



Utopian Appetites

The 21st Symposium of Australian

GASTRONOMY

*2-5 December 2016
Melbourne, Australia*

PROCEEDINGS

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Preface

The Symposium's guiding theme of "Utopian Appetites" encouraged us to envisage the gastronomic project of eating and drinking *well*, bridging disciplinary boundaries, encompassing different spaces, practices, cultures and times. It also represented a framework to think about gastronomy as both an imaginary ideal and a realisable goal for the future.

We could say that it was utopian dreaming that helped us realise the goal of hosting the 21st Symposium of Australian Gastronomy in Melbourne. And as the Symposium came of age, so did we. In many ways, this event was about finding a new place for the Symposium in the culinary intellectual landscape. With the development of university subjects and programs in food studies, wine studies and gastronomy, both in Australia and abroad, the Symposium is no longer a lone beacon for gastronomers who want to engage in meaningful discussion about theories and practices of food and drink. Our fields of inquiry have come in from the margins and found diverse disciplinary niches in the Academy, and so we sought to bring the Symposium into closer contact with our two institutions: the University of Melbourne and William Angliss Institute. This overt gesture inviting academic input attracted more international speakers than ever, yet the balance was maintained between honouring the established pillars of the Symposium and introducing new modes of intellectual exchange. With over 100 speakers sharing their knowledge and experience during the four-day feast, we ranged from local dining history to Turkish soundscapes, from medieval manuscripts to space food, from Fourierist feasting to post-apocalyptic foraging. Scholars and practitioners, producers and consumers, students all: we talked together, fought together, ate together, drank together.

We began with a day of "Australia's Changing Foodscapes" in the Sidney Myer Asia Centre at the University of Melbourne, checking back over the decades from the 1980s to the 2010s in conversation with key figures in food, wine, and media from each era. Morning tea was a wink at the lamingtons as a regular fixture of many Symposia, including Barry Humphries' Dada artwork of squashed lamington at the 1993 event in Canberra. The Proustian madeleines were also designed to unleash memories of lost time. Emerging from the chilly air-conditioning into the sun-drenched pop-up farmers market on the square, we grazed on a no-waste seasonal feast of Vietnamese cold rolls, baby beef burgers, and rhubarb tarts, curated and delivered by Miranda Sharp and her amazing team at Melbourne Farmers Markets. At the end of the afternoon, the University's alumni winemakers set up their stands to offer us tastings from Badaginnie Run, Circe, Brown Brothers, and many more, until we were ushered back into the hall, all fired up for a manifesto in favour of more utopian food futures. Dining around town took us to a variety of Melbourne's iconic and cutting-edge restaurants in small groups – with thanks to Georgia Karavis for organising this.

Day two continued at the University in our new Arts building with Christine Cremen's homage to Alan Saunders, and Robert Appelbaum's presentation of the "Concepts of Utopia, Concepts of Food". These plenaries were followed by parallel sessions, then a short stroll down Professors Walk to the University Staff Club. In the garden, Yeringberg lambs were slowly roasting on spits as Bruce Pascoe told the moving story of indigenous agriculture in Australia that has never been recognised, bringing history back to life with tales of kangaroo grass bread that Ben Shewry can't get enough of for his Attica menu. The remarkable friendship between William Barak of Coranderrk and the de Pury family of Yeringberg winery was revealed and relived by Max Allen and descendants of each of the family, as we ate produce from the Yarra Valley – including Yeringberg vine leaves that could only be transported out of the phylloxera zone as dolmades, and drank wine and traditional beer brewed in the Coranderrk way. More parallel sessions, then Darra Goldstein's journey back to Revolutionary Russia and beyond showed us the dark side of utopian ideals before we reconvened for *Gastronomica Apocalyptica* at the William Angliss Institute, curated and hosted by Sophie Lamond and assisted by chef Shani Brampton. *Gastronomica Apocalyptica* invited symposiasts to imagine how we might eat well in a world without bees, an economy in which trade deals had collapsed and a marketplace in which Spam and Tang are the



The End with chef Annie Smithers and symposium convenors Kelly Donati and Jacqueline Dutton

prized simulacra for the pork and oranges that would never grace our tables again. Thanks to Sophie's culinary genius, Spam terrine seasoned with mountain pepperberries and seaweed salad laced with crunchy ants reminded us just how delicious climate change adaptation and resilience can be in the face of adversity. Sharon Flynn of The Fermentary took on the task of fermenting wild greens foraged by Areti Anagnostellis as well as brewing a bestoke dandelion and honey vinegar shrub which provided the herbaceous and sour base for our Tang cocktails on arrival.

As the temperature rose and fell on our two days at William Angliss Institute, we enjoyed David Szanto and Josh Evans performance-oriented presentation on "Scriptedness and Improvisation in Food Practice". Then we tried it out ourselves in our lunch by the rules where we were asked to observe certain constraints on serving, handling, feeding, and sharing our food based on the individual messages we were given, such as "feed the person to your right with a spoon in your left hand". As the afternoon warmed up, so did the politics, with plenary sessions on how to recognise the dystopias of our current food policies, including outrageous exploitation of marine resource, as pointed out by award-winning fisherman Mark Eather. We were fortunate to experience his line-caught kingfish at the Monday banquet with Annie Smithers. A much-needed workshop on Boozy Botanicals took the heat out of the day as we learned how to make a perfect negroni with indigenous plant-infused gin from Four Pillars, MAiDENii vermouth and Økar (for a little bitters), all made in Australia. Thus fortified and refreshed, and with loud clinking of unfinished bottles in bags, we went on our merry way, unperturbed by stormy skies, into an evening of self-directed dining.

Our final day started damp and depressing, as our best-laid plans for a picnic lunch in Flagstaff Gardens

were thwarted. But plan B kicked in, with a mock picnic set up in the student lounge, accompanied by the delightful tunes of Amie Sexton performing as her alterego Amie Brûlée. After lunch, Jane Levi livened us up with the history, theory and practice of her “Edible Utopia” project on the rooftops and ledges of Somerset House in London. With parallel sessions all day on music, farming, foraging and a range of other issues, we ended with a long list of thanks and reiterate some of them below.

With only the banquet between us and the rest of our lives, we entered the William Angliss Restaurant with trepidation and excitement – how could this final meal live up to the historical heights of past symposia banquets? And yet it did. Our Fourierist feast was devised by the steel-trap mind and French farmhouse style of Annie Smithers, who had literally been eating, breathing and sleeping with Fourier for the past nine months. There were also references to Gay Bilson’s tripe tablecloth, inspirations from Stephanie Alexander, who spoke at the evening, alongside “old hens” transformed to tasty tenderness, and the last of Annie’s blackcurrant jam cutting through the tooth-rotting sweetness of Fourier’s favourite *mirliton*. Hosted by the most charming MC Hilary McNevin, with frequent interjections by our indomitable chef, our food and wine producers, and our ever-sillier selves, we closed the doors on the 21st Symposium of Australian Gastronomy in suitable style.

Our message for the future? To those brave souls in Sydney who are currently formulating the delights of the 22nd Symposium of Australian Gastronomy: when it all seems too much and things seem to be getting the better of you, you might remember the words of Charles Fourier, and recognise that in fact:

*“Notre tort n’est pas, comme on l’a cru,
de trop désirer, mais de trop peu désirer...”*

(Our fault is not, as has been thought, to desire overmuch, but to desire too little)

Our sincere thanks to Meribah Rose and Riki Edelsten, and to all the volunteers who assisted us in putting this monumental event together. We are also indebted to Lilly Cleary for her stellar coordination skills and much-needed steady hand and mind behind the scenes of both banquets. We also thank our sponsors and supporters: William Angliss Institute, University of Melbourne, Sustain: the Australian Food Network, the City of Melbourne and Solidtechniks, as well as the many food and drink sponsors who made the Symposium as deliciously convivial as it could possibly be. And we thank all of those who came along, who ate and drank and talked and laughed with us, for that is truly the spirit of the Symposium.

Jacqueline Dutton and Kelly Donati, Co-convenors

Symposium Program Schedule

DAY 1: FRIDAY 2 DECEMBER 2016

University of Melbourne
Sidney Myer Centre, Swanston Street

8.30 am Arrival & Registration

9.15 am Welcome

Welcome to Country; Welcome from host institutions – University of Melbourne & William Angliss Institute; Welcome from Symposium co-convenors – Jacqueline Dutton and Kelly Donati

Australia's Changing Foodscapes

10.00 am 1980s – A la recherche de... Australian Gastronomy

In 1984, the first Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, provocatively entitled “The Upstart Cuisine”, took place in Adelaide. Stephanie Alexander, Michael Symons, Barbara Santich, and James Halliday will share their memories of the 1980s, retracing the influence of European traditions, and exploring how the symposium and other events crystallised gastronomic issues of the era.

11.00 am Morning tea

11.30 am 1990s – Gastronomy as Entertainment: Markets, Festivals & Dining Out in Style

The 1990s saw the growth of Australia's Food & Wine Festivals, the rise of produce markets, and the first Australian branch of an internationally renowned restaurant – long before Noma and the Fat Duck came to town. We'll walk through Melbourne's changing attitudes to eating and drinking well with Natalie O'Brien, Philippe Mouchel, and Rita Erlich.

12.30 pm Lunch

Feed your body and mind with a degustation of local delights provided by Melbourne Farmers' Market at the University of Melbourne

2.00 pm 2000s – Gastronomy in the City & the Country

As Baby Boomers, Gen X-ers and Millennials took up residence in Australian city centres, bars, cafés and restaurants popped up in laneways and on rooftops. With urban regeneration came farmers markets, and yet the urge to escape to the country grew ever stronger as destination dining took hold. Experience the exchanges between the city and the country with Guy Grossi, Miranda Sharp, Annie Smithers, and Miss Pearls from Madame Brussels.

3.00 pm 2010s – Media & Movements in Contemporary Gastronomy

Leisure and lifestyle programming, reality TV, and social media have transformed the place of food and drink in our everyday lives. As our focus shifts from essential sustenance to seemingly endless choices, we need to be more informed than ever about provenance and politics. We'll get up-close and offline with Costa Georgiadis, Jeni Port, Michael Harden, and Joanna Savill.

4.00 pm University of Melbourne Alumni Winemakers Fair

Come along and taste wines made by some of Australia's leading vigneron who studied at the University of Melbourne. Hear the stories of their unexpected journeys that took them from Arts, Law, Commerce, Medicine, Veterinary and Agricultural Science and other studies into the wonderful world of wine.

6.15 pm Manifesto for a Gastronomic Utopia

How can we work together towards the best possible food futures in a gastronomic utopia? We’re calling on speakers from near and far to respond to this question, including award-winning Bunurong writer Bruce Pascoe, Josh Evans (formerly Nordic Food Lab), local chef and author Annie Smithers, Nobel Prize Food Futures Advisor Claude Fischler, wine writer Max Allen, fair food activist and author Nick Rose and ethical producer Anna Kelly of Plains Paddock Lamb. Together, we’re aiming to build a manifesto for the best food future imaginable. Let’s dream large!

8.00 pm **Curated dining around town**
(included in four-day symposium ticket only)

DAY 2: SATURDAY 3 DECEMBER 2016

University of Melbourne
Arts West, Building 148 Medical Road, Royal Parade

9.00 am **Welcome**

An Ode to Alan Saunders:
a reading by Christine Cremen
Respondent: Barbara Santich



9.30 am **Plenary session**

Robert Appelbaum – Concepts of Utopia, Concepts of Food

10.15 am **Concurrent sessions**

Reflections on the canon

(Chair: Duncan Galletly)

Michael Symons, Utopia is the next meal: In praise of eating, drinking, and being merry

Paul Magee, Nothing to live for, other than life itself

Barbara Santich, Cockaigne, Then and Now

Jillian Adams, The cultured exponent of the art of eating: Not in Utopia

Imagining an Australian wine utopia

(Chair: Peter Howland)

Julie McIntyre, Utopian ideals in James Busby’s colonial vision

Mikaël Pierre, The French presence in early Australian wine culture: a “disembodied” migration

Moya Costello, Utopia is just up the road and toward the past: young winemakers return to ancient methods

Bob Swinburn, What we know in our bones

Utopia in literature, film and art

(Chair: Meribah Rose)

Paul van Reyk, “Poor people. Armies. Not enough to eat”: Food Wars in the Dystopian Present in Doris Lessing’s *Canopus in Argos: Archives*

Christine Cremen, Soylent Green – Spoiler Alert – is people!: Food in popular film and fiction (1888-2015)

Thei Zervaki, The Poetry of Food: A culinary utopia or a mundane cooking task?

Nan Chen, Dutch Utopia: Imagined, Realized and Subverted in Paintings of Food

11.30 am **Morning tea**

12.00 pm **Plenary session**

Bruce Pascoe – Dark Emu: Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?

The Utopian Projects of Indigenous Agriculture in Australia

1.00 pm Lunch

Hosted by Max Allen and inspired by the remarkable 19th Century Yarra Valley friendship between William Barak, Aboriginal leader at Coranderrk, and the de Pury family, winegrowers at Yeringberg

Barak painting of the *De Pury vineyard*
Neuchâtel Ethnology Museum



3.00 pm Concurrent sessions

Show and Tell (me what you know): a polyvocal performance about eco-gastronomy
by David Szanto

The oenological utopia of *terroir*

(Chair: Rumina Dhalla)

Jacqueline Dutton, Utopias of *Terroir*, Vines and Desirable Wines

Peter Howland, Utopian Moorings -terroirial imagining, genealogical remembering and the ephemerality of wine

Graham Harding, 'Toujours l'effet du Champagne!': Raphael Bonnedame and the creation of champagne as a wine of provenance and terroir

Dietary dreaming

(Chair: Michael Symons)

Duncan Galletly, Tantric lessons from a cornflake cookie

Jessica Loyer, What makes a superfood "super"? The discursive construction of utopian edibles

Mary Pope, Utopian ideals, dystopian tables: Examining the gluten-free, vegan and paleo diets

4.00 pm Plenary session

Darra Goldstein – 'Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades': The Myth of Abundance in Early Soviet Life

5.00 pm Free time

6.30 pm-10.00 pm Gastronomica Apocalyptica

William Angliss Institute, Conference Centre

Building A, Level 5, 555 La Trobe Street, Melbourne (corner La Trobe & King St.)

DAY 3: SUNDAY 4 DECEMBER 2016

William Angliss Institute
Building A, Level 5 Conference Centre

9.00 am Plenary session

Josh Evans & David Szanto – Scriptedness and improvisation in food practice

10.00 am Concurrent sessions

Waste not, want not

(Chair: Ferne Edwards)

Sophie Langley, Inedible and unavoidable: exploring innovative uses for food waste in households

La Vergne Lehmann, Modern kitchen: utopia redux or hopeless cause

Dianne McGrath, Food waste on the diner's plate - a Utopian dilemma, or the result of the Utopian dream?

