Minestrone, Elizabeth David, Italo-British cuisine and Authenticity

Jennifer Bailey

A recipe for minestrone soup taken from Elizabeth David's *Italian Food* (1954)[1] is the starting point for this discussion on food, its sourcing and preparation, as a conveyor of values, lifestyle and social class beyond its primary function as sustenance. Minestrone has roots in Italian *cucina povera*: traditional peasant or 'poor' cuisine. In its native Italy, the composition of the dish would have been, or is, adapted according to what produce was available locally and to the season.[2]

In this instance the soup was made by hand in the United Kingdom with a combination of handmade, hand-grown, commercially available and imported ingredients. To prepare this version of minestrone, according to David's recipe, and outside of its culture of origin, demands *concern* on the part of the eater. This might take the form of awareness of the historical origins of the dish, culinary technique, discernment in selecting produce, and familiarity with a diversity of cuisines. As a result of this investment, I will argue, the dish is a signifier of analogous values including goodness, wholesomeness, tradition, experience and authenticity.

The food we consume does not just hold value as nutrition; it also refracts and reinforces aspects of our identity. This text attempts to characterise what (and how) David's minestrone communicates of its makers, from a contemporary British standpoint. I will examine the value systems inherent to lifestyles such as cosmopolitanism and culinary tourism; the significance of a dish's provenance, the implications of social class on food habits; the symbolic, or *sign-value*[3] of foodstuffs; the ways a foodstuff might convey goodness; the significance of style, presentation and preparation of food, and the manner in which it is enjoyed, and, (common, arguably, to all these areas of discussion) the bearing a notion of authenticity has on the validation of certain food experiences.

There are innumerable recipes for minestrone, but it is a dish that famously does not require a fixed recipe, rather a loose idea of what it should be. Anna del Conte, a foremost writer on Italian cuisine, states that the common denominator is the inclusion of a variety of vegetables that have been cooked in water or stock.[4] Food journalist Xanthe Clay states that a starches such as pasta or pulses are prerequisites.[5] This version includes haricot beans, broken pieces of spaghetti, bacon, root vegetables, olive oil, Swiss chard and tinned tomato. Some fresh oregano has been added late in cooking. The bacon used was hand cured from belly pork; the fat from the bacon and that used to cook the base ingredients have produced an

---

[1] Elizabeth David 'Minestrone (2)' *Italian Food,* Penguin, London, 1963 p 85

[2] Anna Del Conte, *The Gastronomy of Italy,* Friedman, New York, 2001 p 306

[3] Jean Baudrillard, *The System of Objects*, Verso, London, 2005, *passim*

[4] Del Conte, *op.cit.,*

[5] Xanthe Clay, 'Kitchen Classics: minestrone', *The Telegraph*, 8 January 2005

orange-tinged oil that coats the vegetable and starch components and adds a fatty mouthfeel to what could be a lighter dish; the overall texture might be described as 'chunky'. Sometimes the vegetables are cooked longer, softening and becoming indistinguishable from the liquid. In some preparations, notably the *minestrone Genovese*, tomato is omitted. Wine can be added to enhance the savoury flavour while adding some sweetness.

The widespread availability of a dish such as minestrone is indicative of the assimilation of Italian cuisine into the United Kingdom.[6] Commercially prepared varieties of minestrone sold in the United Kingdom always include tomato: its acid sweetness is the predominant flavour. Pasta tends to be a primary, rather than harmonious, ingredient; a bland filler that lessens the vegetal and fibrous content and renders the overall balance of the dish more carbohydrate-heavy and thus more appealing to the Northern European palate. While the Anglo-minestrone takes the parts of the dish that are appealing to the assimilating culture and extrapolates them, whilst reducing or omitting other ingredients or parts of the cooking process that might seem unnecessary, unpalatable or laborious, David's recipe is a record of a dish she experienced while researching cuisine in Italy.[7] What does it mean to prepare a dish from another culture, but to adhere to the style of a 'local' version?

In her paper 'The Pursuit of Authenticity', Lisa Heldke characterises a type of 'food adventurer', for whom an important pursuit is finding examples of authenticity in their food experiences.[8] A key activity for this 'differentiation'[9] model of eater is the determining of authenticity by the seeking-out and identifying of local-specificity. For this to be a satisfactory experience, as Heldke expands in 'But is it Authentic?' '(they) desire encounters with truly authentic Others, not mediated, hybridized Others who are already "influenced" by the likes of us.'[10]

This type of traveller places a heavy emphasis on knowledge of the customs and cultural output of the places he or she visits. In their study 'Trying to be Cosmopolitan'[11], Thompson and Tambyah explored Canadian expatriates' attempts to 'enact cosmopolitanism' by seeking 'authentic' experiences in Singapore, mostly by avoidance of situations where individuals such as themselves were the target consumer or participant.[12] The objective is to access what Sidney Mintz refers to as '"inside" kinds of meaning – inside the rituals and schedules of the group, inside the meal or eating event'.[13] The typical

---

6 Allison James, Identity and the Global Stew, *The Taste Culture Reader,* Carolyn Korsmeyer (ed.), Berg, Oxford, 2005 p 376

7 Lisa Chaney, *Elizabeth David*, Pan, London, 1999 p 288

8 Lisa Heldke, 'The Pursuit of Authenticity', *Exotic Appetites,* Lisa Heldke, Routledge, London, 2003 p 23

9 James, *op.cit.*, p 380

10 Lisa Heldke, 'But is it Authentic?' *The Taste Culture Reader,* Carolyn Korsemeyer (ed.) p 386

11 Craig J. Thompson and Siok Kuan Tambyah 'Trying to be Cosmopolitan' *Journal of Consumer Research,* Vol. 26, No. 3 (December 1999) p 214

12 *ibid.,*

13 Sidney Mintz, 'Sweetness and Meaning' *The Taste Culture Reader* Carolyn Korsemeyer (ed.) p 114

tourist, by comparison, is understood to place a higher emphasis on straightforward forms of enjoyment, eschewing the risk associated with new experiences.[14]

