta. Additionally, face-to-face or telephone interviews were conducted with leading chefs throughout the United States. Results of this study indicate that various forms of cuisine exist and that they are influenced by characteristics of cultural intermediaries. This study provided support for Roland Robertson's theories of globalization. Homogenization, heterogenization, fusion, and reinvention of local cultures in particular forms are all aspects of globalization that

are reflected in and reproduced by contemporary cuisine. Concerns with or for health, formal rationality, the environment, and romanticism each play a role in the development of cuisine. The chef also occupies an influential role in contemporary society. Chefs and restaurant owners are the cultural intermediaries who create and promote particular foods and cuisines, including varieties of cuisines. In addition, they disseminate and promote particular social and political agendas.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Dean Locher (1936-1998), and my friend, Voytek Zubek (1956-1998). No two individuals have done more to challenge me intellectually or otherwise. It is with them that my most precious and inspirational food-related experiences and conversations have been shared. Through this work, their passion for cooking, eating, and thinking will be kept alive forever.

This dissertation is dedicated also to the chefs and cooks throughout the world whose vocation provides a sense of meaning, purpose, and identity to many peoples' lives, especially during times when they may need it the most--when meaning, purpose, and identity are not so clear. This is true for myself and was true for those named individuals to whom this work is dedicated. Deborah Madison described "one of the best letters" she had received from a woman who purchased one of her cookbooks, initially intending to give it to her sister as a Christmas gift. Instead, she kept it for herself. This woman described to Madison the tremendous effort she encountered in order to simply find some "good" sherry vinegar and olive oil for a salad dressing recipe she wanted to prepare. Well, she made the dressing, and "it was amazing to her." She concluded the letter by describing the whole experience as "chang[ing] her life." Food is not merely nourishment for the body. Food is nourishment for the mind, heart, and soul. As Madison observed, "[this woman] got a whole new way [of] look[ing] at food, who knows where it will go from there?"

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Julia Austin from the Graduate School at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) has helped me tremendously in enhancing my writing style and structure.

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I wish also to acknowledge and thank the chefs, cooks, and restaurant owners and managers who took the time to respond to my many questions. I appreciate, probably more than they can imagine, the ideas and information they contributed to this work. I also wish to thank those individuals who shared food and drinks with me. Those were special times.

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I wish to thank most of all my daughter, Alexandria Vaughn Bodner, who, along with her mother, experienced the highs and lows of working on this dissertation. Alex assembled questionnaires, stuffed envelopes, and attached labels and stamps. She also ate at some fine restaurants. She especially enjoyed the first course of scallops with red pepper coulis scented with Anjowan prepared by Chef Raji Jallepalli. She also participated in preparing and eating some great recipes from some wonderful cookbooks. Her favorite may be Larry Forgione's fudge brownies (They're gooey.).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the specific aims of the study and provides an overview of the sociological significance of cuisine and culture, globalization, and cultural intermediaries.

Specific Aims

The purpose of this study was to examine types of cuisine served and the role that cultural intermediaries in the form of restaurant owners and chefs play in affecting types of cuisine offered. This study advanced contemporary cultural theories of globalization and the influence that cultural intermediaries have in the globalization process through a study of restaurant owners and chefs in Atlanta and chefs throughout the United States. The importance of this project lies in the empirical evidence it provides regarding the globalization of culture reflected through cuisine as mediated by restaurant owners and chefs. Waters (1995) theorized that globalization, as "the concept of the 1990s" (p. 1), occurs primarily through the exchange of cultural or symbolic objects that are "easily transportable" and "appeal to human fundamentals" (p. 9). Cuisine, as one particularly salient component of culture, meets both of these criteria and is particularly well-suited for the study of the globalization of culture. Mennell, Murcott, and van Otterloo (1992) actually referred to cuisines as "culinary cultures," indicating the all-encompassing

nature of cuisine as "the ensemble of attitudes and tastes people bring to cooking and eating" (p. 20). Fischler (1988a) observed that food symbolically represents for a society "its diversity, hierarchy, and organization, and at the same time both its oneness and the otherness of whoever eats differently" (p. 275). Freeman (1977) offered a historical definition for cuisine as "a self-conscious tradition of cooking and eating--with a set of attitudes about food and its place in the life of a man" (p. 144).

The primary concern with the globalization of culture in this study, which is central to the cultural theories of Robertson (1995) and Featherstone (1995), is to transcend the major tensions between homogeneity versus heterogeneity or global versus local. Homogeneity theorists argue that the world is becoming increasingly similar and more integrated, whereas heterogeneity theorists argue that the world is becoming increasingly dissimilar and more fragmented. Theories of globalization relying exclusively on either of these dichotomies do not capture the ways in which (a) both of these are simultaneously part of the globalization process; (b) each is intimately linked with the other; and (c) forms of globalization may assume something beyond which either of these opposing perspectives would allow such as fusion, syncretism, hybridization, or reinventions of traditions. These issues are on the frontier of current debates in cultural sociology.

As just outlined, the theories of Robertson and Featherstone challenge the "most influential theories of global integration" which focus primarily on economic development as the central concept, particularly those of world-system, dependency, and modernization or convergence theories (Waters, 1995, p. 9). World-system and dependency theorists both view the world as a stratified system where there are

hierarchical distinctions between wealthy nations and poor nations such that there is similarity within and difference between the member nations. On the other hand, modernization and convergence theorists view all nations following a similar Western- or American-style path towards modernity ultimately culminating in a single global culture. Of course, all of these theoretical perspectives allow for wealth and poverty within single nations. In discussing cultural change and food in his overview of Sociologies of Food and Nutrition, McIntosh (1996) observed that "few have examined the differential adoption of innovations [of food] over time. As with other changes in culture, these result from a variety of forces" (p. 54). Globalization theory is furthermore unique from these theories in that globalization is treated as unique from processes of modernization. Robertson (1995, p. 27) refers to "globality" as globalization that results as a consequence of modernity. As Robertson points out in this discussion, this is in contrast to Giddens' (1990) views on the subject.

The focus on Atlanta in this study allowed for an application of these theories in a city with a recently developing global orientation. This is an important aspect of globalization emphasized by Robertson and Featherstone, who both maintain that global modernities exist in place of simply a Western- or American-centered modernity. If this is true, global culture cannot be understood solely in isolation of local cultures, and vice-versa.

A secondary aim of this study was to explore more explicitly the processes involved in the development of global cuisines. An effort will be made to link the spread of particular cuisines with the spread of larger global cultural themes--namely those of increasing concerns with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism

associated with the rise of a middle-class lifestyle in the global setting. For example, similar to Weber's seminal work regarding the relationship between the Protestant work ethic and the rise of capitalism, Campbell (1987) developed the notion that the rise of consumption and demand for new goods occurred concomitantly with the rise of an ethic of romanticism. Romanticism in this context views consumption as an activity one engages in simply for the enjoyment and indulgence of experiencing innovative and creative objects. As such, some cuisines are more reflective of these general themes than others.

Within this context, the study had three specific objectives: (a) to examine the types of cuisine served in restaurants in Atlanta; (b) to examine the role of cultural intermediaries in the form of chefs and restaurant owners and various characteristics of these in affecting the type of cuisine served within a city with a global orientation; and (c) to explore the interplay between global cultural themes and cuisine development as mediated by chefs and restaurant owners. The type of cuisine served is categorized as (a) endogenous or local cuisine which asserts its distinctive characteristics within a global setting; (b) exogenous cuisine of particular societies, nation-states, or regions which become incorporated into the culinary repertoire of local, endogenous societies; (c) endogenous cuisine mixed with exogenous cuisine; and (d) fusion cuisine in which two or more cuisines from exogenous cultures combine.

This study was accomplished through the use of mail-out and telephone questionnaires which were collected from a random sample of restaurant owners or managers in Atlanta. Additionally, face-to-face or telephone interviews were conducted with leading chefs throughout the United States.

Background and Significance

The remainder of this chapter details the relevance of this study to sociological matters and the ways in which findings of this research provides theoretical and empirical insights for the social sciences.

Sociological Significance of Cuisine

Sociological interest in matters related to food and eating has increased dramatically within the past decade. Mennell et al. (1992) attributed this growing attention to several factors, including the increased visibility of "nutritional problems" (p. 5), particularly hunger and various eating disorders (e.g., anorexia nervosa and bulimia), and an increased emphasis upon healthy living and preventive health maintenance. Most importantly, the study of food and society as a respectable and legitimate area of intellectual inquiry within sociology has arisen concomitantly with and as a part of the growth and development of the subdiscipline of cultural sociology.

Not coincidentally, much of the most intellectually stimulating theorizing currently taking place within the social science community is of intersecting interest to those working in both cultural studies and medical sociology (Shilling, 1993; Turner, 1996). Also, not coincidentally, food and eating are becoming more central to both of these areas of study. In The Body and Society, Turner observed that "eating can be conceived of as a fundamental 'body technique' (Mauss, 1979), that is an activity which has a basic physiological function, but which is heavily mediated by culture" (p. 176). The study of cuisine is particularly relevant for both of these intersecting areas for several reasons. First, food and eating involve consumption activities with significant impli-

cations for health and the body. Eating behavior is a major component of health lifestyles, and lifestyles research is becoming an increasingly important topic in both cultural studies and medical sociology (Cockerham, 1998). Second, individual and societal dietary patterns are deeply embedded in larger cultural and social systems. Dietary habits become embodied and serve to define one's social and personal identity. Thus, major insights are to be gained from the symbolic aspects of food and eating that could inform both cultural studies, medical sociology, and sociology at large.

More specifically, this study focuses on cuisine. Many view cuisine as distinct from either food or eating. It has already been mentioned that Mennell (Mennell et al., 1992) referred to cuisines as "culinary cultures" (p. 20). Fischler (1988a) defined cuisine as

> mental representations and the practices associated with them all shared by individuals in a culture or a group. Cuisines involve culture specific taxonomies and complex sets of rules about how to collect, prepare, combine, and consume foods. Cuisines are also associated with meanings [that] are based on taxonomies. (p. 196)

As such, cuisines may be interpreted or experienced the same or differently within various social contexts.

Sociological Significance of Culture

The reemergence of cultural sociology is part of a larger shift in the focus of social investigation from production to consumption. Interest in cultural sociology has grown rapidly and expanded tremendously within recent years (cf. Appadurai, 1996; Chaney, 1995; Featherstone, 1990, 1995; Griswold, 1994; Lamont & Wuthnow, 1990; Robertson, 1988, 1992). This study contributes to these efforts by adopting a distinc-

tively cultural approach to the study of cuisine. Cultural sociologists often are concerned especially with the symbolic qualities and cultural codes of mundane aspects of everyday life. They also are concerned with the role that symbolic designations or signs play in explaining social phenomena rather than simply with the material or economic conditions of social life as a way of organizing and structuring reality.

Cuisine and eating activities are not simply material or biological phenomena. Indeed Symons' (1991) observed that "our eating not only constitutes us physically but also at least to some extent socially and culturally" (p. 7). Much of Levi-Strauss' (1963, 1966, & 1969) work dealt specifically with the duality between nature and culture. For example, Levi-Strauss argued that food transformed through cooking becomes imbued with human thinking (i.e., culture). Many have been critical of the ideas of Levi-Strauss, particularly because of his efforts to uncover universal truths related to food and eating and his insistence on uncovering binary opposites that often led him to rely upon conjecture or speculation on these matters (Goody, 1982; Mennell, 1996; Mennell, et al., 1992; Murcott, 1988). Nonetheless, his thoughts are intriguing to the extent that they make us aware that food and cuisine involve cultural and social manipulations through methods of cooking. Sahlins (1976) argued that the distinction between the ideal and material realm loses its significance in the contemporary conceptualization of culture. Culture consists of both nonmaterial and material aspects. Thus, cuisine may symbolically represent many aspects of culture and society related to group membership. This is the approach adopted in this study.

Such an approach does not deny the significance of material and economic factors; rather, it de-emphasizes the primacy of them. Such an approach is especially

useful for consideration in the global context. For example, Waters (1995) theorized that globalization is "contingent on the extent to which cultural arrangements are effective relative to economic and political arrangements" (p. 9). Hence, the emphasis is placed upon cultural factors related to tastes and lifestyles and what is or is not likely to be consumed by individuals. Matters related to food and eating are often central to the theoretical and empirical interests of prominent figures engaged in cultural studies (cf. Bourdieu, 1984/1979; Douglas, 1984; Elias, 1978; Fine, 1995; Mennell, 1996; Turner, 1996).

Sociological Significance of Globalization

Simultaneously, as interest in cultural matters has increased, the number of contemporary sociologists who view the global setting as the most relevant level of inquiry also has risen (cf. Appadurai, 1996; Cockerham, 1995; Featherstone, 1990, 1995; Featherstone, Lash, & Robertson, 1995; Griswold, 1994; Robertson, 1992; Waters, 1995). Robertson (1992) has defined globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (p. 32). Robertson observed that interest in globalization has, in part, actually been brought about by those with a special interest in culture. Attempts to "map," define, or describe "global culture" (p. 32) have become new intellectual projects both within and outside of sociology and emanate from a variety of theoretical orientations. Scholarly writings on the contemporary world focused upon globalization, modernization, or both are increasingly analyzing cultural dimensions of these processes. Food examples or food metaphors are often used to

demonstrate a point related to globalization (e.g., Friedman, 1995; Harvey, 1989), although no explicit or complete study of cuisine and globalization has been conducted.

In earlier times, anthropologists developed the concept of diffusion to describe the transmission of culture from one society to another. Diffusion theory became popular in the early 1900s as a reaction against social evolutionism. Diffusion theorists argued that the reasons societies were the same or different was directly related to the extent that they borrowed from one another, though this borrowing from one another was never precisely explained. For this reason and several others, diffusion theory lost its prominence (Harris, 1983, p. 12). Diffusion theory attempted to explain similarities, particularly between geographically linked societies as "an automatic tendency for traits to diffuse" without taking into account the total environment (Harris, p. 13). Furthermore, as Harris noted, diffusion theory failed to account for why some societies with close physical proximity are so completely different. Diffusion theory also relied upon the expectation that the same cultural outcome would exist in different societies. Globalization theory, on the other hand, confronts these issues directly, and maintains that the transmission of culture from one society to another is not inevitable, formulaic, or resultant in the same outcome.

Cuisine, Culture, and Globalization

Cuisine, culture, and globalization are central concepts of this dissertation although they do not exist at the same level of organization (Chatterjee, personal communication, 1998). Globalization is a process that may occur simultaneously in various domains including culture, economics, and politics. Both economics and politics are

influenced by culture, and vice-versa. Furthermore, culture is manifest in many different forms including, but not limited to, those of religion, art, architecture, and cuisine.

Cuisine is only one manifestation of culture that is both reflective and transformative of culture and society. Cuisine, though, may be one of the most illuminating ways in which the globalization of culture can be studied. The food we eat is intimately bound with issues related to cultural hegemony, ethnicity, morality, and social identity, particularly within the global context. van den Berghe (1984) observed: "As eating together is perhaps the most basic expression of human sociality, ethnic cuisine could well be the ultimate reconciliation between a diversity we cherish and a common humanity we must recognize if we are to live amicably together" (p. 396). Partaking of cuisines from other cultures may be one of the primary ways in which awareness and acceptance of others is effected.

Contemporary Cultural Theories of Globalization Relevant for the Study of Cuisine

This research applies Robertson's theory of globalization and Featherstone's theorizing on globalization, culture, and consumption. Robertson (1992) viewed globalization as "the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole" (p. 32). For Robertson, the contemporary "global-human condition" (p. 131) consists of societies, individuals, international relations, and humankind. Each of these is a distinct element, yet each is closely linked with and inseparable from the others. Consciousness or identity have different definitions. For Robertson,

> the global field is highly 'pluralistic' in that there is a proliferation of civilizational, continental, regional, societal and other definitions of the global-human

> condition as well as considerable variety in identities formed in those respects without direct reference to the global situation. (p. 70)

Individuals may define themselves through their identification with either the local or the global, and this may be expressed through individuals' preferences for particular forms of cuisine.

One of the greatest concerns in this study of cuisine and globalization, which is central to the theories of both Robertson (1992, 1995) and Featherstone (1990, 1995), involves the extent to which globalization, global culture, or, in this case, global cuisine, is associated with either increasing homogeneity or universality or with heterogeneity, diversity, or particularism. Both reject the notion of a global culture as either that which is typical of nation-states in terms of homogeneity and integration or that which is characterized by cultural imperialism or domination, particularly by the West. Indeed, Featherstone (1995) observed that a distinctive feature of postmodernism and globalization is "the sheer volume, diversity, and many-sidedness of culture. Syncretism and hybridizations are more the rule than the exception" (p. 14). Processes of globalization may take different forms and result in different outcomes, depending upon the unique social context and the role that cultural intermediaries play.

The present study addressed specifically this aspect of globalization theory as it relates to matters of cuisine. Robertson (1992) observed two processes that may occur: the "universalization of particularism" and the "particularization of universalism" (p. 100). The universalization of particularism refers to a global process whereby different groups or societies simultaneously assert their uniqueness within the global context. The particularization of universalism refers to a global process whereby the same pheno-

menon occurs throughout the world, but appears differently in different social contexts. Robertson (1995) observed that these need not be considered in terms of mutually exclusive processes. Both occur simultaneously and, in fact, influence each other. For example, the assertion of uniqueness may occur in response to perceived threats of displacement of local cultures as a consequence of cultural universalism.

In a recent essay, Robertson (1995) argued that what may be taking place might be more appropriately conceived of in terms of processes of "glocalization" (p. 27). Glocalization "refers to a global strategy which does not seek to impose a standard product or image, but instead is tailored to the demands of the local market" (Featherstone, 1995, p. 9). Globalization need not lead to the displacement of local cultures. For example, as Griswold (1994) observed, individuals simultaneously may maintain ties to both the local and the global.

Featherstone's theories on the globalization of culture are influenced by the foundations laid by Robertson. Featherstone (1990, 1995) theorized that the globalization of culture occurs as individuals or societies become linked with one another and are compelled to relativize themselves to others. The concept of relativization finds its roots in the notion of "reflexive modernization" (Robertson, 1992, p. 12). Reflexive modernization is an interactive process that all societies engage in with others as they adjust their actions according to the actions and responses of others to their own actions (Nettl & Robertson, 1968). Relativization is a reflective process wherein societies may cling to their traditional cultural forms. Societies may adopt new cultural forms. Societies may combine various elements from different cultures, resulting in "syncretism and hybridization" (Featherstone, 1995, p. 14). Additionally, cultures may interact with

other cultures in such a way that the outcome is in the form of a transnational culture which transcends nation-state ties. Examples of such cultural forms are Amnesty International and the Roman Catholic Church.

A major concern of this research was also a focus of a recent essay by Robertson (1995), in which he began:

> The leading argument in this discussion is thus centered on the claim that the debate about global homogenization versus heterogenization should be transcended. It is not a question of either homogenization or heterogenization, but rather the ways in which both of these two tendencies have become features of life across much of the late-twentieth-century world. (p. 27)

This study contributes to these ideas by spelling out the ways in which various forms of cuisine have come to coexist.

The Significance of Cultural Intermediaries

Cultural intermediaries are especially crucial to the development of the globalization of culture. Featherstone (1995) observed that

> almost all societies and social entities possess groups of specialists who engage in the production and dissemination of culture. It is possible, then, that our overall sense of the value, meaning, and potential unity or crisis-ridden nature of culture will depend not only on the conditions of social life we find ourselves in, but on the conditions of those who specialize in cultural production as well. Under certain circumstances the power potential of certain groups of cultural specialists
>
> may increase to the extent that particular cultural forms gain greatly in autonomy and prestige. (p.3)

Orwell (1933), in his semi-autobiographical account, Down and Out in Paris and London reflects particularly on the powerful role of the chef as a cultural intermediary: "He knows his power--knows that he alone makes or mars a restaurant He [is] an insufferable bully, but he [is] also an artist" (p. 76).

Cultural intermediaries are individuals who work to "cater for and expand the range of styles and lifestyles available to audiences and consumers" (Featherstone, 1991, p. 26). They "create an audience within the new middle-class and potentially beyond, for new symbolic goods and experiences . . . which could be receptive to some of the sensibilities that are incorporated into and disseminated in postmodernism" (Featherstone, p. 45) within the global cultural context. At the same time, cultural intermediaries must respond to the likes and dislikes of their audiences.

Levenstein (1988, 1993), in his major works on the history of American dietary habits, emphasized the significant influence that cultural intermediaries have played in the transformation of American eating patterns. Both of his works consisted largely of archival research of existing texts and documents and focused particularly on the role that "professional and commercial interest groups play in setting the national dietary agenda: food producers and processors, retailers, physicians, research scientists, faddists, home economists, and political pressure groups" (1993, p. vii). His work considered, to a limited extent, the role of chefs and food writers in influencing what Americans ate, in which capacity he interviewed Julia Child and Craig Claiborne. However, the influence of chefs and food writers was not a focus of his work. Levenstein's work is a validation of Turner's (1992) idea that regimes of regulation are established in regard to the rationalization of the diet in order to control the eating habits of the public. In contrast to Levenstein's work, in this study, the focus was exclusively on chefs and restaurant owners in exploring the relationship between cuisine and globalization.

Increasingly, chefs are prominent public figures. There are books written on the "becoming" or "making of a chef," and autobiographical accounts of famous chefs have

become popular reading (e.g., Dornenburg & Page, 1995; Fitch, 1997; Ruhlman, 1997). Bell and Valentine (1997) observed:

> Professional and amateur chefs are household names, their restaurants given the status of temples of consumption in countless guides and features; food writers, critics, and broadcasters meanwhile show us not only how to cook, but tell us what, when, where, how--and even why--to eat and drink. We might even go so far as to argue that the food media make stars of the foodstuffs themselves, investing in them such cultural capital that they take on meanings far away from mere ingredients, recipes, and dishes. (pp. 5-6)

Freeman (1977) also observed that even poets and philosophers contribute to the construction and development of cuisine as reflected in the preoccupation with food in much of their writings. Mennell (1996) described such a "gastronome" as

> a person who not only cultivates his own refined taste for the pleasures of the table, but also, by writing about it, helps to cultivate other people's too. The gastronome is more than a gourmet--he is also a theorist and a propagandist about culinary tastes. (p. 267)

Mennell clearly viewed chefs, restauranteurs, and those who write about food as critical in shaping consumer preferences. Although Mennell clearly does not subscribe "to the Great Man Theory of culinary history" (p. 345), he specifically referred to the tremendous impact that Careme, Escoffier, and other chefs had in influencing French and global developments in cuisine. However, Mennell emphasized the social context as critical for these chefs to have such an influence.

Furthermore, at the same time that they are influencing what people eat, these cultural intermediaries are maintaining and enhancing their own cultural, social, and material position. The livelihood of this group of cultural intermediaries fully depends upon the success of the cuisine they are promoting. For example, cultural intermediaries may fully exploit multiculturality for their own means. MacClancey (1992) described

"one establishment in suburban Cincinnati recently advertis(ing) itself as 'the Italian restaurant with the Spanish name hosted by the Jewish couple with the Greek partner featuring American steaks, French onion soup, Ecuadoran ceviche, and Swiss fondue" (p. 208). As Bourdieu (1984/1979) pointed out "the correspondence between goods production and taste production . . . [is] the result of the objective orchestration of two relatively independent logics, that of the fields of production and that of the field of consumption (p. 230).

Defining Global and Local Cuisine

Global cuisine may be conceptualized in at least two very distinct ways. First, global cuisine is that which is particular to a given culture, yet clearly identifiable, known, and spread throughout the world through a variety of exchange processes. Second, global cuisine is also that which develops autonomously at a global level independently of traditional exchanges between nation states, but nonetheless by some of the same processes, especially those related to media and migration. Cuisines or various components of cuisine (e.g., particular foods, methods of cooking, ways of eating, etc.) become global as a result of numerous circumstances. These include climate, agriculture, economic and political factors, demographic factors related to in and out migration, and contact with other cultures in the form of trade, tourism, militarism, colonialism, media exchanges, and other informational sorts of exchanges, most recently the Internet.

Within the first conceptualization of global cuisine, cuisines typically either maintain their pure forms or parts of one cuisine become incorporated into the host

cuisine. For example, in Japan, particularly during the Meiji period, there was a crystallization of the separation between Japanese cuisine and Western cuisine, including its presentation in restaurants (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1992; Ritchie, 1992; Seligman, 1994). Japanese words exist to distinguish Japanese cuisine (washoku) from Western cuisine with a Japanese modification (yoshoku).

Cuisines are most often associated with a particular geographical region or nation (see e.g., Bell & Valentine, 1997; Mennell et al., 1992). When these cuisines become known to the rest of the world, in a sense, they become global. As observed by Revel (1982), global cuisine in this first consideration of the term may lose its regional association and become "international cuisine" (p. 214) characterized by both its rootlessness and anonymity across the globe. This he also referred to as "hotel cuisine" (p. 214). Hotel cuisine is prepared by elite chefs and consumed by world travelers. On the other hand, Revel provided another meaning for international cuisine as "Grand Cuisine" (p. 215). He used the examples of Indian curry, Valencian paella, or German sauerkraut to illustrate this type of cuisine. These are regional cuisines that become international

> because the chefs who know it are men who understand its basic principles, and, since they are possessed of an inventive spirit, men who tirelessly seek to exploit these bases to create new dishes. It is also international in the sense that it has the capacity to integrate, to adapt, to rethink, I will say almost to rewrite the recipes of all countries and all regions, or at least those that are amenable to such treatment. (p. 215)

There are some kinds of regional cuisine, however, that Revel (1982) viewed as not capable of export. These are the cuisines that are "a plebeian cuisine and a family cuisine prepared by the mother" (p. 19). It is the type of cuisine that

> has the advantage of being linked to the soil, of being able to exploit the products of various regions and different seasons, in close accord with nature, of being based on age-old skills, transmitted unconsciously by way of imitation and habit, of applying methods of cooking patiently tested and associated with certain cooking utensils and recipients prescribed by a long tradition. (p. 19)

Revel argued that it is only the "erudite cuisine" (p. 19), "based on invention, renewal, experimentation" (p. 19) which is the court cuisine that becomes exportable.

The second notion of global cuisine may be considered in terms of its development as a distinct form of cuisine particular to a postmodern world wherein tradition and innovation transcend conventional historical and geographical boundaries. Cuisines merge into multiple gastronomical outcomes. Appadurai, (1996) in his thesis on the cultural dimensions of globalization, posited that increased flows of media and people are the distinctive features of contemporary modernity. The second definition of global cuisine being considered in this study nicely epitomizes Baudrillard's conception of postmodernism even more so than standard examples that rely heavily on the media for elaboration. Baudrillard's (1983) view of postmodernity, described by Featherstone (1991) as a juxtaposition of bizarre elements, is especially useful for consideration in this context. Various elements from the past combine with elements from the present, and neither is restricted to a particular cultural tradition. Furthermore, in this sense, there is often an ongoing innovative, creative process associated with the development of global cuisine.

In contemporary culinary history, nouvelle cuisine which began in the 1960s is an exemplar of this form of global cuisine. Sokolov (1992) actually referred to nouvelle cuisine as "global cuisine," writing

> The success of this new mode of cooking [i.e., nouvelle cuisine] is a fact of contemporary life. Nouvelle cuisine triumphed in France and then radiated outward throughout Europe, to the United States, and back to Japan. . . . On wings of chic, the new gospel has soared over oceans and continents. Japanese chefs trained in France reign supreme in Manhattan. . . . they are open to ideas from cooking traditions around the world, mixing all the great ethnic and national dishes in a mishmash of eclecticism that is every bit as intricate in its way as were the now-abandoned platters of yesteryear. (p. 225)

Sokolov (1992) further described "new American cuisine" as a combination of "French principles of food preparation, Japanese plate decoration, and regional, folkloric American ingredients" (p. 225). Indeed, this same process has occurred throughout the world and is not restricted to the influence by the three nations upon which Sokolov focuses his discussion.

Most recently, there are increasing trends towards healthier eating and the blending of cuisines from various cultures and times such as French-Thai, Tex-Mex, or Chinese-Cuban (Dornenburg & Page, 1995; Wolf, 1994). These fusion cuisines, as they have come to be known, are making their appearance throughout the world through the role of cultural intermediaries, especially in the form of chefs. Unique to fusion cuisine is its deliberate and proactive mixing of cuisines, rather than a pragmatic or reactive necessity that leads or previously led to the blending of cuisines.

The increased proliferation of these various forms of global cuisine has brought about a nostalgic yearning for cuisines that existed from other times and other places. This response is itself part of a process of globalization, parallel to rising nationalism and ethnic revivalism associated with globalization. Societies are working to rediscover, reclaim, preserve, or recreate their native pasts, oftentimes in response to perceived threats of encroachment and loss. Prewitt (1996) observed that "it is one of the paradoxes

of globalization that as it promotes integration, it frequently leads to the proliferation of difference" (p. 33). For example, there is a re-emergence of traditional native American cuisine, Russian cuisine, and East European cuisine. One of the greatest cultural debates to take place in recent French history actually concerned itself with the invasion of "new cooking" (Gopnik, 1997, p. 150) into traditional French cooking. In response to this perceived "crisis in French cooking," a National Council of Culinary Arts associated with the Ministry of Culture was established. Not surprisingly, these regional movements in cuisine have tremendous global consumer appeal and manifest themselves throughout the world, not content to remain exclusively within their national geographical boundaries. For example, the traditional French bistro is becoming once again an increasingly popular American restaurant.