Foraging and fermentation: in pursuit of the good life

(Chair: Lilly Cleary)

Catie Gressier, Hunting, foraging and the search for enchantment

Penny Wilson, Chasing Utopia through the Post-Pasteurian Dream: responding to the desire for the real taste of milk

Erika Szymanski, Where is the terroir of synthetic yeast? Engineering life, human-yeast collaboration, and good wine for (future) living

Chefs and restaurateurs

(Chair: Joanna Savill)

David Matthews, Utopia and the creation of terroir in Australia

Adele Wessell (and Mike Evans), Re-regionalising the food system: the place of chefs in education

Alison Vincent, Developing an appetite for utopia – reality versus the Good Food Guide

11.00 am Morning tea

11.30 am Concurrent sessions

Gastronomic ideals in tourism & marketing

(Chair: Julie McIntyre)

Donna Senese, Wine tourism in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia, Canada: exploring the ecological utopia of the past, present and future

Rumina Dhalla, Sustainability in the Australian Wine Industry: Authenticity and Identity

Tracy Berno, Consuming paradise: From utopian ideal to tiki reality

Susie Chant, The effect of marketing on historical perceptions of local foods in Australia

Utopia in cookbooks

(Chair: Adele Wessell)

Ann White, Tasting Celebrity/ Tasting Utopia: Celebrated Actor Folks' Cookeries (1916)

Amir Sayadabdi and Saman Hassibi, Representation of Persian cuisine in Western-Iranian Cookbooks

Madeline Shanahan, Recipes for Empire: the role of manuscript cookbooks in transforming elite food cultures in seventeenth and eighteenth century Ireland

Utopia in text and at table

(Chair: Barbara Santich)

Melissa Harper, Reimagining hospitality: Gay Bilson at the Bennelong restaurant

Lilly Cleary, Blueprints for change: navigating a way through utopian visions and vocabularies

Gay Bilson, Weather Report on an Upstart Cuisine

12.45 pm Lunch by the Rules

Introduced by David Szanto

2.15 pm Concurrent sessions

Confinement and institutions

(Chair: Ann White)

Diana Noyce, *Of Rice and Men: Striving for Utopian Principles in Changi Prison during World War Two*

Kim Connor, *Feeding the Confined: The Reality of Institutional Diet at Hyde Park Barracks*

Shelley Boyd, *Positron Prison Food: Margaret Atwood's Enclosed Consumer Eden*

Dreaming up Australia

(Chair: Ross Karavis)

Jacqui Newling, *Fate, famine and providence: food security on Norfolk Island 1788-1790*

Charmaine O'Brien, *Meat three times a day: colonial Australia as gustatory paradise*

Iain Buckland, *Creating a culinary utopia at Beleura*

Performing culinary futures

(Chair: David Szanto)

Richard Mitchell, *Adding Value to Dining by Design: Performing Kiwi Cuisine*

Adrian Woodhouse, *Fostering Culinary Identities Through Education: Abandoning the Vacherin and embracing Phyllis' Pavlova*

3.15 pm Plenary session

Toward a Recognition of Dystopias: How To Pursue Inclusive Food Policy

(introduced and moderated by Nick Rose)

Rachel Ankeny, Nick Rose, Natalie Abboud and Greg Jacobs

4.15 pm Plenary session

The watery worlds of fish and fisherpeople – Mark Eather

5.00 pm Workshop

Boozy botanicals (with cocktails and snacks)

Shaun Byrne, bartending veteran MaiDENii Vermouth

Cameron MacKenzie, director and distiller, Four Pillars Gin

Tim Entwisle, Director of Royal Botanic Gardens Victoria

Jude Mayall, Outback Chef

Gin Queen Caroline Childerley facilitates a discussion with Tim Entwisle, Cameron Mackenzie and Shaun Byrne as they introduce us to the wonderful world of native botanicals and their usage in our favourite distilled drinks. They are followed by a tasting and DIY negroni workshop to illustrate the difference these unique ingredients make to this most perfect of cocktails.



6.00 pm Optional gastronomic diversions

Gastronomic Walking Tour of Melbourne with Charmaine O'Brien.

(Please meet on the balcony of Level 5 before your tour.)

Soulforwine @ Mission to Seafarers, 717 Flinders St, Docklands

Soulforwine is a party, a massive celebration of extraordinary, zero sulphur natural wine, delicious food and great music.

Tickets: \$10-40

For more information: <http://soulforwine.com.au/>

DAY 4: MONDAY 5 DECEMBER 2016

William Angliss Institute

Building A, Level 5 Conference Centre

9.00 am Plenary session

Jane Levi – Edible Utopia: growing, cooking and eating as creative expressions of a better world

10.00 am Concurrent sessions

Colonial gastronomy

(Chair: Jacqui Newling)

Hilary Heslop, Pathways to Food Utopia from Australia's Colonial Past

Ross Karavis, The Federation Banquets and Australia's participation in transnational culinary and trade networks

Stephanie Johnston, A Letter from Sydney: Wakefield's utopian vision as the basis for a bid for World Heritage listing of the Mount Lofty Ranges Agrarian Landscape

The tensions of remembrance: bringing the past into the present

(Chair: Paul van Reyk)

Jennifer Smith, Nostalgic farmers? The science or art of dwelling as a food producer

Juan-Carlo Tomas, Remembering Pancit Molo:

Myth and memory in Filipino home cooking

Maria Emanovskaya, Food as part of the consumer Utopia in late Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia

Multispecies gastronomy: eating and living well with others

(Moderator: Hilary McNevin)

Kelly Donati, Multispecies gastronomy and the convivial life

Josh Evans, Multispecies gastronomy at Nordic Food Lab

Sharon Flynn, Building utopian communities through microbes

Bruce Burton, What utopia looks like for a chicken

11.15 am Morning tea

11.45 am Concurrent sessions

Technology in utopia

(Chair: La Vergne Lehmann)

Melissa Caldwell, Disruptive foods and new ideals of social justice

Emily Carter, The role of hospitality during the Automation Revolution

Ferne Edwards, ICT-enabled food sharing: creating transformative pathways for utopian urban gastronomy?

Utopian imaginaries

(Chair: Rumina Dhalla)

Jen Alden, Intentional food communities and new modes for living well: Sitopia and the Arcadian village

Roger Haden, Everyday

Utopias, Lasting Realities: food fantasy in the consumerist age

Adrian Bregazzi, Mind's palate: menus of the delightful improbable

Imagining a subterranean utopia: a conversation between a mushroom forager and his architect

(Moderator: Hilary McNevin)

Cameron Russell, foraging enthusiast and hospitality veteran, and architect Simon Whibley

12.45 pm Picnic in Flagstaff Gardens

Damian Sandercock, Piper Street Food Co & Friends

Meet in central conference space prior to lunch for details.

2.15 pm Concurrent sessions

<p>Musical utopias (with performances)</p>	<p>Fascism & neo-fascism: ideology in text and practice</p>	<p>The farmer and the chef: a conversation about collaboration and compromise</p>
<p>(Chair: Josh Evans)</p>	<p>(Chair: Mellissa Caldwell)</p>	<p>(Moderator: Hilary McNevin)</p>
<p>Semi Hakim, Utopic or Dystopic? Symbols of utopic appetite in “Halil brahim Sofrası” Song</p>	<p>Meribah Rose (co-written with Lara Anderson and John Hajek), Cooking for the nation: women’s role in Fascist Italy and Spain</p>	<p>Matt Wilkinson, chef and owner of Pope Joan</p>
<p>Amie Sexton, The Birth of the Modern Restaurant: Escoffier, the French and the love of food</p>	<p>Tania Cammarano, Eat like a “fascist”: How Australia’s first Italian cookbook imagined culinary utopia</p>	<p>Beef producers Allen and Lizette Snaith, Warialda Belted Galloway</p>
<p>Miriama Young, Feasting in Song – The entwining of food with music in the Georgian Caucasus</p>	<p>Nick Rose, Making Gardening Great Again: urban agriculture as resistance in neo-fascist Trumpland</p>	
<hr/>		
<p>3.30 pm</p>	<p>Plenary session Imagining a gastronomic commons Socratic circles and manifesto visioning</p>	
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<p>5.00 pm</p>	<p>Wrap up and next symposium Jackie Dutton and Kelly Donati</p>	
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<p>5.15 pm</p>	<p>Free time</p>	
<hr/>		
<p>7.00 pm</p>	<p>Fourierist Feasting Symposium Banquet with Annie Smithers Keynote Speaker: Stephanie Alexander (MC: Michael Harden) Angliss Restaurant, 550 Little Lonsdale St. Melbourne</p>	
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Gastronomica Apocalyptica

Gastronomica Apocalyptica asks eaters to consider a future where the environment has changed and in turn has changed the way we eat and the ingredients available to us. The menu explored what could be on our plates if, among other things, there were no bees, the climate had changed and trade deals had collapsed. It was a challenge and a delight to be able to share this experience with a roomful of informed and curious eaters at the Symposium of Australian Gastronomy.

Setting the scene

*The rise in antimicrobial resistance led to the sudden collapse of the livestock industry.
The consumption of meat is rare but there is a luxury market in wild game meats.*

Most seeds in the world are controlled by megacorp, Syngsanto. However, recently their technological advances have slowed due to limited diversity in seed stock. Governments, invested in the corporation's agricultural technology have attempted to reach out to guerrilla underground networks who have been running a black market in rare fruits and vegetables and stockpiling heritage seeds. Negotiations have so far been unsuccessful.

While Australia is experiencing a period of relative stability there are frequent riots and wars around the world due to food and water shortages. 2031 was the first time Melbourne went a whole year without rain. All Australians are drafted into a year of compulsory service when they complete their secondary studies.

They must work either as nurses or agricultural labourers. Needing more heat tolerant plants there was large government investment in developing Australian native crops for commercial production. This industry is owned and run by indigenous Australians. This produce is highly sought out in international markets, though supplies remain scarce.

Jellyfish account for 80% of all the creatures left in the sea. Sea based economies have shifted to seaweed production. There was a mass pacific island diaspora in the late 2020s

*A global outbreak of wheat rust Ug99 caused wheat crops to fail in a matter of weeks.
This was the start of the six-year war.*

*Groups of scouts hunt out lost stocks of industrial food and sell it at lucrative global auctions.
Last year a lost shipping container full of Hormel's spam was found and fetched a record price.
It was the first of the 'old meats' that had been found in years.*

Home insect farming is commonplace.

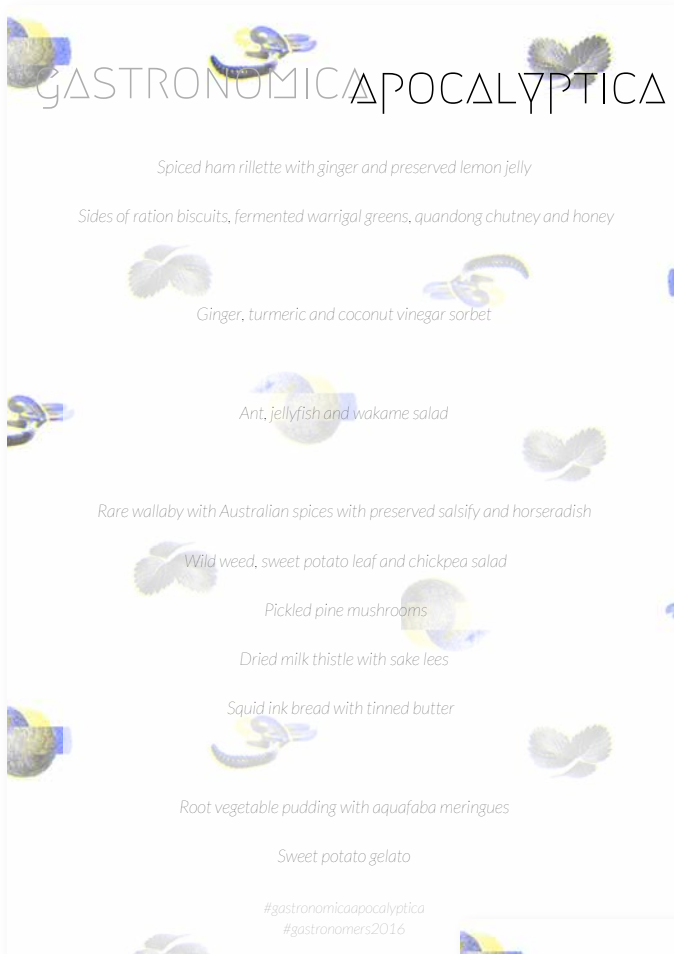
After the bees disappeared governments made strategic decisions to focus on protecting nutrient dense crops that propagate easily.

*There have been successful developments in rolling out micro-drones to replace pollinators.
However, the program has recently come under threat from hacktivists who are unhappy with the government's control of the food supply.*

Curator and artist: Sophie Lamond

Chef: Shani Brampton

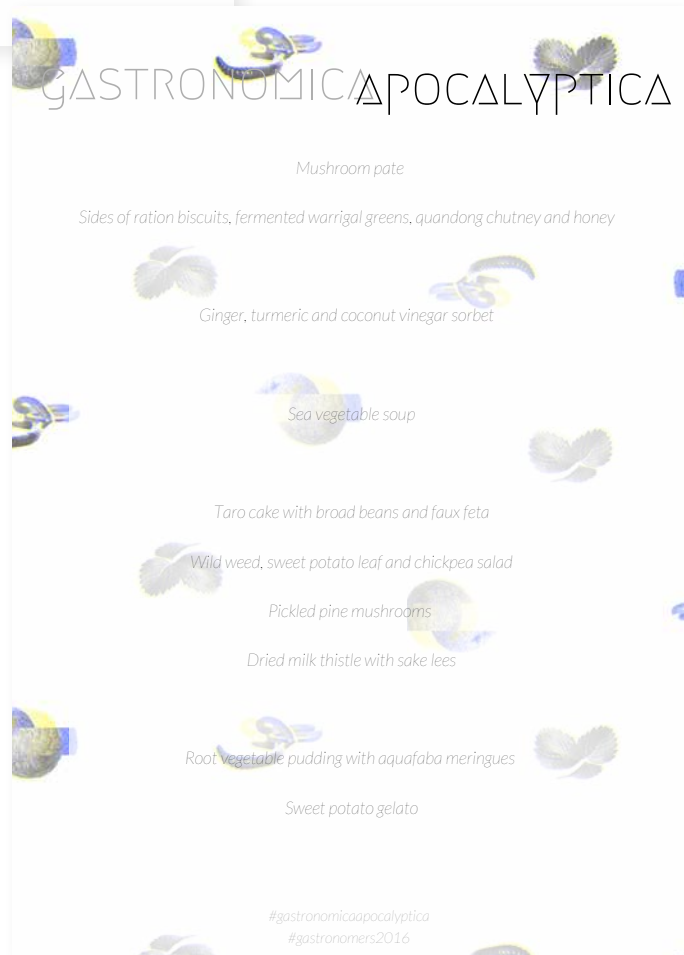
Photographer: Jennifer Gough



Gastronomia Apocalyptica menu



The table of the apocalypse





Making do at the table



Sophie Lamond



Seaweed seasoned with ants



Sophie reflects on her seaweed salad



Grilled Wallaby



Bread Auction



The dining room



Aquafaba meringue



Dressing the dish

Lunch hosted by Max Allen

The Yeringberg & Coranderrk Friendship

LUNCH – DAY 2: SATURDAY 3 DECEMBER 2016

Inspired by the remarkable 19th Century Yarra Valley friendship between William Barak, Aboriginal leader at Coranderrk, and the de Pury family, winegrowers at Yeringberg. This unique lunch brought together the concepts of terroir and country in an unforgettable – and delicious – combination.

Wine writer and author Max Allen, together with descendants of the Barak and de Pury families, took us back to an era of hardship and joy, abundance and loss, revealing stories of cooperation and mutual respect.

Special thanks to Sandra de Pury for providing Yeringberg wines, and sourcing the elusive smoked eels, Watts River Brewing for the bespoke beer brewed in the Coranderrk style, Gordon Gebbie for providing Yarrabank sparkling wine, David de Pury for the Yeringberg lambs, Anna Kelly of Plains Paddock Lamb for roasting them on the spit, Caroline Gray of Jam and Pickle for hand-picking the Yeringberg vine leaves and making them into delicious dolmades, John Macaulay of University House for making it all physically possible with such aplomb, the de Pury family and Brooke Wandin for sharing their family histories, and Max Allen, for having the idea, doing the research, and bringing everyone together to celebrate this inspiring friendship.

Barak painting of the De Pury vineyard NEUCHÂTEL ETHNOLOGY MUSEUM

The Yeringberg & Coranderrk Friendship Menu



*Australian Terroir and
Belonging to Country*

THE YERINGBERG & CORANDERRK
FRIENDSHIP

MENU

Yeringberg vine leaf dolmades
Skipton smoked eel pâté

Bespoke Beer by Watts River Brewing
Yering Station Yarrabank Cuvée 2011

Spit Roasted Yeringberg Lamb
Baked Spuds & Green Salad

Yeringberg Chardonnay 2013
Yeringberg Shiraz 2011

Freshly picked Yarra Valley cherries
and strawberries with cream

Tea and coffee

Stephanie Alexander

Educating the next generation about the pleasures of food

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: FOURIER BANQUET, MONDAY 5 DECEMBER 2016

In the introduction to this symposium is written: ‘We are looking with hope towards bright food futures’. In this spirit I present an account of the work I am engaged upon, certainly hoping for bright food futures for our children and grandchildren.