David was arguably more akin to travel writer than a cook; a translator of unfamiliar cultures, which, at the time of her writing, were an unknown quantity to many of her readers. She prided herself on her immersion into the lives of the places she documented.[15] Her recipes were illustrated with anecdotal writing that brought to light the lifestyles and customs associated with her recipes. A description in the introduction to *Italian Food* elevates the prosaic activity of a Venetian market to a grandiose scene akin to a Pasolini film: "In Venice even ordinary sole and ugly great skate are striped with delicate lilac light…the robust life and rattling noise contrasted with the fragile taffeta colours and the opal sky…."[16] These edifying images of lifestyles and places entered into the collective memory of her readers as archetypes. Writing on the Slow Food movement, which was founded by food activist Carlo Petrini in Bra, Italy in 1986, as a form of protest against the opening of a McDonalds restaurant in Rome[17], Wendy Parkins describes an early incarnation of the movement visiting regions of France famous for recognisable traditional cuisine and by extension, cultures around food such as Champagne, Bordeaux and Alsace. Petrini discovered that 'The status of such regions emanated from 'a certain idea of production combined with a communication strategy that makes it possible to "sell" the world a complex image combining history, landscape, wine, cuisine and a style of welcome'.[18] Parkins describes Petrini returning to Italy to set about '"building" a territory' that recognised and highlighted the region's agricultural traditions, its quality produce and landscape.'[19] To fully perceive authenticity in the food of a particular place, a narrative is essential.

Brad Weiss argues that simply a *sense* of place is necessary in order to satisfy a sense of authenticity borne of local-specificity, and by extension, quality. In a study of the micro-production of artisan pork products in the United States, Weiss states: "The fact of emplacement itself seems to be the prerequisite for that quality, regardless of the consumer's tastes, or knowledge…If that ham has a 'place" it must taste good" seems to be the logic."[20] Alison Leitch coined the phrase "Tuscanopia", to describe a conceptual place borne out of a marketable idea of the real Italian administrative region "in which Tuscan peasant cuisines, house renovation projects and picturesque rurality, all seem to have become key fantasy spaces of modern urban alienation"[21] Barthes careful dissection of an Italian tinned tomato advertisement in

---

14 Dean MacCannell, 'Tourist Agency' *Tourist Studies,* vol. 1 2001 p 23

15 Chaney, *op.cit.*, p 246

16 David, *op.cit.*, p 13

17 Wendy Parkins, *Slow Living*, Berg, Oxford, 2006 p 78

18 *ibid.,*

19 *ibid.,*

20 Brad Weiss, 'Making Pigs Local: Discerning the Sensory Character of Place', interview by Emily Levitt, *Cultural Anthropology* 26, no. 3, 2011 p 438

21 Alison Leitch, cited in Sutton, D. *Remembrance of Repasts, An Anthology of Food and Memory* Berg, Oxford, 2011 p 158

'Rhetoric of the Image' reveals how a sense of place can be communicated non-linguistically: in the "bringing together of the tomato, the pepper and the tricoloured hues (yellow, green, red) of the poster; its signified is Italy, or rather *Italianicity*." [22]

In the United Kingdom food styled after Italian cuisine gained mass popularity in the latter part of the twentieth century[23]. The most widely adopted dishes were so because they were agreeable to British consumers' tastes, or were altered so that they were. Spaghetti Bolognese has only the addition of 'red sauce' to de-stolidify a familiar union of starchy carbohydrate and ground meat: in essence it is mince and potatoes, reformatted.[24]

Today, the packaging of products such as chilled lasagne, fettuccine and tins of olives often feature generalised signifiers of Italian-ness: twisted olive tree branches, sunlit rolling hills, Nonnas sipping tomato sauce from wooden spoons and discombobulated phrases in faux-weathered, old-world typefaces: 'al fresco', 'trattoria' - a kind of sub-information that pertains to the *ambience* of the product. This type of graphic language works to rationalise[25] these foodstuffs for the assimilating market by placing them within a continuum of similarly styled products. The styling of Mamma Amalfi, a British restaurant chain, takes *Italianicity* to its logical conclusion: artificial vines coiled around polyvinyl carbonate rounds of Parmigiana cheese, checked tablecloths, basket weave carafes, roughly plastered walls and 'aged' menus featuring the backstory of a (presumably fictional) 'Mamma Rosa'. The service is brisk, and the menu dominated by that which James refers to as 'fast becoming the most global of global foods'[26] - pizza and pasta. The eater for whom authenticity is imperative tends to reject these rationalisations as they represent a tamed, cultivated version of, in this instance, Italian cuisine that has been adapted for their own culture.

In comparison, excursions into unfamiliar gustatory territory are viewed as adventurous, even brave.[27] Hannerz describes the willingness to engage with new cultures as 'an intellectual and aesthetic stance of openness'[28], a position diametrically opposed to parochialism. To consume a 'correct' version of a product of a highly localised culture is reflective of a respect and sensitivity to the traditions of the Other, and a

---

22 Roland Barthes, 'Rhetoric of the Image' *Image, Music, Text,* Fontana Press, Waukegan, 1993 p 34

23 James, *op.cit.,* p 376

24 Bolognese sauce is regarded as a bastardisation of Ragù alla Bolognese, a dish so 'ill-treated and misunderstood' that an official recipe was registered with the Bolognese Chamber of Commerce in 1982 in order to safeguard the traditional preparation. Ragù alla Bolognese is served with tagliatelle, not spaghetti. When cooked, the tagliatelle must measure 8mm wide, or 1/12, 270 of the height of the Torre degli Asinelli, two renaissance-era towers in Bologna. Sources: Breno Lerner, *The Barnacle Goose: And Other Kitchen Stories,* Editora Melhoramentos, Lisbon, 2011; Oretta Zanini de Vita, *Encyclopedia of Pasta,* trans. Maureen B Fant, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2009, p 278

25 Simone Cinotto, *'"Now That's Italian!" Representations of Italian Food in America Popular Magazines, 1950-2000'* The Italian Academy, Columbia University, New York, 2004 <http://www.italianacademy.columbia.edu/publications/working_papers/2003_2004/paper_sp04_Cinotto.pdf> retrieved 8 April 2013