Why Study Cuisine?

An effort to examine the spread and development of cuisines within the global context is worthy of sociological study in several important respects. First, the explicit focus on cuisine will contribute further to the legitimation of the claims made by those working in the substantive content area of the sociology of food and eating. Cuisine is worthy of study because of the central role that food and eating occupy in social life. In his theory of the basis of human society, Mead (1934) observed that

> The behavior of all living organisms has a basically social aspect: the fundamental biological or physiological impulses and needs which lie at the basis of all such behavior--especially those of hunger and sex, those connected with nutrition and reproduction--are impulses and needs which, in the broadest sense, are social in character or have social implications, since they involve or require social situations or relations for their satisfaction by any given individual organism; and

> they thus constitute the foundations of all types or forms of social behavior. (pp. 227-228)

In the introduction to Old Warsaw Cookbook (1958), Rysia begins with the following passage:

> We may live without poetry, music, and art;
> We may live without conscience and live without heart,
> We may live without friends; we may live without books,
> But a civilized man cannot live without cooks.
> Bulwer Lytton, Edward Robert (p. ix)

Thus, food is unique from the study other cultural objects such as art or architecture because, unlike these other objects, food is absolutely essential for the survival of the species.

Additionally, the study of the globalization of culture as manifested through cuisine is unique from the study of other aspects of social life such as economics, politics, and science. Culture as "symbolic exchanges" are unique from either material or political exchanges in that they

> liberate relationships from spatial referents. Symbols can be produced anywhere and at anytime and there are relatively few resource constraints on their production and reproduction. Moreover, they are easily transportable. Importantly, because they frequently seek to appeal to human fundamentals they can often claim universal significance. (Waters, 1995, p. 3)

As Revel (1982) further observed in regard to fewer constraints, "to as great a degree as sexuality, food is inseparable from imagination" (p. 8).

Second, while the study of cuisine is significant in itself in furthering our understanding of social life in general, the study is especially significant in furthering our understanding of social change in particular, especially as it relates to increasing processes of globalization and the role that cultural intermediaries may play in these

processes. Specifically, this study will contribute to the macrosociolgical study of food and societies through a study of entire cuisines which both Mennell et al. (1992) and Symons (1991), in their extensive overviews of the field, found lacking. At the same time, this study is unique in its microsociological approach, particularly in its focus on cultural intermediaries and its focus on a single urban center. This study is an attempt to examine the global in the local. Third, as Finkelstein (1989) commented in her study of dining out and modern manners,

> the best sociology . . . [is] a nuanced reflection of the obvious and given features of everyday life that has the effect of widening the horizons of individual imagination . . . [and, therefore] enables us to think more about how to conduct ourselves in the public arena and how to sustain our social relations. (p. 19)

It is toward addressing these key concerns within contemporary sociology that the present study is directed.

Moreover, much of what is written or stated about food, eating, and cuisine is largely impressionistic and commonsensical, and controlled by the mass media. Bauman (1990) posed the reflexive question: How is it that sociology is unique from common sense? First, he maintained that sociology must rely on "rigorous rules of responsible speech" (p. 12), being meticulous in making distinctions between evidence and untested hunches. Second, the "size of the field" (p. 12) from which sociology draws requires sociologists to make "intimate linkages between individual biographies and wide social processes" (p. 13). Third, sociology "makes sense of human reality" (p. 13) from its "survey of figurations (networks of dependencies) rather than from individual actors or single actions" (p. 14). Last, sociology forces us to "defamiliarize the familiar" (p. 15), such that "daily ways of life must come under scrutiny" (p. 15). The goal of this research

was to think sociologically about a very common taken for granted aspect of everyday life.

In summary, this study applied cultural theories to the study of cuisine. At a most fundamental level, this study is on the frontier of cultural studies with an emphasis on globalization and postmodernist themes within sociology, both in terms of its subject matter and its theoretical approach. Moreover, Featherstone (1991) pointed out that although there exists an abundance of postmodern theorizing and commentary, little empirical work has actually been performed. Finally, it should be clear that this study is not simply about cuisine, but more importantly, about various forms that globalization may take through the role of cultural intermediaries.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF GLOBAL CUISINE

Overview

Scholarly research in the development of culinary cultures is sparse and typically tends to focus on the development of cuisines, especially in regard to differences in taste, within a particular society or nation-state, even when adopting a cross-cultural comparative approach (Mennell et al., 1992). Such studies usually focus on the development of culinary cultures in terms of the distinctions existing between high and low cuisines within those societies. Few theoretical or empirical studies within the social sciences have attempted to rigorously assess the impact of globalization on the development of culinary cultures. Those that have some relevance to this topic are reviewed in this chapter. Most of the work reviewed in this section, however, does not focus on either globalization or cultural intermediaries as key concepts.

Goody (1982) is a pioneer in the study of the development of cuisines from a historical and cross-cultural comparative perspective. In Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology, Goody compared traditional African societies, Ancient Egypt, India, China, and Western Europe. He maintained that there was no direct relationship between increasing social and political differentiation and the emergence of high and low cuisines. Instead, such distinctions are intimately related to the development and

degree of hierarchy introduced into those systems specifically through the introduction of agricultural modes of production.

Of relevance for the present study, Goody (1982) described the development of a "world cuisine," (p. 154) which he argued came about as a process in which the world system created a demand for industrialized and processed foodstuffs. As a consequence of increased processes of modernization and industrialization, including more efficient means of processing, storing, and transporting food items across great distances, Goody argued that food practices and tastes are becoming increasingly more homogenous throughout the world through the creation of a consumer society by industrial elites. More recently, Belasco (1987), an American historian, identified world cuisine as American cuisine. Belasco argued that the international spread of fast food and processed food is "considered as quintessentially American as Henry Ford's Model T was in the 1920s" (p. 1).

However, as Grignon (1989) pointed out, such arguments are flawed in that they treat the consumer as a passive agent. Furthermore, such a relativist and unidimensional approach as Goody's is simplistic in that it does not take into account the various ways in which goods (including food) are used by individuals. Lastly, as Grignon pointed out, such an approach also tends to discount the variations that indeed actually do exist within societies. Pillsbury (1990), a geographer, documented the diversity between restaurants, including chain restaurants, that exist between regions within the United States. Furthermore, in a recently edited collection of anthropological essays (Watson, 1997) on McDonalds' restaurants located in East Asia, the authors demonstrated the variations that also exist within McDonalds' restaurants between the local cultures. This is clearly an

exemplar of the notion of glocalization taking place where, as defined in the first chapter, global phenomena became tailored to the local culture.

Such criticisms and observations by Grignon, Pillsbury, and these authors writing on McDonalds' restaurants are especially insightful and applicable for the present study. Grignon (1989) raised the issue of the important role that consumers may play in creating demands for cultural goods. For example, within this context, it is useful to revisit Merton's (1957) earlier distinction between cosmopolitans and locals as it applies to the preference for various cuisines. At the time Merton was writing, cosmopolitans were those who were national in their outlook and were more influential in effecting their political and social preferences. The American historian Hays (1980) went further than Merton in his description of urban industrial life in the United States and made the distinction between locals, functionals, and cosmopolitans. In a personal communication, Tennant McWilliams suggested that just as cosmopolitans (global viewpoint, wealthy, powerful, well traveled, sophisticated) are most influential in matters related to political and economic spheres of life, so also might they be most influential in matters related to the cultural spheres. This may be related to their possession of greater capital and knowledge enabling them to be more aware and demanding of particular goods.

Functionals were "supracommunity" (Hays, 1980, p. 309) individuals or groups of individuals who "sought to reach and influence an increasing number of people" (p. 313) in selected types of human relations" (p. 309). Hays wrote about such functionals as political and community interest groups who were part of the local community, but were influenced more by cosmopolitan concerns. Functionals were middle-class professionals who looked at the world through their professional orientation. Chefs may also be

considered a type of functional located in the local social structure but linked with and catering to broader interests and communities.

Indeed, within the United States, Belasco (1987) observed that those individuals who most fully embrace ethnic cuisines are either well-educated, affluent gourmets, paratourists, members of the counterculture, or core ethnics. Education may be a more important factor than simply wealth. For example, in Distinction (1984/1979), Bourdieu found that those who possessed a relatively greater amount of cultural capital related to aesthetic tastes and education and a lesser amount of economic capital were more likely to prefer ethnic cuisine. Revel (1982) made the point that "erudite cuisine from its very inception introduced cosmopolitanism into the art of eating well" (p. 218). In his work on the development of Chinese cuisine as it began in Southern Sung, Freeman (1977) argued that an absolute prerequisite for the development of a cuisine is the presence of a concentrated group of "sophisticated consumers" willing to experience new foods (p. 145).

Hannerz (1990) recently applied Merton's cosmopolitan-local distinction to the global setting. Hannerz observed that "today's cosmopolitans and locals have common interests in the survival of cultural diversity" (pp. 249-250). Cosmopolitans embrace diversity, whereas locals are increasingly able to maintain and "carve out special niches" for their unique cultural heritages. Indeed, Robertson (1992) observed that this ethnic revivalism is a response to and part of the process of globalization.

Nationalism is an especially common feature throughout the contemporary world. It may be that the same or parallel processes that are associated with nationalism are those that are also associated with the return to regional cuisines. It is ironic that both

locals and cosmopolitans, for quite different reasons, embrace this form of cuisine. Different responses by different actors are evoked by the same processes. Symons (1991) elaborated on Lyotard's conception of postmodernism that is related, in particular, to the issue of diversity as it applies to cosmopolitans as "not the mutual annihilation of competing discourses so much as widespread bolstering and tolerance" (p. 321). In a somewhat alternative perspective, Barber (1995) in his book Jihad vs. McWorld, stated that "Jihad pursues a bloody politics of identity, McWorld a bloodless economics of profit. Belonging by default to McWorld, everyone is a consumer; seeking a repository for identity, everyone belongs to some tribe. But no one is a citizen" (p. 8).

Mennell (1996), in All Manners of Food, applied Elias' (1978) notion of the civilizing process to trace the historical development of a refined cuisine in England and France while relying upon the notion of taste. Similar to Levenstein's work (1988, 1993), Mennell relied on archival texts and documents for his research. He described the acquisition and appreciation of finer, subtler tastes and ways of eating as part of larger social processes culminating in the civilizing of appetite. Mennell took into account the mutual influence that each country had on the development of cuisine in the other. His primary concern was with uncovering the reason why a haute cuisine developed in France and not England. He emphasized the unique historical development of the courtly society of France. This development was characterized by an increasing emphasis placed upon the value of refined displays of eating which ultimately resulted in differentiated consumption patterns as the nobility vied for social status. The separation between the aristocracy and royalty remaining in England where the aristocracy retained power did not encourage the emergence of a haute cuisine in England as it did in France.

Mennell (1996) further argued that as a consequence of the French Revolution, chefs who were formerly employed only by the aristocracy began to work in public restaurants. Such a situation resulted in a democratizing process or a diminishing of contrasts between classes because the middle class now had access to aristocratic styles of dining through the emergence of restaurants and as elements of peasant cuisine became incorporated into haute cuisine. Furthermore, Mennell argued that increasing variety takes place within the restaurant as chefs prepared and were exposed to foods that would not otherwise be prepared within the home. As a consequence, individuals were exposed to food choices previously not known or available. Both of these observations are particularly relevant for contemporary society in which increasingly people from all social classes are eating out; never before have so many options been available to the food consumer.

Mennell's (1996) work also is significant for the present study in that, although not a focus of his research, he at least addressed the influence that various nations may have on one another in the development of national cuisines. For example, he described the influence or possible influence that English, Italian, and French cuisine had on each other. For example, from the Renaissance to the French Revolution, Mennell observed, despite their marked differences,

> when speaking of 'English cookery' and 'French cookery', we are not dealing with two entirely separate things; French cookery had an early and continuing influence on English cookery, particularly through English cooks having worked in France and French cooks working for the very wealthiest English families. (p. 102)

In regard to Italy's influence on France, Mennell pointed out that while there is no firm evidence (i.e., written evidence) that Italy influenced French cuisine, there is a popular

belief that Catherine de Medici's cooks exposed the French to Italian cuisine. Another Medici queen was credited with doing so at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Mennell additionally pointed out, based upon Isakovic's work, that Italian "cultural elites" had immigrated to early modern France. These elites may have brought their cuisine with them.

Later, Mennell (1996) pointed out the role that French hegemony of food standards, in large part through the codification of French techniques published in manuals for professional cooks, has had in influencing the cuisines of England, other European nations, the United States, and even Japan. Driver (1983) made the same observation about the hegemony of French standards being established through codification.

Mennell (1996; Mennell et al., 1992) presented the intriguing observation that clearly identifiable cuisines emerged concomitantly with the rise and development of nation states. Such a historical insight is particularly significant for the present study in which the focus is more exclusively on recent twentieth-century history wherein an accentuated "global compression" is taking place such that global cuisine is more likely to emerge and be sustained. Mennell (1996) concluded his major work by observing, "At the close of the twentieth century, it makes diminishing sense to treat the culinary cultures of particular countries as if they could by explained purely by the internal dynamics of nation-states in isolation from one another" (p. 344).

Although the growth of the nation state may have contributed to the consolidation and standardization of a national cuisine, caution must be exercised in making such claims because both a great deal of international cuisines exist and a great deal of regional

variations exist within nations (Bell & Valentine, 1997; Mennell et al., 1992). Contrary to Mennell, as already noted, Revel (1982) argued that no such thing as national cuisines even exist--instead, only regional and "international cuisines" can be found. Pelto and Pelto (1985), in a view similar to Revel, elaborated on the delocalization of food and viewed such occurrences as a sophisticated group of "processes in which food varieties, production methods, and consumption patterns are disseminated throughout the world in an ever increasing and intensifying network of socioeconomic and political interdependency" (p. 309).

In regard to regional cuisines, Appadurai (1988) observed in India that although there may be some basic principles of cuisine that exist throughout the nation, there is much variation between regions. Mennell et al. (1992) described Barlosius' study of German cuisine wherein she likewise concluded that it is difficult to "speak of any single German national culinary culture" (p. 25). The same is true throughout the world, including, the United Kingdom, France, Japan, and the United States. To outsiders, though, these distinctions between regions may not be recognized and cuisine emanating from a region of a single country is simply associated with the nation at large.

Related to regional cuisine and "foreign food," Pillsbury (1998) observed in the case of the United States that America is a land of many cuisines that may be similar to each other and may combine with each other. Nonetheless, he maintained that all of these cuisines remain regionally distinctive. He did not view "foreign food" as significantly affecting "the traditional American kitchen" (p. 63). This is in direct contrast to Gabaccia's (1998) work which described the tremendous impact that ethnic cuisine, both

native and immigrant, has had on influencing American eating beliefs and behavior throughout history and across regions.

The development of unique cuisines is related to particular historical, social, and economic circumstances. In a recent essay on the civilizing of appetite, Mennell (1991) described the ways in which food preferences that influence the shape of the body vary according to these economic circumstances. For example, in contemporary relatively affluent societies, there is a tremendous obsession with the avoidance of obesity. This obsession has historically been more apparent in the middle and upper classes. In contrast, in earlier times or in less affluent societies, obesity is viewed as a desirable sign of wealth. Hence, food served in contemporary restaurants may be those that could potentially produce a desired physical outcome.

An important insight to be gleaned from Mennell's ideas is that taste is not static. Preferences may change over time and may vary depending upon the social and historical context and the social field within which one is engaged. This is a point that Bourdieu made in his discussion of habitus and taste, but one that is often missed by some of his readers who focus more exclusively on that aspect of habitus that emphasizes the reproduction of social structure. Taste is dependant upon one's shared habitus with others. For Bourdieu (1984/1979), habitus is the unconscious predisposition to both generate and differentiate tastes and preferences for cultural goods. Taste is based upon one's life experiences and sense of what is appropriate for a particular lifestyle. This is most often, but not exclusively, dependant upon one's membership within a given class. For example, in regard to food, Bourdieu found that the French working class is much more likely to consume substantive, hearty meals, whereas, in contrast, the middle class

is more likely to consume light meals as a reflection of their greater concern with the refinement of taste. As such, food is used by the middle class as a marker or distinction of higher tastes. The point that is often missed, though, is that it is precisely the generation of new distinctive tastes that ensure the continuity and reproduction of existing social structures. Otherwise, tastes would become so diffuse that distinctions between groups would become virtually nonexistent. Mennell (1996) quoted Escoffier in regard to the process of refinement as it relates to cuisine: "Tastes are constantly being refined, and cooking is refined to satisfy them" (p. 165).

Symons (1991) pointed out that Bourdieu (1984/1979) and Mennell (1996) stand out among intellectuals interested in the study of food because of the emphasis that they both placed on taste as a socially constructed explanation for food consumption choices. Although Bourdieu's analysis focuses only on French society, the implications of his theoretical insights are useful for application in a global setting. Bourdieu (1984/1979) has had a great impact upon legitimizing the sociological study of food in large part because of his treatise on aesthetic preferences and class as elaborated on in Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Bourdieu rejected commonly held subjectivist notions of taste, including food preferences, as idiosyncratic features unique to particular individuals. Rather, Bourdieu viewed the development of taste as an imminently social phenomenon. Specifically, Bourdieu viewed the process of acquiring taste as essentially the structural outcome of the continual struggle that takes place between groups in their ongoing quest for symbolic markers of distinction.

Bourdieu's (1984/1979) use of food as a cultural good is an especially illustrative case of the all-encompassing nature of habitus. For example, as Featherstone (1990)

pointed out, habitus is not simply that which is evident in one's everyday perception of reality. Habitus is also evident as it becomes markedly reflected in the individual's body. In essence, "class taste is embodied" (p. 90). Hence, habitus both influences and is reflected in preferences for cuisines, which, in turn, become expressed in the body. What one eats and the way one eats becomes transformed into the physical body, where both the actual eating and the body are simultaneously a reflection and reproduction of habitus.

It is especially useful to consider Bourdieu's (1984/1979) notion of habitus as it relates to the global setting. Featherstone (1991) suggested that this may be problematic because, in his interpretation of Bourdieu, globalization may represent a threat to the "cultural logic" of lifestyle activities which are dependant upon internal societal-level social structures. Featherstone further elaborated that, for Bourdieu, increasing processes of globalization may blur the meaning assigned to cultural goods and make difficult the process of distinctively marking goods in order to establish and maintain social distances. Such arguments are primarily bound to distinctions existing between classes.

It may be the case, however, as Featherstone (1990) suggested in another essay, that perhaps a new form of habitus exists for some in the form of a global culture. Habitus may not be confined by geography. Indeed, Cockerham, Rutten, and Abel (1995), based upon their reading of The Logic of Practice, pointed out that "internationalization of the same structures and common schemes of perception and appreciation produce the same or similar sets of distinctive signs or tastes; consequently there is a wide-spread sharing of a class-based world view" (p. 12). Hence, habitus and class may transcend national geographical boundaries. Indeed, Domzal and Kernan (1993) found that special groups of consumers, including the economically elite and the post-World

War II generation, are especially susceptible to the influence of globalizing tendencies in a postmodern world.

Bourdieu's (1984/1979) notions of social, economic, and cultural capital are useful for application to the study of cuisine in the global setting. For Bourdieu, that group which possesses the greatest amount of capital in the form of economic, social, and cultural capital is the group with the greatest power to define what constitutes higher and refined food tastes. In recent history, it has been the French who have defined what constitutes high cuisine in the global society. This is, in large part, most likely related to their possession of greater cultural capital (e.g., as reflected and reproduced in French cooking schools and by French chefs) (Mennell, 1996). Mennell's work was an effort to "understand the creation of tastes and the diffusion of food traits and attitudes in relation to power struggles and shifting power ratios" (p. 345). More recently, however, it has been the Japanese that have had one of the greatest influences on cuisine throughout the world. Mennell also noted the ascendance of Japan and East Asia. The notion of Asian minimalism as it applies to the aesthetic presentation of food has had a significant impact upon global culinary movements. This may be related to Japan's more recent possession of relatively greater economic, social, and cultural capital within the global community. Indeed, Featherstone (1990) ended his discussion of global culture by focusing specifically on Japan as a "major global presence" (p. 12).

The possession of economic, social, and cultural capital all are significant. For example, as Anjan Chatterjee (personal communication, 1995) observed, at the same time that Japan has become an economic leader, so has Germany, yet German cuisine has not had such an impact upon global food preferences as has Japan. Japanese food is

characterized by both an especially greater aesthetic appeal and a more healthy form of food than that of German food. It is interesting to note that, as Cockerham (1995) pointed out in summarizing the observations on global culture, it is the Western European-North American culture that is the "most prevalent global culture today" (p. 91). This may not necessarily be the case, especially in regard to particular aspects of culture. Another aspect of this related to class differences is observed by Warde (1997). He suggested that "it is possible that class differences in one field of consumption are declining while in another they are increasing" (p. 19). It is not simply an economic matter. One might speculate that changes regarding the definition of high cuisine reflect a shift in power regarding the relative possession of some combination of cultural, social, and economic capital. This is important because seemingly apolitical matters related to cuisine may indeed reflect power relations within the larger global context.

Symons' (1991) primary contribution to this discussion is his emphasis on "global cuisine" (or some other similar term) as both a reflection of and a contributor to the globalization of culture. This view of cuisine is central to the ongoing sociological debate regarding the relationship between culture and the social world. Symons observed that "there are ways that culture can be seen to be 'expressive' of food; there are good reasons to argue that our very thinking follows our cuisines. . . . society and culture are similarly 'constituted as well as represented' by cuisine" (p. 5).

Additionally, Symons (1991) attributed the spread of nouvelle cuisine as the predominant form of cuisine in the Western world and Australia to the publication of recipe books, the growth of restaurants, and the awareness of the developments and changes associated with nouvelle cuisine by chefs from around the world. He observed

that the success of nouvelle cuisine is directly related to "a world of corporate expansion, vastly more sophisticated transport, and even postmodern rationality" (p. 256).

Also of significance is Symons' (1991) speculation that "lack of coherence might even be the hallmark of a global style [of cuisine]. Constant innovation might indicate the shattering of ideal controls. The routinisation of change and uncertainty might give food a disorientingly eclectic or even 'postmodern' look" (p. 299). The taxonomy for global cuisine may be precisely located in this observation of Symons. Fischler (1980) claimed that contemporary gastronomy may be better thought of as "gastro-anomy" increasingly characterized by its lack of normative structure. It may be, however, that this is normative in itself--that is, that either there are no rules or, more likely, that the rules ought to change constantly.

Both Symons (1991) and Featherstone (1995) emphasized that there is an increasing romanticism that is associated with the rise of a middle-class lifestyle within the contemporary global setting. Heavily influenced by Weber's (1958/1905) seminal work regarding the relationship between the Protestant work ethic and the rise of capitalism, Campbell (1987) developed the notion that the rise of consumption and demand for new goods occurred concomitantly with the rise of an ethic of romanticism. Romanticism in this context views consumption as an activity one engages in simply for the sheer enjoyment and indulgence of experiencing innovative and creative objects. This is not the same as Veblen's (1899) notion of "conspicuous consumption." For example, Symons (1991) emphasized the significance of presentation in new cuisine and the "outrageous-seeming food combinations" (p. 257). He described this new cuisine as

"fresh, light, quickly-cooked, international, novelty-seeking" (p. 259). As such, some cuisines are more reflective of this romantic inclination than others.

In contrast, another tendency taking place throughout the world that is important for consideration in this overview is the observation that individual societies are becoming increasingly more oriented towards formal rationality. Ritzer (1997) observed this movement towards formal rationality, which he referred to as the McDonaldization of society, as a phenomenon which emphasizes efficiency, calculability, predictability, substitution of nonhuman for human technology, and control over uncertainty. The tremendous rise in recent history of nouvelle cuisine and fast food restaurants around the world, though seemingly quite different processes, may both actually reflect a movement towards a greater reliance being placed upon normative expectations for increased rationality, in large part as a consequence of both modernization and globalization.

On the concept of formal rationality, Cockerham, Abel, and Lueschen (1993) combined various themes in Weber's work--namely those of formal rationality and lifestyles--in order to account for individual health behavior. These theorists observed that formal rationality is increasingly eclipsing substantive rationality as the dominant form of thought in today's postmodern societies. Formal rationality refers to the most rational means of achieving goals, whereas substantive rationality refers to the achievement of an idealized goal. As individuals become more knowledgeable in matters related to health and as they increasingly desire greater control over personal health decisions and choices, formal rationality takes over to guide individual behavior. For example, in regard to eating behavior, it would be expected that persons would eat nutritiously in

order to accomplish the specific goals of living longer, staying healthy, or attaining a particular bodily form.

The same argument that these theorists propose for individual decisions might just as easily apply to societal-level food choices. For example, recent changes in global food habits may be a reflection of an increased awareness of the direct relationship that exists between eating behavior and health, particularly in more developed nations, and an increased awareness of the nutritional benefit of cuisines from other cultures. Within the global context, there has been a marked trend toward the development of new blended cuisines that are nutritionally better than those of the more traditional local cuisines. For example, Mennell (1996), relying on Gault and Millau's 10 commandments published in their French magazine and culinary guides, described several characteristics that reflect a shift toward increased health consciousness in the earlier development of French nouvelle cuisine, which includes the use of steaming as a method of cooking, the elimination of rich and heavy sauces, and an explicit emphasis on the dietetic implications of food choices. Mennell attributed the rediscovery of steaming food to the influence of Chinese cuisine. These same characteristics persist and appear in different forms of cuisine in today's world.

The increasing reliance placed upon formal rationality, particularly in regard to efficiency, is reflected in the significantly decreased amount of time required for both food preparation and acquisition. For example, Mennell (1996) noted that an additionally salient feature of French nouvelle cuisine is the emphasis placed upon shorter cooking time. The same observation can be made for nouvelle cuisine and fast food throughout the world.

The spread of particular cuisines throughout the world may be linked to the spread of larger cultural themes which may either complement or contrast with each other. As just discussed, the globalization of cuisine may be related to increasing concern for healthy lifestyles, formal rationality, and romanticism in the global setting. In addition, there is also an increasing global concern with risks associated with modernity and contemporary global conditions, including risks associated with the consumption of particular foods (Beck, 1992; Fischier, 1988b; Giddens, 1991; Lupton, 1996). Giddens likened modernity to a "double-edged sword" characterized by both opportunities and risks. Similarly, Fischler described the "omnivore's paradox" as follows: "On the one hand needing variety, the omnivore is inclined towards diversification, innovation, vital to its survival; but on the other hand, it has to be careful, mistrustful, conservative in its eating: any new food is a potential danger" (p. 277).

Theories of consumption related specifically to food have been developed by Douglas (1984). In The World of Goods, Douglas and Isherwood (1980) maintained that goods (including food) are used as markers by individuals to convey meanings about themselves to others. Furthermore, the particular use of goods conveys meaning about the nature of one's social relationships. In this sense, goods are used to create symbolic markers or boundaries between both groups and individuals. For example, individuals and groups must be able to know how to correctly use goods and discuss goods. For Douglas and Isherwood, both the avid sports enthusiast and the wine connoisseur, set themselves apart from others by their knowledge of how to appropriately appreciate their object of consumption and how to speak the language related to the particular activity of consumption.

Douglas and Isherwood (1980) maintained that the use of goods by various consumption classes are directly related to the amount of time spent engaged in the consumption of particular goods. Specifically, they described three sets of goods whose use helps define consumption classes: a staple set linked with the primary production sector (including food), a technology set linked with the secondary production sector (including travel and consumer's capital equipment), and an information set linked with tertiary production (including education, information, arts, etc.). Poorer persons are confined to the use of staple goods because of their lack of income. As a consequence, they have more expendable time. Conversely, persons who earn more are able to consume more from the technology and information set. Such consumption requires a great investment of time in order for one to consume competently. It is essential that one be able to judge appropriately. Douglas and Isherwood's arguments are somewhat similar to Bourdieu's (1984/1979) arguments. For example, they both maintained that in order for consumption activities to continue, individuals must invest much in cultural capital. In addition, individuals work to exclude others from participation in higher level consumption activities, thereby maintaining symbolic boundaries between groups or classes. Douglas and Isherwood's ideas require some modification for the contemporary world. This is because food or cuisine has increasingly come to be linked with the information set as an art form or luxury item rather than simply a staple item.

Cuisine is one way in which groups and individuals set themselves apart from others. As Lupton (1996) observed:

> Food and culinary practices thus hold an extraordinary power in defining the boundaries between "us" and "them." A study of British newspaper reports of the debates over Britain joining the European Community (the EEC as it was then)

> found that the articles often used stereotypes of food habits as one way of defining British national identity against those of other European nations. A particularly vitriolic anti-French piece published in the *Sun* newspaper in 1990 made references to the French "flood[ing] our country with dodgy food", burn[ing] alive British lambs", having garlic breath, falsely claiming that British beef had mad cow disease and introducing their "foul soft cheese," allegedly "riddled with listerial bugs" into Britain (Hardt-Mautner, 1995:188). It was frequently alleged in news reports that participation in the EC, with consequent conforming to European food legislation, would mean the end of the traditional British sausage: the Agricultural Minister was quoted in the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper as declaring, "I like British sausages and I am damned if I am going to have anyone else's sausages" (pp.180-1). (p. 26)

The food-related debate currently taking place within the European Community revolves around developing a standardized definition of chocolate.