I became a food lover by growing up with parents who loved to eat well and loved to share the table with friends. We had a well-stocked vegetable garden, cared for by my grandfather, a milking cow and a family of Khaki Campbell ducks. Eating together at our round table is remembered as the highlight of my day from when I was around 9. I listened to Mum talk about what she was going to make, where she had gleaned the recipe (book or friend and what it meant to her – there were always stories to tell), and I helped roll bread rolls, and of course scrape basins, and learnt to cook. I was invited to smell and have a sip of table wine if I wished – a significant pleasure for my father, and highly unusual in a typical family in the 1950’s. I listened in to the stories shared at the table between my family and their guests, often newly settled migrants who had escaped war-torn Europe (the fifties). Once I finished school (last year 1 of 5, only girl) and went to Melbourne University and lived in a residential college it came as a great surprise to find that not everyone ate like this or anticipated dinner as we did.

- Half a century ago practically all commencing apprentices were aged 19 years or younger and all but a few, for example, women’s hairdressers, were male.
- In 2009 by contrast, 41% of the commencements in trade occupations, and 70% in non-trade occupations, were adults aged 20 years or older.
- Also in 2009, 16% of the commencements in trade occupations, and 54% in non-trade occupations, were females.

Throughout the forty-odd years that I have been professionally involved in the food world, both as an owner-chef, as a traveller and food columnist, as a writer of books about food, as a commentator, and now as the founder of a successful program of food education in Australian schools, the common theme has been my interest in convincing as many people as possible of the pleasures and real-life benefits of good fresh food. My interest has always been in the practical side of cooking and sharing the table, rather than the theoretical or the startling.

Like most other Australian cooks and food writers, I have borrowed ideas and entire recipes; incorporated less well-known ingredients; been influenced by stories of how certain dishes are served in their regional home, travelled to observe such things first-hand and grown much of my own food. I remain in awe of traditional knowledge and of how it endures and how it changes. I have my heroes, and I refer to them often. I have lived long enough to see the pendulum swing at least once. ‘New’ topics were also ‘new’ in the eighties, then forgotten until they become ‘new’ again’. This fact helps me retain a sense of humour and proportion and to try and resist taking myself too seriously.

But I am serious about the work I am engaged in with Australian children.

I am surprised that it is not better understood that if a child has a poor food life at home, it is unsurprising that this child will make bad choices when left to her own devices. If frozen fish fingers and frozen chips, are what is mostly offered, a child is unlikely to develop a taste for green salads, creative vegetable cookery, and fresh fruit. By contrast my mantra of Growing, Harvesting, Preparing, Sharing – pleasurable food education, in other words – offers an alternative path.

There is a plethora of public health speak that deplores the rising rates of obesity in children and adults, and pleads for an unnamed solution and government policy to support it. Many of these bureaucrats do not always see the connection between Pleasurable Food Education and the identified problem.

In 2000, inspired by reading about Alice Waters and by visiting the Martin Luther King Middle School

in Berkeley, California and observing Alice's creative intervention I decided to try and develop a pilot program that might achieve something similar here in Melbourne. I was increasingly frustrated by what I saw as a growing trend towards fragmented family eating, alongside the increase in availability of cheap convenience and junk food, at the same time as the developing food media concentrated almost entirely on the goings-on in a small group of restaurants.

I did have a Utopian vision. My vision involved improving the food life of an important group in society (children) and I do not accept that my vision was naïve or fanciful. I was sure that if students could be involved in the growing and harvesting of some of their own food, and be shown how to make simple but delicious meals and sit and share them with their friends, that awareness and attitudes would change.

In the beginning all I had was this conviction but no idea as to how a program could be paid for. The subsequent story of the development and growth of the SAKGF stands as testament to the truth that if you want something badly enough and are prepared to work hard you will achieve it, or some of it anyway.

We commenced with an initial kitchen garden at Collingwood College in 2001, supported by a visionary principal and a group of Steiner parents, and assistance from a generous philanthropist. Today we have 830 schools with an active kitchen garden program in every state and Territory. In addition we have an additional 450 members of our on-line learning community, including many from our newest cohort – the early learning sector. We have big schools and very small schools. At a recent training day in Darwin, there were 2 women from an enormous cattle station running a KG program with 4 students, as well as several teachers from a school on Melville Island and we have indigenous community schools in the remote Pilbara and East Kimberley, as well as schools in our urban, suburban and regional centres. We have very successful projects in many Special schools and in a Juvenile Justice Centre. Everywhere I go I meet parents whose children are loving kitchen garden classes at their school. It is impossible to generalise about infrastructure other than to say, every school has a garden space growing edible herbs and vegetables and usually fruit trees, and every school has somewhere where the students can prepare and cook and gather to eat what they have grown. Sometimes the resources and infrastructure are minimal; sometimes they are very impressive with outdoor pizza ovens, chicken runs, greenhouses, and lovely outdoor eating spaces shaded by vines.

I do not want to get too far into the nuts and bolts of funding except to say this program has attracted significant government support, more from one side than the other, and it could never have grown to its present strength without it. Funding success has often followed a politician accepting an invitation to be escorted around a school garden and then to join the students for a home-cooked lunch. Their eyes pop. We have a partnership with Medibank Community Fund and have received grants from many and varied bodies. We are working with MONA in Tasmania who assist with seeking funding for needy schools in Tasmania. We are still dependent on assistance from government, corporate and philanthropic bodies but we are working hard at increasing the percentage of expenses we can cover from our own resources and consultancy services.

Part of our success is due to running a very professional organisation. We are currently employing around 15 people. We have staff specialising in operating training sessions throughout Australia for educators; we have others who write curriculum related resources and activities, others are on the phones and email every day supporting schools to name just a few areas, and others are in the field offering face-to-face assistance with challenges and start-ups.

So what happens in a SAKG school? Classes are held weekly or fortnightly and students take part over a two-year period. We stress this incremental nature of the program. To achieve the aim of positively changing attitudes and skills, reinforcement and familiarity and hands-on are all really important. In no way is this program a once a year affair, or an after-school activity, or a fill-in of any sort.

A garden class will involve planting seedlings and watering them in, weeding, turning the compost, building a new path, or a bamboo support for broad beans, collecting seeds and eggs, or searching for caterpillars on the brassicas to give to the chickens, or washing some lettuce and silverbeet leaves to be

carried to the kitchen. Students are awarded wheelbarrow licences to show they understand about tools and safety.

A kitchen class will involve 4 or 5 groups of students each preparing a different dish to be shared amongst the whole class. A typical meal might be a potato and rosemary pizza with caramelised onions; a beetroot and yoghurt dip with flat bread; a fresh herb risotto or freshly-made pasta filled with ricotta and silverbeet; bok choy with green curry sauce, and always, a salad of the imagination. In the kitchen, students gain a knife licence once they can demonstrate that they can chop efficiently, know how to put a knife correctly on a bench and how to move with a knife in their hand.

There are never leftovers, and everyone tries everything. In the summer terms there will be tomato passata to make, and fruit to be preserved or made into relishes or chutney or fruit tarts (sometimes not always). Along the way students are reading recipes and learning new vocabulary, they are calculating and measuring, they are observing how food is changed by heat; they are understanding soil needs and how to measure soil temperature, they are identifying insect families, they are realising that different plants have different needs; that not everything is available all of the time (although silverbeet is!), and they are becoming relaxed and skilled about basic food preparation and building their own food independence for life. Thanks to the cultural diversity in every classroom, they are also introduced to cultural foodways and discover that difference is exciting not frightening.

We are constantly asked for ‘evidence’ that this has changed the children’s lives. I cannot do more than claim that the program is regarded by the students as their favourite part of school. That their parents tell us that their sons and daughters have new interest in what is being prepared at home, and now want to help and make suggestions as to what parents might purchase. Small gardens are built at home. The students cook their dishes again with their parents or grandparents. The willingness to try something different seems important to me.

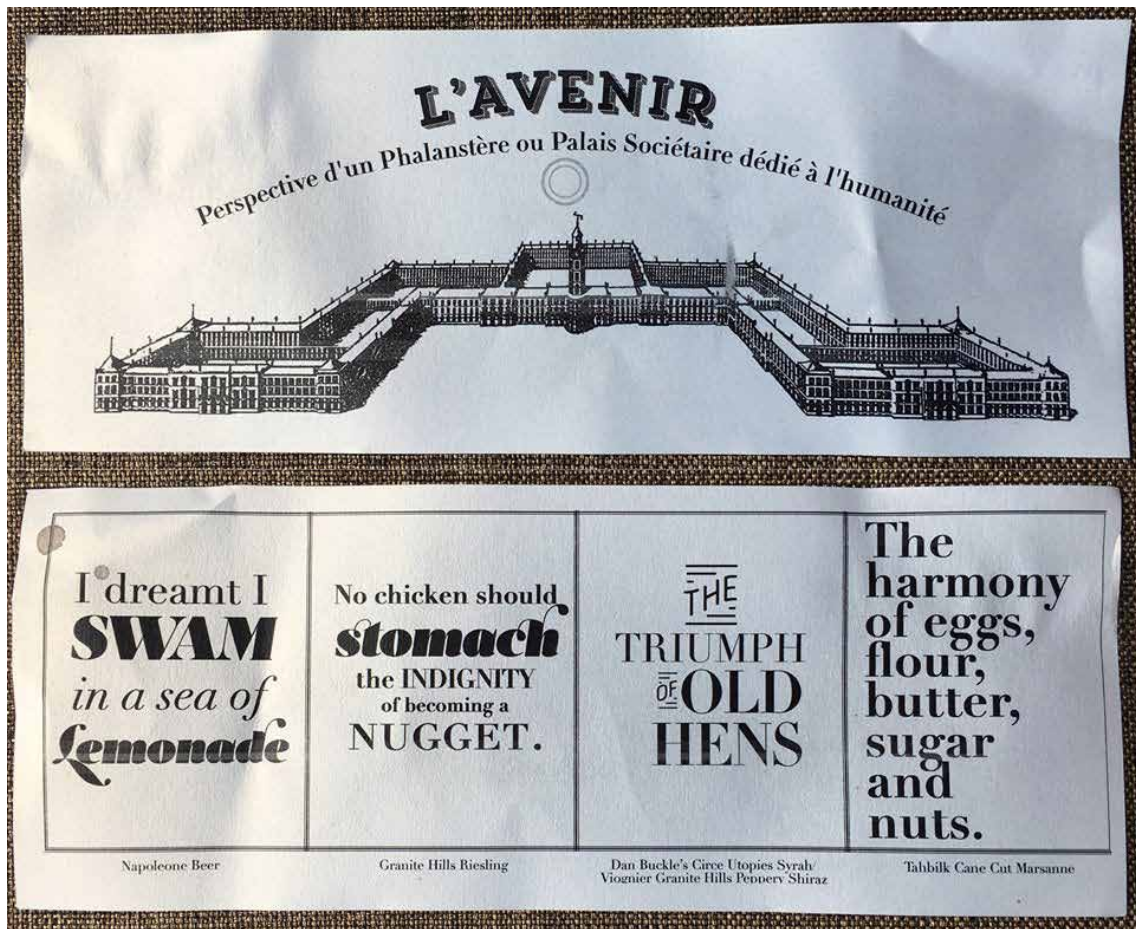
In addition principals tell us that this program creates more parent engagement with the school than any other. Dads help build decks or sheds, grandparents help in the garden, friends of families ask if they can come and volunteer in the kitchen. Gardens are often sited so that any visitor to the school has to walk through it.

Watching a class in action in either the garden or the kitchen can bring me out in goosebumps. There is total concentration and a pleasing buzz of animated conversation. Students work together and solve problems, whether hammering in supports or stirring a risotto. They discuss alternatives, they taste and assess seasoning, and they are so very proud! Their self-esteem soars along with their skills. We are constantly adding to our collected case studies, many of which are shared via our website.

What of the future? The Utopian vision would mean that this program or one very like it would be considered desirable in every child’s early years and primary education. We are currently covering about 12% of Australia’s primary schools. We are currently in discussion with two state governments regarding the costs and implications of expanding our coverage to specific low socio-economic regions.

I am doubtful that I will see this universal takeup in my lifetime, but more optimistic that increasing numbers of schools will adopt the ideas and activities we promote, so that the bright future becomes ever closer. We have achieved a great deal in fifteen years. I invite anyone interested in our work to log onto the website kitchengardenfoundation.org.au. I guarantee you will be astonished.

Fourierian Banquet Menu



A slightly worse for wear menu from the Fourierian banquet by Annie Smithers (credit Adrian Bregazzi)



Behind the scenes at the Fourierian banquet with Annie Smithers and Kelly Donati (credit Ross Hipwell)

Papers and Abstracts of Proceedings**ALPHABETICAL**

Jill Adams**The cultured exponent of the art of eating: not in Utopia****ABSTRACT**

The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, use to come very modestly clothed; but the Anemolians lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vain-glorious rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much pomp, that they should look like gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendor (More: 1885).

This finery appeared foolish to the Utopians for whom lavish clothes and jewelry were the badges of slavery or the marks of infamy or ‘the playthings of children.’ They shared their surpluses with one and saw ostentation and vulgar displays of money as ingenious. How then would they have felt about the Gastronomer – the discerning connoisseur of food and drink – described by Angelica Gibbs in her profile of Cordon Bleu Chef Dione Lucas published in *The New Yorker* in 1948? This paper argues that the gastronomer would not be a resident of More’s Utopia and, using food articles written about food, it unravels the characteristics of the Gastronomer that Sir Thomas More may have found problematic.

REFERENCE

Thomas More (translated by Gilbert Burnet) 1885, *Utopia*, George Routledge & Sons

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Jillian Adams is a graduate of Cordon Bleu in Paris. She completed a Masters in Oral History and Historical Memory at Monash University in 2011 and at Central Queensland University in 2015. Her thesis, used narrative non-fiction and domestic material culture from the 1950s in Australia to challenge the static and often nostalgic impressions of the housewife. Jillian set up and ran the coffee academy at William Angliss and wrote the text book for espresso coffee making, *Barista A Guide to Espresso Coffee* and a history of tea and coffee in Melbourne, *A Good Brew*. She has co-edited a special edition of on-line journal *MC*, published work in numerous academic journals and presented papers at local and international conferences. She is the a member of Oral History Australia and Professional Historians Association and is the current Treasurer of Oral History Australia and The Professional Historians Association and past president of Oral History Australia and Oral History Australia (Victorian Branch).

Jennifer Alden

Arcadia and the Sitopian village - Intentional communities and new modes for living well

It was 50 years since the movement really got underway. Momentum had gathered and the sense of urgency increased as the climate disasters multiplied and strengthened. As the planet rapidly warmed, ecosystems exhausted and species were lost at a rate not seen since the last ice age. Food supplies that could cater for 11 billion people in the year 2016 had begun to dwindle.

The Anthropocene era saw the peak of resource intensive economies, lifestyles and activities. It was the 'new human era' which described the post-industrial impact of human activities on earth. It was the last leg of a world that Marx had long since described as relying on the squandering of natural capital...the marketisation of nature.

The post capitalist society he endorsed evolved eventually in response to the minority populations' deep concern with the environmental crisis brought on by the capitalist system. The uptake of his notion of remaking common property was accompanied by the development of a higher vision of possession in common.

In the early 2000s a reordering of society's priorities spread through the world - the emergence of the food sovereignty movement, transition towns, permaculture, urban agriculture and a host of localisation movements spawned a new generation of people ready to move to a future constrained by the Anthropocene's resource plundering limitations, as the climate changed to threaten food systems across the globe. The warning signs were heeded slowly, but the back to back droughts, heat waves, fires, floods and cyclones eventually exhausted the emergency footing predicated on once in a century natural disasters.

It was Clive Hamilton who stated that the Anthropocene meant that: "In addition to a past we seek to escape, now we have a future we want to avoid; so we are squeezed from both ends" and that "We need to work out how to live on a planet less liveable".

At the start of the 'great awakening' of mankind some people took inspiration from the past. In efforts to reduce dependence on fossil fuel and limited resources, the agricultural diversification movement accelerated. By the 20s a whole generation of land steward farmers were skilled up and were operating gardens, farms, food hubs and cultivating edible landscapes world wide. Enterprises based on supporting local food production were underpinned by the energy revolution, powering energy systems with renewables. With the warming, water increasingly became a scarce and highly valuable commodity.

Had progressive politics been in the majority the world would have been a different place by the mid 20s.