26 James, *op.cit.,* p 374

27 Heldke, 'What Do You Mean We Can't Film the Market Sequence Here?' *Exotic Appetites* p 93

28 Ulf Hannerz, 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture' *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity,* Mike Featherstone (ed.), Sage, Thousand Oaks p 239

protective stance towards the nuances of cultures that may be under attack from the homogenising forces of globalisation.[29] In the unambiguously titled 'Picky Eating is a Moral Failing'[30] Matthew Brown explores the social and personal implications of cautious eating, arguing that it is representative of a wider distrust of difference that can eventually extrapolate to xenophobia and racism. 'Unpicky' eating may also earn one the status of gastronome, a kind of eating specialist: '…ability with respect to taste in much the same way that experts of all stripes possess special abilities.'[31] Korsmeyer argues that the discerning palate of the gastronome can be '*deliberately cultivated*' with an inquisitive and determined approach to 'different' food: '…a discriminating palate is a result of sophisticated learning and experience.'[32] She cites Brillat-Savarin's theory that the sensation of taste is threefold, the last being the contemplative, rational part that 'settles' the taste within and against the eater's former experience and knowledge. The activity of eating is never simply a shock to the mouth: the first slurp of soup is prefaced by numerous activities around the dish's preparation, including the absorption of David's words, the chopping of vegetables and the aroma of the stock, as well as an accumulation of other, similar, eating experiences that train the palate to recognise signifiers of authenticity and goodness in less familiar cuisine. When an emphasis is placed on generating a more discerning or adventurous palate, the mind can be coerced into considering the physical reaction differently. Adherence to David's recipe represents a commitment to these ideals.

Food is a powerful social differentiator: 'a generation or two ago, our individual identity was much more defined by our social roles and relationships…today our identities are such more strongly linked to what we consume.'[33] Given the heavy emphasis placed on access to the 'reality' of other cultures, it is important that the cosmopolitan eater believes the Mamma Amalfi eater operates in a state of, as MacCannell describes, 'mindless conformity in pursuit of the pseudo event'[34]. Roger Haden uses Barthes theory of the 'alibi' to describe how the branding of mass-manufactured food can connote 'some historical or cultural 'truth''.[35] The function of the alibi is the production of powerful images that colour (or flavour) the food before it is eaten: 'Industrially produced pasta, for example, might carry with it a logo-alibi suggesting simple, peasant food.' In this case, the alibi simultaneously obfuscates undesirable truths around the foods' provenance and underscores its (tenuous) associative values. It is to demonstrate ones dissociation from the mainstream by not falling for these deceptions. Through this model of highly aware

---

[29] *ibid.,* p 24

[30] Matthew J. Brown, 'Picky Eating is a Moral Failing' *Food & Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry*, Dave Monroe & Fritz Allhoff (eds.), Blackwell, London, 2007 p 192

[31] Michael Shaffer, 'Taste, Gastronomic Expertise and Objectivity' *Food & Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry*, Monroe & Allhoff (eds.), p 73

[32] Carolyn Korsemeyer, 'Delightful, Delicious, Disgusting' in *Food & Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry*, Monroe & Allhoff (eds.), p 145

[33] Jeremy Iggers, 'Introduction' *Philosophy Now*, 31, March/April 2001 p 2

[34] Dean MacCannell, 'Tourist Agency' *Tourist Studies* vol. 1, 2001 p 23

[35] Roger Haden, 'Taste in an Age of Convenience: From Frozen Food to Meals in 'the Matrix'' *Taste Culture Reader* Korsemeyer (ed.) p 351

eating the food adventurer creates moments of delineation against others within their culture: 'To *choose* one's food and define oneself by that choice in opposition to a dominant conceptual scheme is empowering'[36] David levels this criticism at those she typifies as middle-English eaters in an article on the proliferation of prepared or factory-farmed foods: '…it is a too innocent belief in authenticity that has made us such easy victims of the purveyors of the farmyard-fresh Surrey chicken from the battery house…the hedgerow-ripened blackberry pie filling out of the cardboard box.'[37]

What David's minestrone eater might overlook is that the individual with more mainstream tastes might not be in thrall to the Italian-ness of the Mamma Amalfi experience. Given the latter's lesser emphasis on authenticity, the 'realness' of the restaurant is not a concern or may even be viewed as detrimental to the experience. On the subject of fast-food restaurants, James suggests that their popularity is rooted in a fear of being placed into situations of difference, where one might be seen not to understand customs or risk inappropriate behaviour: 'Through this standardization…the uniqueness of the Self is played down, making the identities on offer similarly safe and conventional'[38]. The Mamma Amalfi experience draws on some fundamentals of the commodified 'Italian' experience and extrapolates or moderates them to create a new type of experience. The central appeal of this is comfort (in terms of familiarity, price point, service culture), rather than 'Italian'.

The seductive qualities of her work notwithstanding, David's writing was highly instructive. Her recipes were often template-like, but very precise where necessary. This prescriptive style is more akin to *cuisine* – a mannered, *haute*, rule bound approach to cookery - than the intuitive style of *cucina povera*: 'her recipes took no short cuts, and demanded time and trouble."[39] David's insistence on correctness can be related to Hannerz's use of the term 'competence'[40] that he uses in relation to cosmopolitanism, suggesting a 'just passing muster' approach to inhabiting the traditions of others. In this instance, David stresses the importance of correct practices and faithfulness so that the result is as close to 'proper', or, authentic as possible. Hannerz asserts that striving for competence in the culture of the Other 'is not a way of becoming local, but rather simulating local knowledge'.[41]

The food of Italy varies greatly region to region, but could be characterised in the whole as a disciplined cuisine with some tacit conventions that appear (or *taste*) obvious and natural to its natives: no cheese with fish; onions or garlic, never both, in the same pot or a sensitivity to the heaviness of a sauce in

---

36 Deane W. Curtin, 'Recipes for Values', *Cooking, Eating, Thinking: Transformative Philosophies of Food*, Deane W. Curtin & Lisa Heldke (eds.), John Wiley & Sons, Inc., Hoboken, 1992 p 133

37 David, 'Exigez le veritable Cheddar Français', *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine*, p 158

38 James, *op.cit.,* p 378

39 Artemis Cooper, *David [*née *Gwynne], Elizabeth (1913–1992), writer on cookery,* Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50960> retrieved 12 March 2013

40 Hannerz, *op.cit.,* p 247

41 *ibid.,*

relation to the robustness of a pasta. Dishes tend to include few high quality, seasonal ingredients. The Italophile can easily assimilate these customs.