Conversely, cuisine is one way in which groups and individuals may come together. Similar to Fischler's previously cited thesis, Ohnuki-Tierney (1993) observed that "commensality . . . is a crucial cultural institution whereby, people who eat together become 'we,' as opposed to 'they,' and the food shared becomes a metaphor for the social group" (p. 9). In her analysis of rice as a metaphor for the Japanese self, Ohnuki-Tierney did not restrict her use of commensality to its literal meaning in the sense of requiring others' presence for meaning to be shared. Rather, and more important, it is the partaking of the same food that is symbolically imbued with the same meaning for each actor that is of most significance in defining the group. For Ohnuki-Tierney, the focus was exclusively on rice. The metaphor also might be extended to entire cuisines. Jewish kosher food is perhaps the best example of such a type of cuisine.

Summary

Consumers play an important role in creating demands for cultural goods (Grignon, 1989; Griswold, 1994). This is particularly true of cuisine. Indeed, Freeman (1977) maintained that the development of cuisine requires the supportive presence of a concentrated group of cosmopolitans. Nation-states and processes that take place within and between them also influence the development of cuisine. Although regional variations exist within a country, such variations are often associated with the country as a whole. In addition, various countries who prior to the formation of nation-states were linked by geography and some common ethnic or religious tie (e.g., Eastern Europe) may still share similar cuisines (Chamberlain, 1989).

Social classes likewise influence the development of cuisine in as much as the consumption of particular cuisines are associated with particular groups (Bourdieu, 1984/1979; Mennell, 1996). Particular tastes and preferences (i.e., heavy foods--working class; light foods--upper middle class) are used as forms of cultural capital (Bourdieu). Taste in food is related to a class-based habitus. Food consumption is socially constructed. Tastes are not static, so preferences may change over time (Mennell, 1991, 1996). However, the next generation of new tastes is a refinement of present tastes and thereby ensures the continuity and reproduction of existing structures through these food and eating practices. Thus, cuisine reproduces group-oriented tastes in eating.

Internationalization of the same structures and common schemes of perception produce a widespread sharing of a common world view reflected in habitus that transcends geographical boundaries. The globalizing of culture includes tastes and preferences in cuisine. The group (e.g., French, American, Japanese) which has the greatest

cultural capital in matters of cuisine may also have the greatest power to define food tastes. This power to define food tastes is typically exercised through the role of prominent chefs. Whereas we know a great deal about relevant consumers, national groups, and social classes that influence the development of cuisine through their respective tastes, with the exception of Mennell's (1996) historical work on France and England, we know almost nothing about how chefs serve as cultural intermediaries and producers in this process.

A Statement of the Research Problem

The remainder of the chapter provides the theoretical perspectives which motivated this research, a statement of the research problem, and an overview of the organization of the remaining chapters. Before going into detail, a short note on methodology appears appropriate.

A Note on Methodology

Initially, this study was driven primarily by the use of an inductive method for application to questionnaire data. The inductive method was initially described by Znaniecki (1952, pp. 160, 169). Znaniecki (1952) observed:

> The evolution of inductive science, as we know, proceeded differently. Instead of trying to make all knowledge logically consistent, the scientist, when starting an investigation, limited his task to the solution of a specific problem raised by the lack of logical consistency between certain existing generalizations when applied to particular empirical data or facts, and subjected these data or facts to a more thorough study. His problem was solved if he discovered among these data or facts some order hitherto unknown and, on the basis of this discovery, substituted for previous generalizations a new generalization which proved more valid when tested by empirical evidence. . . . Search for an order hitherto unknown became,

> thus, a source of scientific problemization. The development of scientific knowledge progressed by new discoveries rather than by new inventions, although later discoveries were often made possible only by inventions which enabled scientists to observe phenomena hitherto inaccessible to observation. (p. 160)

However, a pure form of inductive reasoning is difficult if possible at all. Znaniecki did recognize the problem encountered with using analytic induction. On this background and with the use of deductive reasoning, this study applied the general theoretical frameworks of Robertson (1992, 1995) and Featherstone (1991, 1995) in such a way as had never been done to provide empirical support for their ideas and to make sense of the ways in which globalization may assume a plurality of forms. An analytical inductive approach was used to guide the acquisition of the quantitative data in order to provide descriptive data of these forms and in order to ultimately get a better understanding of these previously uninvestigated theories. The theoretical generalizations presented by these two theorists were applied in this study in an effort to describe and explain cuisine, globalization, and the role of cultural intermediaries. Based upon these theories, a set of concepts was defined initially. This study sought to verify the existence of these concepts.

A deductive methodological approach also was employed in regard to the second set of concepts exploring the ways in which larger global cultural themes affect the development of cuisine. This same approach was used to explore chefs and their role in contemporary society. This study began with some general notions regarding the ways in which concerns with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism influence the development or maintenance of cuisine. Data was collected from interviews with chefs to support or refute these general ideas. The same deductive approach was

used to examine the role of the chef in contemporary society. To some extent, this study also employed an inductive logical though process. This occurred when specific observations were revealed in the data that had not been considered prior to the initiation of the study. Interesting data was uncovered that required transformation into general sociological theorizing.

A more phenomenological approach was adopted for use with the qualitative data. A reliance upon expert opinion and self-insights gathered from self-perceptions were used to describe cuisine and globalization from the everyday experiences and life world of the chef. This study was not an exercise in the testing and application to the real world of experience rigorous theoretical models developed based upon the assumptions regarding the rational, scientific, objective, "facts" of social life. This study is not hypothesis driven. Rather, this study was guided by basic scientific principles of exploration and inspection, similar to those described by Blumer (1969) in reference to symbolic interactionism. Though Blumer did not describe himself as a phenomenologist, his approach to sociological study was that of a phenomenologist. For Blumer, symbolic interactionism was a model of empirical science in which the approach to scientific inquiry is guided by exploration and inspection. Furthermore, this study adopted a Weberian approach to sociological inquiry. Weber (1964) viewed sociology as "that science which aims at the interpretive understanding (Verstehen) of social behavior in order to gain an explanation of its causes, its courses, and its effects" (p. 29). A phenomenological approach was adopted for use in this study in that exploration, insight, and understanding was gained from those who are most intimately involved in that which is being studied. Chefs who work to create cuisine will be relied upon as the experts in

describing what they view as happening with cuisine from their own perspective. This study was guided by theory, but it is not a "test" of theory. This research was an effort to explain some particular aspects of human behavior.

The first aspect of the theories of Robertson and Featherstone to be considered involve actual processes of globalization and the ways in which these processes become manifest in types of cuisine. Processes of globalization described by Robertson and Featherstone's are presented in Figure 1. The relationship between these processes and different forms of cuisine are also indicated in Figure 1.

Process	Type of cuisine
homogeneity/universality/particularization of universalism	mixed
heterogeneity/difference/universalization of particularism	endogenous exogenous
syncretism/hybridization/transnationalism	fusion

Figure 1. Processes of globalization and type of cuisine. The first two processes of globalization presented in this figure were described by Robertson (1992) in his major formulation of globalization theory, Globalization: Social theory and global culture. More recently, he (1995) has considered a substitution of the term glocalization for globalization to describe similar processes. Featherstone (1990, 1991, 1995) refers to syncretism and other such terms to describe transnational cultural forms. In a personal communication, Robertson (1998) preferred the use of the term fusion to describe the process, as well as the form.

The second aspect of globalization theory addressed in this study is taken up more directly by Featherstone. Featherstone (1995) argued that cultural specialists are crucial to the development and production of culture. Furthermore, Featherstone observed that in

contemporary societies, there is an emergence of autonomous cultural spheres wherein certain cultural specialists have the potential to considerably influence the lives of a large and diverse consumer culture. This is especially true in regard to the globalization of culture in postmodern times. Moreover, the existence, concerns, and influence of cultural intermediaries are continent upon social and historical conditions.

Based upon the findings presented in the introduction and review of the literature and the theories selected for guiding this study, two general propositions were formulated and several research questions were posed.

First Proposition

Simply stated, the first proposition is that there will exist a diversity of cuisines in the global cultural center of Atlanta: (a) endogenous cuisine, (b) exogenous cuisine, (c) mixed cuisine consisting of endogenous combined with exogenous cuisine, and (d) fusion cuisine consisting of two or more exogenous cuisines.

Atlanta as a global city. Atlanta was chosen for several reasons. First, Sassen (1991), King (1990), and Featherstone (1990), in their focus on the globalization of culture, all emphasized the significance of global cultural centers in the form of particular "world cities." Sassen defined "global cities" as "sites for a) the production of specialized services needed by complex organizations for running a spatially dispersed network of factories, offices, and service outlets; and b) the production of financial innovations and the making of markets, both central to the internationalization and expansion of the financial industry" (p. 5). Sassen also observed that "global cities" are

conducive to the fostering of a particular lifestyle wherein a demand is created for restaurants, especially new, "expensive," and "elegant restaurants" (p. 273). Global cities are most likely to be the sites where global cuisine makes its appearance wherein cosmopolitan persons most likely to consume global cuisines are concentrated. It is also from these cities that various aspects of culture, including cuisine, are likely to emanate to the rest of the country and the rest of the world. Because it is often proposed that the homogenizing features of globalization spread to and emanate from these centers, it is of great interest to see the degree of diversity existing in Atlanta.

Atlanta was selected because of its recent rise to global prominence. In 1880, Atlanta called itself "the Gateway of the South" (Thomas, 1995, p. 18). By the early 1970s, the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce began using the slogan, "Atlanta--The World's Next International City" (Thomas, p. 18). This slogan was discontinued when it was announced that Atlanta would host the 1996 World Olympics.

Atlanta is the headquarters for several national and international corporate, financial, communication, and travel industries (Thomas, 1995; Zenfell, 1996). It is the homebase for CocaCola Company, United Parcel Services Incorporated (the world's largest package delivery company), Georgia Pacific Corporation (the country's largest forest producing company), Home Depot (an expanding building supply retailer), and Southern Company (the country's largest share-holder-owned electric utility company). More than 400 of the nation's largest 500 companies have branch offices in Atlanta designed to serve the Southeast (Zenfell, p. 81). In addition, the metropolitan area is a center of international business with over 750 foreign companies based in Atlanta (Zenfell, p. 81).

Atlanta is the financial headquarters for the Sixth District Federal Reserve Bank and the Fifth District Federal Home Loan Bank. The city is a global center for communications and electronics, including being the homebase for Turner Broadcasting System, producer of CNN (the world's only 24-hour news broadcast). Atlanta is also the homes for Scientific-Atlanta (a leader in the maker of cable television equipment and earth stations) and Hayes Microcomputer Products (a worldwide producer of communication modems), and is also the Southeasts's hub for IBM and AT&T.

Atlanta is a center for travel and tourism. It is the main travel headquarters for Delta AirLine Incorporated (the 3rd largest airline) and the site of the nation's second busiest airport, Hartsfield Atlanta's International Airport. Additionally, Atlanta is the headquarters for Holiday-Inn Worldwide and Ritz-Carlton.

Atlanta is also a center for education. Emory University, Georgia Tech, and Georgia State University all are located in Atlanta. These educational institutions lead to broader thinking within the community.

Atlanta is also the headquarters for the United States Public Health Services Centers for Disease Control, the American Cancer Society, the Boys and Girls Club of America, and CARE. In 1990, Atlanta had a central city population of 394,017 with a composition of 67.1% Black, 1.9% Hispanic, and 3.4% foreign-born (Mohl, 1997). Thus, it may well be argued that Atlanta has become the southern metropolis of the United States.

The greater Atlanta area is also becoming recognized for its production of specialized consumer services, including restaurants. Esquire (Mariani, 1998) magazine

gave an honorable mention to Atlanta in its ranking of the top 10 list of America's best restaurant cities. The criteria for inclusion in the list were

> a goodly number of deluxe restaurants that rank with the finest in the world, more than one chef who is regarded among his [sic] peers as an innovator and an inspiration, strength in every price category, authentic ethnic food, and an endogenous cuisine that makes eating out in, say, New Orleans a much different experience than eating out in Boston or San Francisco. (Mariani, pp. 111-112)

This is the first year Atlanta was mentioned. The reasons why it did not make the top 10 list included "too many chain restaurants, nowhere to eat downtown, and no endogenous food culture of the kind you find in New Orleans--which it needs to rank higher" (Mariani, p. 112).

Second Proposition

The second proposition to be explored is that the type of cuisine served in Atlanta restaurants will be affected by varying characteristics of cultural intermediaries. It was not known a priori the precise ways in which factors that vary among cultural intermediaries may affect cuisine outcomes. Within the restaurant and catering industry, "cooks and chefs as a group are under-researched although there is a range of literature about cooking and waiting occupations" (Beardsworth & Keil, 1997, p. 112). Some characteristics of cultural intermediaries that potentially could influence cuisine outcome, specifically type of cuisine, include birthplace, ethnicity, nationality, age, gender, and training of the restaurant owner, head chef, or cook.

The exploration of these propositions will contribute to the literature on globalization by providing empirical evidence to assess its direction and the ways in which cultural intermediaries influence these processes depending upon their unique charac-

teristics. Insights gained from an exploration of these propositions will contribute to the understanding of the emerging postmodern world by demonstrating that processes of globalization take different forms, even within those places thought to be most homogenous. Furthermore, processes of globalization are influenced significantly by those who are in positions to affect cultural outcomes. Globalization does not necessarily lead to cultural universality and integration. Indeed, globalization may actually lead to increasing particularism or some other unique outcomes.

Several Research Questions

Several research questions were formulated to shed additional light on the intricacies that different forms of globalization may take and why. First, how might we characterize or describe these different forms of cuisine within the context of the current debate regarding the nature of globalization? Specifically, do contemporary forms of cuisine reflect or contribute to either homogenizing or heterogenizing tendencies or something beyond which either of these tendencies capture? This first question stems directly from the work of Robertson and Featherstone. Responses to this question will help to spell out the ways in which cuisine "pluralism" becomes manifest.

Second, what is particular about this time in history that has given rise to the persistence, emergence or development of these unique and coexisting forms of cuisine? Specifically, how have larger global themes, namely concerns with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism, influenced or how have they been influenced by the development of different forms of cuisine as mediated through the role of chefs? This second question does not come out of the works of Robertson and

Featherstone with the exception of romanticism, which Featherstone (1995) dealt with at some length. This question has the potential to inform the theories of Robertson and Featherstone by exploring why and how different global themes are associated with particular global cultural outcomes.

Last, in what capacity do chefs perform as cultural intermediaries in the globalization and development of cuisine? Specifically, what is the role of the chef in contemporary society? This last question stems directly from the work of Featherstone on cultural intermediaries, but more specifically focuses on the multiple roles that a single intermediary may play in influencing multiple outcomes.

An Overview of the Organization of the Remaining Chapters

Chapter 3 includes a discussion of the methods used to address the propositions and research questions presented in this chapter. Chapter 4 presents findings based upon the survey responses of Atlanta restaurant owners and managers and specifically addresses the general propositions. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present findings based upon the interviews with leading chefs throughout the United States. Chapter 5 elaborates on contemporary forms of cuisine. Chapter 6 addresses larger global themes and the development of cuisine as mediated through the role of chefs. Chapter 7 describes in detail the role of the chef in contemporary society. Chapter 8 contains some concluding remarks and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This study employed both quantitative and qualitative methods in an effort to explore the globalization of cuisine and the role that cultural intermediaries play in this process. A study was conducted of restaurant owners and chefs in the cultural center of Atlanta and of leading chefs throughout the United States.

Quantitative Research Design

A mail questionnaire (Appendix A) was conducted with a simple random sample of 500 restaurant owners or managers in Atlanta. The questionnaire included items related to type of cuisine served; background characteristics of the owner and head chef or cook, including birthplace, ethnicity, nationality, age, gender, and training; characteristics of the restaurant; and motivations for opening the restaurant.

The unit of analysis was the individual restaurant. The sampling frame from which the simple random sample of individual restaurants was drawn was a telephone directory. The use of telephone directories has been successfully employed in the study of restaurants by organizational ecologists within the United States (Freeman & Hannan, 1983) and geographers throughout North America (Zelinsky, 1985).

A modification of the Total Design Method outlined by Dillman (1978) was used in this study. Five-hundred questionnaires were mailed out. One week later, a postcard

was sent out reminding everyone to complete the questionnaire. Three weeks later, a letter and replacement questionnaire were sent to nonrespondents. Seven weeks later, a final mailing was sent out to nonrespondents. Dillman recommended that the final mailing be sent certified mail; however, because of budgetary constraints this final mailing was sent via first class mail.

A sequential design option is sometimes used to reduce the nonresponse rate (Groves, 1989). As suggested by Grove (1989), because of the low response rate for the mailout and the fixed resources of this project, an alternative design was added to this study that took into account survey errors associated with nonresponse and survey costs associated with conducting a mailout versus telephone survey. The response rate for the mailout was low (24.1%); hence follow-up with telephone interviews were conducted. At least two telephone contacts were made with someone in the restaurant requesting participation in the survey.

Response Rate

Findings are based upon 224 completed questionnaires. The sample consisted of 500 restaurants; however, at the time of the survey, 73 (15.0%) restaurants had died. This represents a within-range rate of mortality for restaurants. Fine (1995) observed that "restaurants have a short life expectancy, with some claiming that 20 percent close within a year and that half close within five years" (p. 11). Thus, the denominator used to calculate the response rate was 427. Only 62 (14.5%) of respondents flatly refused to participate. An additional 139 (32.6%) of restaurants were contacted two times. At both contacts, the investigator was instructed to "call back." These "call backs" were counted

as soft refusals. Thus, the response rate for this study was 52.0%. This is generally considered a moderate response rate; however, given the occupational structure of the restaurant industry and the busy nature of the restaurant industry, 52.0% may be a reasonable response rate.

Relevance of This Method

The use of this method allowed for description of the proposition regarding diversity and types of cuisine and for exploration of the proposition regarding the relationship between type of cuisine served and characteristics of cultural intermediaries. The type of cuisine served at each restaurant was based upon responses by the restaurant manager or owner to the question asked regarding type of cuisine served. Reliance upon the owner or manager for provision of questionnaire responses was appropriate because, within the restaurant regardless of size, it is one of these individuals who is most knowledgeable of the overall restaurant operation (Whyte, 1947, 1948, 1949). Cuisine was categorized according to type of cuisine based upon subjects' responses.

Rationale for the Selection of Restaurant Cuisine to Study Cuisine

Cuisine was operationalized primarily through the study of restaurant cuisine. Restaurants are a major way in which cuisines from one culture spread to another (Mennell, 1996; Revel, 1982; Symons, 1991). Furthermore, in her explicit study of restaurants, Finkelstein (1989) pointed out, "Dining out, irrespective of it being in a fast food chain restaurant or an exclusive bistro, has become a common feature of modern sociality and a part of the individual's repertoire of leisure pursuits" (p. 109). In 1989,

Americans spent 46% of the money that they allocate on food in restaurants or take-out establishments and consumed 3.8 meals per week in a restaurant (Waldrop, 1992, p. 55). Pillsbury (1990) observed that "the restaurant has unwittingly become a symbol of contemporary life. . . . it clearly has become a mirror of ourselves, our culture, and our new geography" (p. 10). The year 1999 has been designated within the United States as the year of the restaurant.

Data Management and Analyses

Questionnaire responses were coded and entered into the computer using SPSS 7.5 for Windows (1997). Data were analyzed using SPSS 7.5 for Windows (1997).

Descriptive statistics were used to summarize the sample, including types of cuisine served and the varying characteristics of the restaurant and restaurant owners and head chef. The propositions were explored using a simple frequency analysis of type of cuisine. Additionally, the extent of diversity among restaurants was examined. Diversity was operationalized using a formula developed by Gibbs and Martin (1962) to measure industry diversification. The formula is simply:

$$1-[\Sigma X^2/(\Sigma X)^2]$$

where X is the specific number of types of cuisine served in each of the restaurants based upon type of cuisine reported by respondents. Where there is no diversity, the measure is .0000. Where there is maximum diversity, the measure is .8889. For example, if nine out of nine restaurants served soul food, the measure would be .0000. Conversely, if nine different cuisines were served at each of the nine restaurants, the measure would be .8889.

The Gibbs and Martin formula is inappropriate for use when X is less than nine because even when maximum diversity exists, the measure would never be equal to .8889. The formula was initially developed for use to measure industry diversification. Therefore, somewhat large numbers were being considered. Although a case could be made to measure diversification for each of the types of cuisine, this is not feasible because some of the categories may have too few types of cuisine. Diversity of cuisine will be measured across all categories.

Cross-tabulations using chi square and one-way analysis of variance were used to test group differences between type of cuisine served. The dependant variable in this study was type of cuisine based upon subjects' response. Type of cuisine was categorized into four groups: (a) endogenous cuisine consisting of cuisine indigenous to the Atlanta or Southern region of the United States or the United Sates as a whole, (b) exogenous cuisine consisting of cuisine whose origin is external to the Atlanta or Southern region of the United States or the United States as a whole, (c) mixed cuisine including endogenous and exogenous cuisine combined, and (d) fusion cuisine consisting of a combination of two or more exogenous cuisines. The primary independent variables thought to influence type of cuisine outcome were ethnicity, age, gender, and training of the owner and the head chef or cook; type of restaurant; type of ownership, and driving forces for the opening of the restaurant. All of these were explored as having an impact on cuisine outcome.

Type of cuisine within each of the four broad categories were described. Each of the cuisines described was based upon the subjects' response. It is not possible based upon these responses to provide detailed descriptions of distinctions between cuisines,

even general distinctions cannot be provided. This is because within countries or regions, there are tremendous variations that exist between cuisines that are based primarily upon location and class. For example, people often refer generally to "Chinese" cuisine; yet there are at least four distinctive styles of cooking within China (and even more styles within those subdivisions) (Chinese cooking class cookbook, 1980, p. 3). To elaborate this point, specifically, in Northern Chinese cooking (including variations between Peking, Shantung, and Honan), there is a heavy use of wheat dishes, including noodles, steamed breads, and dumplings. Rice is atypical, and garlic and green onions are used for mild flavoring. Coastal region cuisine includes much fish and seafood, clear soups, and much seasoning with soy sauce. In the inland region, hot, spicy foods seasoned with Szechuan pepper are preferred. In the southern region around Canton, cuisine is mild, lightly seasoned, and stir fried. Soy sauce, ginger, sherry, and chicken stock are used for seasoning. Cuisines also vary within these regions according to class. Thus, from this lengthy explication, it is clear that a single description cannot be provided to describe the cuisine of one nation or place even though persons respond typically in terms of nation or region.

Qualitative Research Design

Face-to-face interviews (when possible) or telephone interviews of 20 leading cultural intermediaries throughout the United States were conducted in order to assess their views regarding cuisine and globalization and the role that they, as chefs, play in this process and the ways in which they are influenced or influence processes of globalization. The interviews were in-depth, semistructured, and often quite lengthy. The

interview often took the form of guided conversations. The aim of this method was to provide meanings and interpretations of data that could not be easily gathered in the sample survey of restaurant owners and managers.

Furthermore, globalization is intimately bound with issues of time and place. The interviews with these leading cultural intermediaries who are known throughout the world allowed for a greater examination of the evolution of cuisine and globalization. This is in contrast to the quantitative surveys conducted with restaurant owners and chefs or cooks in Atlanta. These survey respondents may be considered local translators of culture.

The use of this method provided answers to the research questions posed in this study. Specifically, interviews with chefs provided insight into the various forms that globalization might take as reflected in cuisine; the relationship between the development of cuisine and larger global cultural themes related to concerns with and for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism as mediated by chefs; and the precise role that the chef plays in these processes.

Selection of Interviewees

The interviews were conducted with leading chefs throughout the United States, particularly those who are restauranteurs, authors, or media personalities. Leading chefs were deliberately selected for interviewing since they are the experts on happenings within the culinary domain. Chefs who own their own restaurants, write books, host radio or television programs, write for newspapers or magazines, or a combination of these were purposefully sampled because it was believed that members of this group are

the most influential cultural intermediaries within the culinary domain. In addition, these chefs were believed to possess greater control over their own creative expression and, therefore, more likely or able to experiment with innovative forms and styles of cooking. This group best captures the concept of cultural intermediaries. Indeed, as Mennell (1996) pointed out, chef-proprietors have been crucial [emphasis mine] in the development of cuisine.

Cultural intermediaries were identified through preliminary background research of such items as culinary books, magazines, newspapers, and reviews of recent recipients of culinary awards and snowballing techniques in which chefs interviewed recommended other chefs whom they held in high regard to be interviewed. All of the cultural intermediaries interviewed for this study are the leaders in their field (See Appendix B for a list of interviewees.).

Content of Interview

Interviews took the form of guided conversations. Chefs were initially presented with the observation that

> There are some who believe that cuisine is becoming increasingly more similar.
> There are some who believe that cuisine is becoming increasingly dissimilar.
> There are some who believe that other things are happening with cuisine, such as the development of fusion cuisine or a return to traditional cuisine.

They then were asked to describe what they viewed as happening with cuisine, how they viewed their own work, and how they viewed their role in the development of cuisine. Chefs were also asked to comment on the impact that concerns with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism related to what they do and what they see

happening within the larger culinary arena. Additional questions were asked and exclusively tailored to the individual chef by design because of the unique qualities of each chef.

Data Management and Analysis

Data are presented based upon qualitative analysis of in-depth, semistructured, interviews. These interviews provide richer interpretation of results from the questionnaires, especially placing the quantitative results within a larger social and historical context. These interviews also provide unique information regarding the relationship among larger global cultural themes, cuisine, and cultural intermediaries, which are all of primary interest in this study. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. Interviews were reviewed and coded for thematic content related to forms of globalization, larger global cultural themes, and specific roles of the chef.

A "thick description" in the tradition of Geertz (1973) will be provided based upon interviews with those who are most intimately involved with the cultural production of cuisine. The intent was to present interpretations of the research questions from the perspective of the actors within a sociological framework. As Geertz noted, "The essential vocation of interpretive anthropology is not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the suitable record of what man has said" (p. 30). In the Weberian methodological tradition of Verstehen, this study allowed for subjective interpretations of chefs' own behavior and their understanding of others' behavior.

Therefore, the contributions made by chefs ought to be interpreted by the reader as the chefs own interpretation and not necessarily fact.

Limitations of Study Design

There are limitations to the use of telephone directories for use in identifying restaurants. First, not all restaurants may be listed in telephone directories. For example, Pillsbury (1990) observed that as may as 15% of restaurants within the United States may not be listed in telephone directories. These are restaurants that are typically located in lower economic areas and are not necessarily the focus of this study, which is centered around global developments.

Another limitation of this study is the response rate of 52.0% and the consequent difficulties encountered with making generalizations. For example, the lower response rate obtained at the end of the mail-out survey prompted telephone interviewing to be implemented. This resulted in a greater number of recently appearing exogenous cuisines (e.g., Mexican and Japanese) being included in the final sample than would otherwise have occurred if telephone interviewing was not employed. An examination of the restaurants who were soft refusals reveals a higher proportion of American fast food restaurants.

An additional limitation to this study is that because of the extremely busy nature of the restaurant business, the questionnaire was restricted to a confined number of questions in order to reduce subject burden to the greatest extent possible. This may have had a positive effect, however, in that the consequence may have been to potentially enhance response rate.

The final limitation of this study is that although the major emphasis of the study is globalization, the research focused on only one site located within the United States. However, much of Atlanta's business community is global in its orientation and can, therefore, be considered an excellent site for examining the globalization process. Additionally, the inclusion of qualitative interviews with chefs who were born throughout the world serves to address this limitation. In addition, as already mentioned, this study allowed for an examination of the global in the local.

CHAPTER 4

TYPES OF CUISINE SERVED AND FACTORS AFFECTING TYPES OF CUISINE SERVED

This chapter reports on types of cuisine served, the extent of cuisine diversity, characteristics of owners and chefs or cooks that influence type of cuisine served, motivations for opening the restaurant, and characteristics of the restaurants.

Types of Cuisine Served and Extent of Ethnic Diversity

Half of respondents reported serving exclusively endogenous cuisine. Endogenous cuisine included American, American fast food, Southern, barbeque, soul food, and bagels and sandwiches. Table 1 presents a summary of these findings. Another 35.3% of respondents reported serving exclusively exogenous cuisine. Table 2 presents a summary of the types of exogenous cuisines served. The most common types of exogenous cuisine served were Italian and Mexican, each representing 7.6% of the total sample. Some 8.0% of respondents reported serving mixed cuisines. The cuisines most often reported as being mixed were Greek and Italian. Table 3 presents a summary of types of mixed cuisines served. Another 6.7% of respondents reported serving fusion cuisine. Table 4 reports on types of fusion cuisine served. The extent of diversification for all cuisines was .0020.