In that year the first group of people who came to be known as Sitopian Survivalists identified themselves. Derived from the Greek word Sitos, meaning food place, they recognised that the future food system would require food to be an integral part of local communities. They took inspiration from the work of Carolyn Steel, the British architect and writer, who claimed "A city designed through food, in its ideal form, is clearly utopia".

She agreed that food not only shapes cities, but also the populations within. She used the example of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City as a starting point, with its proposed network of small, independent, self-sufficient city-states, connected to one another by railways. It kindled a dream of utopia in the grimy city dwellers of the time. It was an amalgam of Plato, More and Marx. A utopia based on the blending of urban and rural life.

It was based on a progressive land reform - the movement started by local governments and urban agriculture, food sovereignty and food systems advocates. It started with increased public access of land such as that owned by railways, water boards and local government for food growing projects and ultimately became a public benefitas the impacts of global warming and subsequent disasters showed the failures of Big Agriculture.

Steel's utopian dream evolved around the *sitosphere*, a continuous territory in which terroir was recognised to transcend geographical limits, being based primarily on the microbial and fungal content of the soils and where local, seasonal, varied and traditional foods were valued and this knowledge was the stuff of leadership.

Resilience to impacts of the changing climate had long been argued as those who recognised the need for change hastened to diversify and broaden farming endeavours, away from monocultures, big business and fossil fuel dependence.

It was the activities of the urban agriculture advocates that drove the widespread uptake by local governments to support green landscaping and sustainable urban design, large scale changeover to renewables and the sharing economy.

Utilising the dream of Howard the land trust movement meant that land was owned by the community, and public works were leveraged by the new currency of the sharing economy that took the place of capitalism in the second decade of the twenty first century.

The community realised that clever design and well-planned open space led to neighbourhoods that reflected the cities that were shaped by food. Food had become a tool for reducing urban consumption, a feature of the Transition Town movement.

While brownfield sites, car parks and all open space were given over to food production there was a political movement of resistance to change, characterised as 'the far right' and by a blind embrace of neoliberalism and the greed that underpinned the 1%'s possession of majority world wealth. Undercurrents of discontent did little to challenge the corporate takeover of many countries and slowly the character of individual countries blended with the corporate as the titans of industry became the political leaders of the old world of states and united countries were replaced by Duppontistan and MacDonalidia...walled Babylon-like cities where the wealthy lived on the productivity of the poor.

The farmlands there were owned by business conglomerates, extracting the last of the fossil fuels in their walled countries to underpin the fading endeavours of industrialised agriculture, prone as its monoculture crops were to disease and pestilence, the nutritional well-being of nations fading alongside the massive obesity that had beset all of their inhabitants. The walled city states within, of previously overfed and undernourished, controlling the starving hoards from entry, leading eventually to starvation without.

By the mid twenty, the rising sea levels had led to mass migration from the low lying world capitals and as hundreds of millions fled to higher grounds and crossed the seas in search of new homes. The resistance to entry to the new United Corporate Countries led to those with unwalled open borders being overwhelmed with new arrivals, despite their border security policies.

Hot on the heels of this mass shift came the longest drought, coupled with the highest temperatures ever seen. Water quickly became a rare commodity and those countries and regions with access created further barriers to protect the populations within, and their capacity to supply food to their communities.

Fifty years earlier futurist R. Buckminster Fuller recalled the land wealth era that underpinned previous societies, and acknowledged how walled agrarian endeavours could support city states.

Those who recognised the need to survive in this manner became the 'Sitopian Survivalists', their utopian needs dictated isolation plus state ownership of land, all underpinned by strong community bonds.

Prior to the olden days of World War 1 land was the primary wealth of countries, because it provided life-sustaining food. This led to wars where the farmers were made into soldiers and victory involved exhausting local food supplies, an endeavour replaced by a focus on mining and extraction of metals and the new industries, cities, economies and individual wealth it enabled.

Historically the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to Cuba becoming the front runner of the permaculture movement with the necessary evolution of organoponicos and a culture radically less

dependent on fossil fuels, now in massive shortage. The health outcomes documented years later proved that all indicators of chronic ill health and disease were reduced in that time - a healthier community the result.

Following the disintegration of many national governments due to bankruptcy from climatic disasters and ensuing water wars, the new world inhabitants in what was formerly Australia, now known as Utopia, coalesced into bioregions. The regional Victorian city, once known as Bendigo was the congregation point of the Sitopian Survivalists, with their survival plan for communities to produce food and conserve water without further damaging the planet. In the mid twenty twenties they decided that they had created something sustainable and unique, and now being the majority of the population, renamed Bendigo Arcadia. The issue of sustainable population had been hotly debated for some years and it was eventually decided to build haha walls around the town. The inhabitants thus had an uninterrupted view of the territory beyond, yet outsiders were unable to scale the walls.

Lester Brown's forecast of the early 21st century - *'Food is the new oil, and land is the new gold'* - had been prescient, especially for the old gold mining city. This had led to survival when so many had starved and perished during the water wars of of the times. Their establishment of the village-city Arcadia had also been prescient.

Prescience and long-term planning for Arcadia's development had seen producing sufficient food for personal use and as currency for trading with neighbouring communities a critical means of survival, and was successful primarily due to the far sighted nature of the local government of the early days. Back in 2020 comprehensive food policy and urban agriculture became a major investment of local government. At that time the leading organisations of the city, the Bendigo Regional Food Alliance and the B Hive Cooperative sharing economy platform had underpinned much of what was to come in the name of resilient food futures for the city. The organic waste systems implemented in 2016 an essential part of the soil health that underpinned the ability to grow healthy produce.

In the forbidding and arid climate of Arcadia the only way to survive was by producing sufficient food for personal use and building the soil to assist in conserving water, both acting as currency for trading with neighbouring communities.

The survival of the new type of community was guided by a new definition of community leaders, those who knew how to save seeds, build the soil, grow food and prepare and preserve it, along with those who could make and repair things plus the engineers, healers and teachers that all contributed to the agreed essentials of Arcadia's community life in the harsh environment. Money had long since become redundant, in favour of trading services as the means of survival.

By the mid-century, fresh produce provided the bulk of the population's nutrition. Having heeded Michael Pollan's simple food policy mantra of the past "Eat food, no too much, mostly plants", there was little meat consumed and homegrown specialties, fermented and extra delicious foods were saved for special events, an occasional accessory to the far simpler fare that was the community's main mode of eating. What a change that had been for the new community, when nutrition boomed and foods provided the health benefits that they evolved to provide back in the old days.

Community life had unfolded in a manner that shaped a generation of healthy and strong individuals, good food no longer the privilege of the few but the daily fare of all. People who shared their passions and ideals, a community premised on a once utopian food future, planned-for some half century earlier, when people realised that "their legacy to those who inhabit the earth was determined by how they were eating."

The Arcadian life also brought with it a precessional effect, with an outcome of the intentional community of an enhanced lifespan and decreased illness and chronic disease, providing a new model for living well.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Jennifer Alden is a Health Broker and Deputy Mayor of the City of Greater Bendigo. Her business

Growing Change brings people together to activate ideas to improve community health and wellbeing. Seeing the link between what we eat and how it affects our health and that of the planet, Growing Change was established to support local community food initiatives and to consult to organisations, government and community to create opportunities to strengthen local health, environmental and social outcomes in addition to supporting local food economies. With three decades experience working to improve health and wellbeing in the community Jennifer has a Doctorate of Public Health with a special interest in food policy, is chair of the Bendigo Regional Food Alliance and current board member of Bendigo Foodshare. A member of the Public Health Association of Australia and a Fellow of the School for Social Entrepreneurs, she is also a published author of the book *Liberated Eating*. Her most recent role was as CEO of urban agriculture not for profit, Cultivating Community. She has a keen interest in growing and preparing food as well as an interest in food security in developing countries and a developing interest in cli-fi, climate change science fiction. Her website healthbrokers.com.au features the blogs, *Growing Change* and *The Backyard Pharmacy at Maison Bleue*.

Lara Anderson, John Hajek and Meribah Rose

Cooking for the Nation: Women's Role in Fascist Italy and Spain

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we seek to compare the ways in which fascist regimes in Italy and Spain used food discourse to implement ideals of gender and national unity. For both ultraconservative regimes, the role of women was central to their broader political, social and economic projects. Traditional values were reinforced through a return to conservative ideals around womanhood, and the relegation of women to domesticity. Whilst the cultural, political and historical context of the two countries is markedly different, this article sheds light on a number of similarities. In particular, the politicisation of food through two key policies: pursuing alimentary autarchy and the devolution of responsibility for this to the housewife. Whilst self-sufficiency was never achieved for either Italy or Spain, this article argues that it was an important ideological driver for the strong emphasis on domestic cooking, which in turn cemented traditional gender roles. Food discourse—which includes official cookery books, food and cooking manuals and newspaper articles—therefore made women responsible for the nation's economic and moral fortitude, even as women were increasingly stripped of agency.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

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Rachel Ankeny

Toward a Recognition of Dystopias: How To Pursue Inclusive Food Policy

ABSTRACT

PANEL DISCUSSION CONCEIVED BY RACHEL ANKENY, SUNDAY 4 DECEMBER 2016

In conversation with Natalie Abboud (Moreland City Councillor), Kat Lavers (The Plummery) and Greg Jacobs (City of Melbourne). Facilitated by Nick Rose (Sustain: the Australian Food Network)

Food policy debates are sometimes limited to or dominated by elite participants with special interests. This panel explores strategies for inclusive and legitimate food policy, drawing on ideas of deliberative democracy. It explores what is necessary for fostering broad community engagement with the complexity of contemporary food systems, with particular attention to the role municipal government can play. Can we balance our desire for utopian visions of ideal food policy with the everyday realities of people's food and life habits? How can we strive for policy that does not exclude the voices of those with limited resources and different priorities, knowledge and experiences? What mechanisms are available to local councils for creating inclusive and representative food policy?

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Rachel A. Ankeny is an interdisciplinary teacher and scholar whose areas of expertise cross three fields: history/philosophy of science, bioethics and science policy, and food studies. She is a Professor in History in the School of Humanities and Associate Dean Research and Deputy Dean in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Adelaide, Australia, where she leads the Food Values Research Group and several larger-scale projects focused on food ethics, meat consumption, and the history of genetic modification, and supervises numerous research theses in related areas.

Robert Appelbaum

Concepts of Utopia, Concepts of Food

KEYNOTE ADDRESS, SATURDAY 3 DECEMBER

This is an odd time to be talking about utopia. I live in Europe, which is undergoing a crisis of confidence. I come from America, whose very soul is in a crisis now. Over twenty years ago intellectuals like Jürgen Habermas and Frederick Jameson declared the death of utopia. Intellectuals like Francis Fukuyama on the right and Jean Baudrillard on the left declared the end of history. There will be no more hope for dramatic progress or revolution anymore, only an endless replay of more and more of the same – or else, even worse, entropy. Of course much has changed in the last twenty years, but the important issue of minority and gender rights apart, only techno-jocks and foodies like me can see any signs of progress. Technology and food are better; automobiles are better; tomatoes are better; we have the Internet – but what else? We recently saw an economic crash like none other in over seventy years. We saw economic inequality grow to levels not seen in seventy years as well. We have seen a humanitarian crisis in Syria, part of which has been translated into a humanitarian crises on the borders of Europe, and within Europe too, not to mention North Africa. Worldwide, according to the UN, there are estimated to be sixty-five million displaced people, political and economic refugees.¹ Twenty-one million of them, according to Amnesty International, are legitimate asylum seekers, unable to return home because of political oppression.² One of the chief responses to the crises has been an outpouring of xenophobia and a resurgence of militant nationalism. In Denmark, a bill has been passed, as reporters for the *World Post* once put it, ‘restricting access to family reunification for Syrian refugees up to three years and allowing the police to search refugees and seize their assets’.³ The United Kingdom has just voted to leave the European Union, which once seemed to be the greatest utopia experiment of our time; and it has done so, apparently, because of fears about immigrants. The mantra, even among many leftists I know, is that ‘we need to take back control of our borders’.⁴ The United States of America, which is the most unequal society in the developed world,⁵ has responded by electing an authoritarian huckster, whose first major act was to restrict immigration, promote deportation, and even the free movement of foreign peoples with bona fide visas. He has redoubled his aim to build a wall along the whole border between America and Mexico. Here in Australia, which also ranks near the bottom of the list for economic inequality among developed nations, the government has been sponsoring one of the most repressive detention centres in the world, detention centres so cruelly effective that some right wing politicians in Denmark, according to the *Guardian*, want to emulate them.⁶ Where is utopia in all this? What might it mean to put these concepts together, food and utopia, in the current climate?

Remember, we are talking about utopian thinking. In the real world we may be obliged to compromise with our ideals. We may be forced to limit ourselves to that which is possible. But utopian thought asks us to do either of two things: either to disregard apparent practical limitations, and demand the impossible; or else to expand our vision of what is possible to achieve. When my grandparents emigrated to the United States around the year 1905, refugees from Ukraine, Belarus, and Romania, no one asked them if they had a visa. No one asked them if they had marketable skills. No one asked them how they were expected to contribute to the American economy. No one even cared if they couldn’t speak English. And why? Because in 1905, in America, and until 1901 Australia was much like that as well, welcoming massive waves of immigrants without pre-qualifying or worrying about where they came from was possible. Imagining a future that included these refugees in American or Australian life was possible. Now we are not so sure. In spite of the fact that Australia, Canada, and the United States still lead the world in welcoming immigrants, and thrive as a result, we are not so sure. Now we are either worried or certain that we cannot. That kind of future is history. It is part of our past.

But utopian thinking requires us to think more, to think beyond. And I would propose that thinking

1 United Nations, 2016. Here as in my other citations on current events, I provide only a single sample of the preponderant available evidence.

2 Amnesty International, 2015.

3 *World Post*, 2016.

4 Parker, 2016.

5 There are a great many data sets that confirm this. See for example, *Index Mundi* n.d., accessed February 2017.

6 Farrell, 2016.

about food in a utopian context requires us to think more too. There are already a number of well-trying themes in food studies today that would seem to lend themselves to utopian thinking: environmental sustainability, equitable food distribution, rejiggering the role of food production networks in global warming. A number of ambitious activists have created food networks of their own, bringing better, healthier products to more and more people, and enhancing the life of farmers and distributors as well as diners. But can utopian thinking really help us in these practical matters? Or to put it another way, does the idea of putting the concept of food and the concept of utopia together have any real, and desirable consequences? Or are consequences beside the point?

In this paper I hope to map out some of the implications of our key concepts, food and utopia. And I am going to suggest some perhaps unexpected answers. But first, then, let me discuss utopia, a complicated idea in itself. The word utopia was only invented in 1516, when Thomas More published his book by that name. But the utopian imagination has much longer pedigree than that, going back at least to the ancient Greeks, and it has led to all kinds of texts and projects, many of which have little in common with one another apart from the fact that they imagine, somehow, a better society than the one we live in. There are utopias of the past, utopias of present, and utopias of the future. There are utopias of austerity, utopias of unlimited plenty, utopias of rigid morality and utopias of licentiousness. There are also, of course, the inverse of utopias, dystopias, familiar to us in novels like *Brave New World* and *1984*. But we can talk about dystopias another time. Let me briefly outline the main tradition of Western thinking about utopia, and let me begin to try to make sense of that tradition by contrasting what may be thought of its three main types, utopias of the past, utopias of the present, and utopias of the future. Then I will go on to talk about food, and the way in which food may or may not lend itself to utopianism. This is not a big step to take, I believe, because effective works of the utopian imagination are commonly concerned, in the first instance, with the material conditions of life, and therefore with the production and consumption of food. A better world, in the utopian tradition, is a world where competition over material resources has been nullified, or not yet come to pass, and instead the organization, distribution and enjoyment of material resources is a part of common life, for the equal benefit of all. There must therefore be a sound, reliable provision for food in any utopia, and in some way or other the food has to be good, even the best that food can be. But again, utopias can be either of the past, the present, or the future, and for that reason the provision of food may well differ from one to the other.