But the qualities that the food adventurer seeks to replicate are too elusive to be attained by fidelity to ingredients and cooking methods. These qualities are the deeply embedded habits of the native cook and the relationship between their life and food. In the case of a native preparation of minestrone, while taste is a foremost concern, so too is the necessity of the dish. It is diffused in and around the everyday: household economics, the weather, and volume of mouths to feed. The food adventurer's attempt is laboured and superfluous; it sits in relief from the everyday, a special event. For the food adventurer, the ultimate, but seemingly unobtainable state is this essentiality, the seamless marriage of food and life that the native achieves: 'Even if we could agree, unambiguously, that a dish was *prepared* authentically, there is no guarantee whatsoever that the eater will be equipped to *experience* it as authentic (where authentic is taken to mean "the way it would taste for an insider to the cuisine").'[42] David explores these elusive elements of the authentic experience in an article about French cuisine in London. The food of these establishments is deemed good to eat by her Parisian companions, but somehow not truly *French*. The issue is one not of flavour or ingredients but of finish, of touch: 'It is no doubt our taste for extraneous related flourishes which to the French makes our attempts at their cooking amusing, original (*inattendu* I think is the correct word).'[43]

Sometimes the intrusion of the cosmopolitan eater is the element that breaks the 'spell' of authenticity. In an essay on food programming, David Dunn explores the activities of celebrity chef Jamie Oliver in a remote region of Italy.[44] The mediated nature of Oliver's assimilation into the culture of Le Marche – his conspicuous Mockney persona, the interference of the production's elaborate set-ups (however inherent to the culture a lamb slaughtering may be), even the 'naturalistic' camera work and shaky transitions – means the effect is that of Oliver and the production breaking a Brechtian fourth wall. Oliver disturbs what is intended to be a portrayal of another culture in 'honest' terms, leaving the audience questioning his subjects' authenticity.

The tendency to venerate experiences specific to Others is rooted in the un-exotic terms by which the cosmopolitan views their own culture: 'we come to think of (one's culture) as no culture at all, as a kind of default or background against which other cultures can be displayed'[45]. Believing that they are interminably neutral, the food adventurer desires things that are special and unique. In consuming these special things, the qualities inherent to a dish or eating experience are refracted onto them. Johnston and

---

42 Heldke, 'But is it Authentic? Culinary Travel and the Search for the "Genuine Article"', *Taste Culture Reader* Carolyn Korsemeyer (ed.) p 386

43 David, 'Franglais', *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine,* Grub Street, London, 2009 p 155

44 Dunn, David 'Transforming Taste(s) into Sights: Gazing and Grazing with Television's Culinary Tourists' *Tourism and Visual Culture, Volume 1: Theories and Concepts* edited by Peter M. Burns, Catherine A. Palmer, Jo-Anne M. Lester p 196

45 Heldke, 'Introduction' *Exotic Appetites* p xxi

Baumann argue that an approach to food centred in the pursuit of newness and authenticity 'work(s) to validate a relatively narrow range of foods that require considerable cultural and/or economic capital on the part of individuals'.[46] Heldke argues that the food adventurer need not be especially wealthy relative to the general populace, but do require a degree of cultural mobility[47] and access to knowledge in order to reinforce their status via food choices. This is food culture for those whom the basic needs are covered.

Integral to cosmopolitan eating as an activity is 'an urgent emphasizing of the heterogeneity of cuisines… of the fine distinctiveness of eating food within its own locale.'[48] The association between a food and a place is born of continuance. This facet of the culture of a locality may be required to be in state of suspension, or preservation, in order to satisfy this. Thus an undue concern with local-specificity may not afford the native subject the same ability to traverse culinary boundaries that the food adventurer deems their inalienable right. James argues that an emphasis on differentiation in cuisine 'presents a stark contrast to the homogenisation of food achieved within the globalized discourse and yet, curiously, shares part of its dominion through its celebration of locality.'[49] The increased awareness of the role food plays in the lives of certain communities and importance of soil, climate and artisanal processes in the creation of rare and extraordinary tastes is an important counter to the standardising and often environmentally harmful effects of the industrial food industry. But the notion that 'quality' food must be rooted in a specific location disregards that cuisines are creolised and subject to influence by external forces: hybridisation brought about by the development of trade routes, Westernisation, the influence of mass-media and patterns of migration. This inflexible approach would mean that, given the dish's Turkish origins, the doner kebab could not be an authentic constituent of British food culture: "…historically there has been constant interchange between cultures in relation to food consumption…This brings into question, therefore, the very notion of 'authentic' food traditions, raising doubts as to the validating role food might have with respect to cultural identity."[50]

Realness

The ingredients constituting David's minestrone are not forced into unnatural forms and the presentation is not integral to the enjoyment of the dish. It could also be described as messy, irregular or mushy. It is not a festive dish, nor does it use expensive cuts of meat or obscure delicatessen ingredients. The smokiness of bacon recalls cooking over fire, Claude Lévi-Strauss' most earthy, unmediated preparations

---

46 Shyon Baumann & Josée Johnston, 'Democracy versus Distinction: A Study of Omnivorousness in Gourmet Food Writing' *American Journal of Sociology,* University of Toronto, volume 113 no. 1, July 2007 p 169

47 Dunn, *op.cit.,* p 192

48 James, *op.cit.,* p 377

49 *ibid.,* p 380

50 *ibid.,*

of meat in his 'culinary triangle'[51], or the fatty cuts associated with Bourdieu's French working poor.[52] Bacon is chewy and sometimes coarse, requiring the eater to engage their molars, rather than smooth or 'pre-digested' – a byword for unchallenging, mainstream genres such as studio blockbusters or 'chick lit' novels. David also calls for the vegetables and starches to be added to the liquid at discrete intervals in the cooking process. When prepared in this way, the vegetables remain texturally distinct and taste only of themselves.