Table 1

Types of Endogenous Cuisines

Type	n	Percentage of endogenous cuisines (n = 112)	Percentage of total sample (N = 224)
American	51	45.5	22.8
American fast food	35	31.3	15.6
Southern	19	17.0	8.5
Barbeque	3	2.7	1.3
Soul food	2	1.8	0.9
Bagels and sandwiches	2	1.8	0.9

Background of Restaurant Owner and Chef or Cook

Birthplace, Ethnicity, and Nationality of Restaurant Owner and Chef or Cook

Type of cuisine served varied according to the cultural background of the restaurant owner based upon self-report of birthplace, ethnicity, and nationality. Of restaurant owners who served endogenous cuisine, 84.0% were either natives or ethnically identified themselves with the cuisine they served. This compared with 73.8% of restaurant owners who served exogenous cuisines and were either foreign nationals or ethnically identified themselves with the cuisine they served. These restaurant owners could have been citizens of the United States, but still identified themselves as ethnically something other than American. This number increased to 78.6% for restaurant owners who served mixed cuisine. Of restaurant owners who served fusion cuisine, 70%

Table 2

Types of Exogenous Cuisines

Type	n	Percentage of exogenous cuisines (n = 79)	Percentage of total sample (N = 224)
Italian	16	20.3	7.1
Mexican	16	20.3	7.1
Chinese	11	13.9	4.9
Thai	6	7.6	2.7
Continental	5	6.4	2.2
Indian	5	6.4	2.2
Japanese	4	5.1	1.8
French	3	3.8	1.3
Texas	3	3.8	1.3
Korean and Japanese	2	2.5	0.9
Cuban and Jamaican	1	1.3	0.4
Cuban and Caribbean	1	1.3	0.4
Ethiopian	1	1.3	0.4
Italian and Greek	1	1.3	0.4
Mediterranean	1	1.3	0.4
Mexican and Chinese	1	1.3	0.4
Southwestern	1	1.3	0.4
Vietnamese	1	1.3	0.4

Table 3

Types of Mixed Cuisines

Type	n	Percentage of mixed cuisines (n = 18)	Percentage of total sample (N = 224)
Chinese-American	4	22.2	1.8
American-Greek	2	11.1	0.8
American-Italian	2	11.1	0.8
American-Southern-Italian	2	11.1	0.8
American-Chinese-Japanese	1	5.6	0.4
American-Continental	1	5.6	0.4
American-Continental with a Southern Flair	1	5.6	0.4
American-German	1	5.6	0.4
American-Greek-Italian	1	5.6	0.4
American-Italian-Mexican	1	5.6	0.4
American Melting Pot	1	5.6	0.4
Southern-Greek	1	5.6	0.4

nationally or ethnically identified themselves with one ethnic element of the cuisine they served.

Restaurant owners who served endogenous cuisine but who were not natives included persons who identified themselves as Asian (Korean [2], Bangladeshi [1], and Indian [2]), Czech (1), English (1), Nigerian (2), and Swedish (1). Restaurant owners

Table 4

Types of Fusion Cuisines

Type	n	Percentage of fusion cuisines (n = 15)	Percentage of total sample (N = 224)
Fusion, not specified	5	33.3	2.2
Tex-Mex	5	33.3	2.2
Cal-Mex	1	6.7	0.4
French-Thai	1	6.7	0.4
Thai-Chinese	1	6.7	0.4
Southern Fusion	1	6.7	0.4
Vegetarian	1	6.7	0.4

who served exogenous cuisine that was not part of their cultural background varied widely. The most common cuisine to be served by another group was Italian. This occurred in 35.3% of cases and was served by White Americans (2), Iranians (2), an Argentinean, and a Greek. Mexican cuisine was also commonly served by North Americans (5), but no other group. Asian cuisines were least likely to be served by other groups, and only rarely, by other Asians. Even then, it was only if there was a close association. For example, someone from Bangladesh reported serving Indian cuisine and someone from Indonesia reported serving Chinese cuisine. Of particular note were the two cases of Koreans serving Korean and Japanese cuisine. White Americans also served French, continental, Southwestern, and Texas cuisine. There were three cases of mixed

cuisine being served by a restaurant owner who was not of the same ethnic identification of the food being served. One was a Pakistani man serving Greek and American cuisine. Another was a Korean serving American, Chinese, and Japanese cuisine. The last was a Mexican serving American and Chinese cuisine. Fusion cuisine that was not associated with the birthplace and ethnicity of the restaurant owner was served in the form of French-Thai by a White American, Cal-Mex by a White American, and Thai-Chinese by a Laotian.

Table 5

Relationship Between Type of Cuisine and Cultural Background of Restaurant Owner

	Cultural background of owner in relation to cultural background of cuisine	
	Different	Same
Endogenous	16.0	84.0
Exogenous	26.2	73.8
Mixed	21.4	78.6
Fusion	30.0	70.0

Type of cuisine served varied according to the cultural background of the chef or head cook based upon respondents' report of birthplace, ethnicity, and nationality. These differences approached statistical significance at $p = .067$ (Pearson chi square = 7.158). Of chefs or cooks who cooked endogenous cuisine, 100% were either natives or

ethnically identified with the cuisine they cooked. Of chefs or cooks who cooked exogenous cuisines, 75.0% were either foreign nationals or were ethnically identified with the cuisine they cooked. This compared with 75.0% of those preparing mixed cuisine. Of chefs or cooks who prepared fusion cuisine, 83.8% were ethnically identified with the food they cooked.

Similarly, as in the case of restaurant owners, Italian cuisine was that cuisine which was most likely to be cooked by a chef representative of another ethnicity. This was true in 66.6% of cases in which Italian food was cooked either by persons identified as American, Mexican, or Brazilian. Americans also cooked continental and South-western cuisine, a Mexican cooked Greek and American cuisine, and a South African cooked Texan cuisine.

Age of Restaurant Owner and Chef or Cook

Table 6 presents the ages of restaurant owners and chefs for each type of cuisine they served. There were no statistical differences between age of restaurant owners and type of cuisine served. There does appear to be a trend for chefs' age, though, as younger chefs were more likely to cook fusion cuisine. The lack of significance for this trend may be related to the small sample size. Table 6 also displays that owners were older than chefs.

Table 6

Ages of Restaurant Owners and Chefs by Type of Cuisine

Type of cuisine	Age (in years)	
	Restaurant owner	Chef
Endogenous	45.2	39.4
Exogenous	44.3	36.9
Mixed	39.3	38.1
Fusion	44.5	31.4

Gender of Restaurant Owner and Chef or Cook

The majority (80.9%) of restaurant owners were men. A similar majority, 77.1%, of chefs were men also. There was little to no variation between gender of restaurant owner and chef or cook and type of cuisine served.

Training of Restaurant Owner and Chef or Cook

The majority of owners, 64.9%, who served endogenous cuisine received some form of training. This compared with 46.8% who served exogenous cuisine, 30.8% who served mixed cuisine, and 54.3% who served fusion cuisine (Pearson chi square 7.646, $p = .05$). This is most likely attributable to the high percentage of those who served endogenous cuisine receiving formal business or franchise related training.

The majority of chefs or cooks (57.1%) who served endogenous cuisine received some form of training. This compared with 60.6% who served exogenous cuisine, 28.6%

who served mixed cuisine, and 60.0% who served fusion cuisine. This relationship was not statistically significant.

Type of Restaurant

Type of restaurant was presented as a close-ended question with 12 possible response options. These included fast food, deli, bar or lounge, coffee shop, bistro, luxury dinner house, night club, sandwich shop, luncheonette, hotel kitchen, cafeteria, and casual dining. Respondents wrote in an additional 38 types. Those who served endogenous cuisine reported serving it in 27 different types of restaurants. Most often, endogenous cuisine was reported as being served in a casual dining (32.4%) or fast food (35.1%) establishment. Those serving exogenous cuisine reported serving it in 24 unique types of restaurants. Similar to endogenous cuisine, the most often reported type of establishment where exogenous cuisine was served was either casual dining (59.7%) or fast food (13.0%) places. Those serving mixed cuisine did so in only nine types of restaurants. Again, the most frequently cited establishments for service were casual dining (44.5%) and fast food (27.8%). Those serving fusion cuisine did so in six types of restaurants. The most often cited establishment for the service of fusion cuisine was casual dining (66.7%). Only one restaurant serving fusion cuisine did so in a fast food establishment.

Type of Ownership

Restaurants that served endogenous cuisines reported being individually or family owned, as opposed to corporately owned or part of a franchise, in 41.4% of cases. This

compared with 76.3% serving exogenous cuisine, 62.5% serving mixed cuisine, and 46.7% serving fusion cuisine. This finding was statistically significant (Pearson chi square 23.008, $p < .000$).

Motivations for Opening a Restaurant

The driving forces for opening the restaurant varied according to the type of cuisine served at the restaurant. Of restaurant owners who served endogenous cuisine, 60.9% reported that the major driving forces for the opening of the restaurant were economic or profit considerations. The desire for work autonomy was expressed as the motivation for opening a restaurant by 17.3% of respondents serving endogenous cuisine. Restaurant owners who served endogenous cuisine were motivated by the desire to fulfill an altruistic need in the community in 12.8% of cases; two owners perceived a need for specifically American cuisine or soul food in the community. One restaurant owner reported that the major driving force for his opening a restaurant was "insanity."

In contrast to restaurant owners who served endogenous cuisine, only 37.7% of those who served exogenous cuisine reported that the major driving forces for the opening of the restaurant were economic or profit considerations. Of restaurant owners who served exogenous cuisine, 33.1% reported that the major driving force for the opening of the restaurant was an altruistic motive. Responses such as the following were given: "There was no place to buy authentic Mexican food"; "We couldn't find the food we wanted to eat"; "Atlanta needed an upscale French restaurant"; and "Lots of Indian people need a home-cooked meal." Of restaurant owners who served exogenous cuisine,

11.1% expressed the desire for work autonomy as the major driving force, and 11.1% of owners specifically expressed the desire to own a restaurant.

Conclusions

The findings presented in this chapter demonstrated that endogenous, exogenous, mixed, and fusion cuisine all co-exist within the global cultural center of Atlanta. The extent of diversity based upon Gibbs and Martins' (1962) industry diversification formula was .0020, indicating little diversity. Part of the reason for the low degree of diversity was the fact that 22.8% of the total sample reported serving exclusively American cuisine and 15.6% of the total sample reported serving American fast food. This formula, however, may obscure the extent of diversity existing within each of the categories because much diversity does seem to exist within the categories. Furthermore, among fusion cuisines, the inability to detect diversity may be because a third of those reporting serving fusion cuisine did not specify particular ethnic influences. Fusion cuisine is often extremely diverse within a single instance. One might speculate that with time, diversity may increase as immigration to Atlanta increases and demand for exogenous cuisine increases.

This study was not able to demonstrate the role of a global urban system in processes of globalization. It was assumed prior to the initiation of the study that indeed the selection of a global cultural center such as Atlanta was necessary for the study of globalization outcomes. This study cannot answer whether cities are becoming more or less alike. For example, Sassen (1991) speculated that with the interconnectedness of global cities, there would emerge a globalization of urban networks or city systems. This

transformation of cities would result in fewer global centers with cities increasingly beginning to look a lot more like one another. Under such conditions, spaceless urban realms come to exist, especially with the introduction of cyberspace. Such a speculation might also be made related to any community regardless of urban rural distinctions in a time when space and size are rendered insignificant.

Nonetheless, the globalization of various cultural forms as reflected in cuisine has clearly taken place in Atlanta. There were 50 distinct types or combination of types of cuisines reported being served in Atlanta restaurants. Half the cuisines served were endogenous cuisines exclusively. These cuisines were most often served by restaurant owners and chefs who were natives. In these instances, the localization of culture has been maintained. Exogenous cuisine was served in 35.3% of restaurants. This research demonstrates that, in the majority of cases, cuisine traveled because people traveled. In most instances, exogenous type of cuisine served was associated with the cultural background of the owner in terms of either birthplace, ethnicity, or nationality. In these instances, "globalization" of culture has occurred.

Patterns also were found related to glocalization and type of cuisine. One might speculate that mixed cuisine reflected instances of glocalization. As with exclusively served endogenous and exogenous cuisine, type of mixed cuisine served was related to the cultural background of the owner. In every case of mixed cuisine, the cuisine being reported as mixed is one that has had a longer history within the United States (e.g., Greek and Italian). The survival of these restaurants may have depended fully upon their becoming glocalized. In contrast, those restaurants reported to serve exclusively exogenous cuisines are relative newcomers to the American ethnic landscape and

restaurant scene (e.g., Mexican). In a time and place that values diversity and novelty, these restaurants may survive as well. It cannot be known from these data the extent of glocalization that occurs within these restaurants, however. Nor can it be known if these types of restaurants existed and died in the past.

Fusion cuisine is another type of cuisine reported being served in Atlanta. Fusion cuisine has been described in this paper as global cuisine that transcends nation-state boundaries. Indeed, this research found that fusion cuisine was least likely to be served by a restaurant owner with the same cultural background as the cuisine served.

Hence, there were structural factors associated with social processes of globalization. Globalization of cuisine is associated with the cultural background of the owner and may be related to immigration and settlement patterns in Atlanta. This latter speculation cannot be confirmed by this research, however, though the pattern of mixed cuisine representing older immigrants and exogenous cuisine representing newer immigrants suggests strongly that this is the case.

Moreover, patterns or tendencies for patterns were found also to exist in regard to type of cuisine served and age, gender, training, and motivations expressed for opening the restaurant. For example, chefs who were older were more likely to serve traditional cuisines, either endogenous, exogenous, and mixed. Chefs serving fusion cuisine, however, were more likely to be younger. This may be related to younger persons being more receptive to the novelty associated with fusion cuisine. For every type of cuisine, it was men who were most likely to be restaurant owners and chefs or cooks. This may reflect a long standing tradition in American society that has escaped public scrutiny. This may be because of the great number of restaurants being privately owned.

In addition, persons serving endogenous cuisine were likely to be motivated to open a restaurant by traditional American capitalist values, including capital accumulation and individualism. Persons serving exogenous cuisine were less likely to be motivated to open a restaurant by these motives. They were often likely to be motivated by the desire to serve a particular kind of food. Such restauranteurs were more likely to be guided by substantive rationality, rather than formal rationality. These findings demonstrated that type of cuisine served is related to both structural factors of cultural intermediaries and cultural ideals of the owner or chef's place of origin.

Additionally, as Chatterjee (1998) pointed out in a personal communication,

> the differences in motivations [for opening a restaurant] between endogenous and exogenous restaurant owners is important . . . responding to a perceived need in the community is a form of being a cultural intermediary. As [one] might expect, this motivation is seen more commonly in exogenous restaurants which arguably are more directly linked to globalization.

The next three chapters focus on interviews with more prominent cultural intermediaries throughout the United States who are also more directly linked to globalization, though in different ways.

Lastly, as previously mentioned, time and space are central to the study of globalization. For example, Giddens (1991) has made the argument that "globalisation has to be understood as a dialectical phenomenon, in which events at one pole of a distanciated relation often produce divergent or even contrary occurrences at another" (p. 22). For Giddens (1991),

> the concept of globalisation is best understood as expressing fundamental aspects of time-space distanciation. Globalisation concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations 'at distance' with local contextualities. (p. 21)

Much earlier, and like Giddens, Yi-Fu (1977) described the significance of space in our perceptions of the world and in our perceptions of our own selves. This chapter focused on globalization within a local context that has a global presence. The focus was also on local cultural intermediaries. The following chapters will focus on global cultural intermediaries who are more likely to influence local cultural emissaries and who are more directly linked with the global community.

The intricacies of types of cuisine and their relationship with cultural intermediaries in the form of restaurant owners and chefs is not entirely clear from these findings. The seemingly apparent ways in which cuisine may present as a particular type becomes much less apparent and much more complex as further investigation through in-depth interviews with leading cultural intermediaries reveals. This is the focus of the next three chapters. An interpretation of the role of culture and the role of cultural intermediaries from their own perspective will be elaborated on in order to make greater sense of the findings presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CUISINE AND GLOBALIZATION: HOMOGENEITY, HETEROGENEITY, AND BEYOND[1]

Processes of globalization may bring about different cultural and social forms. There are those who argue that globalization results in an increasingly more integrated global culture. There are those who argue that globalization results in a greater diversity of global cultures. Beyond these, some argue that globalization results in fusions of cultures, and there are those who argue that globalization results in the reinvention or recreation of traditional cultures. This chapter is heavily influenced by the work of Robertson and his colleagues, who argued that all of these processes are occurring simultaneously, though not necessarily in the same manner as argued by proponents of any one of these individual theories. Furthermore, these processes are mutually reinforcing. The previous chapter provided preliminary support for these ideas. For example, restaurant owners and chefs reported different motivations for pursuing a vocation in the food business. This chapter will provide additional support for these notions, along with some further explication of the vicissitudes of these various forms of cuisine and the ways in which processes of globalization are both reflected in and effect different forms of cuisine. The ideas and organizational structure for this chapter are based upon Robertson's (1995) essay on this particular topic.

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[1]This chapter begins discussing the qualitative interviews conducted in this study. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations cited by chefs are from interviews conducted as part of this research.

Homogeneity

There are some who believe that societies or particular groups of societies throughout the world are becoming increasingly similar. Such beliefs find their expression in modernization, dependency, and world-system theories. Furthermore, for each of these theoretical orientations, it is the "cultural imperialism thesis" that dominates such expression (Robertson, 1995). Simply stated, it is the Western, and particularly American, cultures which are thought to be most influential and most prevalent throughout the world.

Several aspects of theories of homogeneity as they relate to cuisine and the findings of this study will be considered. First, in the world of "high culture," according to Matthew Arnold's (1965/1883) usage of the term culture as representing "the best thought and knowledge of the time" (p. 113) involving the active pursuit of "perfection which consists of becoming something rather than having something" (p. 95), it is the French who have long dominated the world in defining and proscribing what constitutes the most discriminating cultural objects, especially in regard to such items as food, fashion, and perfume. This is perhaps most apparent in regard to cuisine than anything else. French hegemony in cooking has set the standard for the rest of the world to follow and emulate (Driver, 1983; Mennell, 1996). Allen Susser, who Bryan Miller (The 15th Annual Food & Wine Classic at Aspen, 1997), former food writer for the New York Times, referred to as "the Ponce de Leon of New Floridian cooking" (paragraph 1), observed: "The reason I had gone to France was because I had thought that most chefs had to be French chefs, so you had to be French-trained in order to be a chef."

Although this sentiment is changing somewhat, the preeminent position of French cooking remains for both chefs and the general public. The domination of French cooking has fluctuated throughout American history (Levenstein, 1993). Despite this fact and the great degree of ethnic diversity that was previously reported on regarding restaurants in Atlanta (which also exists throughout the world), many chefs have been trained or are versed, at least, in French methods of cooking. Part of this is related to the highly codified rules of French cooking. There is a preponderance of literature on French technique and French ways of cooking. This codification has been institutionalized into cooking schools throughout the world, including those within the United States. Stephan Pyles, who has been credited with helping to "introduce the world to what has become known as New Southwestern cuisine" (Draper, 1994, paragraph 1) or "New Texas cuisine," noted that "a certain amount of my generation of chefs [didn't go to school] . . . in the early eighties there was the Culinary Institute of America and that was kind of it and that was very French and there was no school for American cooking." The domination of French standards is slowly eroding in today's society; still, many chefs, including Pyles, rely on the classical French tradition for many aspects of their own work whether they have received formal French training either in the form of attendance at a cooking school or through an apprenticeship.

In addition, it is often elements of French cuisine that becomes combined with elements of other cuisines to form various fusion cuisines. Consequently, much of the hybridization of cuisine that takes place involves some element of French cooking. Pyles also described his cooking as:

> a cross between Mexican and French. French has played a very important part. . . . I think if you had to use one culture that would separate the new style of cooking in Texas and the Southwest it would be the French technique.

Notable examples of this fusion cuisine that occurred in the 1990s include Jean-Georges Vongerichten's French-Thai at Vongs, Stephan Pyle's New Texas Cuisine, Raji Jallepalli's French Indian, Susanna Foo's French influenced Chinese, and Claude Troisgros' French Brazilian. Similarly, Dornenburg and Page (1995) observed that in the 1970s and 1980s, it was "a melding of French technique and American ingredients that helped give rise to the California cuisine movement pioneered by Alice Waters, Jeremiah Tower, Mark Miller, and Wolfgang Puck" (p. 20). It may be that the hegemony of French cooking works at some level to elevate the status of these cuisines locally and globally in a way that otherwise might not be accomplished easily.

Consumers also are often much more enamored with the higher status of French cuisine compared with other ethnic cuisines. Raji Jallepalli, an Indian born chef, creator of French Indian cuisine, and restauranteur living in Memphis, Tennessee, observed:

> I have a problem with French cooking being on a pedestal and ethnic cooking being somewhere in the dump; and people, if they want to eat buffet, they will eat Indian, Chinese, or Mexican; whereas if you want to get dressed up, you go to a French restaurant.

The status of these cuisines is changing, though; this will be described in the following section on heterogeneity.

The French influence on cuisine in America is clearly not one of simple and exclusive homogenization. Rather, it has been a process of what is better described as glocalization. In this sense, the global becomes localized. The global French cuisine becomes part of the local (e.g., Texas or California) or translocal (e.g., Thai, Indian,

Chinese, or Brazilian) cuisines. It is not simply that French cuisine becomes combined with the cuisine of the host culture, it is also the case that French cuisine becomes combined with an exogenous cuisine within the host culture. In both of these cases, it is, therefore, not an instance of either global or local, but both. Furthermore, as a phenomenon taking place throughout the country and the world, it is an exemplar of the particularization of universalism described by Robertson wherein a global feature becomes uniquely tailored to local or, in some cases, translocal conditions.

A second aspect of homogenization that has been raised in this discussion of homogenization is the development of what Norman Van Aken, creator of "New World Cuisine" which combines Caribbean, American, Asian, and Mexican influences, coined as "fusion cuisine." Fusion cuisine is discussed at length in a later section. In this section, only homogenizing aspects of fusion cuisine are considered. It is important to recognize that many attribute the development and spread of fusion cuisine to be occurring within and from the United States. This research cannot answer whether fusion cuisine is spreading to other parts of the world, but there are strong indications suggesting that this is the case. Of particular note for theories of homogeneity is that it is from America that fusion cuisine often emanates; however, it is often not American cuisine that is part of the hybrid. Such an observation forces one to reconsider the notions of cultural hegemony and homogeneity when it is not one's own cultural objects that are being promoted and, furthermore, what is being promoted is blending and diversity rather than simply American.

A third aspect of homogenization related to cuisine that requires consideration is the spread of fast food restaurants. As reported in the last chapter, 50.0% of restaurants

reported serving endogenous cuisines. Many of these, 31.3%, were fast food. It cannot be known from this research to what extent this phenomenon is occurring throughout the world or the extent to which American cuisine is served in restaurants throughout the world. It is a well-known fact, however, that American fast food restaurants have become common place features of most societies throughout the world. This occurrence has often been lamented as having a homogenizing effect on the host culture. More recent research (Watson, 1997) conducted in East Asia, however, reveals that McDonald's restaurants have been tailored to local markets. The same observations can be made between regions within the United States. For example, in the southern region of the United States, sweet tea is served year round and McRib sandwiches are often featured on the menu. Again, this is another instance of glocalization where the universal becomes particularized to suit local demands.

Heterogeneity

There is an incredible diversity of cuisines from different cultures that have become spread throughout the world. This study found that over half of the cuisines being served in Atlanta restaurants were exogenous cuisines. Although they may become modified in the host culture, cuisines maintain, to varying degrees, some clearly identifiable characteristics. Nora Pouillon, a Viennese-born and French-trained chef with two restaurants, Restaurant Nora and Asia Nora, located in Washington, DC, observed:

> I think we will always have ethnic places, you know, the typical true traditional foods of different parts of China, or Thailand, or you know, from Mississippi, or Tennessee, or Florida, or from New Mexico. You know there will always be really authentic food from those regions, but I think that there will be a lot of

> globalized food--you will find anything from pizza to filet mignon; and it will be prepared in all different ways.

Social scientists and the public at large often speak of the melting pot of America. Indeed, there is an abundance of ethnic restaurants located within the United States, and their existence has been well documented and researched (e.g., Brown and Mussell, 1984; Pillsbury, 1990; Zelinsky, 1985). The tremendous diversity of cuisines existing within the United States is in large part a consequence of the country's unique history of immigration and settlement patterns. Most ethnic restaurants are owned and operated either by chain restaurants or foreign nationals, or increasingly by second generation immigrants and nonimmigrants. Such was the case in data presented on Atlanta. Belasco (1987) referred to ethnic chain restaurants as the "corporate melting pot" leading to homogeneity of ethnic cuisines where he maintained that "in seeking mass acceptance, the most successful independents and conglomerates alike shared a formula that might be called the 'corporate cuisine'" (p. 15). Susanna Foo, a restauranteur born in The People's Republic of China, attended the Culinary Institute of America and received two James Beard Awards, one for Best Chef in the Mid-Atlantic Region and one for Best International Cookbook, described Chinese restaurants owned by foreign nationals as similarly being cast from the same mold:

> I think maybe 90% of the cooks in the kitchen are really not professionally trained. . . . there are a lot of [Chinese] people who will go to work for other Chinese restaurant then want to open a restaurant of their own. Then, they just copy whatever, from what they learn from that restaurant and open. So when you go to [a] Chinese restaurant, you feel like everything is the same--and they have the same menu, they always have the same kind of style. [Most] Chinese chefs in this country [are] just making a living.

The same phenomenon regarding formulaic tendencies was also noted by Rick Bayless, the most well-respected chef and authority on Mexican cuisine, in reference to Mexican restaurants.

The commercialization of ethnic cuisine and the consequent lack of variety or innovation often characterize what we typically refer to as ethnic restaurants. It is interesting to note that where one might expect the greatest potential for diversity to exist, the greatest homogenizing tendencies have actually occurred. Diversity has developed between cuisines, but not within. This is changing recently and rapidly, though, for several reasons related to and as part of processes of globalization.

First, the United States and the world at large is witnessing an elevation of status of those cuisines and often peasant cuisines that historically have not been held in high esteem despite their long and complex histories. Two factors are associated with this phenomenon. First, there comes a time when a society may reach a level of economic security where it becomes fashionable and acceptable to consume foods that have historically only been eaten by the peasants. Montanari (1994) observed in regard to the revolution in European eating habits: "What could be more urban than the present day revival of lesser grains and dark breads? Only a wealthy society can afford to appreciate poverty" (p. 159). The same that is true for individual societies holds for the entire world as well.

The second factor contributing to the elevation of particular ethnic cuisines is related to the tremendous concern throughout the world with the preservation of traditional local cultures. This may be in response to the perceived takeover by more powerful western cultures. This theme will be elaborated on at length in the last section

of this chapter. A conscious movement is growing to elevate to the status of a world class cuisine those cuisines which are worthy of a world class status in terms of taste. These cuisines, however, for a variety of social and political reasons, have often had a lower status, at least within the United States.

Chefs have been especially instrumental in this movement toward the preservation of local cuisines, even those which are not part of their own culture. Such is the case with Mexican cuisine and Rick Bayless' work toward these efforts. Bayless, the chef-owner of Frontera Grill and Topolobompo (two Mexican restaurants located in Chicago, IL) has perhaps done more than any single individual to initiate and educate the world to and about the cooking of Mexico. Stephan Pyles, commenting on Bayless' tradition, observed: "He has elevated Mexican cuisine and . . . he's a perfect example of not letting too much get in the way of the authenticity [of Mexican cooking]." Bayless (1996b) described his own role as that of a "translator" (p. 14). In the introduction to Mexican Cooking: Capturing the Vibrant Flavors of a World Class Cuisine, Bayless (1996a) made the caveat:

> If you agree with me that authentic cooking respectfully utilizes traditional ingredients and time honored techniques to prepare dishes that express the spirit of a particular people, then, yes, this is authentic cooking at its best. . . . I spell out dishes that embrace both sides of the border: dishes that give life to the brilliance of traditional Mexican cooking in the context of the contemporary American kitchen. (p. 14)

Similar to processes of homogeneity previously discussed, one might also describe what Bayless does in regard to heterogeneity also as an instance of glocalization, as opposed to simply globalization because he tailors Mexican recipes for use within American kitchens. Although this is also a process of glocalization, unlike processes of homo-

geneity, this is an example of what Robertson (1992, p. 100) referred to as the "universalization of particularism," wherein similar processes occur globally. Many traditional cuisines are making appearances in different places throughout the world in unique ways.

Another reason why we might expect there to be a greater diversity of ethnic cuisines both between and within particular ethnic cuisines and an elevation of the status of those cuisines is observed by Susanna Foo. She noted that as increasingly more Asians attend culinary schools throughout the world, and as these culinary schools begin to change their curriculum to accommodate a changing student body and a changing consumer demand, there most likely will be a greater diversity and quality of ethnic cuisines available in the form of restaurants foods. There is also a much greater movement both geographically and socioeconomically for other ethnic groups as well.

A final reason for why we might expect the status and, consequently, appeal of ethnic cuisines to increase throughout the world is because of the novelty associated with them. As previously noted by Belasco (1987), those who are most attracted to ethnic cuisines are core ethnics, the counterculture, gourmets, and paratourists. Bourdieu (1984/1979) found that the group most likely to prefer ethnic cuisines are those who possess a relatively greater amount of cultural capital and a lesser amount of economic capital. Ethnic foods have tremendous global appeal because of their perceived exotic and extraordinary qualities.