Utopias of the past are often nostalgic. Things used to be better, and there is nothing we can do about it except think nostalgically, and measure our own miseries against the happiness of long ago. Here for example is what Ovid had to say in his *Metamorphoses*, written during the age of Augustus Caesar:

*The Golden Age was first, a time that cherished
Of its own will, justice and right; no law.
No punishment was called for; fearfulness
Was quite unknown, and the bronze tablets held
No legal threatening.*

* * *

*People were unaggressive, and unanxious;
The years went by in peace. And Earth, untroubled,
Unharried by hoe or ploughshare, brought forth all
That men had need for, and those men were happy,
Gathering berries from the mountain sides,
Cherries, or blackcaps, and the edible acorns.
Spring was forever, with a west wind blowing
Softly across the flowers no man had planted,
And Earth, unploughed, brought forth rich grain; the field,
Unfallowed, whitened with wheat, and there were rivers
Of milk, and rivers of honey, and golden nectar*

*Dripped from the dark-green oak trees.*¹

You will note the similarity between Ovid's golden age and the Garden of Eden. These kinds of utopias imagine a past without conflict, without labour or duress. Nature provides, not culture. Note too that in both Ovid's golden age and the Garden of Eden people are vegetarian. Meat eating demands work, aggression, and killing. It is only when humanity falls out of this paradisiacal state of grace that work, aggression and killing come in, pitting human against human and humanity against its fellow creatures.

Much more complicated –and much more difficult to imagine – is the utopia of the present. It has to be so, because the utopia of the present has to fit into a world where all kinds of strife are continually experienced, where work is laborious, aggression is ubiquitous, and death is an industry. How can anyone imagine a utopia in the present, when the present is so obviously not utopian? The conventional answer is that you put it somewhere else than where we are: a distant fictional land, which has not suffered the depravities of our own. And so we come to most famous utopia of all, the one as I have said that gave us the word utopia, which in fact means two different things: a happy place and a no place. Thomas More's *Utopia* of 1516 aims to find the solution to contemporary problems, like crime, war, poverty and injustice, in the construction of an imaginary country, an island perhaps in the vicinity of what today we call the island of Australia. It is a very complex, witty, and challenging text, and I can't do justice to it here, but I would like to call your attention to three of its main features.

1. The main principle of the society is the abolition of private property; in other words, communism. 'Unless private property is entirely done away with', says the chief advocate of utopianism in the book, 'there can be no fair or just distribution of goods, nor can mankind be happily conducted'.²
2. In order to establish itself as a communist community, where everyone's happiness is maximized, where there is no want or social conflict, and where even work becomes something like play, the country has to isolate itself from other countries. It has to have very strong borders. It is said that originally the island was connected to a mainland by an isthmus. But when its leader, one King Utopus, determined that his country was going to become a utopia, he first organized an expedition to dig a broad channel in the isthmus, cutting it off from the mainland. Strong borders: the idea is a big challenge to us today. Even if a utopia of this type is democratically organized, as More's utopia is, it probably has to be self-contained, so it can control itself through rational planning. And it cannot allow itself to be infected by foreign, non-utopian influences. Once you bring in a non-utopian impulse into the community, for example the impulse toward economic competition, you endanger the integrity of the whole project.
3. When it comes to food, utopian community tries to sustain a perfect balance between four potentially competitive principles: ceremony, pleasure, equality and health. I am talking about food consumption here, although there is much to be said about how the utopians communally produce their food. But in any case, on the subject of consumption, it is first to be observed that most meals are taken collectively, in communal dining halls; but the meals are not haphazard, with people feeding themselves indiscriminately, all in their own places, without regard to others. More recognizes that community dining is happiest when it is structured as a social event, which is to say when dining is celebratory. But celebration brings in ceremony, and ceremony brings in structures which invariably differentiate among the people in the room. For example – though More's actual structure of dining is more complicated than this – the role of a master of ceremonies, so necessary to celebration in the dining hall, inevitably introduces an inequality. So does the fact that while the community dines, a group of musicians play music. The administrators, servers, and entertainers do *not* dine collectively. In fact, 'slaves do all the particularly dirty and heavy work'.³ The egalitarian Utopians have slaves. So we have a contradiction. On the one hand, communal dining is a general sociality; on the other hand, general sociality requires structure, hierarchy, and exclusion, even slavery. So there is what appears to be a contradiction in utopian dining. Similarly, there is a problem with pleasure. More advocates pleasure in the utopia, the more the better. But More also advocates health, the more the better. What he looks for in his utopia is not a balance between

1 Ovid, 1955: Book One, Lines 88–111.

2 More, 1992: 28

3 More, 1992: 43

the two, but a perfect equivalence: that which is pleasurable is healthy, and that which is healthy is pleasurable. It is a great idea, often advocated in our own day and consistent with the science of food in More's period. But we know it isn't true. I can get great pleasure out of self-destructive behaviour, and I can find living the healthiest of life styles to be tedious. I imagine it is the same for most of us. So there is another contradiction: the celebration of pleasure effaces pleasure in favour of health.

4. And here now is the fourth major feature of *Utopia* to call attention to. *Utopia is a satire*. It is not a blueprint for the future. It is not a project that More wants to see established somewhere. It is a critique of the current imperfect society, levelled from the point of view of an imaginary perfect society. It registers a wish, or a kind of wishfulness, to be sure; but it takes aim at current society with humour, laughing at itself as well as the preposterous illusions and social practices dominating the world as it is. Of course there is no such thing as a perfect society. Just look at this one's inner contradictions. But the inner contradictions of the perfect society tell us something about the contradictions of life in the real world. To engage in utopian speculation of the Morean type is to engage in a joyous act of irony, which registers a fantasy, condemns a reality, and makes a mockery of both. This ironic distance is absolutely crucial to utopian thinking of this type: do not mistake the fanciful for the real, we are being told; do not mistake the idea of perfection for literal perfection.

So there is the principle model of the utopia of the present. It is an other place, an imaginary place, a happy place answering to our wishes which mocks the place that we are in. And for a couple of centuries after More, utopias of this type dominated writing. But there is also a third type, the utopia of the future. Such utopias did not begin appearing until about the time of the French Revolution, but they came to be very popular as the nineteenth century wore on. A chief example is William Morris's *News from Nowhere*.

Published in 1890, *News from Nowhere* represents an attempt by its author, a leader of the far-left Radical Union in Great Britain, to imagine a socialist future. 'If I could but see a day of it!' the narrator of this novel cries out. The revolutionary politician meets with frustration constantly: the world is not as it ought to be, and it is hard to know what to do about it. A cure for this frustration is to use the imagination to envision what it is that the revolutionary actually wants to attain. And so the narrator dreams, and finds himself hurled into a distant future, where all people are equal in wealth, where work is voluntary rather than mandatory, and rewarding rather than stressful, where an equality of sexes is apparently achieved, and where England itself has evolved from smoke-fouled industrial country, teeming with crowded unhealthy cities, into a huge garden community with many common open spaces and excellent, healthy, beautiful living conditions for all. There is no money: people simply make what they want to make, provide services they want to provide, and acquire or use what they need to acquire or use, without recompense. Unlike More's *Utopia*, this kind of text is indeed a sort of blueprint for the future: but it is wistful rather than programmatic. What it says is, we can be better. And again: we can be better if we aim toward something like this – this fantasy I have, even though this fantasy is more a critique of the present than anything else.

In the current context, among the most interesting things about this utopia of the future is that, in spite of the fact that it has no money, it has restaurants. One day, the narrator visits his second restaurant, with some of his new friends. He is led to 'a richly moulded and carved doorway, where a very pretty dark-haired young girl gave us each a beautiful bunch of summer flowers, and we entered a hall much bigger than that of the Hammersmith Guest House [his previous restaurant], more elaborate in its architecture and perhaps more beautiful'. Soon after William and his party are seated, 'the pretty waitresses came to us smiling, and chattering sweetly like reed warblers by the river-side, and fell to giving us our dinner'. The narrator says little about what he actually ate, but he is full of praise for it: 'as at our breakfast, everything was cooked and served with a daintiness which showed that those who had prepared it were interested in it; but there was no excess either of quantity or of gourmandise; everything was simple, though so excellent in its kind; and it was made clear to us that this was no feast, only an ordinary meal. The glass, crockery, and plate were very beautiful to my eyes . . .' Although 'there was a total lack of what the nineteenth century calls "comfort" – that is, stuffy inconvenience . . . I had

never eaten my dinner so pleasantly before'. After dinner, William and a friend sit and talk about history, revolution and utopia over 'a bottle of very good Bordeaux wine'.¹

How an English restaurant with no money got hold of a bottle of fine Bordeaux the narrator doesn't say. But the point is that Morris is eager to provide us with a sensual as well as an intellectual vision of the future, and the life of the senses in the future is at all times artful yet simple, provided willingly rather than for the sake of wages or profit, and appealing to the eye as well as the palate. But that is the future. And we should not forget then that kind of utopia is also satiric. It criticizes the present by evoking a much better future. And it is a fantasy. William Morris is not about to go into the business of opening voluntary restaurants and free haberdasheries. Instead, he is busy organising political support from trade unions and protesting British policy in South Africa, while managing a profitable textile business. Utopia is not a solution to the problems of the present. It is a vision about what the problems are, and what it might look like if the problems were solved, but it by itself solves nothing.

Now obviously when we think about food in general, we will also summon the same categories that distinguish the different kinds of utopia. We can think about meals of the past, meals of the present, and meals of the future. We can think about meals of the past nostalgically, so that they represent a kind of ideal to which the present falls short. We can think about meals in the present, meals that either other people are eating and we aren't, or that we are eating and other people aren't, in either case dividing the world up into meals here and meals there, measuring one location of dining against another, and imagining that some meals are perfect. Sound familiar? We are face to face with the structure of a current-day preoccupation. But now, though this is rarer, we can also think about meals of the future – what we will have tonight, next week, next year, and in the far future of humanity, comparing one moment to another. Some of this is familiar, some not so familiar. Of course, not all these meals we think about, whether in the past, the present, or the future, need to be excellent meals. I can assure you, I am not nostalgic about my late mother's cooking. I must also admit that when my wife or I make a great meal at home, we often take such pride in what we do that we wickedly imagine everyone else in my hometown, Uppsala, is eating much worse than we are that night. Pride comes before the fall, of course; but good food inspires pride, and with the latter invidious distinctions, and meals of the present, even when they are utopian, can also be anti-social. As for the future: against our hopes for a sustainable future, we suspect that the future will be worse than the present, that ecological devastation is inevitable, and the strength of multi-national corporations in dictating how and what we eat will strengthen, rather than diminish. When we think about the food of the distant future, we are more inclined to think about struggling fields of parched quinoa tended by a shrivelling humanity than about baskets of earthy truffles and caves of aging Roquefort cheese overseen by thriving Olympians of gastronomy.

So, food and utopia. Food and utopia in an imperfect world, where food is often a part of that imperfection, where claims of health and claims of pleasure can be at odds with one another, where the aspirations of people who love good food are often contaminated with invidious distinctions, and where merit conflicts with equality. Food and utopia in a world dominated by multi-national corporations, whose only care is that we eat what they provide for us, and contribute to their profits. Food and utopia in a world where it seems that utopia itself has no future, and maybe the environment has no future either.

And I will add a further caution. Food and utopia in a world where the celebration of good food can often displace our consciousness of the world around us, where the celebration of food can take the form of false consciousness. Take the example of contemporary Greece. I have been able to document the publication of five cookbooks on Greek food since 2012, and a sixth cookbook written by a celebrity chef whom I have often admired: Rick Stein's *From Venice to Istanbul* (2015), where Stein travels though Greece. There does not seem to be any mention in any of these books that Greece the nation is suffering from the worst depression in its history, where the unemployment rate is stuck at around 25 percent, and youth employment at 35 percent. Fifteen percent of Greeks live in extreme poverty, including 25% of young people between the age of 18 and 29. Income as a whole in Greece has declined by more than

1 Morris, 2003: 86-7. And see Appelbaum, 2011: esp. 197-203.

a third in the last six years.¹ The nation is also suffering a brain drain, as its educated young people are leaving en masse.² None of the books apparently discusses the Greek island of Lesbos, which has one of Europe's most frequently landed refugee centres. And as for Rick Stein, nowhere in book does he comment on the environmental degradation of Venice, the economic emergency in Greece, or the rule of dictatorship in Turkey, or the presence in Turkey of millions of refugees living in camps from Syria, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. The farthest he goes is to acknowledge that Venice is sinking and its population shrinking, and that in Greece, according to one famous Greek named Zorba, life is at once joyous and tragic. The fact is, his visit to Greece is confined to remote villages and posh resorts, and one of the most obvious problems in his television series on the subject was the near absence of adults in their twenties or thirties: they have all run off from their villages, or can't afford to go to them on holidays, and many of have left Greece altogether.

Now, you may say these cookbook writers have done nothing personally to cause the crisis in Greece or anywhere else. And you can add, the celebration of Greek culture that they represent encourages tourism, which is one of Greece's largest industries. And that is a good thing. You can also add this, that the unabashed enjoyment of food and drink is still characteristic of the Greek people, even in spite of the depression. I can tell you that when I visit Greece, if I am careful about where I go, I enjoy the food and drink very much: I enjoy the enthusiasm with which it is prepared and served and the freshness of ingredients – octopus just off the boat, lamb that tasted of the meadow, feta cheese that was freshly cured. I enjoy the hospitality. The last couple of times I was there, visiting with friends and acquaintances, I was never allowed to pay for a meal, even though some of those people were unemployed, and all of them had suffered severe declines in income: academics and other government workers in Greece over the last few years have had their salaries cut in half. Several times I was treated to several rounds of drinks by restaurant owners, running modest establishments. But I also saw a lot of Greeks begging in the streets, sleeping in the streets, rummaging through trash bins for used bottles and food.

Is there a blind spot in the pursuit of gastronomy? Is there a false consciousness governing the discourses of gastronomy in the developed world today? Food itself may seem to encourage this blindness and falsity. For what we have in good meals, in good restaurants, in media representations of food, especially in TV programmes and the press, is an other world, a world apart. What we have in effect is a form – perhaps it would be right to call this a perverse form – of phantasmatic consciousness. There is a beggar outside on the street, but I am eating lamb chops, and the owner in offering me free drinks. And I am happy. There is a scourge of underemployment for people between the ages of 19 and 29 in the developed world, even in Australia.³ But on TV I can imagine going on a visit to Thailand, where the food is always exhilarating and everybody smiles, or to a coastal town in Turkey, where no one for the moment is worried about the suppression of freedom of the press since the bread and the yogurt are so good, and nobody is unemployed. Or I can be encouraged to imagine that I too can be a master chef, appear on TV and run 25 different restaurants around the world. I have been told by teachers at culinary institutes in Britain and Ireland that this is actually a problem today. Young people are entering cooking school with the intention of becoming celebrity chefs, and indeed of becoming celebrity chefs in the near future, instead of having the intention of simply becoming chefs and living lives of inner satisfaction.

Good food, the raising of it, the preparing of it, the serving it, the consuming of it, is another world. Already – when it is done right, when it is done with passion and ceremony – it is a form of utopia. But it is a form of utopia constantly in danger of degenerating into false consciousness, of becoming an enterprise of escapism and self-delusion, rather than a confrontation with the world as it is. And what kind of utopia is that? I am inspired in these remarks by a Facebook post by an executive with the Oxford Symposium on Food, Adrian Bregazzi. 'Should cookbook authors' he writes, 'particularly those featuring the food and cookery of regions of conflict, not have some social responsibility?' I find the remark challenging, and I have used that remark to find out about the silliness of so many cookbooks on Greek food. And it is something we may all want to think about. But perhaps it requires modification.

1 European Parliament, 2016; Dianoesis Institute, 2016.

2 Deutsche Welle, 2016.

3 Carvalho, 2015.

We are being asked to think about food as a world apart – that is, to think about the raising, the preparing, the serving and the eating of food as a domain of its own, where problems in other domains of life have been, are, or will be annulled. Such a vision is just the opposite of thinking about food from a strictly utilitarian point of view, where food is only a necessary commodity. Let me be clear about the distinction. From a strictly utilitarian point of view we can imagine food as something to be produced, circulated, used and enjoyed, and, as a condition for these things, bought and sold. We can acknowledge that food needs to be healthful and plentiful; we can presume that society as a whole cannot function successfully unless food is healthful and plentiful; we can say that food deprivation and malnutrition are dangers not to just to individuals but to the health of civil society. All that accords with utilitarian principles. But if we think about food from a utopian point of view, we take an extra step. Without abjuring the utilitarian aspects of food, or without necessarily abjuring them, we make food into a resource of transcendence, or of a kind of excess. It might be that instead of just being a source of pleasure, food becomes a medium of what the French call *jouissance*. Bliss is perhaps the closest English term. It might be that food is detached from its condition as a commodity: instead of being bought and sold, it is given and received. It might be that food is no longer a useful product, but rather an art form, expressing the passions of the people who give it and receive it.