David's food stood in stark contrast to the cuisine usually in the *haute* French tradition and favoured by the middle and upper classes of Northern Europe and North America at the time *Italian Food* was published. Yet for her readers, it was aspirational. This is owed somewhat to the unobtainability of the produce she championed in the frugal climate of post-war Britain: lemons, olive oil, preparations of cured meat, pasta – that which is rare is by definition a delicacy. Central to her ideology was the notion that the flavour and quality of produce should take precedence (or not be at the expense of) the aesthetic.[53] Artemis Cooper describes David's home cooking as being 'served in the dishes it had cooked in, without fuss or comment.' David included few instructions on presentation in her recipes. Her belief in 'letting well alone'[54] was the antithesis to Barthes' 'idea cookery', described in his essay *Ornamental Cookery*[55]. Published in 1968, it underlined the incongruity of the then-fashionable pampered, brunoised food on the cookery pages of French Elle magazine that Barthes characterized as 'based on coatings and alibis, and is for ever trying to extenuate and disguise the primary nature of foodstuffs..."[56] Pamela Van Dyke Price's *Art of the Table*[57] (1962) is indicative of the importance the era placed on the proper ways of the table. The image on the front cover shows a table set up for 'lunch or supper farmhouse style', which includes the presumably time consuming decoration of head of corn relief carved into the butter. Advice on lemon garnishes recalls Barthes' descriptions of '*utilized*'[58] renderings of food in Dutch still lives in *The World as Object*, the objects suspended in a pseudo state of activation: 'a half or whole fruit cut with jagged edges, or with the peel partially removed and coiled around it…' The tone of *Art of the Table* is one of aspiration and upward social mobility. David's writing, by contrast, was a significant example of representation of the products of the culture of the lower, rather than upper social classes, and the traditions of rural, rather than urban, communities. But her rejection of the garnished, decorative food admired by the British of the day itself arguably took it own form of class snobbery. From an upper-

---

51 Claude, Lévi-Strauss, 'The Culinary Triangle', *Food and Culture: A Reader*, Carole Counihan & Penny Van Esterick (eds.), Routledge, New York, p 37

52 Pierre Bourdieu,. *Distinction,* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1984 p 158

53 David, 'Letting Well Alone' *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine,* p 46

54 *ibid.,*

55 Barthes, 'Ornamental Cookery' *Mythologies*, Vintage, London, 2009 p 78

56 *ibid.,*

57 Pamela Van Dyke, *Art of the Table,* London, Batsford, 1962, front cover image

58 Barthes, 'The World as Object' *Critical Essays*, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 2000 p 4

middle class woman able to live abroad, some of her comments appeared like snipes at petit-bourgeois striving: 'What I'm waiting for is the day when it's going to be clever to serve some relaxed English dish like cauliflower cheese.'[59]

It appears, however, that David may have her way. More recently, the advertisements and informational graphics of McDonalds have moved towards using non-linguistic signifiers or *motifs* of authenticity and tradition, at odds with the flashier style of the pre-Millennium, which attempted to locate the brand within a more obviously moneyed, slick style. A print and television advertising campaign produced in 2011 shows a young girl sharing a field with cows, shot in 'magic hour' low dawn light. The girl holds aloft a handmade-looking fabric sign with ragged, hand-cut lettering. Subtle use of camera shake (seen in Oliver's visit to Le Marche) and natural lighting add layers to these signifiers of 'realness'. The information on the rustic signs pertain to the various ways the brand might be 'good', 'wholesome' and 'honest' by lightly addressing the ethical concerns around the sourcing of its produce.[60]

Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann argue that there is an increased legitimacy of traditionally working-class foods amongst discerning eaters, observing, somewhat tongue in cheek, that 'when the elite are eating hamburgers and hot dogs, food snobbery and culinary stratification must be fading away'.[61] In an essay on *lardo di Colonnato,* a pork fat product native to Carrara, Italy, Alison Leitch reports a attitudinal shift towards this highly calorific Southern European equivalent to Mintz's "proletarian hunger killer"[62] amongst culinary tourists, upgraded from a subject of 'disgust' to a 'delicacy' in the period roughly between 1988 and 1998.[63] Leitch's *lardo* is also workers' food, more specifically, for manual labourers. Despite their efforts, McDonalds does not yet pass muster as an 'acceptable' choice for the middle-class food tourist, but like the 'good' bacon of the minestrone, fatty foods have 'goodness' when functioning as the fuel of labour. Peterson and Kern suggest that this attitudinal adjustment amongst 'elite' eaters suggests 'a qualitative shift in the basis for marking elite status – from snobbish exclusion to omnivorous appropriation.'[64]

Middlebrow tastes: the Mamma Amalfi model - are found by Peterson and Kern to be the most antithetical to the omnivorous eater.[65] Ditto contemporary poor or working class culture understood to be championing unnecessary fripperies, which is often valued only in an ironic way. The television

---

59 David, 'Secrets' *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine*, p 41

60 'That's What Makes McDonalds', Television advertisement. McDonalds. Agency: Leo Burnett, 2011

61 Baumann, Shyon Johnston, Josée. 'Democracy versus Distinction: A Study of Omnivorousness in Gourmet Food Writing' *American Journal of Sociology*, The University of Chicago Press, Vol. 113, No. 1 (July 2007), pp. 165-204
p 165

62 Mintz, 'Time, Sugar and Sweetness' *Marxist Perspectives* 2, 1979 p 60

63 Leitch, 'Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity', *Ethnos*, vol. 68:4, December 2003 p 437

64 Richard A. Peterson and Roger M. Kern 'Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore', *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 61, No. 5, October 1996, p 900

65 *ibid.,* p 902

advertising campaigns for budget British supermarket Iceland have been derided for their florid attempts at marketing ersatz posh party canapés in a starkly price-emphasising fashion.[66] The discerning eater identifies these types of products as low-quality foodstuffs masked by decoration. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu states that the palate of the poor is so because of necessity, rather than choice, as tends to be the perception of the middle or upper classes.[67] As Claire Pentecost avows, heavily processed food, packed with binders, cheap fats and sugars are markedly less expensive than the fresh, seasonal and local produce championed by David: 'The same devices that poor people used to make cheap food go further, taste better, satisfy quicker, stick to the gut longer, are those used by the food industry to make cheap food go further, taste better, satisfy quicker'[68] The desire by working-class eaters for dressed up, 'fancy' but low-priced food is also indicative of a 'trickling down' of taste through class structures that Mintz describes as '"intensification,"[69]. The 'consumption replicates that practiced by others, usually of a higher social status',[70] stressing that the importance of the "emulative features of the custom.'[71]

The contemporary economic realities are distinct from what homemade minestrone represents. Like de Certeau's bread, David's minestrone is 'less a basic food than a basic "cultural symbol"'.[72] To prepare and eat 'real food' using high-quality, fresh ingredients and free from the camouflage of decoration, is to be engaged with the fundamental elements of food consumption, namely flavour and sustenance, circumventing more conspicuous or supposedly frivolous aspects. The minestrone is pure and sustaining nutritionally but also in its sign-value[73] or *symbolic* content. A post-Millennial trend in restaurant menus is the listing of ingredients in sparse sentences that lay the dish's composition bare: '*Ox Heart, Beetroot & Horseradish'*.[74] 'Honest' is a familiar adjective amongst food writers, the term a byword for cuisine that is unfussy, even rustic in style.[75] A growing distrust for highly decorated food, Frenchified language and garnish, even from elite restaurants, is comparable to the persistence of hippie-*style* (distinct, in this instance, to the more politicised hippie-*movement*), characterised by MacCannell as a concerted effort to avoid affectedness: 'the young people of the industrial West who have pressed for simplicity and