Beyond

Fusion

Many chefs believe that America is the world leader in the development of fusion cuisine. Nora Pouillon observed:

> I think that America is really the trend setter in that I think America, by description, is already a melting pot. So it's very easy here--I mean we are not in a country . . . isolated from other influences. . . . even if Americans don't travel outside of America that much, there are so many other cultures that come into this country here in Washington, we have a big Vietnamese community, we have a Thai community, we have a Moroccan community, we have a Korean community. . . . you start to adopt some of the foods from those countries, and they start to get incorporated into the American cuisine.

Such melting pot cuisine is reflected in Southwestern cuisine. Mark Miller (1989), chef-proprietor of Coyote Cafe in Santa Fe and author of numerous cookbooks, observed that "Southwestern food is an endogenous regional cuisine. It has evolved over time and has been shaped and molded by a variety of influences including Native American, Hispanic, Mexican, Tex-Mex, and the neighboring Cajun and Creole" (p. xi). It is interesting to note that Miller regards these cuisines as native.

In addition to the transmission of culture through increasing flows related to ease of travel and migration (Appadurai, 1996), Pouillon also observed that it is easier for fusion cuisine to take off in America in contrast to Europe simply because "Europeans are based on very much traditions in their culture. For Europeans, it's very important to be traditional and, you know, that's what the culture is based on--that you do the same thing all the time for generations." This lack of a perceived tradition in American cuisine, as noted by Raji Jallepalli, encouraged the development of fusion cuisine by making it "become very chic to reach out to ethnic cuisine because America in and of itself [did

not] have a cuisine. They basically had to borrow. I mean we are all redefining American cuisine."

This observation is very enlightening and is further elaborated on by Larry Forgione, often looked upon as the "catalyst behind 'New' American cuisine," the "Godfather of American cuisine" (Grand Chefs on Tour, 1996, paragraph 1), the owner of An American Place, and the author of a cookbook with the same name. Although Forgione believes that America has a cuisine to speak of, he noted that

> the cooking in America is so new compared to other cultures, you know, where you have French cooking that has been going on for over a thousand years, the Italian cooking in Italy at all different levels and regions, the Chinese cooking for two or three thousand years. There is so much deep culture that American cooking even back to its roots is modern cooking because it's only a few hundred years old. This country is made up of immigrants from all over the world. It's a melting pot, and that's the exciting part of America.

The fact that America is a leader in the spread of the fusion of cuisine is interesting for several reasons. Historically, American cuisine has generally not been regarded in high esteem. When Forgione was asked whether he thought people from other parts of the world recognized what constituted American cuisine, he replied:

> No, I think that because of America being the commercial giant that it is, that unfortunately we're represented in the world as McDonalds, as Coca-Cola--you know as soft drinks and hamburgers. . . . American fine cuisine or haute cuisine [is thought of] as maybe steaks and lobsters, and barbeque ribs--which I think are all wonderful, and certainly make up much of America, but it certainly isn't what American cooking is [all] about. . . . I'm not sure we've been around long enough or made strong enough statements to reach the point where it's affecting the whole world.

Fusion cuisine has come to be defined by many as American cuisine. For example, Raji Jallepalli viewed America as a melting pot and clearly viewed fusion cuisine as American cuisine:

> All cultures do come together here; so fusion is no where--no other place is more fitting than America [for fusion to develop]; so, in a way, yeah, I can very easily coin what I am doing as American cuisine.

It is interesting and of particular note to observe that some of the most outstanding instances of fusion cuisine within the United States are created by those who are foreign-born chefs. This is the case, for example, of such chefs as Jean-Georges Vongerichten, Claude Troisgros, and Nobu Matsuhisa. Each of them comes from a country with very clearly defined notions regarding what constitutes appropriate national cuisines, yet each are culinary innovators within the global setting. Each combines various elements of cuisine from other cultures with their native and host culture.

One of the most interesting developments associated with fusion cuisine is that no single culture dominates. As previously noted by Symons (1991), "constant innovation might indicate the shattering of ideal controls" (p. 299). Such may be the case with fusion cuisine. Stephan Pyles observed: "You know what used to be a Western European influence primarily; now it's obviously from all over the world. . . . food changes for a reason . . . . you can still have heritage with change." This is related to both the previously mentioned concern with the preservation of local cultures and the increasing ease and frequency of travel by both chefs and consumers. Norman Van Aken, in describing what contributed to his style of cooking said: "I feel free to sort of wander the globe and search for flavor." Susanna Foo observed: "You don't have to use traditions, you can use what's wonderful!" (Susanna Chats It Up, 1998). Foo (1995) observed that "visits to Thailand, Italy, and France have inspired my cooking" (p. 20).

Another feature of fusion cuisine that is relevant to contemporary discourses on postmodernity and globalization is observed by Susser (1995). He noted that "New

world cuisine, with its global village references, is a cuisine of contrasts--between hot and cold, crisp and soft, crusty and smooth, bitter and lush, the familiar and the exotic" (p. 4). Everything becomes combined, including opposites. Related to Susser's observations are those that appeared in the book cover of Van Aken's (1997) cookbook, Norman's New World Cuisine: "Healthful and vibrant, this is the cuisine of the future." New World Cuisine fuses Latin, Caribbean, Asian, and American elements.

What many of these chefs are describing as unique to America is not hybridization per se, but fusion cuisine as a particular form of hybridization. Blending of cuisines have always taken place throughout history and throughout the world. The primary distinctive feature about the fusion cuisine of today, though, is that it is not bound by the premodern limitations of space or time. As observed by Allen Susser,

> cuisine used to develop very much within a communication distance so that a marketplace would control a cuisine. So, if you look at a small village or a regional village--set of villages--they create a cuisine because most travel, most economics, most business, most families stayed within that regional area.

The world has become a much smaller place and people are increasingly aware of others. Both of these developments encourage or allow for the expansion or elimination of boundaries that provide the necessary conditions for the greater blending of cuisines from different places and times.

Furthermore, as observed by Susser, fusion cuisine develops at a much more rapid rate than cuisines developed in the past. He noted:

> There's always been a hybridization of cuisines. . . . I think it's all time sensitive. If you look at the cuisine over a period of 10 or 20 years, yes it looks like fusion, even 10 or 50 years it looks like fusion, or it looks like something different, or unordinary, or strange. If you look at the same type of effect over a 100 or 200 years it begins to ring of authenticity, you know, to a region.

The implications of this for the future are significant in terms of how definitions and re-definitions of selves are formed. Will historians some day look back and regard fusion cuisine as the cuisine of a global community that co-existed with cuisines of local communities?

Reactions are mixed, though, to the fusion cuisine served in America from a wide variety of audiences ranging from foreign nationals and foreign travelers of places where the hybrids gain their inspiration to the chefs, themselves. For example, Susanna Foo, who combines French techniques with her native Chinese, observed that

> I have a lot of [Chinese] people who come here and they thinks it's wonderful, they think that this is the way Chinese is supposed to go; and then I do have people calling from the United States who run Chinese restaurants who bought my book, and so they call me, and they want me to give them some advice, and they think that this is what Chinese food should be doing. . . . I think that the Chinese people from mainland China or from China Hong Kong, they think this is the way Chinese food should be, but in the meantime they don't know how to develop it because they don't have the contacts like I did. I was living in this country for 30 years.

Similarly, Charlie Trotter, chef-proprietor of Trotters in Chicago and author of four cookbooks, is regarded by many of his peers as one of the most outstanding chefs in the world. He described his cuisine as "a very personal cuisine based on the classic Western European cuisine, but meshed with a heavy dose of an Asian minimalist sort of aesthetic." Trotter has a high proportion of Japanese patrons, which he attributed to

> a lot of Japanese business people in the Chicago community that don't want to go to an exclusively Japanese restaurant. They want to go to a fine dining restaurant. There are many things here that are very appealing. I think they like the kind of combination of some very recognizable preparations from their standpoint, but done in a very Western way. They like that very much.

There are ethnic and age differences in the acceptance of fusion cuisine, though. Jallepalli observed:

> Indian people don't come here--they don't think of this restaurant as Indian. They don't think it's authentic, which it's not, [though,] a lot of the younger generation [of Indians are] coming in because they're into food and wine and stuff.

This observation supports Domzal and Kernan's (1993) argument that food products are an especially important way in which a "postmodern segment" of post-World War II generation consumers express themselves. Moreover, they argued that these are "universally held needs of self-expression" (1993, p. 1) that are driven by a common ethos which could be useful in thinking about a postmodern world.

For the chefs, the experience of fusion cuisine is also associated with mixed reactions. Jean-Georges Vongerichten observed:

> I really have a classical training, and then I went to Asia for four years. I was cooking with all the stocks and pre-cured sources and when I arrived there, they start everything with water. Lemongrass and different spices. Instead of doing stocks with bones, they were using herbs and infusing them. It was a real big kick in the head, and it changed my life. (Interview Transcript, Jean-Georges Vongerichten, 1996)

For Vongerichten, fusion cuisine has been a positive experience.

There is a tremendous concern, though, with the hybridization of cuisine for several reasons. First, as observed by Trotter,

> there's this sort of extreme exuberance, even bordering on overconfidence and a gutsiness that exists here--and, maybe too much risk taking or chance taking with the cuisines--too much meshing of cultural influences, global influences. Sometimes it works brilliantly in the right hands; other times it's a complete mess--it runs amuck.

Similarly, Gordon Hamersley, chef-owner of Hamersley's Bistro in Boston, observed:

> I treat the food with great respect, treat those traditional recipes with great respect. [I] don't, you know, mess them up with other influences that don't, don't fit. You know, I'm not interested in putting the national dish of three countries on one plate. That's not, in my opinion, responsible, good cooking. . . . I'm not sure the con fit tradition from the south of France was intended for the tostada. But, you know, I could be wrong, who the hell am I? I just don't know.

This mishmashing of cultures is disturbing to many. Guenther Seeger, a German-born and apprenticed chef from the Black Forest who owns Seeger's in Atlanta and who is very highly respected among his colleagues, attributed the hybridization of cuisine and its often perceived negative elements to

> regional cuisines [that] have been chopped up--basically--and that has a lot do with you know people [who] want [to] do maybe new things and people [who] didn't really think about their (the cuisine's) traditions. People have done that because they don't know better. And, some of it has to do with you know getting attention, you know when you--it's like you mix a lot of things together; and you know for a lot of people that's really like incredibly inventive. . . . I'm not saying that we should do it exactly the way we did it a hundred years ago; but I think we should have the respect and we should seek the base of it, okay. So, then this hybrating cuisine--that's something I really absolutely hate because it has no foundation period, and it's just--it's done by people who don't really know. They just want to be different; and they put all this stuff on the plate and it doesn't even fit traditionally, and nutritionally, it doesn't fit.

As observed by Trotter and elaborated on by Van Aken, fusion cuisine can work well by some and not so well by others. Van Aken observed that fusion cooking

> has always attracted two levels at once, you know. It's always been the sort of high pure road of people who really get it and can offer it up; and there's people who jump on the bandwagon a few years later and say, oh, yeah, this is where it's at. This is where the money is going to be made. And they have no idea.

Vegetarian Cuisine as a Unique Form of Global Cuisine

Vegetarian cooking in the contemporary world represents a unique form of global cuisine. Deborah Madison, chef and former restauranteur, and cookbook author who has been described as being to "contemporary vegetarian cooking" "what Julia Child is to French cooking and Marcella Hazan is to Italian cooking" (About the Book, 1998, paragraph 1), observed that "vegetarian food is not associated, except in those very rare circumstance, with ethnicity." She additionally observed that

> The examples of vegetarian cuisine being associated with ethnicity has to do with the religious side of an ethnic culture--such as the Hindus of India or traditional Buddhists at times in different parts of Asia. Seventh Day Adventists are a religious group among our own ethnic population that make vegetarianism central to their practice. . . . a lot of wonderful vegetarian dishes from around the world are there to be tasted and explored, and, in fact . . . American vegetarians have always drawn on dishes from around the world for inspiration, for other cultures have made wider use of vegetables (and plant foods in general) than our own, which is a very meat-centered culture. . . . vegetarians in this country draw inspiration and examples of vegetarian dishes from all over the world--especially the Mediterranean, East Asia, and India, cultures that have vast and delectable repertoires of plant-based foods, even though they are not vegetarian cultures.

A peculiar aspect of this way of eating related to the ways in which identity is defined is that although these people may identify themselves as members of humanity or a global community, as opposed to the local community or their own ethnic community, the membership of their particular global community is actually much smaller than their local communities. Madison observed:

> My sense is that those very dedicated vegetarians, people who call themselves vegetarians and really don't include any animal products in their lives, can end up isolating themselves from others, as those with chosen food restrictions, such as keeping strictly kosher, often do. If you're a strict vegetarian, your options for eating out with others, for example, are sharply curtailed, that is unless you're happy always eating the salad and pasta.

It is ironic that although vegetarians are members of a global community of sorts with clearly global concerns, their beliefs and practices are shared by few members within their local, geographically confined communities.

Return to Tradition

There is an aspect of globalization that "has involved the reconstruction, in a sense the production, of 'home', 'community' and locality" (Robertson, 1995, p. 30; see also Abu-Lughod, 1994) or the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). This

is particularly evident in the search for what constitutes traditional cuisines and is part of the process of globalization. For example, Larry Forgione, viewed as a leader in the development of "New" American cuisine, elaborated on how he views American cuisine:

> I define American food as a combination of the bounty, harvest, as we knew it and as it's evolved today--a combination of the flavors and integrity of the past mixed with the melting pot of those settlers that came into that area. I think it's what being American is--being part of a very large picture that can't be defined--it's made up of so many different flavors and regions and influences. There's something American in taste that comes across when you have food that's not in America--maybe there's a flavor profile that we enjoy, maybe our flavor profile is a little more aggressive, a little more colorful, in the sense of flavors and spices (Larry On-Line, 1998).

The creation of a cuisine tradition is an inventive process that often involves a nostalgic longing for the past reconstructed or reconstituted for the present.

Forgione (1996) revealed in the introduction to his book, An American Place, that his inspiration for developing American cuisine came about in the mid-1970s while he was in London studying classical European cuisine. When further queried about this, he reflected:

> When I went to Europe, I think that what happened was like a slap in the face or a wake up call for me, and I started to see all these wonderful ingredients and all of these wonderful products and didn't understand why American cuisine and American cooking, you know, outside of America had such a funny or not a very good reputation; and I think that part of my wanting to rediscover American cooking is also part of the same sense like you know when you go outside--when you're in the American boundaries and someone says: What are you? And, you say: I'm half Italian, a quarter Irish, and a quarter German. When you're outside of America, you say I'm American. So, I think that it became when I left America, I became more American. . . . and I knew that the products existed and I knew that the heart of American cooking and the culture of American cooking was still there; and when I came back I wanted to rediscover that. And, I was doing that as an interest to me. . . . I didn't realize the impact that it was going to have on the future or the fact that there were so many other chefs in America that were focusing on the same thing.

This is precisely what Robertson (1995) referred to when he maintained "that globalization--in the broadest sense, the compression of the world--has involved and increasingly involves the creation and the incorporation of locality, processes which themselves largely shape, in turn, the compression of the world as a whole" (p. 40).

As Forgione's reflections reveal, these efforts at rediscovering the past are not merely isolated instances. There is certainly a widespread inventiveness to American cuisine. Describing his cuisine and the cuisine of others from the region, Stephan Pyles, chef-owner of Star Canyon in Dallas, said that

> what we're doing I think in Texas and the Southwest is really creating a cuisine that didn't exist before. At least, that's what I think I'm doing. And I'm taking dishes from Mexico, from Texas, from the Southwest, from the South, you know, all the influences that are inherent in Texas cooking and inventing something from it--so using a little bit of this, a little bit of this, a little bit of this to create a dish that didn't exist. I think that's probably the difference.

Foods from the past appeal to one's longing for nostalgia. As Lydia Shire, chef-proprietor of Biba and Pignolia in Boston and who some regard as being "on the short list of heirs to Julia Child" (Kenneally, 1997, paragraph 20) was reported as saying, "I'm old-fashioned. Absolutely." (LaBan, 1997, paragraph 10). LaBan described "such comforting classics as creamed spinach, mashed potatoes, grilled lamb chops and grilled lobster bathed in whiskey butter [as] familiar options indeed [at Shire's restaurant]. But rarely these days are they ever so good and indulgent." LaBan noted "Shire also viewed her affection for offal as old-fashioned" (paragraph 10). He quoted her as stating: "I'm afraid an entire generation may grow up and not know what a [cow's] brain tastes like" (LaBan, p. 3, paragraph 10). Indeed, even in the "land of offal," innards are losing their appeal among the French (Gumbel, 1993, paragraph 3). Traditional or regional cuisines,

whether from here or there, may have tremendous consumer appeal depending upon the social and historical context, and that appeal often depends upon the introduction and presentation by cultural intermediaries.

Additionally, those who prepare traditional cuisine that is mixed with another cuisine are concerned also with preserving the past. Frank Stitt, a prominent Southern chef who studied with Richard Olney viewed his

> mission [to] bring that rustic country French back and weave it into my southern background. Basically, I do it because there are flavors that I really love with both and then the traditions of my own heritage or my family being from the South. . . . a lot of what I think motivates me is the responsibility I have to maybe pass on some of what I've learned from my family's traditional foods with that sense of sharing. . . . I think that chefs who are entrepreneurs and restauranteurs--you know, we're the ones that are kind of responsible to provide some of those shared memories of our past from the great things what it means to be at table.

Chefs, along with their consumers, are both concerned with the preservation of memories from the past.

Summary

This chapter has provided considerable empirical support for Robertson's contention that homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies are both features of the contemporary world--in this case, as observed in various forms of cuisine. Furthermore, this chapter described the ways in which both of these tendencies are instances of glocalization. The homogenizing tendencies of glocalization are often expressed as the particularization of universalism. This chapter also reported on the ways in which, for example, French cuisine has become incorporated in unique ways into the repertory of local cooking traditions. This research also challenged the notion of homogeneity as a

straightforward process as it relates to cultural imperialism when the objects being disseminated to other localities are not endogenous to the exporting nation. Such is the case with fusion cuisine. This chapter additionally noted the ways in which seemingly homogenizing aspects of fast food restaurants become tailored to the demands of the local market.

The heterogenizing aspects of cuisine and globalization were also described. This paper discussed the ways in which our taken-for-granted assumptions regarding America's cultural diversity are often misleading. Most ethnic restaurants are very much alike in their overall presentation of cuisine. Although diversity may exist between, it does not always exist within. This is changing somewhat and is related to processes of glocalization. There is an increasing variety and quality of ethnic cuisines both between and within which have developed and grown out of the elevation of status of those cuisines that were once relegated to a lower status. This elevation of status is related to increased global flows in the form of travel and migration, the spread of a middle-class lifestyle occurring concomitantly with a greater worldwide sense of economic well-being, a growing concern with the preservation of local cultures, and a greater ethnic diversity of chefs.

Beyond homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies, this research also reported on the development of fusion cuisine as a transnational or transregional phenomenon combining cuisines from different spaces and times in unique ways. Fusion cuisine has largely taken off in the United States. It has been reported in this chapter that this is related to America's short history relative to the rest of the world, its unique immigration history, and its lack of a codified culinary tradition.

Lastly, this chapter has demonstrated that aspects of globalization greatly involve the creation of local cultures. This is one of the major findings of this study. The creation of local cultures involves the reinvention or recreation of traditional or regional cuisines that have developed over approximately the past two decades within the United States; so one can now speak of New American Cuisine, New World Cuisine, New Texas Cuisine, and New Southwest cuisine. These cuisines do not develop in isolation of other processes of globalization. Furthermore, these cuisines spread outward across the globe and influence the culinary culture of other places in ways that may be unlike those from anytime in the past.

The fact that all of these cuisines exist simultaneously is a reality of today's world. As Beardsworth and Keil (1997) reflected, this may not necessarily be a state of gastro-anomy as previously described by Fischler (1980). Rather, they observed that this emergent feature of contemporary society

> can be seen as providing the setting within which the existence of a multiplicity of menu principles, flavour principles and systems of cuisine is seen as quite normal and essentially unproblematic. Thus, sampling different principles and cuisines, switching from one to the other as mood, context and conscience dictate, can become normal. (Beardsworth & Keil, p. 169)

In a world that is constantly being barraged by ever-increasing images, where consumer knowledge and demand is high, and where economic competition is great, many cultural forms are likely to exist.

CHAPTER 6

LARGER GLOBAL THEMES RELATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CUISINE

The seminal and perennial issue in all of sociology revolves around the directional relationship that exists between culture and society. Griswold (1994) wrote about this relationship, particularly in the context of globalization. She suggested the use of the cultural diamond, consisting of the social world, the cultural object, the creator, and the receiver of culture as a way of conceptualizing the relationship that exists between each of these elements. For Griswold, the social world encompasses "the economic, political, social, and cultural patterns and exigencies that occur at any particular point in time (p. 15). Each element is connected to the other. This is the approach that is adopted in this work, though the receiver is largely ignored in this study because the focus is on the creator. Nonetheless, it is recognized that cultural intermediaries or creators are tremendously influenced by their consumers. Indeed, as already pointed out, chefs and restauranteurs could not survive without their publics. This influence as the chefs perceive it will be emphasized throughout. Griswold's conceptual schemata is useful for this study because it emphasizes the multidirectional and cross-linkages between the various elements. There are some, particularly Archer (1996), who view such ways of thinking as "conflationist." Despite this criticism, the reality is that neither perspective can be ignored without losing much understanding of what is actually taking place. It is not a unidimensional process and it cannot be reduced to such.

There are those who believe that the social realm influences or determines the cultural realm. This perspective has its roots in the works of both Durkheim and Marx. There are those who believe that the cultural realm influences the social realm. This perspective has its roots in the works of Weber, particularly as developed in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1958/1905) and in the notion of the "cultural switchman" as described in "The Social Psychology of the World Religions" (1946b). As Griswoid (1994) pointed out, for Weber (1946b), the cultural realm is likened to that of a railroad switchman where

> Not ideas, but material and ideal interests, directly govern men's conduct. Yet very frequently the 'world images' that have been created by 'ideas' have like switchmen, determined the tracks along which action has been pushed by the dynamic of interest. (p. 280)

Both of these perspectives have validity, particularly in regard to the study of cuisine. Cultural innovation and social change take place within a cultural and social context. Innovation and change are influenced by both ideas and structures. As previously mentioned, Symons' (1991) maintained that "there are ways that culture can be seen to be 'expressive' of food; there are good reasons to argue that our very thinking follows our cuisines. . . . society and culture are similarly 'constituted' as well as represented by cuisines" (p. 5).

This chapter focuses on the perceptions by cultural intermediaries on the interplay between culture and society and their fit in the directional flow between culture and society. In relation to healthy cooking specifically, but cooking generally also, Stephan Pyles pondered:

> I've long sort of debated in my own mind, which comes first. . . . I'm wondering who creates this trend? Is it the chefs? Is it the nutritionists who write about it?

> Is it the public who demands it? Now--I think it's a combination of those things, but I really think that there's a greater role in the chef than most people realize.

Although this statement seem self-serving on the surface, the reality is that chefs have assumed a much greater role in influencing people's food preferences and eating habits. This chapter explores the ways in which cultural intermediaries view the extent to which they influence or are influenced by concerns with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism. This chapter and the next will also provide some interpretations for why the chef has assumed such a prominent role in contemporary American society.

Concern with Health

A concern with health, and particularly a concern with the effect of diet on health, has become a key feature of the contemporary world (Lupton, 1996; Mennell et al., 1992). Additionally, eating out has become a major feature of the modern world (Finkelstein, 1989). The juxtaposition of these two developments have placed the chef in an especially prominent position to potentially influence the health of ever increasing numbers of people. This is an unprecedented position for the chef to occupy, though, and a position that is often viewed by the chef with a great deal of ambivalence for a number of reasons, including that any discussion concerning itself with health is problematic because of the many ways in which chefs and the general public may conceptualize health. These are described throughout.

Contemporary American History of Chef's Awareness of Health-Related Matters

Responses from interviews elicited in this study show that most chefs trace the American consumers' and their own concerns with the healthiness of food to the 1960s and 1970s and what was going on in the larger society. Julia Child distinctly recalled,

> After the Vietnam War, we were giving an illustration on elegance with eggs; and nobody came to it, of course--they were afraid of eggs. And, oh there was so much information in all the media everywhere spread around very quick.

Similarly, Nora Pouillon, a pioneer in the organic food movement, dates others' and her own concerns with

> chemical and hormonal additives to food in the late sixties. . . . Vegetarianism came up in spite of things. . . . I think it had a lot to do with the Vietnam War. . . . I think that in hippy times people . . . went into simpler and purer foods.

Since that time, health concerns of food have continued to escalate and are focused not only on the changing dietary patterns of the population at large, but on changing demographic and migrational patterns of specific subpopulations. So, as Allen Susser observed regarding the creation of his New World Cuisine in Florida: "I decided to incorporate . . . some of the health concerns and needs of the [older] Americans that were moving here as well." Regardless of whether chefs incorporate health-related concerns into their own cooking, they cannot ignore the reality of a preoccupation with health among consumers in contemporary society.

Another aspect related to concerns over the health of food is related to food phobias that are increasingly prevalent in contemporary society. As Frank Stitt observed,

> we are kind of in a dangerous time culturally with all the food phobias that people in America [have]. I mean you can go to most countries and people eat everything unless it's a religious thing. . . . it's part of my mission to try to get people to expand--to get people to eat veal livers or sweet breads or pigs ears or to eat some

> of the things that people haven't eaten for a long time. . . . a lot of Americans have this more sheltered culinary life of eating safe foods that are not very challenging texturally or tastewise.

Hence, not only are chefs aware of these concerns with health, they may be actively engaged in encouraging people to eat particular foods.

Not in the Business of Health

Historically, even in recent history, eating in a restaurant has been reserved for the provision of a pleasurable and sensual gastronomical experience for special occasions and celebrations. Now, it has become an everyday event for many. Because of this history, though, most chefs do not view themselves as providers of health. Charlie Trotter observed:

> I'm not really concerned with healthy lifestyles. I mean that's not my business. I'm not in the health business. . . . as Thoreau was not interested in doing good to others, neither am I interested in providing health for others. I'm interested in providing flavor; I'm interested in providing an experience. Health will come, but it's a by-product of my main pursuit. I'm not interested, it's not my business to give health to people. It's healthy food, though, that is the thing.

The preoccupation with the healthiness of food or the specific components of it such as caloric, cholesterol, or fat content by the general public and "the nutrition police" (as Julia Child refers to those obsessed with such concerns) (Getto, 1998, paragraph 12) offends the sense and sensibilities of many. Julia Child lamented about contemporary society:

> We're so afraid of cholesterol that there are very few people anymore [who] discuss the deliciousness of good food. Have you ever heard of anyone recently say how delicious it was. They'll say how healthy it [was], or there's not fat or no calories, but nobody says how [it] tastes.

The experience of enjoying the food becomes lost with a preoccupation with health concerns. Norman Van Aken also lamented that the "Americanized sense of the word healthy" viewed in terms of a "new, modern sort of way--measured in weights, tinged and . . . gauged . . . like the way they approach sex so many times--It (eating) has lost its sensuality."

Trepidation Over Food-Related Health Concerns

Chefs have definite ideas regarding what constitutes good food, and this does not always mean what is seemingly most healthy. Lydia Shire observed:

> If I'm going to serve a steak. . . . we trim the steak to what I say is the correct amount of fat left on the edge of the steak. . . . if you take all the fat off of the steak, I think that's totally wrong. . . . And witness, everybody eats it. You know, they may not cook that way at home, but when they go out, they should have what I consider is a correctly made steak. And to eat a steak without any fat at all, is like. . . . sitting down to eat a bowl of cornflakes and never putting a teaspoon of sugar on it. You know, who is really going to enjoy that? . . . I think as Americans get so neurotic to the point of "Oh God, help me--I am not allowed to have a teaspoon of sugar on my cornflakes, [or] I can't have a little bite of fat on my steak," you know, that's what I just think is wrong.

Lydia Shire raised an intriguing insight related to the potential negative affects on one's mental health that may result as a consequence of an over zealous obsession with what one eats which may affect the behavior of chefs, and consequently their publics. Similarly, Julia Child reflected: "I think if you're afraid of your food, you don't [digest well]--we aren't digesting. You look at an egg or a pat of butter, you have a twinge of horror. You're not going to digest well." Child (1989) also observed in The Way to Cook:

> Because of media hype and woefully inadequate information, too many people nowadays are deathly afraid of their food and what does fear of food do to the

> digestive system? I am sure that an unhappy or suspicious stomach, constricted and uneasy with worry, cannot digest properly. And if digestion is poor the whole body politic suffers. (p. xi)

Much of this food-related anxiety is brought about by the constant barrage of conflicting health-related information that is presented by the scientific community and the media. Julia Child further observed: "One of the great problems is that people get scared of their food, and they listen to anything that comes along on the newspapers or in the airwaves, and they forget about a sort of well-balanced diet." Frank Stitt further observed that some of the "demise in food culture" was brought about by "college-trained dieticians and home economists since the forties and fifties." During this time, there was an emphasis on establishing nutritional standards that often resulted in reducing foods to the "lowest common denominator," including sameness and blandness.

An additional effect that conflicting food-related health reports has had on the public was observed by Allen Susser:

> You have to be responsive to cultural demand out there. And right now, we're actually at a strange turning point on that health situation [in] that more people are very confused than ever before. [They] just don't [know] what is healthy, what is not; what they're supposed to eat, what they're not. There are so many reports from different organizations that conflict that they're not sure what to make of it . . . . [This] has brought on the situation of, oh well, who cares--I live once. . . . I'm going out to eat; and I'm going to enjoy.