Such is my own utopian vision. But there are dangers in such a vision, as I have said. Consider a couple examples from the world of film. In *Monty Python: The Meaning of Life* there is well-known scene called ‘Mr Creosote’. An implausibly obese man enters a fine French restaurant, begins throwing up on the floor and even on the staff, orders a mountain of food, and ends up exploding. All the while the Maître d’ of the restaurant, played by John Cleese, treats the customer with unctuous deference. The fat man is a paying customer after all.

The episode is a satire, of course. First, and most obviously, it satirises the absurdity of avaricious consumerism, and the industry, however well-mannered and prestigious, that serves it. Secondly, with grotesque laughter it calls attention to the idea that fine dining restaurants are sites of inequality, where patrons symbolically vomit on those beneath them, and here where one of them literally does so. Thirdly, the episode mocks restaurant civility, where taste is a sham and good manners a form of noxious servility. The episode is an exaggeration, but it is an exaggeration of something we may well suspect lies at the root of how we conduct our everyday lives. At what point does gourmandism become a form of egoistic, exploitative gluttony? Maybe it comes a lot earlier than an Mr Creosote’s explosion.

Now consider a second film, *Babette’s Feast*. It is a very charming, congenial film and it won an Oscar. It revolves around a truly great meal, which the movie shows to have the powers of a sacrament: it lifts the spirits, reconciles adversaries, gathers a community, intimates a sense of the divine, and provides an occasion for high creativity. But that’s the movie. The book version, as I have written before, contains all that but also satirizes it. The book shows that even great moments of conviviality and artistic expression are founded on inherently violent social contradictions. The book suggests that the artist with great ambition may very well rely on the patronage of people she loathes, and that to aspire to greatness is an act of sacrifice whose only reward is the sacrifice itself. Babette was an arsonist during the revolution of the commune in the 1870-71 – and she would do it again. ‘Thanks be to God, I was a Communard!’, she says in the book, but not the movie. The members of the ruling class against which she fought, she says, ‘were evil and cruel. They let the people of Paris starve; they oppressed and wronged the poor. Thanks be to God, I stood upon a barricade; I loaded the gun for my menfolk!’¹

Great food, whether in Morris’s utopia, the Monty Python restaurant, or Babette’s feast is at once a transcendence, an excess, and a contradiction. As a transcendence it can bring us out of ourselves, or else bring us back to ourselves on a new level; the choice is ours. As an excess it can overwhelm our sense of utility, and even of health, leading us toward something more than either, or else it can enhance our sense of the good and the just without being exactly either. Again, the choice is ours. But as a contradiction, the artists tell us, great food confronts us with an even greater dilemma. Great food is either an occasion for false consciousness or a spur to socially critical consciousness; it is either an occasion for complacency or a spur toward action. Again the choice is ours. But if we take the utopian route, in the great tradition of utopian thought in the west, we probably need to take the stand that

1 Dinesen 2001: 67. And see Appelbaum 2011, esp. 204 – 210.

there is no genuine for utopian appetite which is not also an appetite for social utopia, and maybe even an appetite for sacrifice. My Greek friends would probably understand.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Robert Appelbaum is Professor of English Literature at Uppsala University, Sweden. A PhD. from the University of California, Berkeley, he is the author of numerous books and articles on early modern literature, utopian studies, food studies, terrorism studies, and the culture of violence. His books include *Literature and Utopian Politics in Seventeenth Century England* (2002), *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and Other Gastronomic Interjections: Literature, Culture and Food Among the Early Moderns* (2006), *Dishing It Out: In Search of the Restaurant Experience* (2011), and *Working the Aisles: A Life in Consumption* (2014), and *Terrorism Before the Letter* (2015). Winner of the 2007 Roland H. Bainton Award, he has been a fellow with the British Academy, the Leverhulme Foundation, The Arts and Humanities Research Council, The Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Study, and Vetenskaprådet. Soon to be published is *The Aesthetics of Violence: Art, Fiction, Drama and Film*.

Tracy Berno

Consuming paradise: From utopian ideal to tiki reality

ABSTRACT

The South Pacific conjures visions of an imagined ideal – the utopian image of islands of white sand beaches, blue water and lush vegetation populated by carefree islanders going about their ways in a tropical paradise. Let us now consider the cuisines of the South Pacific; what comes to mind? Likely images include coconuts, tropical fruits and perhaps for those a bit more familiar with the region, the ubiquitous raw marinated fish seen in most of the island nations. The reality is quite different however. Little is known about their cuisines outside the region, and beyond the coconut, fruit and fish images, often what else is imagined is a “tikified” version constructed for tourist consumption. As a result, the region’s cuisines have developed a very poor reputation.

Socio-cultural influences such as urbanisation, migration, globalisation and tourism have led to a type of “food colonisation” in the South Pacific that has contributed to changes in cuisine and food consumption patterns across the region. Now with some of the highest rates of diet-related non-communicable disease in the world, the nations of the South Pacific diet-wise, are far from the imagined utopian ideal. Also as a result of these changes, the island nations of the South Pacific are experiencing the loss of their traditional foodways. This places them at risk of losing both their unique food heritage as well as the diversity of agriculture that supports it. This presentation aims to explore the cuisines of the South Pacific as historical, idealised and contemporary phenomena. Particular consideration will be given to the future of food in the South Pacific, and the mechanisms by which it can genuinely fulfil the utopian ideal of the region in a way that creates benefits for Pacific Islanders as well as the tourists who visit.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr Tracy Berno is a Senior Lecturer at AUT University in Auckland, New Zealand. Her interests are currently focused on the relationship between cuisine and tourism, and sustainable food systems. She is particularly interested in agriculture — tourism linkages, local food systems, community-based tourism development, culinary tourism and tourism and gastronomy. Tracy has researched and published widely on the cuisine of the South Pacific and has co-authored two award winning books on South Pacific cuisine with chef Robert Oliver.

Gay Bilson

Weather Report on an Upstart Cuisine

ABSTRACT

This weather report is entirely personal, inevitably affected by age, and by the experiential prerogatives of age: grumpiness, anger, disbelief, retreat from the fray, and a measure of *taedium vitae*, of *Weltschmerz*. Margaret Atwood wrote that as she grew older, she understood things better but needed glasses to read the menu. It's the menu itself, and the commentary on the menu that most exercises the dystopian me.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Gay Bilson was for 25 years a restaurateur and cook in Sydney, centrally, as owner of Berowra Waters Inn for 18 years, and then consultant to Bennelong Restaurant at the Sydney Opera House. She has created and directed several events centred on food and community, often for the Adelaide Festival. She was an associate director under Peter Sellars for this festival in 2002, producing programs such as *Nourish* (feeding patients in a large public hospital) and *The Edible Library*. In 2004 she directed a large community project, *Eating the City*, for the City of Melbourne. As an extension of this project, she recorded oral histories with the communities that took part. In 2011, she created and directed an event for the Adelaide Film Festival, *One Magic Bowl*. She is the author of *Plenty: Digressions on Food*. *Plenty* won the Nita B. Kibble Prize for Women's Life Writing and was named *The Age* Book of the Year in 2005. Her essay, *On Digestion*, (Melbourne University Publishing, 2008), is one of a series of essays in MUP's 'Little Books on Big Themes' series. In *On Digestion*, she questions many of the assumptions we make about agriculture, produce and dining in Australia. For some years she was a contributor to *The Monthly* and to *Australian Book Review*. Her essays have been published in *Voracious* (Hardie Grant, 2011) and *Island* magazine, University of Tasmania, 2012. She is on the board of Sprung!! Integrated Dance Company, and has volunteered with Liberation Larder, in Byron Bay, which provides food and meals for those in need.

Shelley Boyd

Positron Prison Food: Margaret Atwood's Enclosed Consumer Eden

ABSTRACT

Canadian author Margaret Atwood is known for her skillful imaginings of utopian/dystopian worlds, such her classic novel *The Handmaid's Tale* and her *MaddAddam* trilogy. For Atwood, utopias and dystopias are closely related, and the foodways of these imagined societies are often future-oriented, communicating either hopeful possibilities or dire warnings. Atwood's most recent work of speculative fiction, *The Heart Goes Last* (2015), provides a glimpse of a utopian/dystopian social experiment as an answer to the global financial collapse of 2008. The main characters, Stan and Charmaine, have lost their jobs and home, and after living in their car and dumpster-diving for leftovers, sign up for the Positron Project. As part of this Project, they will be guaranteed shelter, nutritious food, and employment, but every other month they must live separately, segregated into male and female prisons. In other words, Positron comes with a life-sentence. Citizens who join this for-profit social experiment can never leave. In a 2015 interview with Canada's *Chatelaine* magazine, Atwood admits that when it comes to her own "social dreaming," she looks to the past and the present for inspiration, as "no one is really writing about the future." Atwood's real-life models for Positron included Australia (with its history as a penal colony) and North America's present-day privatized prisons where the forces of supply and demand are the "incentive to create more criminals."

My presentation will examine how prison food and food symbolism within the novel serve as a means of critiquing neoliberal capitalism as an imprisoning construct that has permeated human experience. The lack of choice (or the appearance of choice) in what the characters consume perpetuates the capitalistic social order, its hierarchies and abuses. Prison food in *The Heart Goes Last* — which includes endless eggs, cinnamon heart candies, and reliable "real" food—is all about desire: desires for hope, material security, and personal fulfillment. Ultimately, Atwood's story of this enclosed community serves as a dystopian parable, exposing humanity's selfishness and short-sighted failings. In Positron, hope for the future has been co-opted by well-established consumer values, and as such, its utopian foodways signify an unsustainable world, a replication of the larger pre-existing outside order that continually fails to learn lessons from the past.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Shelley Boyd is a Canadian literature specialist at Kwantlen Polytechnic University in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. Her book *Garden Plots* (2013) explores Canadian women writers' literary gardens from nineteenth-century pioneer domestic manuals to contemporary poetry. She is currently working on a team project exploring food narratives in Canadian literature (canadianliteraryfare.org). Her recent publications include an exploration of Margaret Atwood's gardening politics in *The Year of the Flood* in the edited collection *The Good Gardener? Nature, Humanity, and the Garden* (2015), and "Utopian Breakfasts: Margaret Atwood's *MaddAddam*" in *Utopian Studies* 2015 (special issue on Utopia and Food).

Adrian Bregazzi

Mind's palate: menus of the delightful improbable

ABSTRACT

M*ind's palate* is my food-related version of mind's eye – creating a personal food Utopia that almost anyone can enjoy simply through thinking beyond the known. Finding inspiration in aspects of *La cucina futurista* and the *Codex Seraphinianus*, sideways-shifting the properties of some of today's familiar ingredients and processes, and musing on the culinary autonomous *bos amiglionus*, *mind's palate* conjures up improbable ingredients and dishes, and sometimes impossible menus. These are entirely thought-based, some of which will convert into artefacts in their own right.

In more detail: Marinetti's *La cucina futurista*, inter alia, sought to challenge convention with dishes ranging from the preposterous *Pollofiat* (chicken 'flavoured' with mild-steel ball-bearings) to the impudently un-fascistic *Pranzo Tattile* (part orgy, part neurogastronomy).

Luigi Serafini's *Codex Seraphinianus* is a hand-drawn manuscript encyclopaedia of a visionary world. Written in an imaginary language, it includes chapters illustrating flora and fauna, food and dining.

Ripe red tomatoes, for example, collapse when cooked. So consider the *baking tomato* – one whose skin peels off, and whose red outer flesh firms up with a crisp golden-brown coating when baked; its pithy core rapidly softens in cooking easily taking on additional conventional or challenging flavours. Or consider a tomato whose intense flavours and scents are so fugitive that they have to be eaten warm and straight from the vine.

Douglas Adams' *bos amiglonus* - a fictional bovine creature bred to want to be eaten and "was capable of saying so clearly and distinctly" - a kind of autonomy that may be a leap too far.

mind's palate is not about restaurant menus – it creates multi-level, free-standing, beautifully designed and illustrated documents that combine the glories of (say) Dominique Crenn's multi-page recipes; delightful improbabilities such as the baking tomato; along with ingredients both freely available and rare/local/imagined; and contextual information about the culture and history of the ingredients and dishes, both factual and fanciful.

As Marinetti, Serafini, Crenn, and others have travelled their unknowns to create their individual culinary worlds, *mind's palate* is a personal aesthetic Utopia.

This paper will be accompanied by artefacts.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I live in south Cornwall, England. I am an independent scholar with interests in a range of culinary subjects including late C14th English working class food, "future foods", and the semiotics of food. I have presented at culinary symposia in Oxford (2013,14) and Dublin (2014,16). My background is in conceptual art, later developing into 2D and commercial interactive design, and I am currently working on large-scale photographic images and guides to the ignored. Travelling for work in international education, I experienced foods in northern Europe, South Africa, north and south America, India, Asia Pacific, and Australia.

Iain Buckland

Creating a culinary utopia at Beleura

Introduction

Beleura was built between 1863 and 1865 by Joseph Reed and Frederick Barnes for James Butchart at Schnapper Point, now called Mornington.¹ Reed and Barnes were highly respected architects in Melbourne at that time, having completed many prestigious public and private building commissions. Beleura was one of a number of grand rural residences built in the Victorian era along Port Phillip Bay between Frankston and Mornington, about fifty kilometres south of Melbourne. Its style is distinctly Italianate, with an imposing portico supported by a long row of Corinthian columns. Butchart did not enjoy it for long as he died at Beleura in 1869.² The house was bought by businessman Charles Bright, who was married to Anna Maria Georgiana Manners-Sutton, a daughter of Sir John Henry Thomas Manners-Sutton, the Governor of Victoria from 1866 to 1873. Sir John and Lady Manners-Sutton used the house as their vice-regal summer retreat and lived there full time with their family for a short period before their return to England in 1873. Bright leased Beleura in 1881 for conversion to a short-lived enterprise, Mornington Grammar School.³ Restored to a private house again in 1883, it was leased to a Member of Parliament, the Hon. Caleb Joshua Jenner, who purchased the house from the Bright family in 1888.⁴ After Jenner's death, the house was sold and occupied several times until the property was eventually subdivided in 1915 and marketed for sale as the *Beleura on the Sea* estate.⁵

A significant era for the house began in 1916 when George and Amelia Tallis bought Beleura and a large portion of the land. At the time, the Tallis family owned Santoi, a large Federation style house in Camberwell and they initially used Beleura primarily as a summer residence and rural retreat.⁶ As his enthusiasm for farming grew, George Tallis progressively acquired over 2000 acres of neighbouring farming land in Mornington, creating a viable rural enterprise, specializing in Ayrshire cattle.⁷ Later knighted, Sir George was best known as chairman of directors of the famous Australian theatrical agency J.C Williamson Ltd from 1913 to his retirement in 1931. He managed an empire of live and moving picture theatres and was instrumental in bringing to Australia numerous celebrated musicians, actors and dancers from Europe, Britain and America.⁸ Many of these stars would have been entertained at Beleura. Sir George had a long-standing professional friendship with Dame Nellie Melba, who was a regular guest at Beleura.⁹

Sir George died in 1948 and his youngest son Jack Tallis (known outside the family as John) took over the property, living there permanently from 1953 until his death in 1996. The house, garden and all contents were bequeathed to the people of Victoria and The Tallis Foundation was established to preserve the property for cultural purposes. John Tallis was an accomplished musician and composer, having spent many years studying in Paris and London before returning to live at Beleura. He regularly held concerts with his musical associates and friends in rooms which look today much as they did in the 1950s. Beleura contains an important collection of artwork by well-known Australian and international painters, potters and sculptors, many being friends of the Tallis family. The house is a museum to domestic technology and includes five kitchens from various eras with many of the original appliances still in place. There is also a wine cellar and pantries complete with bottles, food packets and tins preserved as they were at the time of Tallis's death. The European style garden is a major feature of Beleura. It incorporates functional elements of earlier gardens such as the glass house, vegetable plot and poultry run. John Tallis was a fastidious man and he recorded everything that occurred in the house and garden, leaving behind a comprehensive record of his life at Beleura in the form of diaries, photographs and files of accounts. Anthony Knight, a founding Trustee of The Tallis Foundation and Director of Beleura House & Garden, maintains that John Tallis, born in 1911, was a product of the

1 "Tenders Wanted for the Erection of a Villa Residence," *Argus*, July 30, 1863, via Trove, <http://trove.nla.gov.au>

2 "Preliminary Notice, Beleura, Schnapper Point," *Argus*, December 31, 1869, via Trove, <http://trove.nla.gov.au>

3 "Advertising," *Argus*, December 17, 1881, via Trove, <http://trove.nla.gov.au>

4 Anthony Knight, *Beleura Mornington: A Theatre of the Past* (Mornington: The Tallis Foundation, 2009), 33. (Note: This is the official guide book to Beleura and the most comprehensive description of the house and garden, together with the history of the Tallis family.)