---

66 'That's why mums go to Iceland'. Television advertisement. Iceland supermarket. Agency: Tom Reddy Advertising, 2007

67 Bourdieu, *op.cit.,* p 6

68 Pentecost, Claire, 'What did you eat and when did you know it', keynote speech on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the Society of Photographic Educators (SPE), Las Vegas, March 2002

69 Mintz, *op.cit.,* p 114

70 *ibid.,*

71 *ibid.,*

72 Michel de Certeau, 'Bread and Wine' *The Practice of Everyday Life: Living and Cooking Volume 2,* Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard & Pierre Mayol, University Of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1998 p 86

73 Baudrillard, *op.cit.,*

74 Lunch menu, St John Bread and Wine, London, 23 April 2013

75 Janet Floyd, 'Simple, Honest Food: Elizabeth David and the Construction of Nation in Cookery Writing', The Recipe Reader, Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster (eds.), Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003 *passim*

naturalness in their attire and have found it necessary assiduously to select clothing, jewellery and hairstyles that are especially designed to look *natural*'[76]

Goodness

To prepare ones own food from 'good', fresh ingredients is also to implicitly demand that close attention be paid to the activities around the food - cooking, obviously, but also the circumstances and mode of eating: the pace, company, setting of the table, an attentiveness to texture and taste. These ritualised behaviours differentiate the act of eating to satisfy bodily needs from the more contemplative ritual of the meal.

'A fundamental right to pleasure' is the opening line of the Slow Food manifesto on their official website[77]. The movement views a careful approach to the preparation and enjoyment of food as something elemental, rather than an optional lifestyle choice. Berry concurs, equating 'fast' modes of eating with a contemporary preoccupation with instant gratification and a multiplicitous, transient experiences: 'Like industrial sex, industrial eating has become a degraded, poor, and paltry thing…We hurry through our meals to go to work and hurry through our work in order to "recreate" ourselves in the evenings and on weekends and vacations."[78] To give time and space to eating in one's life is the antithesis to a careless or passive relationship with food. A passive attitude towards food might be manifested in, amongst other things, a reliance on convenience or fast food, eating out of boredom or stress, eating to alleviate the addictive properties of sugar and fat or 'giving in' to the tyranny of food advertising. Synonymous with restraint, the rigor involved in a 'slow' approach to food is noble.

Integral to the enjoyment of David's minestrone is the investment of the cook in its making. In her essay 'Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice', Heldke suggest that the labour an attentive maker undertakes in the preparation of food is not a perfunctory activity, but one that is highly cognitive. She describes the practice of foodmaking as both 'mental and manual labour', and stresses that the latter is not a "'subservient"'[79] activity in relation to the former: 'In all these activities, subject and object meet and touch, and that meeting is central to their nature as activities.'[80] Heldke describes this union of the intellectual mind and physical activity as 'bodily knowledge', a consolidation of the maker's experiences, tastes, prejudices, creativity and so forth – that are impressed deeply, at an intuitive level, into the actions

---

[76] MacCannell, *The Tourist: New Theory of the Leisure Class*, Schocken, New York, 1989 p 100

[77] Slow Food, *Our Philosophy,* <www.slowfood.com/about_us/eng/philosophy.lasso> retrieved 28 February 2013

[78] Wendell Berry, *The Pleasures of Eating,* Center for Ecoliteracy, <http://www.ecoliteracy.org/essays/pleasures-eating> retrieved 21 April 2013

[79] Heldke 'Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice', *Cooking, Eating, Thinking: Transformative Philosophies of Food,* Heldke & Curtin (eds.) p 206

[80] *ibid.,*

of preparing food.[81] These characteristics of the maker are then integrated into the resulting product: 'In certain respects, (foodmaking) seems to imitate sculpture – an activity that, although it involves the hands, certainly is not hand work.'[82] The non-cooking, convenience food-eater, as a comparison, is a mute subject in relation to what they consume, which is manufactured to appeal to the widest possible range of tastes. To simply consume, rather than produce, is uncreative and unengaged. According to Heldke, they are: 'doers, not thinkers…presumed to be happy so long as they have enough to satisfy their various appetites'.[83] This pure consumption is detrimental to the distinctive tastes that emerge from individualised preparation: 'commodity-appeal (and desire for convenience) overtakes our experience of the tangible qualities of smell and taste and touch.'[84]

Cooking is not the only way to be a 'producer' of a food experience. To exert influence over the circumstances of eating is also a mode of engagement. Western models of food consumption are rooted in the symbol of the table as the ideal location for eating. According to the proponents of Slow Food, dining at the table is a custom in a state of rapid decline: 'Our kitchens and other eating places more and more resemble filling stations'[85] Dining at the table, and its associated pleasures - the coming together of family and friends, conversation, wine - is a performance of 'goodness', synonymous with the cosmopolitan's belief that good food, place and custom are inexorably intertwined. In a comparison of the intents of home cooks and professional chefs, Christian Krautkramer concludes that the home cooks duty is the 'fostering of comfort, providing abundance, and creating a dining atmosphere of conviviality.'[86] He argues that within this framework the food itself is permitted to be clumsy or even unappetising – what is important is the connotative meaning inscribed by the setting[87].