A disregard for health is often the message that chefs receive from their patrons. Larry Forgione observed that "when people started talking about a decline in meat eating, we never saw it at An American Place." Similarly, Frank Stitt observed that "people are only going to eat with us at Highlands (one of his restaurants) once a month, they don't really want spa cuisine, they would rather like to have maybe some of those wonderful memories of rich sauces and really satisfying meals, so I'm kind of torn between the two." If

chefs are not inclined to view their role as health providers and if consumers do not desire healthy choices when dining out, it is unlikely that health concerns, at least certain kinds of health concerns, will be a top priority among chefs.

Health as a By-Product

Nonetheless, as Charlie Trotter observed, although he does not make it his business to be concerned with health, the food is healthy as a by-product of his primary preoccupation. Similarly, Susanna Foo observed: "I don't have any health-related influence. . . . I don't believe in diet, I don't really believe in vegetarianism, I don't believe in all that sort of thing. . . . I think good food is good food." Both of these chefs as well as the majority of today's leading chefs do indeed tend to cook food that is generally healthy even in Norman Van Aken's observation of the "Americanized sense of the word healthy." Today's cooking is still characterized by some of the same features of nouvelle cuisine--fresh ingredients, little or no butter or cream sauces, and low-fat methods of preparation. In addition, many chefs use only organic products which are healthy for a variety of reasons. This will be elaborated on at great length later in this chapter.

Moderation

For many chefs, the key to healthy eating is reflected in the notion of moderation. Julia Child commented on the motto of the Institute of Wine and Food: "Our motto is moderation--small helpings, a little bit of everything." Gordon Hamersley similarly believed in moderation:

> I believe in all things in moderation, and I think, specifically everyday cooking is designed to be everyday, and the extravagances are not. . . . if you and I are going out for your birthday, why do we feel it's obligatory to have champagne, caviar, and foie gras all in the same meal? Because it's your birthday, and it's an extravagance, and we're trying to make it sound and feel like a special day. But in point of fact, in the morning, we're going to feel like hell.

As Hamersley observed, though, birthdays are viewed as special occasions, therefore extravagances are appropriate, while moderation is reflected in day-to-day eating habits.

Special Occasion Versus Everyday Foods

Bayless (1996b) observed that the distinction between special occasion and everyday ways of eating are disappearing. Not only are more people eating out in today's society, but more people are eating out more often. As a consequence, Bayless observed that special occasion foods are now more "easily available." In 1996, he stated: "Now I see some of my customers two, three, four times a week. Yet a lot of what I'm serving them--until we made some changes in the last several years--is definitely special occasion foods not meant for everyday eating" (p. 1). Bayless clearly recognized the health connection between special occasion foods and everyday foods where special occasion foods are those that are often less healthy. He further observed: "To my mind, chocolate fudge brownies should be high in fat and should be something to look forward to on special occasions" (p. 2). In recognizing the health-related implications of a public that regularly dines out, Bayless stated:

> As a chef in the nineties, responsible for the good feeding of folks . . . I try to address the special occasion-everyday distinction on my menu, not by scattering heart-healthy symbols about, but by creating a section of smaller, simpler entrees--items with a fresh healthiness about them. It's at least an attempt, I feel, at keeping the distinction alive. (p. 2)

Balance

The theme of balance was used repeatedly by chefs to describe various aspects of food and eating. In his consideration of the health implications of food, Hamersley observed that he

> think[s] about it in terms of balance. . . . One has to have a sensibility about what goes into your body. . . . I think about the health aspects of things, but I'm certainly not about to cut out the butter in the chocolate cake because of the fat . . . . When I write a menu, I write it in such a way that when I start thinking about all the elements of it, appetizers, main courses, I think in terms of, well, we have five fish dishes here, and one of them should probably be grilled, and one of them should be braised, maybe one should be sauteed, and one should be steamed, and, by virtue of those techniques, you can figure out which one's got more calories, and which one doesn't--and the steamed one is usually going to be the one with the least amount of fat. And I think in terms of that because you need to give people a choice--a balance. This is not to say that everybody will choose a balanced menu, but usually you will over the long haul.

For Hamersley, balance is related to choices made not only for the individual meal but, also, choices that are made for all meals throughout the course of one's life.

Organic Food

Chefs, such as Nora Pouillon, are increasingly concerned with "the quality and nutritional value of our food supply" (Nora, 1998, paragraph 1). A concern with serving organic foods is linked with larger global concerns related to issues of food sustainability, particularly, and the future of the world, in general. Alice Waters, the creator of California cuisine, chef-proprietor of Chez Panisse in Berkeley, author of several cookbooks, and an active member of her communities (both local and global), viewed "food as connecting completely with agriculture and affecting agriculture and culture." She further observed:

> Personally, I'm interested in buying food at its real cost, because I know that food that's not organic is subsidized and grown in ways that are destroying our natural resources around the world. And, I know that sooner or later I'm going to have to pay those costs covered over by the subsidies. . . . whether in my poor health, or in the destruction of the land. (What Alice was Asked, 1998)

Cultural intermediaries who are concerned with organic food often are motivated by humanitarian goals from a global perspective. Nora Pouillon observed: "If you look at it from a philosophical point, I am doing all this to give people healthy food and to prolong their life. . . . I think that if we would all make the effort that I make, I think that our world would be an easier, healthier place to live, and we, as people, would be healthier, and I make the statement with my organic restaurant."

Larry Forgione, who coined the phrase "free range" in reference to chicken and eggs, also was especially concerned with organics and reflected on it from a production point of view:

> Other [chefs] are truly involved in the food and where it comes from, what happens to it, what its affects are on our [health] lifestyles--I look at myself as a chef in that category. . . . I think that chefs that produce really fine quality [food] and are interested in getting the best ingredients to the table are always worried about those things.

The relationship with the farmer is especially important to those concerned with organics. Alice Waters observed:

> When I buy food from a farmer, I know who he is, I know he cares about my well-being, and I know he's taken care of the land he's farming. I have a responsibility to him, and he to me. I couldn't put the food I cook on the table without him, so I really treasure this relationship. (Kelley, 1998)

As already noted several times, health may be a by-product of some other goal. For example, Guenther Seeger noted:

> I'm looking very close[ly] at what I'm buying--that I'm buying very healthy products, the very freshest vegetables organically grown, the best, very best

> ingredients, if that's meat or fish. Everything needs to be top, top quality, and even the salt, the oils, the vinegars--I mean all--even the condiments--have to [be] first class quality; and those are very healthy products. . . . You know, even we get the salt from Normandy. . . which is unprocessed salt. So, in general it is a very healthy product. And, they are cooked in a way [so] that they are healthier than all those other foods, but I'm not . . . a health food store or restaurant.

Organic food has a very specific meaning for chefs. Chefs Collaborative 2000, an organization devoted to sustainable food products, has issued "A Chef's Authoritative Guide to the Meaning of Organic" in response to the tremendous controversy surrounding the previously proposed USDA initiative for a National Organic Program. In its most simple form, organic farming refers to the sustainability of agriculture. In the communique, Goodman (1998), the author of the directive, specifically defined these terms:

> Sustainability in agriculture means farming with a view to a whole systems approach, in a way that is environmentally safe, ecologically sound, economically viable and humane. Organic agriculture is more precisely defined. It is a definite attempt to replicate nature, while at the same time specifying exactly what is allowed and not allowed in the organic practice of farming. It includes verifiable methods that enhance the biological activity in the soil, minimize pollution of water and air, and produce food that is free of toxic chemical residues or additives [leaving them absolutely safe to eat].

Goodman went on to note as a directive to chefs that

> people everywhere who love great food look to you, as a chef, to inspire creativity, educate them about what is wonderful to eat, and help them locate the finest ingredients. Ultimately, you have great impact on trends in the food and farming community.

Food Handling

There are some aspects related to health that consumers do not often think about, but those who work with food think about often. One of these relates to the actual handling of the food. Raji Jallepalli, who has a background in biochemistry, when queried about her concern for healthy food observed:

> I'm also interested in things being not only chemically clean, but biologically clean, and my staff is really extensively informed about the general hygiene and sanitation in the kitchen and why certain things work certain ways, why certain things don't work a certain way.

The issue of food handling has become a special concern among some chefs in large part because of the increased use of raw ingredients and the increased focus on the elaborate artistic and architectural presentation of food. Jean-Georges Vongerichten (Interview Transcript, Jean-Georges Vongerichten, 1996) observed of his own history with food presentation: "Bring back the old carving in the dining room, but done for the 90s. I've been cooking for 25 years now, and I don't like my cooks to touch my food anymore. Hygiene is very important. Sometimes you see a plate with 20 slices, there have been 10 different hands touching the food."

Vegetarianism

Many motivations and rhetoric are offered for consumption of a vegetarian diet. Beardsworth and Keil (1997) summarized these according to broader themes, including the moral theme, the food production theme, the religious-spiritual theme, the "New Order" theme, the health-physiological theme, and the aesthetic-gustatory theme. Deborah Madison believed that

> a lot of the impulse towards vegetarianism is a product of this moment in our highly industrialized, bifurcated culture. . . . it is an expression of a culture that's not connected, particularly to the food it eats. Further, people are beginning to react with alarm to the fact that our food sources are becoming increasingly unsafe and adulterated. While vegetables are not excluded from the possibilities of contamination, what happens with meat is more evident and certainly more scary to many people.

All of these are health-related concerns. Furthermore, persons who choose to be vegetarians for other reasons also tend to rationalize their choice as being the more healthy option. Chefs are becoming more interested in cooking vegetables, though often not consciously for either vegetarian or health-related concerns. The vegetarian agenda has likely had an impact on chefs' interest in cooking with vegetables, though. Madison, who is not strictly vegetarian, comments about her own cooking and teaching with vegetables:

> I'm motivated to cook for flavor, for season, for teaching people how to use things that are in front of their faces that they don't know how to use. I'm happy to offer a wide range of dishes from low fat to high fat to whatever. My concern is to get people interested and excited especially about [plant foods] and their possibilities.

Effects of the Globalization of Cuisine on Health

All cultures possess foods that are healthy. However, there are some cuisines that are generally more healthy than others. This may be related to a number of factors, including especially the ingredients and techniques used in the cooking. As cuisine spreads from one culture to another, there may be health benefits to be gained from the host culture if the cuisine imported is a healthy one. Susanna Foo, who specializes in Chinese cuisine, observed that

> I think that every country, every tradition, every traditional culture has food that is very healthy. The food from the people is always very healthy. It could be just a grain dish, or it could be a certain way to do just beef over the fire like in Argentina, or it could be a certain way to do a fish, but I think that in general Asian food gives us the idea of being fresh, fast-cooked food, without any animal fat added, no cream or butter added--or no cream sauce or butter sauces like we would do in French food. And, also it's food that [is] cooked very fast like stir fried or steamed, and, therefore, keeps its freshness or nutritional integrity. So, I think that, for me, Asian food--that type of Asian food you would call Southeast Asian food has a very healthy meaning.

Concern with Rationality

A major feature of modernity throughout the world is an overwhelming global tendency toward formal rationality. Ritzer (1997) referred to this phenomenon in the title to his well-known book as "the McDonaldization of society." For Ritzer, a model of formal rationality extending to all aspects of social life is the fast-food restaurant. The fast-food restaurant is based upon the principles of efficiency, calculability, predictability, substitution of nonhuman for human technology, and control over uncertainty (Ritzer). Larry Forgione, in commenting on this, observed: "The McDonaldization of America first and then the world is unfortunately that side of America that. . . . I call 'the dark ages' of American cooking." He traced the beginning of the McDonaldization of American cooking to the

> late fifties, and sixties, and early seventies. . . . We were moving too fast, and McDonald's found its niche because people weren't willing to cook anymore. They wanted everything instantly. There is no real concern about quality; there's just quantity, you know and the dollar.

It is precisely in these observations by Forgione that the role of the chef becomes so much more important in contemporary society. As people are increasingly becoming less willing to cook, there is an increase in dining out. As Forgione further observed, dysfunctional tendencies in American society are, in part,

> because of the elimination of things like truly sitting down to family dinners and the understanding of coming to a table and sharing that food isn't something that is just purely nourishment for your body--that it's nourishment of your culture, your senses, your experiences of relating to people. . . . so much of this generation . . . think that dinner is picking something up at McDonalds or dinner is sitting down by yourself and maybe one person eats at 5:30, another person eats at 7:30 and that they're not brought to the table to understand and experience. . . . food is supposed to nourish you more than just filling you up.

Formal Versus Substantive Rationality

As this previous passage by Forgione reveals, a backlash is beginning among contemporary chef cultural intermediaries against the tendencies toward formal rationality. Primary among this backlash is the core distinction made by Weber between formal and substantive rationality in which formal rationality refers to the most efficient and effective means of accomplishing a goal and substantive rationality refers to the realization of a valued and idealized goal. Guenther Seeger elaborated upon this distinction. He was critical of the criteria used to measure a successful person

> not only in America, [but globally, as well, as making money]. . . . I don't believe in that kind of world. . . . To me success is when I do work I like and still make some money. . . . it doesn't matter--a million dollars or fifty thousand dollars as long as I like what I do.

For Seeger, the quality of his work and the appreciation of that quality by his customers is of utmost importance. Regarding his own work, he observed:

> I care a lot about what we do here. I care a lot about how we are. You know I want to do things in the right way. I don't want to do them just in the way of becoming financially successful or having an easy life. . . . I'm looking for things how they're supposed to be you know. I don't take any shortcuts . . . but I work very hard and that's sometimes very hard for everybody who works here. . . . It's the difference between you know being a mediocre restaurant and . . . something like this. It's very, very hard.

Regarding the appreciation of his work by his customers, he observed:

> Somebody who doesn't know the depth of anything--if somebody doesn't know the depth of a concert, they don't know the depth of the cuisine. They're only going for new . . . . They can't hear the same music twice [or] they're bored, and that only happens because they don't know the depth of it.

Modernity as a Double-Edged Sword

As Giddens (1991) aptly observed, modernity is a double-edged sword. Increasing processes of rationality have brought about the greater convenience and availability of obtaining an increasing variety of food products, but, at the same time, has created many difficulties that many chefs struggle with on a daily basis.

Health issues. There are at least two major concerns in this regard. First, as Nora Pouillon observed, a major reason for the greater availability of foodstuffs is related to the use of additives to food products. Pouillon further observed that the use of pesticides and hormones in our foodstuffs has tremendous negative health implications. Another feature of modernity that has both positive and negative aspects is the increasing barrage of health-related information. Pouillon observed that as individuals have become increasingly aware of the effects of pesticides in their plant products and hormones in their animal products, they become more concerned about the food that they are consuming. As a consequence, many chefs and the general public have become concerned with eating only organic food. At the same time, as already mentioned, it often results in a very confused public.

Balance issues. Another consequence of modernity and being able to have all foodstuffs available from anywhere at any time of the year is that it disturbs many chefs sense of balance or predictability. Gordon Hamersley observed:

> Where things begin to get wacky, I think, is when people start combining things that are out of season, and you can taste it on the plate. They're incongruous. So, it's for a good reason that tomatoes and basil go well together, they're both grown

> in the same season, out of the same soil. But, when you start putting things like a winter vegetable like, say broccoli, with a spring vegetable like asparagus on the same plate, you've got things that don't work, and you can taste that if you're smart about it. You can feel it. There's something wrong with it. It's just kind of like putting your pants on backwards.

Lydia Shire made a similar observation: "My mother would only eat asparagus in the spring time. You know, now you can get asparagus [anytime], I mean in California they eat it for Christmas. I mean horrors!" Guenther Seeger made a health-related observation about the mixing of foodstuffs from around the world: "It doesn't really fit anymore . . . . those cuisines have been put together on one plate and . . . this hybrating food [is] not even nutritionally fit."

Concern for the Environment

Several core issues have the potential to unite humanity as a whole. One of the most prominent among these is a concern for the environment. Regarding her concern with food and the future, Alice Waters emphatically stated: "I'm absolutely thinking globally." Much of the concern for the environment has already been stated earlier in this chapter in the subsection on Organics. What is unique about a concern for the environment is that it encompasses all of humanity, and it encompasses all aspects of the world--biological, social, and cultural. Jimmy Schmidt, chair and co-founder of Chefs Collaborative 2000 and chef-owner of two restaurants, including The Rattlesnake Club in Detroit, maintained: "Biodiversity and cultural diversity is where the key is." Both are intimately linked with each other.

Additionally, concerns for the environment are those that are motivated by a larger concern with the more general welfare for the entire future and our individual and societal-level responsibilities for that future. Nora Pouillon noted:

> For me, organic means that it is environmentally correct and sustainable, which means that it's not something that I only take; it's something that helps the life cycle continuing. . . . It's that we are here for a certain amount of time, and I feel that we should not only take, we should try to leave something behind, and, you know, not to leave disaster behind, but to leave something positive behind.

Alice Waters (1996) observed that

> in our opinion, the finest food is produced and grown in ways that are ecologically sound. We try to make decisions about cooking and eating that support the kind of agriculture that takes care of the land, land we hold in trust for future generations. Good food depends entirely on good ingredients. (p. xix)

Additionally, from Waters' perspective, "Food informs your whole life, which is why I maintain that eating is a political act" (Kelley, 1998). Inasmuch as this is true, eating is something that all persons must do in order to survive; therefore, eating has political implications for all.

Concern with Romanticism

Another major feature of today's world is a great concern with romanticism--romanticism in the sense of having a desire or fantasy to experience the novel (Campbell, 1987). This is related to the rise and spread of a middle-class lifestyle. Warde (1997), in his work Consumption, Food, and Taste, observed that the most prominent antinomies related to food choices presented to the consumer are related to those that exist between novelty and tradition, health and indulgence, economy and extravagance, and con-

venience and care. This section elaborates on some of these themes from the perspective of the chef.

Class-Based Cuisine

Much of what is associated with the concern for romanticism is associated with the rise and spread of a middle-class lifestyle. As Campbell (1987) observed, the spirit of modern consumerism occurs concomitantly with a romantic ethic. When asked who their patrons are, most chefs believe that their restaurant caters to an essentially middle- and upper-class clientele. MacClancey (1992) and Simmonds (1990) observed that "foodies" represent a large segment of the middle-class who are driven by a desire to seek out as much information and experiences related to food as possible. This phenomenon is spreading to other classes as well and is encouraged actively by cultural intermediaries. For example, many restauranteurs have prices that are accessible to lower middle-class and even working-class persons for special occasions. Larry Forgione observed:

> I think that people who dine out at some of the finest restaurants in the world also dine here. American Place is certainly in the category, of say, a deluxe restaurant or a luxury restaurant. . . . our pricing and our structure is kept at the lower end because I wanted the restaurant to be more accessible to--not, obviously accessible to everybody, but to be accessible to--as [many people] as possible.

Furthermore, over time, cuisine transcends class boundaries. For example, as Jimmy Gherardi, a chef who wears many hats, including owner of J's Fresh Seafood Restaurant in Cincinnati, OH, host of the public radio show Everybody's Cooking, president of the Global Culinary Center, observed: "Twenty years ago, where would you find a Caesar's salad? You'd have a maitre 'de tossing it in a velvet coat--tossing it table side for you. Now, you go through the drive-up window and get it." He also observed:

"Most of the chefs are much more casual today, and they don't wear the torques, and they don't walk around so stern faced with their arms crossed, and all that." Such changes, particularly within fine dining establishments, make them seemingly more accessible to a more varied audience. These findings provide some support to Mennell's observation regarding diminishing contrasts between social groups, which others have regarded with skepticism (Warde, 1997; Wood, 1995). Thus, changes in food consumption patterns may play a role in bringing about changes in existing social structures.

Gendered Cooking

Much like food and cuisine has the potential to bring about changes in social class, it also has the potential to bring about changes in traditional male and female roles. Related to both of these, Frank Stitt observed that "now cooking has become the elite thing not just for the cultured or the sophisticated or moneyed, but the working man can feel confident in talking about his love of food and cooking. . . . twenty years ago it was not the case at all." Much of the interest that men now have in cooking may be related directly to the increased visibility of male chefs and cooks who appeal to a wide audience. Seeing or hearing men cook and talk about food and seeing men participate in the audience of television and radio cooking shows may legitimize cooking as an exciting and new activity appropriate for men to be engaged. Cooking may be part of the romanticism associated with today's global man. Jimmy Gherardi noted that his show is

> called Everybody's Cooking for a specific reason. . . . everybody's cooking, so you know it's global. . . . [the] audience is all over the place. We get doctors, lawyers. . . . Everyday at lunch, there's five guys on a construction crew who listen to us.

Similarly, Emeril LaGasse noted that he has "seen the impact [of his media presence and others on] how many male[s] . . . are beginning to cook."

Dining Out as an Event

Dining out has become a contemporary form of leisure activity and entertainment. Frank Stitt observed that

> One of the great entertainments of our life right now is restaurants. I mean we don't go to live theater much. We don't really have any cafes that we go to discuss politics. It's more the restaurants where interpersonal dramas are allowed to happen.

In such consumption activities, persons become active participants in their pursuit of leisure.

Special occasions. People still dine out for special occasions. Even those with lesser incomes dine out at places that are less expensive. As Mary Douglas observed, special events are marked by the occasion of dining. Charlie Trotter, whose restaurant is quite exclusive, described his patrons as

> people that celebrate special--and in some cases monumental--occasions in their lives: 50th birthday, 25th wedding anniversary, those kinds of things, law school graduation, wedding proposal, prenuptial dinners, you know very, very, significant events in peoples' lives.

Regardless of the price structure of the restaurant or the reason for dining out, as Gordon Hamersley noted: "There's a certain amount of expectation that comes when people come through the door."

The experience. Many people dine out for the novelty of the experience. As Trotter further observed about his patrons: "There are also foodies--people who just live for restaurants, and dining, and going from restaurant to restaurant." Chefs sometimes struggle for different reasons with this preoccupation with novelty. Lydia Shire, particularly, spelled out the concerns of the chef. First, there is not a sense of commitment to something with this pattern of dining out. This may be an expression or reflection of the values of the society at large. She reflected in speaking about different restaurants in different places from hers which is located in Boston:

> It's like this feeling of like--what's the hot restaurant?--Okay, let's go there--go there one or two times and then they'll say, well, all right, what's the next hot restaurant? And they kind of don't have any loyalties. They don't go back much to their old friends. I don't know; I just found that there is this feeling around like--Oh my God, I need something new every moment to satisfy me, and I just find that to be awful.

There is a distinction between novelty between and within, however. The novelty between restaurants occurs as persons seek out new and different foods from different restaurants. Allen Susser observed that there are some customers who

> come to me on a regular once a week basis or once every other week basis as a regular part of business, which is a great commitment on their part, but they like variety and so they have a range of anywhere from four to seven restaurants that they have this type of commitment to. They're for different variety, for different purposes on their dining schedule.

The novelty within restaurants occurs as persons seek out variety in a single restaurant where many, and probably most, chefs change their menus frequently either daily or, at least, seasonally. Additionally, many chefs have included two restaurants within one location. For example, one may dine for a less expensive price at the adjacent bistro, where the view of the kitchen is present, at Jean-Georges in Trump Tower.

Similarly, one may dine at the lower priced upstairs Cafe in Alice Waters' Chez Panisse. Such accommodations, additionally, make the food of particular chefs accessible to a greater number of clientele.

It is not only the abandonment of a sense of commitment to people and places that some find disturbing, though; it is also a concern with what people are finding meaningful in their lives. Shire lamented:

> I don't know. So, what's happening in America? I mean, what are people valuing. . . . back to the food in restaurants--like what's new today or what's good? Let's talk about what's good. I mean what are the good restaurants to go to, not necessarily the new restaurants.

Much of this concern shared among chefs is related to a sense that people may only be superficially appreciating the food and, then, moving on to something new. Guenther Seeger observed:

> You know for me it's like somebody is trying a tenderloin from a lamb, or something, and he doesn't understand when to eat it, how to eat it, and all that. Well, a week later, he thinks, you know, he wants to eat something else. . . . the substance is now disappearing. . . . now we need all this stimulation.

He lamented that "nobody can walk through the same paths of the forest [and discover things they hadn't before]."

There is a romanticism associated with the globalization of cuisine. Persons seek out cuisines of other cultures as a novel experience. Madison observed: "If you live in a big city, it's possible to have a different cuisine every night of the week." She lamented about the superficial appreciation by some about the different cuisines. On the other hand, she observed that there are some who "when you go into a restaurant, if you're a food sophisticate, you're not gonna believe them when they say pork with Moroccan spices [because] you know Moroccans don't eat pork. . . .You're gonna notice that . . .

because you've been educated." Through our appreciation of food, we may come to learn about and appreciate other cultures.

What's Old Is New and What's Peasant Is Now Haute Cuisine

Oftentimes, what is most traditional or simple becomes most fashionable. This is especially true in regard to food. Lydia Shire observed:

> Everything comes full circle. I'm convinced of that, you know. . . . I remember telling my co-chef, Susan, a long time ago--I said, "Let's put cod on the menu." She said: "Cod! Lydia, come on--cod, that's like, I don't want to say trash fish, but I mean it was never considered very chic or anything like that." And now cod has been around for what?--the last five, six, seven, or eight years to the point where it's kind of all of a sudden going off the menus again.

Cuisines change, and they change in varying ways that are often related to maintaining the distinctions between classes (Bourdieu, 1984; Mennell, 1996).

Foods that are often considered foods from the past or those that only peasants ate are often those that become fashionable. As previously observed by Montanari (1994), "Only a wealthy society can afford to appreciate poverty." Lydia Shire observed: "We sell a lot of brains. You'd be surprised. We sell at least maybe 10 orders of brain a night." What is traditional becomes popular. LaBan (1997, paragraph 11) quoted Susan Regis, Lydia Shire's co-chef as musing: "We enjoy the element of surprise and challenge in presenting offal to Bostonians. There are really people out there who are looking for a kidney but can't find one [on any menu]." In regard to extremes in gorging and fasting in the Middle Ages, Mennell (1991) observed that such behavior is related to the "general insecurity of conditions of social life." The same factors may be at play here. Persons find security in traditional foods that are presented in a contemporary format as novelty.

The concern with tradition and simplicity has also worked to elevate the status of what have historically been referred to as "health food restaurants." These restaurants have often been associated with "hippy restaurants." Nora Pouillon observed about her own restaurant:

> I make the statement [about health] with my organic restaurant by having a wonderful restaurant, upscale, you know, to show that you don't have to be a hippy to do that kind of thing. You can be a business person--a regular person--that you can actually make money at doing it.

In today's world, restaurants that feature organic food as healthy food have the potential to raise the status of that cuisine. What was once "hippy food" has become socially responsible eating.

The hybridization of cuisine also is something that is novel and attracts a significant crowd. Often the cuisine of particular regions becomes elevated through its fusion with a higher status cuisine--such as Southwestern or Texas, or Indian with French. This has been discussed in the previous chapter.

Conclusions

The world is changing rapidly because of the interrelated processes of globalization and modernization. As part of these processes or in response to these processes, there is a much greater concern in contemporary society with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism. Chefs may either embrace or reject these processes. Either way, they are compelled to respond. Contemporary movements in cuisine develop, in large part, through the activities of cultural intermediaries located within a particular social and historical context. Precisely because of these processes, the

role of the chef has changed dramatically, particularly within the past two decades; the chef has assumed a much greater position in influencing contemporary social life in a myriad of ways. The role of the chef is described in the next chapter.

Concerns with the relationship between food and health-related matters, not only of the most obvious of nutritional content, but to food safety and organics have had a great impact on the changing role of the chef. Tendencies toward increasing rationality which affect the environment through the commercialization of food products have also had a synergistic affect on the changing role of the chef. Jimmy Schmidt summed it up in this way:

> This is a new position for chefs to be in because the environment has changed in the last century. . . . what has been kind of dropped into chefs' laps per se is this knowledge that the planet's changing, and since we sell food and we have a responsibility to our patrons to serve them wholesome food . . . we had to become better educated to deal with these challenges of the next century. You know the quality of the food as far as it being safe, the nutritional value of the food, the preservation of the food for future generations . . . is being reduced because of commercialization and [what] . . . we originally were trained for was to make it (food) taste good. . . . all these other elements [modernization, commercialization, rationalization] that you know have taken place makes it more difficult for us to accomplish that. So, we do have a larger role.

How it all came about, he concluded, is with the realization that "hey the world is really changing and you know if somebody doesn't wake up here, it will be different." Chefs have been on the vanguard over concern with these issues and have often worked to define and shape those issues. So, although the events of the social world have shaped the activities of chefs, they have not determined it, and, in many ways, chefs have been responsible for bringing about awareness and changes in the social world. The precise ways in which they perform in this capacity is described in the next chapter.

Concern with romanticism has also had an impact on the role of the chef, particularly through the presence of a viable, concentrated public who can afford restaurant dining and through the activities of the media. As Thomas Keller, chef-proprietor of The French Laundry and the recipient of a James Beard Award for an unprecedented two consecutive years (first for Best American Chef: California in 1996 and second for Outstanding Chef: America in 1997), observed regarding his restaurant: "This [fine dining] is now an important segment of restaurant dining." The changing and increasing role of the chef, Keller believed, is a consequence of the media's role in the creation of chefs as celebrities and role models. He noted:

> You know chefs typically never left their restaurants. It's a pretty new phenomenon. . . . chefs are going out and it's all media driven, you know. It's all media driven. . . . the chefs didn't create it. . . . it's our society you know--we're excited by this kind of thing.