5 Knight, 36.

6 Knight, 38.

7 Knight, 65.

8 Michael and Joan Tallis, *The Silent Showman* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 1999), 123.

9 Knight, 147.

Edwardian era and his attitudes and habits reflected that time.¹ Tallis lived through many technological, social and cultural changes that transformed Australian society over the twentieth century, changes that were reflected in the layout and planting of the garden and the interior design, art, furniture, clothing, appliances and implements in the house.

This paper is based on my research conducted at Beleura for the award of a Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Adelaide. While the objective of that research was to develop a comprehensive gastronomic history of the house covering the whole 131 years of its occupation, this paper is concerned primarily with culinary practices at Beleura in the period immediately following World War II. Tallis had an abiding passion for all things Italian and when he took over Beleura after the death of his father, he set about creating an environment that would permanently remind him of his travels in that country. He already had a house which in many respects resembled an Italian Villa. A trip to Europe in 1953 inspired Tallis to complete the process of Italianizing Beleura and using objects acquired in Italy he installed stone putti on the parapets, sculptures in the garden, Murano chandeliers in the rooms and had frescoes painted on the ceilings.

Along with creating a more overt Italian style in the house and garden, Tallis also adopted a more European dining ethic. Establishing what food was consumed in the past at a specific property is notoriously difficult as few people record what they eat on a daily basis. Cookbooks sometimes help but there is never any guarantee that they were actually used. However, Beleura was different in that an invaluable set of hand-written documents have survived which record in unusual detail dinner parties and day-to-day food. The contents of these documents will be assessed in this paper and the analysis will confirm that during the 1950s food at Beleura became much more adventurous, deviating distinctly from pre-War cuisine. This was not unusual as many home cooks at this time were relishing new ingredients, experimenting with novel food traditions and enjoying new restaurant experiences. In keeping with the theme of this Symposium, *Utopian Appetites*, I argue that for this brief period in the 1950s, the manner of dining at Beleura represented for Tallis and his cultured friends, a form of culinary utopia. Surprisingly for a man who loved all things Italian, Beleura cuisine had a distinctly French flair, a result of influences that were radically and permanently changing eating habits around the world.

Why study gastronomy at Beleura?

What is the relevance of culinary practices at a house such as Beleura? Given that the Tallis family was wealthy and had access to a range of live-in and later part-time housekeepers, cooks and gardeners, it would be easy to assume that food at Beleura was different to the rest of the population. I will argue that this was not necessarily the case and for the majority of the home's history food served was quite simple and followed common practices of the time.

Gastronomic studies involving specific properties are generally difficult because of the lack of consistent documentary and material evidence. Apart from the scarcity of documents relating to food, another issue, identified by Australian historian Marilyn Lake, is the continual renovation of the work areas in many houses.² While most properties lose their historical connection to the people who have lived in them over time, the loss of the original work areas, such as the kitchens, cellars and pantries is particularly important as these rooms can provide useful information on the lifestyle of the occupants and the broader changes occurring in society.

Even in historic house museums the kitchens are often the last rooms to be opened for display and many are converted to offices, storerooms or overtaken by the air-conditioning equipment necessary for modern collection conservation practices.³ While research from the perspective of a wealthy and privileged family may at first appear to have little connection to the broader community, it is only at an unusual house such as Beleura, where the architectural fabric, material culture and documentary evidence have been carefully preserved, that a gastronomic study at a household level can be attempted.

Food at Beleura in the nineteenth century

¹ Knight, 43.

² Marilyn Lake, "Historical Homes." *Australian Historical Studies* 24, Issue 97 (1991): 53.

³ Note: In May 2015, I visited three homes in the USA designed by arguably America's most famous architect, Frank Lloyd Wright. None of the homes had original kitchens. In two, an attempt had been made to recreate the kitchen areas, while in the other home the kitchen was closed to the public.

It is no exaggeration to claim that Beleura was a house built on meat. James Butchart's fortune, from which he was able to build his mansion, came largely from the sale of mutton and beef to the diggers on the goldfields. While there is no direct evidence of what was cooked and eaten at Beleura, there are some clues in letters from early owners. In a letter to his father from Smeaton Hill, James Butchart wrote, "the usual fare of Men and Masters is damper, mutton and tea."¹ While Butchart's early life was rough and no doubt changed when he acquired wealth, the mutton-centred diet was common in Australia, even into the twentieth century. Santich suggests that "lamb has a special place in our hearts (or bellies)."² In 1988 Teow, Wahlquist and Flint reported on an oral history study they conducted with elderly Australians who could remember their eating habits at the turn of the nineteenth century. They concluded from the responses, that with ninety per cent of the non-indigenous inhabitants at that time of British origin, "cooking techniques used were basically British with the baking, stewing, grilling or frying of meat. Vegetables were inevitably plainly boiled or roasted."³ Doyen of British cooking, Marguerite Patten, suggests that "while the cooking may have been good, the family dined on the same dishes week after week."⁴ Monotony may have been the principal characteristic of Victorian-era British fare, largely due from Patten's analysis, to a limited choice of ingredients. There is little reason to think that Beleura would have been much different, although with access to a range of fresh produce, a greater variety of meals would have been theoretically possible.

There are no cookbooks originating from this period in the house. The only documentary evidence of something that may have been cooked at Beleura in the nineteenth century is contained in a letter by the Hon. Mrs Bright, wife of Charles Edward Bright. Mrs Bright was travelling back to Australia by ship after visiting her parents Viscount and Viscountess Canterbury in England, following the conclusion of their vice-regal duties in Melbourne. She was clearly impressed by a dish from the daily seaboard menu prepared by the ship's cook and wrote in a letter to her parents, "We have the most excellent dish called 'Hot Pot' which would be the very thing for luncheons out shooting in the cold weather. It is a kind of twin sister to Irish stew. Mrs Ferguson has given me the recipe which I have no doubt is excellent. It is baked in a tin and then put into a china dish, something after the fashion of a raised pie china dish only this shape."⁵ A sketch of the dish follows in the letter. With the effort taken to record this recipe, one can imagine it being passed on to the Beleura cooks on their return to Mornington. While there were no doubt times when lavish dinners were presented at Beleura, the recording of this recipe suggests that many meals were relatively simple, unpretentious and little different to less opulent homes.

Food at Beleura in the inter-war period of the twentieth century

There are only two cookbooks that have survived from the period between 1916 when Sir George Tallis purchased Beleura and 1948 when John Tallis took over the house: a 1907 edition of *Mrs Beeton's Book of Household Management* and a 1912 edition of Nicolas Soyer's *Soyer's Standard Cookery*. The presence of these two cookbooks tends to confirm the continuation of a predominantly British culinary theme and it is tempting to imagine Beeton's quintessentially Victorian handbook radiating its influence throughout the kitchen areas at Beleura, providing sound advice to the resident cook. In reality we do not know when the text was purchased, but since there are some notes in the text in the handwriting of John Tallis, we know that he made some use of it in more recent times. Whether or not it was used in the inter-war period, Isabella Beeton would certainly have found the cooking practices and appliances at Beleura during this era familiar as well as the layout of the kitchen and associated rooms. They were largely unchanged from the Victorian era apart from the introduction of new appliances such as a Moffat electric stove and a Frigidaire refrigerator.

Being wealthy and well-travelled, the Tallis family would have been expected to follow the latest food trends, but unfortunately there are no detailed accounts of meals cooked at Beleura during this period, apart from a recollection by Sir George and Lady Tallis's daughter Biddy of "superb dinner parties",

1 Letter from Smeaton Hill, 10 December 1843, Extracts from letters of James Butchart covering period 1841–1853, MS BOX 15/7. State Library of Victoria.

2 Barbara Santich, *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 2012), 151.

3 B.H. Teow, M.L. Wahlquist and D.M. Flint. "Food Patterns of Australians at the Turn of the Century," in *Food Habits in Australia - Proceedings of the First Deakin/Sydney Universities Symposium on Australian Nutrition*, 60 (Melbourne: Heinemann Publishers Australia Pty Ltd, 1988).

4 Marguerite Patten, *Marguerite Patten's Century of British Cooking* (London: Grub Street, 1999), 5.

5 Letter written on 28 September 1875. Letters written on-board the S.S. Great Britain from the Honorable Anna- Maria Georgiana Bright to her parents, the Viscount and Viscountess Canterbury, beginning 27 August 1875 and finishing at Beleura on 1 November 1875, MS 12973, BOX 1718/5. State Library of Victoria.

cooked by Marie who apparently was “a wonderful cook, when she was not on it!”¹ Evidently Marie was partial to sherry, sometimes at inappropriate times.² The strongest indication as to the style of food cooked at Beleura for family meals and entertaining during this period can be found in a set of hand-typed recipe cards that are thought to have belonged to Dorothy Tallis.³ Dorothy was the American born wife of Mick Tallis, Sir George and Lady Tallis’s eldest son. After Lady Tallis died in 1933, Dorothy and Mick moved in to Beleura to help run the household. It is quite likely that she passed the cards on to the Beleura cook, as some have hand-written annotations. The cards are very significant because unlike published recipe books which may or may not be used, hand-written or in this case hand-typed recipes, usually indicate a strong intention to cook from them in the future. There are forty three uniform style cards. There are recipes for sauces, cakes, soups, jams, breads, meat dishes, desserts and ice cream. Some of the cards have a distinct American connection with recipes for muffins (American style), waffles, chili sauce, Parker House rolls and griddle cakes. There are also two dinner menus for six people and a menu and table setting for a dinner party with a date given as 21 February 1928. This is the only date given on the cards and a clear indication of approximately when they were collected and used.

While the two undated dinner menus could be samples, the one dated 21 February 1928 is clearly an actual dinner. One of the undated dinner menus includes roast beef, browned potatoes, buttered cauliflower, bread and butter. This is not elaborate fare, but good simple food that could have been found on almost any table at the time and all for a stated cost of \$2.23 for six people. The other undated menu is similar, except with porterhouse steak and spinach, at a total cost of \$2.16. The dated dinner party menu includes veal chops, potato puffs, bread and butter and relish. Once again, this is a simple meal relying on the ever-popular chops, although the use of veal rather than lamb makes it a little different. Vegetables do not rate a mention in this menu, apart from the potato puffs, which have their own recipe on the menu card. We will never know if these simple recipes and menus were ever prepared at Beleura, but the remarkable survival of this set of cards would suggest that they were considered useful and may therefore be representative of food prepared in the household. This may be surprising for a wealthy and privileged family, but it would be in keeping with Sir George’s relatively modest Irish background.⁴

The recipe cards are very much in keeping with the views of English food writer Arabella Boxer, who argues, “The pomposity of the Edwardian meals that dominated the early years of the century was a thing of the past; meals became shorter and more informal, and the dishes themselves more light-hearted. Meals were rarely more than three courses, except for a formal dinner, and a more relaxed attitude became the norm.”⁵ Boxer also proposes two significant outside influences on English food during this period, which initially affected primarily the “moneyed upper classes and the intelligentsia.”⁶ The first influence came from the United States through English men marrying American women, who brought back to England many of their food preferences. The role played by Dorothy Tallis at Beleura suggests that the American influence was not unknown in Australia. The second influence on English food, according to Boxer, came from France particularly through the popular cookbooks and newspaper articles of Marcel Boulestin, who moved to London in 1906 and became the first television chef in 1937.⁷ This influence was also important at Beleura but not until the post World War II years.

Post-war Beleura – a culinary Utopia?

After the death of his father in 1948, John Tallis moved into Beleura and set about building a cultural fortress around himself that on one hand would bring a wonderful coterie of talented artists to the house, but on the other, progressively limit Tallis’s ability to leave. He perpetually worried about managing Beleura, such that in the 1988 family biography he wrote that his move to take over the house “was a momentous decision, and not wholly a wise one.”⁸

1 Michael Tallis, Joan Tallis and Sue Knight, *In Search of the Sun* (Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House, 1988), 124.

2 Tallis, Tallis and Knight, 102.

3 43 hand-typed recipe cards. Beleura House & Garden Collection.

4 Note: Sir George was born in 1869 in Callan, County Kilkenny. He was the youngest of ten children. His parents, John and Sarah ran an off-licence spirit and grocery store. George was a cadet reporter with the Kilkenny Moderator newspaper before travelling to Australia. Michael and Joan Tallis, 10.

5 Arabella Boxer, *Arabella Boxer’s Book of English Food* (London: Fig Tree, 2012), xiii.

6 Boxer, xvi.

7 Boxer, xx.

8 Tallis, Tallis and Knight, 139.

While the majority of live-in staff disappeared from Beleura after Sir George died in 1948, it is doubtful whether John Tallis could have managed to run the property and household successfully without the regular assistance of an assortment of full and part-time housekeepers, cooks and gardeners, many staying for years. Tallis even enlisted help from friends who sometimes cooked and brought pre-prepared food for social gatherings at Beleura. I interviewed Alan Eustace who regularly visited Beleura on weekends during the 1950s and was somehow co-opted into cooking. Eustace modestly suggested that his cooking was the principle reason why he was so welcome at Beleura.¹ Whether or not this was the case, Eustace met Tallis through a common interest in travel, particularly to Italy. He was an enthusiastic, self-taught cook, who had the foresight to keep a notebook with lists of recipes he regularly cooked at Beleura and menus that he prepared for special dinner parties and the people who attended. This notebook is an intriguing time capsule revealing the style of food cooked at Beleura for everyday and special occasions in the early post-war era. The brief hand-written notes paint an incomplete but wonderfully colourful picture of life at Beleura and of food culture in Australia at a time when the society was opening up to a multitude of influences.²

Eustace's notebook reveals a distinctly French style in many menus, consistent with an attitude common in Australia in the 1950s that considered French cuisine to be the pinnacle of culinary practice. An indication of this trend was the proliferation of French restaurants at the time and the success of books written by people such as Elizabeth David and Julia Child about French and Mediterranean food. Many of the cookbooks on the shelves at Beleura, purchased by or given to Tallis, deal with French and Italian cooking. Eustace regularly used two cookbooks as sources for recipes at Beleura. One was by the London-based French chef Marcel Boulestin, *The Best of Boulestin* and the other was *Every Lady's Cookbook* by Miss Lucy Drake, popular cookery teacher at Swinburne College and a favourite of his mother.³ Eustace was also a fan of David's early cookbooks and it is an interesting coincidence that she was also influenced by Boulestin. David's biographer, Artemis Cooper, acknowledges her respect for Boulestin, writing, "She greatly admired the way he wrote about food, and the fresh, simple elegance of his dishes."⁴

Amongst the dishes listed in his notebook are many that would now be regarded as classics, although in the 1950s they would have been quite unusual, recipes such as Minestrone Soup, Paprika Veal, Hungarian Goulash, Veau au Vin, Paupiettes de Veau Clémentine, Boeuf Stroganoff, Filet Rossini, grilled spatchcock, Boeuf à la Mode, Macaroni Bolognese, Cauliflower Polonaise and Strawberries Romanoff. Eustace also lists simpler, everyday recipes such as steak and kidney pie, macaroni, chicken soup, curry and cheesecake.⁵ Eustace told me that Tallis had one enduring demand for his food, "it had to be tasty and it had to be moist".⁶ Tallis could not abide dry or tough meat. Sauces were very important, with Eustace recalling that a roast chicken was usually drowned in gravy for Tallis's benefit.