The origins of the Slow Food movement were concerned with the protection of taste and food culture in an increasingly globalised world by consideration of the manner in which food is produced and consumed.[88] While consideration is definitely paid to provenance and modes of food production[89], the movement places heavy emphasis on the superiority of traditional models of sourcing, buying, cooking

---

81 Heldke, 'Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice', *Cooking, Eating, Thinking,* Curtin & Heldke p 213

82 *ibid.,*

83 Heldke, 'Eating in Context', *Exotic Appetites* p 211

84 Haden, *op.cit.,* p 347

85 Wendell, *op.cit.,*

86 Christian Krautkramer, 'Duty to Cook: Exploring the Intents and Ethics of Home and Restaurant Cuisine' *Food and Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry*, Allhoff & Monroe (eds.) p 251

87 *ibid.,* p 260

88 Lisa Abend, 'Slow Food: Can You Eat Well and Save the World?' Time, 29 October 2010

89 These include the conditions of food workers and the diets of the poor and consideration of the deleterious effect of 'food miles' or genetic modification of crops on the environment and consumers' health. Source: Slow Food website, *ibid.,*

and eating food: “In the western world, food is not so much nutrition; it is about choosing a lifestyle and lately also about discovering old traditions as useful skills in a new context.”[90]

Activities around food were once inseparable from lifestyle, whereas in the context of convenience, eating can now be ‘slotted in’, like tooth brushing. Yet ‘traditional’ activities rendered unnecessary in the epoch of highly technological food manufacture, industrial farming and convenience food: growing produce, jam and preserve making, foraging, curing meats and brining pickles, have never gone away. Cooking – as in, preparing a meal from ‘scratch’, is the least archaic of these. But it too is a choice, rather than a necessity, thus has arguably taken on the status of a ‘special interest’ activity.[91] Cooking is, for some, a form of quasi-political resistance to the standardisation of tastes and passive consumption. It is also (more crucially), a means of shaping home life, and to impress upon one’s environment by exerting control over this most basic need. Cooking is a superfluous activity that is a symbol of essentiality: ‘protected from the superficiality of fashion…a more profound and heavier material faithfulness is at play there, a way of being-in-the-world and making it one’s own home.’[92]

Dean MacCannell argues that the prevailing desire for a return to the habits of the past is rooted in a search for an alternative to Modernity: “The progress of modernity ("modernization") depends on its very sense of instability and inauthenticity…reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles.[93] The power of the branding mechanism around concepts like ‘tradition’ or ‘heritage’ perpetuates a generalised, universal notion of the past (often Western, pre-Industrial)[94], rather than a more specific one rooted in the trickier *history:* ‘In a picture of a cow, or of a sunset in the archipelago, we read in a story about roots, traditions and locality.’[95] These notional concepts are intrinsic to the appeal of National Trust memberships, handcrafted roof tiles, house paint with names like Clove Brown and Chromium and bags of Doves Farm Einkorn Flour (‘the original wheat, developed over 20, 000 years ago’).[96] *Images* of specific historical periods are appropriated frequently – the ‘roaring twenties’, Victoriana, but this is the past revived, in a discombobulated manner, for the present. ‘Tradition’ and ‘heritage’, in comparison, imply a *continuum* between past and present by the upholding of custom: ‘the reconstruction… of a *silent legend* as if, by dint of merely living in it with my hands and body, I would succeed in restoring the alchemy of such a history.’[97]

---

90 Lindquist, Yrsa ‘Visual Presentations of Food Ideology’ (long abstract) *Food styles: circulating creative stories of local food culture,* conference, Tartu, Estonia, to be presented 30 June - 4 July 2013

91 Heldke, ‘Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice’, p 211

92 Luce Giard, ‘Doing-Cooking’ *The Practice of Everyday Life: Living and cooking Volume 2,* Michel de Certeau, Luce Giard, Pierre Mayol p 154

93 MacCannell, *op.cit.,* p 3

94 Fernandez-Armesto

95 Lindquist, *op.cit.,*

96 Doves Farm, ‘Organic Einkorn Wholegrain Flour’ <www.dovesfarm.co.uk/flour-and-ingredients/organic-einkorn-wholegrain-flour-1kg/> Retrieved 8 April 2013

97 Giard, *op.cit.,*

For something so subjective, and so often misapplied, authenticity is a powerful influence. For the individuals described in this text, authenticity is a catalyst, a motivator. It is a quality to be found *elsewhere*: in other places and other times, so one must seek it out, travel, either physically or metaphorically.

The individual for whom authenticity is imperative often adhere to apparently dichotomous value systems. The cosmopolitan or food adventurer relies on a belief in the authority of the Other; the holders of tacit, special information, but also hold a self-privileging belief that they are best placed to determine what and what is not authentic. So too the notion that good food must derive from a specific locale and a preoccupation with preservation of cultures, coupled with desire for access to 'new' food and culinary activities granted by the globalised food and travel industries.

A preoccupation with authenticity is also an anxious position. This anxiety is rooted in the dynamic status of food as image, as signifier. According to Barthes 'No doubt…the first need', *but* 'it is also a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of uses, situations, and behaviour.' The symbolic and associative value of David's minestrone is powerful. The soup, as a meal, an experience, an activity, an exercise, works to refract its values onto its consumer. These individuals' highly conscious, *deliberate* approach to food and eating demonstrates their influence on their surroundings, their awareness of the source of what they eat, and in doing so neatly delineates them from the prevailing culture. For the food adventurer, cosmopolitan or thoughtful eater food is not simply an object, but a means of definition.

Bibliography

Abend, Lisa. 'Slow Food: Can You Eat Well and Save the World?' Time, 29 October 2010

Barthes, Roland. 'Steak and Chips' *Mythologies*, London: Vintage Classics, 2009

Barthes, Roland 'Ornamental Cookery' *Mythologies,* London: Vintage Classics, 2009

Barthes, Roland, 'The World as Object' Critical Essays, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2000

Barthes, 'Roland Rhetoric of the Image' *Image, Music, Text* p 34 Waukegan: Fontana Press, 1993

Baudrillard, Jean 'The System of Objects' *Selected Writings,* Mark Poster (ed.), Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1988

Baumann, Shyon. Johnston, Josée. 'Democracy versus Distinction: A Study of Omnivorousness in Gourmet Food Writing' *American Journal of Sociology* volume 113 Number 1 (July 2007), Toronto: University of Toronto p 165–204

Berry, Wendell. The Pleasures of Eating in *What are People For?* Wendell Berry, 1990 Berry, Wendell. "The Pleasures of Eating: In what are people for? North Point Press. 1990

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction*

Brown, Matthew J., 'Picky Eating is a Moral Failing' in Dave Monroe & Fritz Allhoff (eds.), *Food & Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry*. London: Blackwell (2007)

Calvino, Italo. 'Under the Jaguar Sun' *Under the Jaguar Sun*. London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2009

Chaney, Lisa. *Elizabeth David*, London: Pan, 1999

Cinotto, Simone. '"Now That's Italian!" Representations of Italian Food in America Popular Magazines, 1950-2000' The Italian Academy, Columbia University, 2004 <http://www.italianacademy.columbia.edu/publications/working_papers/2003_2004/paper_sp04_Cinotto.pdf retrieved> 8 April 2013