Although the media has been instrumental in creating celebrities as chefs, chefs have often used the media as a platform to promote their own agendas not driven necessarily by the media, but aided by the media. Romanticism and consumption become linked as the media creates what was once inaccessible to many now part of everyones' everyday life. The greater and expanded role of the chef in contemporary society is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

THE ROLE OF CULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES

Chefs are cultural specialists who, Featherstone (1995) observed, "engage in the production and dissemination of culture" (p. 3). The precise ways in which the chef performs as a cultural intermediary are complex and perhaps not easily discernible to the general public. This is largely related to the ways in which the role of the chef in contemporary society has evolved to include numerous and varied responsibilities and expectations. The chef as a producer and interpreter of culture responds to many demands, both external and internal. Oftentimes these role expectations and demands are in harmony with each other; other times they are in conflict with each other. In a recent popular film, Big Night, about two Italian brothers who immigrate to New York City and open a restaurant in the 1940s, the following dialogue takes place:

> Primo: If you give people time, they will learn.
> Secondo: Well, I don't have time for them to learn. This is a restaurant, not a fucking school.

The conflict exists between the older brother who views his role as a teacher or pre-servationist of culture and the younger brother who views his role as a business person. To be a successful chef, carrying out both these roles is essential; in addition, many more roles are required. This chapter describes how chefs view their role in society, how they carry out that role, and what strain they may encounter in carrying out that role.

Cooking as a Vocation

Weber (1946a) elaborated on in his lecture, "Science as a Vocation," that the life of a scientist is one in which the individual must be completely dedicated to their work. The life of a chef may be viewed similarly. Weber reflected:

> Ladies and Gentlemen. In the field of science only he who is devoted solely to the work at hand has "personality." And this holds not only for the field of science; we know of no great artist who has ever done anything but serve his work and only his work. . . . an inner devotion to the task, and that alone, should lift the scientist to the height and dignity of the subject he pretends to serve. And in this it is not different with the artist. (p. 137)

The same is true of the great chefs. Guenther Seeger observed:

> This (the restaurant) is your whole life. A restaurant is a life, you know. You don't have [a life] like a normal person has a work life and a private life. When you have a restaurant, there is just one life, and you live your life in that place.

There is often no separation between the public and the private for chef-proprietors. Stephan Pyles similarly observed:

> My primary relationship, I guess, is with my restaurant. It's always been that way. . . . you know people don't realize, I think, exactly what it takes to be a chef and a restauranteur. . . . there are sacrifices to be made, and people with families have made sacrifices.

Jimmy Gherardi summed it up by referring to being a chef as possessing "one integrated lifestyle."

Given the dedication and commitment that chefs often devote to this lifestyle, the performances of the roles associated with that lifestyle become especially critical for both the chef and the larger society. As a consequence, the major issue of value neutrality in the performance of one's role that confronts the scientist also confronts the chef. Unlike the scientist as cultural intermediary, though, although many chefs may be uncomfortable with proselytizing activities, their status as nonscientists removes from them the ethical

constraints to not disclose a personal point of view and allows them to give answer's to Tolstoy's question: "What shall we do and how shall we live?"

Teacher

Oftentimes when one considers what is meant by the term cultural intermediary, the image of a teacher, professor, or some learned person is evoked. Cultural intermediaries are those who possess specialized knowledge and pass that knowledge on to other members of society. The focus of this work is on the teaching that chefs provide to the general public. Only to a limited extent will the teaching that chefs provide to other chefs be discussed.

Teaching Within the Restaurant

The teaching that a chef does can occur through a variety of venues in contemporary society. Obviously, it happens within the restaurant. Patrons are able to partake both of the cuisine that is served to them and the entire dining experience itself. Through that multisensual experience, persons learn what foods to appreciate and how to appreciate them. Other times, the teaching is more direct. Some chefs like to interact and teach their customers directly; others do not. For example, Raji Jallepalli is a chef who "encourages [the customer's] opinion, their input." She added: "I want them to ask me questions." In addition to teaching in this manner, she observed that she learns from the experience and looks forward to the intellectual stimulation provided by such customer inquiry: "I like patrons who challenge me. . . . I want them to challenge me."

Chefs also teach future generations of chefs or peers who wish to learn something new within their restaurant. A mentorship or apprenticeship may take place within the restaurant. Through their role as teacher to future chefs and chef-proprietors, individual chefs may play an even greater role in influencing the larger society by passing on their philosophy and knowledge to a new generation of chefs. For example, Thomas Keller noted: "One of the reasons I stay in my restaurant or try to stay in my restaurant [is] [be]cause I'm trying to be a good role model to my cooks." As previously noted, Chez Panisse is regarded as the birthplace of California cuisine. Its chef-proprietor, Alice Waters, has mentored many of today's leading cultural intermediaries within the culinary world (Dornenburg & Page, 1995). For example, Deborah Madison is one particularly notable chef who worked at Chez Panisse before opening her own restaurant, Greens. Madison has influenced the diets of many individuals and has the potential to influence even more. Madison's cookbook Vegetarian Cooking for Everyone has been lauded as "the most comprehensive vegetarian cookbook ever published" (About the Book, 1998, paragraph 2). Madison has also been influential through her work as a restauranteur and as a teacher within the classroom. Madison observed:

> As a writer and a cook, I feel like part of my job is to transform people, too, by pushing them, albeit gently. . . . if you don't push them, nothing changes. The culture doesn't change and the people don't change. . . . I am a pretty gentle pusher because I know if you push too hard that doesn't work either.

Teaching within the Classroom

Chefs may also teach by offering cooking classes either within their own restaurant, in a classroom, or some other specialized location. The context within which

one is performing greatly affects one's definition of self or role performance. For example, some of the same chefs who do not view themselves as teachers within their restaurants do view themselves as teachers in a classroom setting or at a demonstration. Gordon Hamersley observed:

> Am I here (i.e., at Hamersley's Bistro) to spread the word about good food and nutrition and French cooking? No, not at all. . . . I'm not here, you know, standing on my pulpit, you know, admonishing people who go to McDonalds . . . [but, when] I'm asked by cooking schools to give demonstrations and to teach in their schools, and when I go in there, then my role is as a teacher. . . . I'm not an educator in a restaurant.

Chefs may teach future chefs within the restaurant or in a classroom setting. Additionally, many chefs give demonstrations or teaching lessons at particular events at which the audience is the general public.

Teaching Through Participation in Professional Societies

Much of a chef's formal training takes place within a structured hierarchical setting. This is true of both the teaching that takes place within restaurants and in cooking schools. Both venues involve the presence of a teacher or one who is more experienced. Both are traditional ways of learning. Additionally, chefs may teach other chefs through their participation in professional organizations such as that of Chef's Collaborative 2000. Chefs may learn from their peers. Jimmy Schmidt observed, regarding this more postmodern way of teaching: "That's what we're trying to do is teach chefs--make them aware of this." Additionally, he observed: "I think that our consumers are looking for us to teach them to do more than just cook their food, but to know about it

and [give] our stamp that we approve it." Given these new expectations of the chef, new forms of learning have come about in response.

Teaching Through Authorship

Cultural intermediaries often teach through their authorship. When talking with Julia Child, she immediately made it clear: "I'm not a chef. . . . I'm a teacher." She started her career "as a teacher and cookbook author." She described her new television series, an elaboration of her written work, as "a teaching series for people who simply want to learn how to cook." Many of today's cookbook authors, particularly those who are chefs, provide not only recipes, but the social and historical context within which the recipes developed. For example, Rick Bayless in Authentic Mexican Regional Cooking from the Heart of Mexico (1987) and Mexican Kitchen Recipes and Techniques of a World Class Cuisine (1996a) often described the origins of a recipe, the occasion on which the recipe is typically consumed, and other foods that often would accompany the recipe. Through classic works like those of Julia Child, the consumer learns the ins and outs of preparing the classical recipes. Additionally, through works like those of Bayless, consumers learn about the traditions and ways of life of another culture. That culture becomes accessible to them in a way that they can come to appreciate it through the preparation and consumption of the recipes presented in the book.

Teaching Through Television and Radio

Additionally, chefs may teach through the medium of television or radio. One social commentator has noted that

> not many cable TV shows cause ABC, CBS, and NBC prime time schedulers to sweat. But outside of maybe ER, Homicide, and NYPD Blue, there isn't anything more fun to watch at 10 p.m. than Lagasse cooking and cutting up. (Andelman, 1997, p. 2)

Emeril Lagasse, chef-owner of Emeril's and NOLA in New Orleans, host of Emeril Live on the Food Network, and author of several cookbooks, observed that as the first "food correspondent" on ABCs Good Morning America, his segment attracts between 3 and 6 million viewers a day. The use by cultural intermediaries of television and radio, which are part of the larger popular culture, either to educate or entertain has the potential to influence tremendous numbers of consumers.

There are mixed reactions among chefs regarding teaching cooking on television. Some view it as sheer entertainment during which little is actually taught regarding cooking. On the other hand, as Julia Child, a long time teacher through the medium of television, observed:

> If it's not going to be entertaining, people aren't going to learn much, so you have to be able to teach but in a way so that people will enjoy it. Nobody is going to listen to something that is dry and academic, are they?

Interestingly, the same issues that confront the chef as a cultural intermediary on television are those that confront the instructor as a cultural intermediary in the classroom.

A distinctive aspect of television, radio, and print, as opposed to the individual restaurant or cooking in regard to teaching, is that the audience one is able to capture is much larger and widely scattered than that of the smaller, fixed setting. Furthermore, the audience is different. Many people from different geographical or social locations can and do tune in to any number of cooking shows on the Food Network or public television, or Jimmy Gherardi's radio show, Everybody's Cooking. These shows have the potential

to be broadcast globally. Additionally, the audience transcends class boundaries. The evolution of chefs as media personalities may have the potential to influence our lives and social structure in ways unlike anything from previous times.

Teaching Through the Internet

The globally accessible Internet has changed the entire way in which we communicate our ideas to others. Many chefs have capitalized on the powerful mode of communication offered by the Internet. There are websites devoted to particular chefs and restaurants. One can obtain information about the chefs, information about the restaurant, recipes by the chef, restaurant menus, and much more. Chef interviews are conducted on the Internet with different interviewees being able to take turns asking questions of the chef. Clearly, much can be learned from this form of communication. Stephan Pyles in discussing the globalizing of cuisine, and particularly the development of fusion cuisine, observed that "this is nothing but a big fusion experiment both in culture and food and . . . all those things are happening; as we continue to globalize, you see more of it just because it's easier to sort of cross-pollinate with the Internet." The development of the information highway makes it possible for the globalization of cuisine to occur in unprecedented ways.

Helping Train Future Chefs or Teach Future Citizens

There are several unique ways in which different chefs have combined their role as chef with that of teacher within the larger community which are worthy of special note.

For example, Charlie Trotter believes that one way he can personally make a social contribution to society is to

> not just participate in charitable activity, but actually bring young culinarians on in a way where I can train them and send them on and give them a chance--to show them what to do--lend a helping hand so to speak.

Larry Forgione is one of the founders of the Fresh Start Program at Rikers Island Prison, New York, NY. Fresh Start is a program in which inmates are taught "how to cook and work together in a kitchen" (Grand Chefs on Tour, 1996, paragraph 4). Such a program teaches not only vocational skills, but also social skills for living successfully and peacefully within the community.

Alice Waters is very active in a pilot program at a public school in Berkeley to "teach children how to take care of the land, how to cook for themselves, and how to have pleasure at the table." She viewed this as "a model program that could be used in teaching kinds around the world." Like the Fresh Start Program, this program similarly teaches people, in this case children, how to live respectfully within their communities, both local and global. These are the specific goals of Alice Waters through her role as chef to teach people about "the relationship of food to their lives . . . to teach them respect for the planet and for each other."

Entrepreneur

Schumpeter (1950) described the function of the entrepreneur as an inventor or innovator responsible for "producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way" (p. 132). For the entrepreneur "power and will power" count for much. In the same manuscript, originally published in 1942, he also observed that the function of the

entrepreneur "is already losing importance" (p. 132). In today's society, however, the entrepreneurial spirit appears to be thriving in the activities of the chef. Clearly, the entrepreneurial spirit is not motivated simply by economic considerations. As both Miller (1978) and Fine (1995) observed, a "cultural value" or "symbolic status" is conferred upon the restauranteur, which allows them to "both make an aesthetic and personal statement while differentiating the business from others" (Fine, 1995, p. 11).

Clearly, the chef must be able to make a living in order to survive. Indeed for many chefs, the extent to which one is able to accomplish other roles is secondary. Charlie Trotter observed that "you have to run a viable business first and foremost before you can ever practice your art." On the other hand, many chefs observed that being a chef-proprietor is a means of accomplishing a personal goal or being able to achieve some sort of self-actualization. Gordon Hamersley observed: "I love to cook, and I love cooking for people, and I love the action, and the way in which restaurant people work together to do what they do, and making a living at it is a by-product of that." The role of a chef as an entrepreneur involves two major issues. The first of these is related to what it means to be a business person. The second is related to the extent to which chefs perform in the capacity of cultural innovators.

The Chef as Business Person

The chef as an entrepreneur, in whatever capacity (e.g., restauranteur or television host), thinks of himself or herself as a business person. This role in itself encompasses a tremendous amount of responsibility. Stephan Pyles observed:

> I think of myself as a business person. I think you have to be to have your own restaurant. You have to understand bottom lines, profit-loss statements, and all the different line items that would contribute to the success or failure of a restaurant. I consider myself . . . a human resource person because I have 200 employees.

This is not an insignificant role to perform. Some chefs have partners who manage the more business-related aspects of the restaurant. Others employ a staff who handle such matters. Others do it themselves. Regardless, as Orwell (1933) observed through his own experiences working within the restaurant industry, the chef "alone makes or mars a restaurant" (p. 76).

Chefs also have tremendously responsibility towards their employees. For example, Frank Stitt noted that he has a responsibility to his staff "to always make things better, to provide them with an environment where they can learn self respect. They can learn a lot about personal qualities that can make them a better member of society." Through their role as chef within the closed system of the restaurant, the chef commands much power from both his or her staff and patrons.

There is not a great deal written about the history of the restaurant, particularly in terms of type of ownership. Oftentimes restaurants are owned by hotel chains and various eatery franchises. Within these establishments, professional chefs are employed by others. There is less control over one's work under such conditions. It is only recently, as noted by LaGasse, that "the role of the chef in the past 12 years has changed where chefs have become restauranteurs and proprietors. . . ." Under such conditions, the chefs power base has the potential to expand greatly to the larger public and influence matters not always directly related to eating.

The Chef as Cultural Innovator

Jimmy Gherardi commented about members of Chef's Collaborative 2000, whose membership include many of the most accomplished chefs in America, that they "are a bunch of renegades. . . . They do their own thing." Perhaps more so than any group of cultural intermediaries, the chef in today's world epitomizes the notion of cultural innovator. Stephan Pyles observed in an interview with Draper (1994) that

> fifteen or twenty years ago, kitchens were run by European chefs trained in hotels. The chef's job was to learn classic things, like roasting the meat, and then the front of the restaurant would do the sauces and the assembling at the table. Now the kitchen creates its own style. (Draper, paragraph 7)

In recalling the history of the sustainable agriculture movement, Larry Forgione observed:

> It's very popular now to talk about organics, to talk about relationships with farmers and farmers markets, and so on, and we've been doing that for 19 years. It's not like we're jumping on the bandwagon. In fact, we were the ones pushing the wagon.

Many chefs prepare a fixed menu in which the consumer has no choice. Even those chefs who do provide choices do not believe they are responding to cultural demand. Guenther Seeger proclaimed that "the people, when they come here for dinner, they don't really know what they're gonna get and that's not really . . . very market oriented. . . . I am completely in control of what I'm doing." Similarly, Charlie Trotter maintained that "I will decide about everything, but I'm willing to take that chance. . . . basically the idea is trust." These chefs are individuals who have established a reputation for themselves for quality and perfection. Trotter described himself as motivated by "a devotion to excellence--an unyielding devotion to excellence." It is precisely because of this internally driven motivation that trust can be established with the public. As a

consequence, both the general public and aspiring chefs are very much influenced by the works of such cultural innovators.

Still, none of this innovation takes place within a social vacuum. As Norman Van Aken accurately observed, "Everything is affected by economics." In making comparisons of how his style of New World Cuisine would be accepted in Haiti or Sao Paul, he commented that "I would still need to present my food in ways that would meet with the market response that would allow me to continue to pay salaries and rent and all those different things." There is a historical context within which cuisine develops. The timing and setting must be right for cultural innovation to occur. Cultural markets must exist for the cultural objects to be consumed (Griswold, 1994). Hence, although cultural innovators may indeed act autonomously, there must ultimately be consumers for what they create.

Artist

Artistry involves the expression of a creative or imaginative act through a particular medium. To that extent, it could be argued that all chefs are artists. Fine (1995) and Peterson and Birg (1988) both described the aesthetic and creative satisfaction cooks derive from their work. Frances King (1998), the editor in chief of the Chefs Collaborative 2000 Newsletter, began a recent article on the chef, Greg Higgins, a chef-proprietor and former student of fine art and anthropology, by raising this issue: "It's almost a cliche, that magical link between fine art and fine cooking. The chef as artist--isn't that the culinary goal for many chefs?" (p. 1). She also observed that "sometimes, there are professionals who find deeper synchronicities, beyond the mere prosaic

similarities, between beautiful art and beautiful food" (p. 1). Indeed, there are many ways in which chefs view their role in terms of their relationship with the food they create. Many, probably most, chefs view themselves as artists to the extent that they create. Some do not view themselves as artists at all; rather they view themselves as artisans. Furthermore, chefs, regardless of whether they perceive themselves as an artist, may not view other chefs as artists or a particular chef as an artist.

Perhaps no American chef is regarded more as an artist by either his peers or the general public than Charlie Trotter. His style of cooking is not subject to categorization, and has been exclusively referred to as "Trotter's Cuisine." Julia Child, in commenting on the chef as an artist specifically made mention of Charlie Trotter: "Really fine cooking is an art form. . . . someone like Charlie Trotter." Jimmy Gherardi, who comes in contact with many chefs through his role as public radio show host, declared that "now, Charlie is an artist. Charlie is a true artist. He's a genius."

When asked about how he, personally, approached his work and which chefs he admires, Trotter reflected:

> Freddy Girardet . . . was the king of spontaneity. He was to cuisine what Miles Davis was to jazz. He was a guy who was able to never make the same dish twice, but to make it with the same ingredients, but to execute it at a very high level of technique and precision, and fused with spontaneity. That's the style of cuisine that I find myself most drawn to--working from a palate of ingredients and relying on historical precedent of putting things together--time honored combinations of foodstuffs and flavors. But, then you put them together in a way that has never been quite put together before--emphasizing different contextual notes, flavor notes, things like that. I think the way I look at food is pretty much like--I think you can understand putting it together in much the same way that you put music together, and you can innovate only insofar as you play by the rules and understand historical precedent and how things go together. And, that, to me, is the most exciting sort of innovation. Anybody can come up with wild, crazy stuff, but I'm talking about something that has its feet grounded--has an anchoring toward something.

Many of these same themes that Trotter, who is viewed as an artist, elaborated on are those that Guenther Seeger, who views himself as a craftsman, also elaborated on in his role as a chef.

Artisan

In the introduction to In Julia's Kitchen With Master Chefs (1995), Child observed, "For years he (but very rarely she), the chef, was considered an artisan, not an artist" (p. vii). Indeed, many chefs still view themselves as artisans or craftsmen. Guenther Seeger very strongly identified himself as an artisan: "I'm not an artist. I'm a craftsman." He believed that one needs to "concentrate on . . . technique and the preciseness of your food." Like Trotter, he believed that, in regard to cuisine, "we should have the respect [for the traditions] and we should seek the base of it." Regarding his own style of cooking Seeger said: "I modernize the classics. . . . I'm personalizing them." Someone who also strongly identified himself as a craftsman is Rick Bayless. Bayless has perhaps done more than any single individual to introduce and elevate the status of authentic Mexican cuisine within the global community.

Norman Van Aken's observations elucidated the similarities between Seeger's and Bayless's view of themselves as artisans as distinct from artists. These similarities are related to a "codified food history," one's training, and what the chef hopes to accomplish. Van Aken observed that "to be an artisan, one follows a fairly clear line in the customs and developments of people that went before them. . . . And, I think that the European educated chef[s] probably are more . . . disposed to say they are artisans than

artists." As Seeger was educated in the German school system, he was very much part of a European system that involved an apprenticeship and a highly structured system of codification. Indeed, Seeger commented regarding his approach to classical cooking traditions: "I don't chop them up, but I lift them because they are the foundations of my cuisine." Similarly, Stephan Pyles, commenting on Rick Bayless, noted: "He's a perfect example of not letting much get in the way of the authenticity [of Mexican cuisine]." The similarity exists in that they are both deeply committed to the preservation of tradition.

Chefs who view themselves as artisans are less likely to be doing fusion-type cooking. Conversely, those doing fusion cooking are more likely to view themselves as artists. This is also related to the learning process and what one hopes to accomplish as a chef. Persons who engage in fusion style cooking are less likely to have received formal training. Stephan Pyles reminisced that when he decided to become a chef, there were not any schools that specialized in teaching the type of American cooking that was of interest to him. He views himself as self-taught. Being self-taught is often associated with being creative or inventive. In fact, in speaking of those who are pioneers in Southwestern or New Texas cuisine, Pyles observed that "because it [the formal education] didn't exist, we kind of got to create this new American cuisine." Similarly, Van Aken observed that, in regard to fusion cuisine or American fusion cuisine, because "there isn't such an obvious guide, road map, to follow, the idea of artistry becomes more powerful."

Community Activist

Chefs, particularly in contemporary society as chefs have come to be regarded as public personalities, are increasingly taking on or are asked to take on the role of community activist. Alice Waters, when discussing her role as a community activist, simply stated: "I just feel like it's my work--I have a position, a platform, a restaurant to speak from; and I really feel it's my obligation." Additionally, many chefs view their role as a community activist as a way in which one is able to maintain a reciprocal relationship with the community in which each gives and receives from the other in a mutually beneficial way. Allen Susser viewed the relationship in this manner: "It's a matter of sharing success and being a part of a community. It's a vision. You can't just take; you have to give back and be a part of it [the community] in order for them to help you grow."

There are different ways in which chefs contribute to their communities. These may include such things as making food selections for the restaurant, actively participating in charitable organizations or humanitarian efforts, using one's celebrity status to make a statement, or helping train future chefs or teach future citizens. Most, but not all, humanitarian efforts that chefs take part in are related to food in some way. There are also different ways in which chefs define community. Community may mean one's own neighborhood or city. Community may also mean the entire world.

Making Food Selections for the Restaurant

Many chefs are members of Chefs Collaborative 2000. This is an organization "which promotes locally grown, minimally processed foods, environmentally sound

farming, and humane animal husbandry" (Shriver, 1996, p. 8D). One way to accomplish these goals is to purchase products for use in the restaurant that meet these standards. For example, Nora Pouillon, a pioneer in the movement of accomplishing the goals of the Collaborative, purchases only organic ingredients for use in her restaurants: "You know it's not only my meat and my chicken that's organic--my sugar, my flour, my chocolate, my butter, my milk--everything is organic." Such levels of humanitarianism often go unrecognized by the public, but really require much effort and dedication to accomplish her philosophy of "helping the life cycle continue." Whereas most chefs will deal with a few food distributors, Nora Pouillon "deal(s) with like twenty different (organic) farmers that deliver once a week, maybe twice. You have to do your planning for whenever they can come here. . . .They may promise to have broccoli rabe available the next year, and then the season comes and the deer have eaten it! It's much more complicated" (Shriver, p. 8D). Often those chefs who make these individual-level choices for their restaurants are actively involved in promoting this lifestyle for the larger community. Many chefs will prominently display, either in their restaurant or their menus, where and how their food was obtained.

Actively Participating in Charitable Organizations or Humanitarian Efforts

Many chefs are actively involved in humanitarian efforts within their communities. Some are much more involved than others. Oftentimes, these activities are related to food and eating. Alice Waters is one person who stands out among chefs as a community activist. When asked how she viewed her role as a chef, she responded: "Well, I see it with a lot of imperatives because I'm worried about what's gonna happen

in the future, worried about the future for our kids." When queried on Cuisine Net Cafe about how she devotes her time, Waters responded: "These days, well it's probably 3/4 of my time is spent doing books and political works in the schools and traveling--but I think it all relates to what's happening in the restaurant. I use the restaurant as my touchstone--I'm always connected with the cooks and the experience of the restaurant" (What Alice was asked, 1998). When asked for this study whether her goals were local or global, she responded: "I'm absolutely thinking global." Most chefs' concerns are global ones. Stephan Pyles, who this year received the Humanitarian of the Year Award from Share Our Strength (SOS; an organization devoted to eliminating hunger throughout the world), has traveled first hand as part of SOS delegations to places such as Haiti, Vietnam, and Guatemala, which are recipients of SOS's hunger relief aid. Further, although most of Chefs Collaborative 2000 members are American, the goals of the organization are clearly global ones.

Using One's Celebrity Status to Make a Statement

Chefs are often asked by many different charitable organizations to make some sort of contribution. Sometimes the commitment is great; sometimes it is minimal. Depending upon the goals of the organization and how strongly a chef believes in the goals of the organization, a chef may or may not contribute. Charlie Trotter observed:

> Some things don't take much, some things take me showing up on a Sunday serving appetizers to a few hundred people, some take me missing a whole weekend to do that, some take me writing a check, some take me providing a gift certificate, some take me donating a few cookbooks to a charitable auction. Those things are all very doable.

As Stephan Pyles noted, "There is a limited time that we can spend away--not running our businesses and being chefs--and we're very selective of those charities that mean a lot to us."

Feeders

More than anything, at least from an historical perspective, chefs have been feeders of those who frequent their dining establishments. Within the home, DeVault (1991) pointed out, the role as "feeder" is one of the primary ways in which individuals, women particularly, express their care and nurturance for others. This is also true within the public domain, at least for some chefs. Larry Forgione reflected that he is "somebody who works with food and interprets food, not only from an historical past, but also from my heart." Being a feeder involves giving of oneself. Much like Larry Forgione, Raji Jallepalli said, "To me, cooking is who I am. It's basically expressing myself on a plate, expressing my philosophy, not only philosophy to cooking, but philosophy in terms of life at large." Performing the role of a chef is an intimate experience, that as Charlie Trotter noted, involves trust. Being able to open oneself up to another through cooking is an intimate act which requires a tremendous amount of trust--trust in both one's own capacities and trust in others' acceptance. As Nora Pouillon summed it up,

> In the end it all comes down to what we are all artisans, we are all artists, and we are all messengers, and we are all givers and caretakers because we feed the people, and I mean that's always nice. Our profession is just a very social and giving profession.

Chef or Cook

There is an ambivalence and, sometimes, an outright rejection on the part of some chefs to the contemporary role of the chef as a media figure. This is a role that has, in fact, in large part been created by the media. It also has been perpetuated by the chefs, themselves. When Norman Van Aken was asked how he thought the rest of the world viewed him and what he does with his cooking, he responded, "By and large through the medium of media, and so there's sort of a problem with perspective." Guenther Seeger summed up his view of the media:

> The media wants to put you in a frame. The media wants to say: okay, this guy is doing this, and this guy is doing this, and I, so far, have been very lucky that there is no frame for me. . . . I don't want that frame because I do what I do, and that may be different tomorrow from today.

Similarly, Thomas Keller, who is often noted for spending most of his time in his restaurant being a head cook, observed:

> What got me to where I am now is being in the restaurant. The only reason that anybody wants me to go out and do anything now is because I've gotten to the point that I have, and the reason I've gotten there is because I've been in the restaurant . . . why would I want to change that? If I change my habit, then I would jeopardize the base that I've created, therefore losing the ability to go out and do those functions . . . You need to be in your restaurant.

Many chefs accept the role of celebrity and use it to some worthwhile advantage, including, of course, their own economic advantage. Stephan Pyles views himself as one who may be thought of as a celebrity chef. His television show airs in 106 markets, and he has been on other television shows, he is working on his fifth cookbook, and he is in the news quite often. He believes the role of celebrity is a double-edged sword:

> I think we've gone through the period where the press sort of built up all these chefs . . . in the restaurant business, and the advent of new American cuisine, and how wonderful it was, and then within three years, they were beating us up

> because we were doing all this stuff, and on the road, and not in the kitchen; so you can't have it both ways. . . . This is what it is--we run our restaurants, we do TV, [and] we use our celebrity to raise funds for hunger relief, and AIDS, and [other worthwhile endeavors].

There is also some concern with the creation and perpetuation by chef's organizations and food and wine organizations through such activities as presenting yearly awards and medals to its members or those working within the culinary field. There are at least two major concerns with this form of recognition. First, those who are purists view it as detracting from what one really ought to be doing, which is cooking. Ironically, Thomas Keller, the recipient of the James Beard Foundation Award for Outstanding Chef: America in 1997 and Best American Chef: California in 1996, is particularly noted for spending most of his time working within his restaurant. Perhaps not so ironic, though, Keller is well aware of the current situation and has expressed his desire that "I hope this is a turning point signaling a change in the way people look at the restaurant business. . . . [A restaurant] can be an intimate place where the chef is just doing great food." (French Laundry, 1998, paragraph 3).