Clay, Xanthe, 'Kitchen Classics: minestrone', *The Telegraph*, 8 January 2005

Cooper, Artemis. 'David [*née* Gwynne], Elizabeth (1913–1992), writer on cookery' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. Website. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50960 Retrieved 12 March 2013

Curtin, Deane. W 'Recipes for Values', *Cooking, Eating, Thinking*

David, Elizabeth 'Franglais', *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine*,

David, Elizabeth. 'Letting Well Alone' *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine*

David, Elizabeth. 'Secrets' *An Omelette and a Glass of Wine*,

David, Elizabeth. *Italian Food*

de Certeau, Michel. 'Bread and Wine' The Practice of Everyday Life: Living and Cooking volume 2

Del Conte, Anna *The Gastronomy of Italy*

Deresiewicz, William. 'A Matter of Taste? How Food Replaced Art as High Culture' New York Times, October 26, 2012

Dunn, David. 'Transforming Taste(s) into Sights: Gazing and Grazing with Television's Culinary Tourists' p 192

Giard, Luce. 'Doing-Cooking' The Practice of Everyday Life: Living and cooking. Volume 2 By Michel de Certeau p 154

Haden, Roger. 'Taste in an Age of Convenience: From Frozen Food to Meals in 'the Matrix'.' *Taste Culture Reader: Experiencing Food and Drink*. 344-358

Hannerz, Ulf. 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture' *Theory Culture Society* 1990

Hannerz, Ulf. Hannerz, Ulf. 'Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture' *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization and Modernity,* Mike Featherstone (ed.)

Heldke, Lisa M. 'Down-Home Global Cooking', *The Philosophy of Food*, David M. Kaplan (ed.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012

Heldke, Lisa *Exotic Appetites* London: Routledge, 200

Heldke, Lisa M. 'Foodmaking as a Thoughtful Practice', *Cooking, Eating, Thinking*. Deane W Curtin; Lisa M Heldke (eds.) Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1992

Heldke, Lisa 'The Pursuit of Authenticity' Lisa Heldke, *Exotic Appetites* London: Routledge, 2003

Heldke, Lisa. 'But is it Authentic?' *Taste Culture Reader* Carolyn Korsemeyer (ed.), Oxford: Berg: 2005 p 385-394

Iggers, Jeremy. 'Introduction' *Philosophy Now*, 31, March/April 2001

Innes, Jocasta. *The Pauper's Cookbook* (revised edition), London: Francis Lincoln, 2003

Fernandez Armesto *Food*

James, Allison. 'Identity and the Global Stew' *The Taste Culture Reader*, ed. Carolyn Korsmeyer. Oxford: Berg, 2005

Jones, Michael Owen. *Food Choice, Symbolism, and Identity: Bread-and-Butter Issues for Folkloristics and Nutrition Studies* (American Folklore Society Presidential Address, October 2005) The Journal of American Folklore , Vol. 120, No. 476 (Spring, 2007), pp. 129-177

Published by: University of Illinois Press on behalf of American Folklore Society

Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann 'Democracy versus Distinction: A Study of Omnivorousness in Gourmet Food Writing' *American Journal of Sociology* , The University of Chicago Press, Vol. 113, No. 1 (July 2007), pp. 165-204

Kant, Immanuel, *Critique of Judgement*, Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 2008

Kern, Roger M.; Peterson, Richard A. 'Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore' American Sociological Review , Vol. 61, No. 5 (Oct., 1996), pp. 900-907

Korsemeyer, Carolyn 'Delightful, Delicious, Disgusting' in *Food and Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry* edited by Fritz Allhoff, Dave Monro. London: Blackwell, 2007

Krautkramer, Christian. 'Duty to Cook: Exploring the Intents and Ethics of Home and Restaurant Cuisine' *Food and Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry* edited by Fritz Allhoff, Dave Monroe

Lindquist, Yrsa 'Visual Presentations of Food Ideology' (long abstract) Conference. Food styles: circulating creative stories of local food culture Tartu, Estonia; 30th June - 4th July 2013

Leitch, Alison, 'Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity' *Ethnos*, vol. 68:4, December 2003 (pp. 437–462)

Lerner, Breno. The Barnacle Goose: And Other Kitchen Stories, Editora Melhoramentos, 2011

Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *The Culinary Triangle*,

Levitt, Emily 'Making Pigs Local: Discerning the Sensory Character of Place' Interview with Brad Weiss *Cultural Anthropology* 26, no. 3 (2011): 438-461

MacCannell , Dean. The Tourist: New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Schocken, 1989

MacCannell, Dean 'Tourist Agency' *Tourist Studies* vol. 1 2001 p 23

Mintz, S. 'Time, Sugar and Sweetness' *Marxist Perspectives* 2, 1979: 56-70

Mintz, Sidney. 'Sweetness and Meaning' *The Taste and Culture Reader*

Parkins, Wendy; Craig, Geoffrey. *Slow Living,* Oxford: Berg, 2006

Pentecost, Claire, 'What did you eat and when did you know it' keynote speech on the occasion of the Annual Conference of the Society of Photographic Educators (SPE), Las Vegas, March 2002

Roden, Claudia. *The Food of Italy*, London: Vintage, 1998

Shaffer, Michael. 'Taste, Gastronomic Expertise and Objectivity' in Dave Monroe & Fritz Allhoff (eds.), *Food & Philosophy: Eat, Think, and Be Merry*. London: Blackwell (2007)

Sutton, D. Remembrance of Repasts, An Anthology of Food and Memory 2011, Berg

Thoreau, Henry. *Where I Lived, What I Lived For*, London: Penguin, 2008

That's What Makes McDonalds' Television advertisement. McDonalds. Agency: Leo Burnett. 2011

'That's why mums go to Iceland'. Television advertisement. Iceland supermarket. Agency: Tom Reddy Advertising. 2007

Toyka, Rolf; Hagen, Petra. *The architect, the cook, and good taste,* Basel; Boston: Birkhäuser, 2007

Turner, Christopher. ‘Leftovers/Dinner with Kant’ *Cabinet*, issue 33, Spring 2009

Van Dyke, Pamela. *Art of the Table* Batsford; First Edition edition (1962)

Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973

Zanini de Vita, Oretta. *Encyclopedia of Pasta,* trans. Fant, Maureen B., University of California Press, 2009