Second, from a different perspective, there are those who believe that there are so many people and restaurants who have received awards that it devalues the meaning attached to having the award. As one interviewee noted: "Those awards have like grown to like three thousand restaurants. So, what does it mean?" There is no longer any distinction or honor attached to the possession of the award.

Nonetheless, the chef cannot escape the reality that he or she is a performing artist in today's world. Finkelstein (1989) described the restaurant as a stage. Similarly, Guenther Seeger observed: "I see a restaurant as a performing stage everyday. . . . when

we are on stage . . . and I see the food going out of the kitchen and I'm satisfied with that, then that's a great performance for me."

Conclusions

Featherstone (1995) has defined cultural specialists as people who produce or disseminate culture. The findings reported in this chapter not only demonstrate the role of chefs as cultural specialists, but also show that their role in cultural matters extends to that of intermediaries. People who are intermediaries mediate between different parties; they are go-betweens. Leading chefs produce cuisine as a cultural commodity and disseminate it according to cultural expectations. But they also create and promote particular foods and modes of eating that mediate between the food interests of diners as individuals, groups, and social classes in relation to the wider society. As this chapter demonstrates, chefs teach cuisine within restaurants to both staff and patrons, offer classes on cooking, write cookbooks, appear on radio and television, as well as develop websites to promote their work. They additionally operate in the role of community activist by promoting healthy eating where possible, helping charities in various ways, using their celebrity to advance causes, and training future chefs to be good citizens. Thus, chefs also teach each other chefs through apprenticeships and by hanging out with each other while participating in some group activity together.

Although chefs produce cuisine and inform others about it, they also create it as artists and artisans. Fine cooking is an art form, and a strong case can be made for chefs as mediators in this process not only in regard to how food tastes, but also how it appears and how it is presented as a cultural product. Consequently, chefs influence individuals

at the micro end of the social spectrum and the eating practices of large populations at the macro end. Chefs establish standards, but they also have to take the tastes of the particular social groups they serve into consideration. Typically, new developments in cuisine are social products associated with the upper and middle-classes. One might think of this as a trickle-down effect. There is also a "trickle-up" effect as food tastes spread in varying degrees and aspects within a given social structure from poorer people or regions to wealthier people and regions. Interest in foods that are foreign, unusual, exotic, or somehow extraordinary has risen as cultural intermediaries in the form of chefs work to promote these foods. This is especially the situation in societies with ample foodstuffs, which allow cuisine to be characterized by diminishing contrasts in basic foods and increasing variety in types of food and tastes throughout society (Mennell, 1996). In a very real sense, this is a dialectical process as chefs create, blend, or reproduce tastes they design to be consumed by the larger public, and, in turn, are influenced by the responses to their work. Chefs work in a refined social setting with enormous social controls exerted on them. At the same time, chefs must be highly reflexive professions who must be good at what they do in order to survive. The collective output of their work establishes them as cultural intermediaries as they both create and reflect the food culture of their society.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

This concluding chapter will summarize critically what has been presented thus far. Additionally, some directions for future research will be considered.

Summary

This study examined types of cuisine served in restaurants and the role that cultural intermediaries in the form of restaurant owners and chefs play in influencing types of cuisine served. The importance of this project lies in its elucidation of the direction that the globalization of culture as reflected in cuisine is taking and the important role that cultural intermediaries play in this process. Contemporary cultural theories of globalization and the ways in which cultural intermediaries influence processes related to the globalization of cuisine through a study of restaurant owners and chefs in Atlanta and chefs throughout the United States were applied in this study.

Specifically, this study applied Robertson's theory of globalization and Featherstone's theorizing on globalization, culture, and consumption. These theories reflect broad, general notions in sociology that deal with complex subject matter making them difficult to study empirically. For both of these theorists, the globalization of culture occurs as the world becomes less constrained by space and time and individuals and groups become increasingly more aware of the world as an entity of which they are a

part. The globalization of culture, according to these theorists, may result in multiple cultural forms. Furthermore, a diversity of cultural forms may simultaneously co-exist within the same social setting.

A second set of concepts thought to be important was introduced in order to better inform processes of globalization and the structure of cuisine. The second set of concepts, including a concern with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism, was used to further elaborate on the processes of globalization specific to cuisine, but was also relevant to other aspects of culture as well. These concepts address those aspects of globalization theory not dealt with by Robertson to any great extent.

This research has provided empirical support both for the first proposition presented in this study and for the theories of Robertson and Featherstone by demonstrating that indeed various forms of global culture do exist simultaneously. The quantitative survey of Atlanta restaurants demonstrated that endogenous, exogenous, mixed, and fusion cuisines exist within a single global center. Clearly, endogenous and exogenous cuisines were more prevalent than either mixed or fusion cuisines. American cuisine persists and exogenous cuisines exist, but the ways in which they exist are not enitirely clear from the questionnaire data.

Interview data collected from leading chefs throughout the United States further validated and enhanced this finding and answered the first research question of whether contemporary forms of cuisine reflect or contribute to either homogenizing or heterogenizing tendencies or to something beyond which either of these tendencies capture. Though never having been exposed to the sociological theories of either Robertson or Featherstone, the essence of these theorists' work is clearly reflected throughout the

quotations of all of these leading chefs. The interviews with chefs provided evidence to support Robertson and Featherstone's ideas by demonstrating that cuisine is not becoming exclusively either more homogenous and dominated by a Western, particularly American style form. Nor is it becoming more heterogenous in the sense of being characterized by increased fragmentation. Rather, both of these cultural forms mutually exist, along with fusion cultural forms and those forms associated with nostalgic and recreated or reconstructed traditions.

Interviews with chefs demonstrated that forms of cuisine have a coherence associated with them. For example, although local and global cuisines co-exist, global cuisines often become glocalized to meet the demands of local consumers. This is a major component of Robertson's theory that he refers to as glocalization. Furthermore, when fusion cuisine becomes too fragmented, it becomes criticized by the most highly esteemed of the cultural elite who are cooking fusion cuisine. In addition, there is a strong nostalgic inclination on the part of many chefs interviewed for this project which becomes reflected in the cuisine they prepare. This finding lends greater support to Robertson's theory that globalization often involves a return in some fashion or form to traditional cultures.

The second proposition explored in this study was that type of cuisine served in Atlanta restaurants would be affected by varying characteristics of cultural intermediaries. Chefs and restaurant owners, performing as both cultural and economic elites, disseminate and promote particular types of cuisines. These include endogenous, exogenous, mixed, and fusion cuisines. In addition, chefs have been responsible for the creation of traditional cuisines. Data gathered from the Atlanta questionnaires indicated

that the cultural background of the owner were related to the type of cuisine served. In addition, these patterns seemed to be related to the historical context. For example, mixed cuisine often consisted of an ethnic component that had a longer history within the United States, whereas purely exogenous cuisine was comprised of cuisines that represented ethnicities that have a more recent history within the United States. There were also patterns associated with type of cuisine served and age, gender, training, and motivations expressed for opening the restaurant. The different motivations expressed, particularly by those serving endogenous and exogenous cuisine for opening a restaurant were particularly striking. Those serving endogenous cuisine did so more often for economic and individualistic motives, whereas those serving exogenous cuisine were much less likely to be motivated by these reasons and often likely to be motivated by altruistic motives. Such differences suggest that factors related to globalization play a role in type of cuisine served by cultural intermediaries with varying cultural backgrounds. Additionally, the findings based upon the qualitative interviews support these findings by demonstrating that leading chefs are motivated to cook particular foods based upon their belief systems regarding what cuisine represents and how they view their responsibility in regard to the development or preservation of cuisine.

Featherstone (1995) observed that an increasing feature of contemporary society is the emergence and growth of an autonomous cultural sphere wherein, under certain conditions, particular cultural specialists have the "power potential" to have a considerable influence on the everyday culture of a rather large audience of consumers (emphasis added). As this research has demonstrated, such is the case of the chef in today's society. The second research question posed in this study asked how larger

global themes and processes, namely concerns with or for health, rationality, the environment, and romanticism, influence or how have they been influenced by the development of different forms of cuisine as mediated through the role of cultural intermediaries. This study answered this question by demonstrating that particular conditions of modern society have contributed to the rise of the symbolic significance of food in particular ways and the rise of the chef and chef-proprietor as an extremely important and influential figure in the culture of cuisine in contemporary society. This research, particularly interviews with leading cultural intermediaries, has provided evidence that the conditions of contemporary society which have contributed to the rise and development of particular cuisines and to the rise in status and power of the chef include (a) the increasing awareness of the significant role that food and eating has in affecting one's health, (b) the increasing tendencies towards rationality where it becomes more efficient to eat out than cook at home, (c) the increasing concern with the impact that food production has on the environment and our future, and (d) the rise and spread of a middle-class lifestyle that actively promotes the romantic expression of individual and group identity through food consumption. Additionally, this study has suggested strongly that the increased media attention focused on the chef and the emergence of the chef as a restaurant owner rather than as an employee of a hotel or another individual have both provided a social environment where greater attention is being paid to cuisine and chefs and increased expression of a greater diversity of cuisines is encouraged.

Thus, the dominant position of the chef, which historically occurred almost exclusively within the closed system of the restaurant, has expanded to include a dominant position within the larger open social system. The final question posed in this

study was what is the role of the chef within the kitchen and throughout the larger society. This study answered this question by presenting evidence that the social role of the chef is no longer relegated to the exclusive domain of providing a gastronomical or sensual experience within the restaurant to an elite corps of consumers within the eating establishment. Rather, the role of the chef has expanded greatly to encompass many responsibilities in many different arenas that cater to a wide and varied group of consumers. This study focused on the production and dissemination of culture by a group of cultural intermediaries and explored global themes that have been useful in better understanding the motivations of the chef. Future studies might also focus more exclusively on the social structure within which the chef operates to produce and disseminate cuisine.

Featherstone (1995) further observed:

> With the rise of Western modernity cultural specialists such as scientists, artists, intellectuals and academics have gained in relative power and have sought in various ways to advocate the transformation, domestication, civilization, repair and healing of what are considered the shortcomings of everyday life. Yet other cultural specialists have sought to promote and defend the intrinsic qualities of everyday life through the celebration of the integrity of popular culture and traditions. (p. 57)

All of this is true regarding chefs. Chefs are an extremely diverse group of cultural specialists. This research demonstrated the ways in which chefs respond to and influence processes of globalization. There is no unidirectional global process occurring within the culinary domain. Rather, this research found that there is a coexistence of endogenous, exogenous, mixed, and fusion cuisines, and a rediscovery of traditional cuisines that are appreciated and encouraged among and between chefs, although some forms of cuisine are more predominant than others. The promotion and acceptance of

different cultural forms by these cultural elites may greatly influence the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of the general public, especially as the chef becomes an increasingly more visible figure through the various efforts of the media. In as much as chefs influence what we eat, they have the potential to influence our modern ways of life.

Through their various roles as cultural intermediaries, chefs have a significant influence in defining taste through proscribing what we eat both within and outside the restaurant. This authoritative capacity has the extreme potential to affect our health, our environment, and our social structure through the chef's ability to define and redefine what foods and what cuisines are "good to eat." The chef in today's society also has the capacity to define and influence the direction of social and political issues, particularly those related in some way to food and eating. This is only the beginning of the rise of the chef as a cultural intermediary in these areas.

The theories of Robertson have informed this study by providing a framework for exploring the myriad of ways in which the globalization of culture may present itself. There is a plurality of cultural forms that exist that may reflect process of homogeneity, heterogeneity, and fusion. However, it is not so simple as these concepts capture by themselves. This study provided empirical support for Robertson's theories by describing the precise ways in which one aspect of culture, cuisine, does present itself. There exist different ways, for example, in which, homogeneity gets played out in the real world and these are related to different aspects of globalization.

There are problems inherent in studying general conceptual theories such as Robertsons because these theories are difficult to empirically verify. This study addressed an aspect of Robertson's theory that is not so clearly spelled out. Speci-

fically, there are different ways in which various aspects of globalization theory may be conceptualized. This study focused on the complex ways in which homogeneity, heterogeneity, and beyond can be defined and, hence, studied empirically.

The theories of Featherstone inform this study by providing insight into the significant ways in which cultural intermediaries located in a particular social and cultural context may influence processes of globalization. This study, in turn, greatly contributed to the theories of Featherstone by spelling out the conditions under which the power potential of a particular cultural intermediary, chefs or chef-proprietors, arise and by describing the ways in which these cultural intermediaries exercise their influence.

Neither, the theories of Robertson and Featherstone, however, provide as much insight into providing an account of which cultural forms will become more or less prominent. For example, as already discussed, why is Japanese cuisine more influential than German cuisine, despite both countries similar recent rise to global social and economic prominence? Why is Mexican cuisine more prevalent than Indian despite both countries similar social and economic status? One might even speculate that Indian cuisine, given India's longer and more elaborate and codified cultural heritage would have resulted in Indian cuisine being more highly regarded than Mexican cuisine. It is not simply the case that that which is foreign becomes desirable. It is more a combination of that which is foreign, unusual, extraordinary, exotic, or different in a given time. Cultures and cuisine change. Future studies ought to more rigorously assess what makes a particular object appealing in a given time. It has been suggested in this research, that what is novel is what is most attractive to both cultural intermediaries and consumers. It may be the case that health was once important and may be important

again if repackaged as something new. It may also be the case that it is precisely the influence of the cultural intermediary that assumes prominence when defining what becomes novel.

Much sociological research focuses on social structure and the actual patterns of interactions that take place between groups and individuals, particularly within a given social system. This study focused more explicitly on culture in broad terms and explored the ways in which ideas and beliefs, rather than social networks, for example, influence the attitudes and behaviors of chefs in the development of cuisine. Future studies may more directly examine the social structure within which restaurant owners and chefs operate. Most of the work that chefs do takes place within the restaurant where they reign supreme. Chefs are expanding their roles beyond the restaurant in today's society. This is an area ripe for investigation, especially in regard to the interaction that takes place between the producers of cuisine and the consumers of cuisine.

Directions for Future Research

The preceding paragraphs raised some issues that might be investigated further by future researchers. Additionally, however, future studies might be generated from the limitations of this study. Specifically, this study was limited by the focus on a single metropolis to study globalization. Although a strong case has been made for the selection of Atlanta as a global city, one cross-sectional study is not fully capable of capturing processes of globalization. Whereas this study of cuisine and globalization has been informative in describing global cuisine outcomes, it was limited by its inability to describe the social structures that contribute to the processes of globalization of cuisine.

Future studies need to incorporate a longitudinal design or a comparative methodological approach to address these research questions or any questions related to the processes and structures of globalization. For example, a comparison with contrasting cities would make a better study, particularly comparisons with other global cities throughout the world. Additionally, a comparison with cities at different stages of globalization would be especially useful. It is highly likely that different processes and structures are associated with different cultural outcomes. For example, social settings with fewer immigrants may offer less exogenous cuisine.

This study used a sequential methodological approach to collect data from restaurant owners and chefs in Atlanta. This methodology is strongly suggested. This study was limited by budgetary constraints. Given additional money and time, more follow-up phone calls would have been made. It is likely that many of those individuals who requested to be called back would have participated. Moreover, in conducting research with restaurants, some persons are reluctant to respond to surveys if the restaurant is a franchise or chain. They will only answer limited questions or defer responding to a corporate office. One must take this into account in future research.

The use of in-depth interviews with leading cultural intermediaries was critical for gaining insight into what is happening with the development of cuisine from the point of view of chefs and chef-proprietors. Future studies might also focus explicitly on the role that consumers play in creating demand for particular types of cuisine. A cross-cultural study of the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors related to food and eating might be especially useful in helping to explain varying process of cuisine development and globalization. These studies might again include a triangulated research design

incorporating both survey data of a large population and in-depth interviews with a smaller group of consumers.

In focusing on consumers, a better understanding of the role that consumers play, particularly in regard to the relationship between social structure (e.g., class, ethnicity, gender, etc.) and type of cuisine offered, would be useful. Such a focus, which also incorporated eating out and in behavior, would contribute to a better understanding of the ties that bind cultural intermediaries to their publics.

This study was not an analysis of social structure. Nonetheless, there was strong evidence to support the notion that, in general, chefs and their clientele are deeply embedded within a middle-class lifestyle. At the same time, this study provided limited data suggesting that this middle-class lifestyle was transcending class boundaries as a direct result of the activities of chefs. Future studies might focus more on the dimension of social class to explore the interaction between chefs and their publics. No studies have yet examined who comprises the chefs' audience. The composition of the chefs' audience might be studied not only in regard to class, but, also, related to gender, ethnicity, and age. All of these variables have been raised in this study as having the potential to affect the activities of chefs, and of being differentially affected by the behavior of chefs. There is a dialectical relationship between chefs as producers of culture and their audiences as consumers of culture. The production and consumption of culture takes place within a given social structure. The interaction among these requires further investigation.

Finally, chefs are an extremely diverse group of individuals representing different class, ethnic, and gender backgrounds. There appears to be a high degree of "status

inconsistency" among chefs (Lenski, 1966, p. 86). Under such conditions, individuals tend to identify with that component of their status which is highest. In the case of the chef, it appears that occupational status or income is most significant, whereas education is definitely the inferior component of their status. Social interaction often is confined to the primary group. Lenski (pp. 87-88) has suggested that individuals or groups with low status crystallization tend to be reformers and upsetters of the status quo. Furthermore, Lenski observed that groups with high status inconsistency are very likely to have members who possess skills required to lead such movements. Thus, "their importance may well be out of all proportion to their numbers" (p. 88). All of this appears to be the case of the chef in contemporary American society. Future studies that more thoroughly investigated the background of this group of cultural intermediaries may contribute to work in the area of social stratification. Focus on this area would also provide a greater understanding of whether different social characteristics of chefs are associated with particular cuisine outcomes.

The case of the role or status of the chef is but one aspect of cuisine and globalization. It is one dimension of this general topic that deals with both social class and social stratification. Both of these are key concepts of social structure that is dealt with by traditional sociologists. These and other processes of social structure could be pursued easily in future studies that explore the nature of relationship between chefs and their clientele.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY OF GREATER ATLANTA RESTAURANTS

SURVEY OF GREATER ATLANTA RESTAURANTS

How would you describe the type/s of cuisine/s you serve (for example: American, Southern, Italian, French-Thai, Tex-Mex, fusion, etc.)? Please list all that are served.

_____

How would you describe your restaurant type:

___ FAST FOOD
___ DELI
___ BAR/LOUNGE
___ COFFEE SHOP
___ BISTRO
___ LUXURY DINNER HOUSE
___ NIGHT CLUB
___ SANDWICH SHOP
___ LUNCHEONETTE
___ HOTEL KITCHEN
___ CAFETERIA
___ CASUAL DINING
___ OTHER (Please specify. _____)

How many of each of the following meals do you serve on an average day:

	0-50	50-100	100-200	200-300	300-400	400+
BREAKFAST	___	___	___	___	___	___
LUNCH	___	___	___	___	___	___
DINNER	___	___	___	___	___	___

How many persons are employed by the restaurant? _____

How many seats are there in the restaurant? _____

What is the most popular menu item served in the restaurant?_____

To what degree do the following factors influence the decision to place something on the menu:

	Much	Little	Not at All
COST	___	___	___
PREPARATION TIME	___	___	___
HEALTHINESS	___	___	___
VARIETY OR NOVELTY	___	___	___
AESTHETIC APPEAL	___	___	___
CORPORATE DECISION-MAKERS DECIDE	___	___	___
DINERS' RECOMMENDATIONS	___	___	___
MASS APPEAL	___	___	___
OTHER (Please specify. _____)	___	___	___

What is the typical cost per person for the following meals not including alcohol or gratuity/tip?

_____ BREAKFAST
_____ LUNCH
_____ DINNER

To what degree do you use the following media to promote your restaurant?

	Much	Some	Not at All
TELEVISION	—	—	—
MAGAZINES	—	—	—
RADIO	—	—	—
NEWSPAPERS	—	—	—
BILLBOARDS	—	—	—
INTERNET	—	—	—
COUPON BOOKLETS OR MAILINGS	—	—	—
CITY OR TOURIST GUIDES	—	—	—
OTHER (Please specify. _____)	—	—	—

If you promote the restaurant, do you promote (Please check all that apply.):

___ LOCALLY (the greater Atlanta area)
___ REGIONALLY (the Southeastern United States)
___ NATIONALLY
___ INTERNATIONALLY

Do you offer any of the following:

	Yes	No
Entertainment (Please describe: _____)	—	—
Take-out service	—	—
Delivery service	—	—

How long has this restaurant been in business? _____ YEARS, _____ MONTHS

How long has this restaurant been in business under the current ownership? _____ YEARS, _____ MONTHS

What were the major driving forces for the opening of this restaurant under the current ownership?

_____

Has the restaurant undergone any of the following changes in the past year?

___ MENU CHANGE
___ NAME CHANGE
___ RENOVATION
___ EXPANSION
___ OTHER (Please describe. _____)
___ NO CHANGE

Which clientele do you serve (Please check all that apply.):

___ BUSINESS LUNCH TRADE
___ BREAKFAST TRADE
___ FAMILY DINING
___ COUPLES
___ SINGLES
___ TOURISM
___ MEETINGS
___ BANQUETS
___ SPECIAL PARTIES OR EVENTS
___ OTHER (Please specify. _____)

What percent of your clientele has the following ethnic background (Please be more specific if possible.):

___ ASIAN (_____)
___ BLACK (_____)
___ HISPANIC (_____)
___ WHITE (_____)
___ OTHER (_____)

What percent of your clientele is:

___ LAWYERS, DOCTORS, ENGINEERS, PROFESSORS, CORPORATE MANAGERS, OWNERS OF LARGE BUSINESSES, ETC.
___ SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS, TEACHERS, NURSES, SALES PERSONS, POLICE, ETC.
___ CLERICAL/ FACTORY/SERVICE WORKERS, SALES CLERKS, MECHANICS, ETC.
___ MANUAL LABORERS, JANITORS, MIGRANT WORKERS, ETC.
___ UNEMPLOYED

What is the type of ownership of the restaurant?

___ NATIONAL CORPORATION
___ TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATION
___ FRANCHISE
___ INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP
___ FAMILY OWNERSHIP
___ OTHER TYPE OF GROUP OWNERSHIP

Is there a head chef or cook at your restaurant?

___ YES, OWNS RESTAURANT
___ YES, DOES NOT OWN RESTAURANT
___ NO

Does the owner of the restaurant own other restaurants?

___ YES (Please describe. _____)
___ NO

What is/are the title/s of the person/s responsible for deciding upon menu items? _____

Please answer the following questions for the owner, the head chef or cook, and the person responsible for the decision-making of menu items.

If there are multiple owners, please respond regarding the owner with the most influence on the restaurant. If the restaurant is owned by a corporation or if these individuals are the same person, please state this.

	Owner	Head Chef or Cook	Decision-Maker
Where was this person born?	_____	_____	_____
If this person was not born in the USA, how long has he or she lived in the USA?	_____	_____	_____
What is the ethnicity of this person?	_____	_____	_____
What is the nationality of this person?	_____	_____	_____
How old is this person?	_____	_____	_____
Is this person male or female?	_____	_____	_____
Has this person received training (Please list name and location where trained.)?	_____	_____	_____
Has this person ever written a book (Please list title and year published.)?	_____	_____	_____
Has this person ever been interviewed (Please specify by whom.)?	_____	_____	_____
Has this person ever hosted a television or radio show (Please specify name, place, and time.)?	_____	_____	_____
Does this person teach classes (Please specify what, where, and when.)?	_____	_____	_____
How long has this person been at this location?	_____	_____	_____
If this person is married, what is the ethnicity of this person's spouse?	_____	_____	_____

Please tell us if there any other information you believe would be helpful in understanding your restaurant better.

_____

Your contribution to this effort is very much appreciated. Thank you.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF CHEFS INTERVIEWED

Rick Bayless

Julia Child

Susanna Foo

Larry Forgione

Jimmy Gherardi

Gordon Hamersley

Raji Jallepalli

Thomas Keller

Emeril Lagasse

Deborah Madison

Nora Pouillon

Stephan Pyles

Jimmy Schmidt

Guenther Seeger

Lydia Shire

Frank Stitt

Allen Susser

Charlie Trotter

Norman Van Aken

Alice Waters

GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA AT BIRMINGHAM
DISSERTATION APPROVAL FORM
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Name of Candidate Julie L. Locher

Major Subject Medical Sociology

Title of Dissertation Cuisine, Globalization, and the Role of Cultural Intermediaries

I certify that I have read this document and examined the student regarding its content. In my opinion, this dissertation conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is adequate in scope and quality, and the attainments of this student are such that _he may be recommended for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dissertation Committee:

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Anjan Chatterjee		
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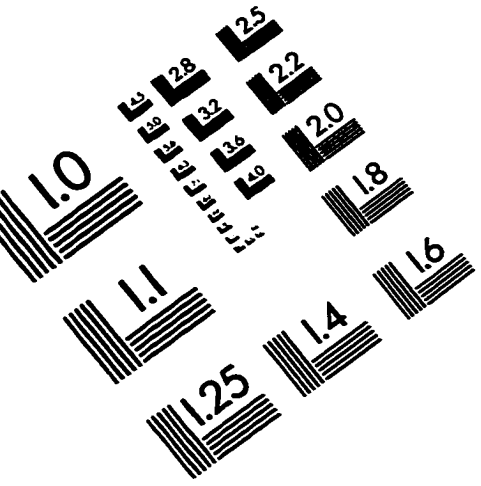
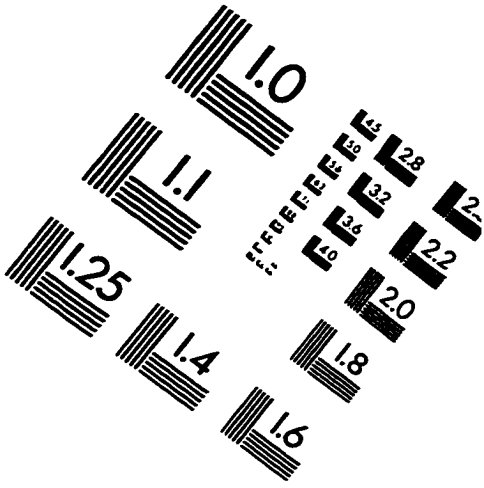
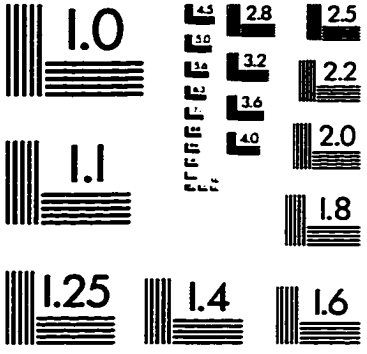
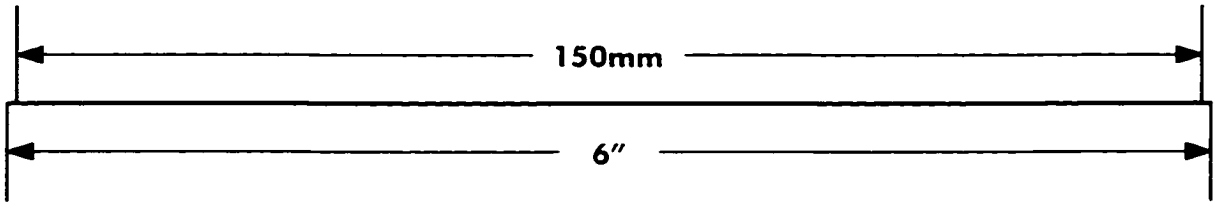
Date February 10, 1999

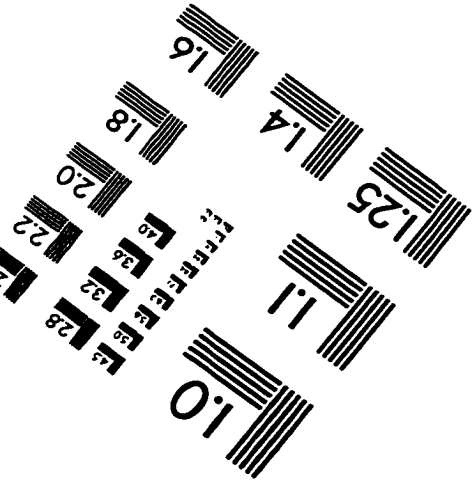
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

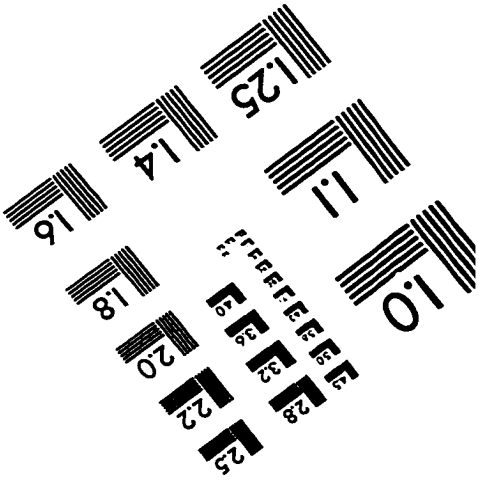












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