The notebook also gives menus for a number of dinner parties prepared by Eustace at Beleura, including, as an example, the menu for Tallis's birthday celebration on 15 December 1954. The guests started with leberwurst paté, stuffed olives and anchovies, followed by herring salad. The main course was chicken with pineapple and rum, French beans and finishing with strawberries for dessert. Not all menus are complex; some are intended as Sunday evening, casual buffets. One particularly memorable dinner recorded by Eustace on a separate card inserted in his notebook was a party held at Beleura on 30 January 1959 for Jim Palmer, another member of their social circle. In the manner of most of the more formal dinner party menus in the notebook, it is written in French. Eustace explained that even though neither he nor any of his friends were fluent in French, it seemed appropriate at the time.⁷ This could be seen as a rather self-conscious appeal to sophistication, but it also reflects the high status given to French cuisine at the time. For a group of friends interested in travel it may also have been a reminder of another more exotic world abroad. The menu started with Hors d'Oeuvre Jacques and Paté Beleura,

1 Personal communication with Alan Eustace.

2 Note: I met Alan Eustace in February 2013 and we discussed his experiences at Beleura on several occasions. Very sadly, he died in June 2014 while I was writing this thesis and I am very grateful for these discussions and his notes, as they were crucial to my understanding of food at Beleura during this period.

3 Personal communication with Alan Eustace.

4 Artemis Cooper, Elizabeth David: *Writing at the Kitchen Table* (London: Michael Joseph - Penguin Group, 1999), 46.

5 Food and menu notebook belonging to Alan Eustace. Beleura House & Garden Collection.

6 Personal communication with Alan Eustace.

7 Personal communication with Alan Eustace.

then Mousse de Saumon and Salade de Concombres. Main course was Caneton Coburg with Sauce à l'Orange, accompanied by Pommes Berrichonne and Petits Pois. Dessert was Rhum Baba Pierre. Café noir rounded out the party. No specific recipes are given, but there are several recipes for caneton (duckling) in Elizabeth David's books, which may have been the inspiration for the classic French main course.¹ Wine was also specified for the party, including Seppelts Rutherglen Flor Fino (1953), Mt Pleasant Traminer bin 11 (1952), Mt Pleasant Hermitage bin 22 (1953) and Rhinecastle Port (1930).² The care with which wines were chosen for the party is significant in itself, as this was a time in Melbourne when beer was the beverage of choice and wine consumption was much less common. For this special meal, each guest at the dinner had a place tag with a hand-written menu. Tallis wrote to Eustace after the dinner to express his thanks, "I have never tasted better, and you certainly excelled yourself."³

Eustace was clearly a most capable cook, as he recorded in his diary an elaborate dinner party which he prepared at Beleura on 3 July 1955 for guests including visiting English-Canadian pianist, composer, lyricist and singer, Anna Russell. Russell was famous for her comic and somewhat sacrilegious interpretations of opera, particularly Wagner. The dinner started with oyster cocktail, then chicken consommé. Roast duck with orange and fruit stuffing was the main course with sautéed potatoes, Cauliflower Polonaise, avocado salad and orange in cognac. The dinner concluded with cheese, port and cognac. Unusually, this dinner was served in the formal dining room at Beleura to celebrate its redecoration. Eustace was clearly very pleased with the evening, "It was a hilarious, never to be forgotten dinner party."⁴

Due to increased work responsibilities at the end of the 1950s Eustace was unable to stay at Beleura so frequently. A good example of one of his later menus can be found typed on a sheet of Beleura letterhead, dated 3 November 1960. Tallis had hand-written the guest list for the dinner for eight, which included the renowned Australian violinist and Mornington resident, Dorcas McClean. Eustace continued the French flavor by starting with Quiche Lorraine (with a 1953 Hunter River Margaret Riesling), followed by main course of Poulet Chasseur accompanied by Pommes Florentine, Petits Pois Anglais and Carottes au Beurre (with a 1955 Chateau Longueville Pauillac). Fromage Stilton, Salade and biscuits rosemary was followed by Mousse Rhum au Chocolat (with a Demi Sec Jean Bouchard). This was a menu worthy of one of the popular French restaurants of the day.⁵

One interesting aspect of the dinner party menus and lists of recipes cooked by Eustace at Beleura is the predominance of French cuisine and the relative scarcity of Italian recipes in his repertoire. There are only four recipes in his notebook of Italian origin: Minestrone Soup, Spaghetti Italienne, the inevitable Spaghetti Bolognese and risotto. This is surprising considering the strong affinity that both Eustace and Tallis had with Italian culture and is indicative of the somewhat overwhelming French influence amongst the European culture-focused sector of the Australian population in the 1950s. The cooking style is so different to the simple British cuisine common in the inter-war period that it is tempting to view it as a deliberate construction of an alternate culinary world, a very understandable reaction to the restrictions imposed during the War years. With Tallis's friends regularly travelling overseas, including Tallis himself in 1953, the Beleura cuisine must have been particularly evocative of Europe and a more cultured, sophisticated world than Australia was at that time. A *culinary utopia* would not be too strong a term for the phenomenon.

The Society of Gourmets' *Oh for a Man who Cooks*, published in 1957, is another cookbook on the shelf at Beleura and while it does not have any notes or markings to suggest specific use, its presence hints at another important influence at the time – the concept of the *gourmet*.⁶ The gourmet, invariably male, was a person who aspired to the finer things in life, preferably foreign. Nicola Humble observes, "Men in the late 1950s wanted to be connoisseurs, dinner jacketed, elegant and worldly-wise, like James Bond dining in the Casino Royale."⁷ These were men who definitely had their martinis very dry and shaken not stirred. Early celebrity chefs such as Robert Carrier, or on the local front Graham Kerr and later Don

1 Elizabeth David, *French Provincial Cooking* (London: Grub Street, 2007. Originally published 1960), 409.

2 Food and menu notebook belonging to Alan Eustace.

3 Hand-written letter on Beleura letterhead paper from John Tallis to Alan Eustace, 31 January 1959. Beleura House & Garden Collection.

4 Knight, 234.

5 "Dinner menu, 3 November 1960." Beleura House & Garden Collection.

6 Sigurd Klingenberg, Carlos Zalapa, Frank Keane, John Walker and Ted Moloney. *Oh for a Man Who Cooks*. (Sydney: The Shepherd Press, 1957).

7 Nicola Humble, *Culinary Pleasures: Cookbooks and the Transformation of British Food* (London: Faber and Faber, 2005), 152.

Dunstan, were suitable role models for budding gourmets. The Society of Gourmets was a Sydney based fraternity consisting of Lloyd (Deke) Coleman, Ted Moloney, Carlos Zalapa, Sigurd Klingenberg and John Walker who met once a month to cook and share meals. The book followed their 1952 publication, *Oh for a French Wife*, which conformed to the assumption that gourmet food was inevitably French. The title was inspired by Deke Coleman's wife, who was actually Belgian but had a passion for all things French and was evidently a wonderful cook.¹ *Oh for a Man who Cooks* is significant not just for the role model that it promoted but also for the multicultural quiriness of the recipes. While most recipes have a French flavour, there are also sections featuring recipes from Mexico and Tahiti. Margaret Fulton, who went on to become one of Australia's most popular food writers, was a close associate of members of the Society of Gourmets in the 1950s. In her autobiography she describes a dinner party held by Deke and Louise Coleman who were at the apex of the Society of Gourmets:

After lively conversation over pre-dinner drinks we went into the beautiful dining room: the finest antique Limoge dinner service, French Christofle and old American silver, fine crystal glasses – all the trappings of the cosmopolitan, privileged, moneyed, successful trend-setters were in evidence. I wasn't prepared for our hostess's naturalness or simple charm. We had a clear sparkling consommé, with a simple garnish, fillet of beef with Béarnaise sauce, a French salad and a superb Grand Marnier soufflé for dessert.²

Whether by coincidence or by deliberate imitation, the dinner parties at Beleura have much in common with this description and it is quite likely that the friends who gathered to enjoy the elegant meals prepared by Alan Eustace and served in the grand dining room and other locations in this ornate and stylish house aspired to the lifestyle of the gourmet and saw themselves as highly-cultured style setters in a rather bland 1950s Melbourne. As though to highlight his intention, Tallis renamed the old Victorian kitchen, the *French* kitchen and remodeled it to look more like a Parisian bistro complete with reproduction Orient Express lamps and a striped awning.

This is not to say that meals were always special occasions. Despite the grand architecture and lavish interiors of Beleura, meals were often simple affairs, served in the vestibule, sunroom or one of the kitchens. The grand dining room only came alive for the most formal occasions, when the good silver, china and glassware were used to spectacular effect. Such occasions were often planned weeks in advance. Despite these flourishes, the common opinion of John Tallis was that he was a modest man who was most at ease entertaining small groups of friends. Tallis kept a diary right up until he died and his comprehensive daily jottings together with lists of recipes prepared in the 1990s by his long term housekeeper/cook John Sutherland, demonstrate that in his later life, John Tallis preferred basic meals with only an occasional Italian or French dish as a reminder of earlier times. The culinary utopia would appear to have been short-lived.

Conclusion

Until the 1950s, the limited documentary evidence available suggests that food at Beleura followed the general trend in Australian society, that is, basic British fare heavily leaning towards meat and a limited variety of vegetables. At times it was probably served with considerable style in the Beleura dining room, but mostly it was beguilingly unpretentious. After John Tallis took over Beleura in 1948 he set about Italianizing the house and garden. The daily meals and dinner party menus also noticeably changed, with a strong French influence introduced by his good friend and part-time cook, Alan Eustace. These changes could be viewed as a nostalgic attempt to recreate recent, shared travel experiences. A growing number of cookbook writers publishing popular new books on French cuisine provided ample recipes to support this trend. The grand dining room was the setting for some elaborate dinner parties, but even the casual suppers and lunches held at various locations around the house frequently included French dishes. Beleura in the 1950s was the ideal backdrop for Tallis and his cultured friends to create a cultural haven of music, dance, art and literature. They also indulged in fine food and wine in the European tradition, creating a kind of culinary utopia. This coincided with a culinary awakening in Australia that would become the foundation for a uniquely multicultural Australian cuisine.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In 2011, Iain completed a Le Cordon Bleu Master of Arts in Gastronomy at the University of Adelaide. Iain's research for his thesis was on the work of Sir Cedric Stanton Hicks, physiologist, World War II army rations reformer and founder of the Australian Army Catering Corps. In 2016 he completed a Doctor of Philosophy, again at the University of Adelaide, with the objective of developing a comprehensive culinary history of Beleura, an Italianate mansion built at Mornington, Victoria in 1863. Iain's research considered the technological, cultural and social changes that have influenced Australian cuisine, viewed through the documentary and material evidence available at Beleura. Following his PhD research, Iain is a house guide at Beleura and is now writing a cookbook of recipes and stories related to the house.

Melissa Caldwell

Disruptive foods and new ideals of social justice

ABSTRACT

As emerging technologies have become ever more commonplace in food systems at every level, from personal and intimate activities of cooking and eating to global industrial agriculture and food manufacturing systems, they have created new methods and techniques for growing, preparing, distributing, and disposing of food. In so doing, they have also afforded new possibilities for solving critical food justice concerns about access, equity, safety, and transparency. New digital media allow producers and consumers to track, monitor, and regulate animal welfare and agricultural output, while wearable technology encourages crowd-sourced and crowd-monitored activities of personal health and wellness. Advances in life sciences facilitate the reconstitution of biological and even synthetic materials into new forms of food and food experiences that are less expensive, more ethical, and more accessible to greater numbers of people. Yet even as these new technologies address certain justice issues, they also overlook others, such as how issues of equity, fairness, and freedom might be reworked or even eliminated when digital technologies are entangled with food and food-related practices. These are the issues that are being raised and addressed by a global group of food activists who are focused on disrupting food conventions. These individuals are largely self-organized across diverse settings from established life sciences corporations to start-up labs, and from artistic collectives and scholarly think tanks to informal “hacker labs.” Collectively and individually, these activists focus on the challenges and limits of existing food technologies, with special attention to critical social justice concerns of autonomy, independence, equity, pleasure, and personal responsibility. This paper considers the social justice implications of disruptive foods and disruptive food technologies, with particular focus on competing ideologies across a spectrum of food innovations oriented to rethinking and reworking food systems. Of particular attention are the ways in which these disruptive food projects promote future-oriented ethics of hope, optimism, and emergent possibilities and situate them within social justice initiatives.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Melissa L. Caldwell is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California, Santa Cruz, and Editor of *Gastronomica*. Her ethnographic research in Russia focuses on the political dimensions of food, and she has written on fast food and globalization, food nationalism, culinary tourism, gardening and natural foods, food insecurity, and food relief programs. Her publications include *Dacha Idylls: Living Organically in Russia's Countryside*, *Not by Bread Alone: Social Support in the New Russia*, and the edited volumes *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating*, *Food & Everyday Life in the Postsocialist World*, and *Ethical Eating in the Postsocialist and Socialist Worlds*.

Tania Cammarano

Eat like a “Fascist”: How Australia’s first Italian cookbook imagined culinary utopia

The stereotype of Italian migrants in Australia is of a people who were largely poor, unskilled, uneducated and ghettoized. They didn’t come until after the Second World War and, once they got here, they started their climb to economic security by working in jobs the Australian-born did not want. However, the Italian migrants I want to talk about today did not conform to this stereotype. Not only did they come in the 1920s, well before the wave of post-World War II migration, they were urbane, educated, interested in ideas and, according to the Australian government, fascists.

These men were also responsible for publishing, in 1937, the *First Australian Continental Cookery Book (FACCB)*. At first glance this book appears to be a simple collection of predominantly European recipes, but closer inspection reveals its aim was to convince Australians to cook and eat more like Italians. As such, it can be considered the first Italian cookbook published in Australia. Just why a group of Italian migrants linked with fascism would publish a cookbook is central to my discussion. Did they want Australians to eat like fascists? What does it mean to eat like a fascist anyway?

Today I will discuss ideas and themes that can be seen in the *FACCB* that are related to fascist thought. I will not focus on any one theory of fascism, of which there are many, nor Mussolini’s food policies which were primarily focused on autarky. Instead, I will look at shared themes between fascism and the *FACCB*, specifically their commitment to engineering a utopian future. I will argue, however, that the utopia envisaged by the author of the book is not a particularly fascist one. Instead it is one of acceptance and equality, and one that the author believed could be achieved right here in Australia.

Firstly, it is necessary to understand who the men – and all the evidence suggests they were men – behind the book actually were. Annoyingly, the *FACCB* does not have a credited author, but we do know that it was published by the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company which was made up of a syndicate of politically-minded Italian migrants. The company’s directors came from across the Italian diaspora in Australia, and many of them were prominent in the Italian community. It was established by Filippo Maria Bianchi, who, along with fellow Italian Franco Battistessa, migrated to Australia in 1928, and together they established fascist newspaper *Il Giornale Italiano*. The newspaper pre-dated the founding of the publishing company, and it was in part to ensure continued publication of *Il Giornale Italiano*, which had been disrupted by Australian reaction to Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia in late 1935, that it was formed. At the outbreak of World War II, the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company was forced into liquidation and many of its directors and associates, including Bianchi and Battistessa, were interned.¹

But to what extent did the company want to push a fascist agenda in Australia? A quick look at the two main men behind the company reveals that they believed in fascist ideals but had ambivalent feelings about the form fascism had taken under Mussolini’s regime. A 1943 internment report on Bianchi, for example, revealed that “although having a Fascist history and even now being a firm believer in the Fascist ideals, [he] is undoubtedly anti-Mussolini”.² Battistessa, on the other hand, was a paramilitary blackshirt and had actively participated in Mussolini’s rise to power but by the time he arrived in Australia he was at the forefront of dissident fascism. As editor of *Il Giornale Italiano*, he faithfully toed the Fascist party line from Italy but he was also amongst those who, according to historian Gianfranco Cresciani, “regretted now that the daring and anti-conformist Fascism of those times had been replaced by its law-and-order abiding version”.³

While we do not know who wrote the *FACCB*, Battistessa’s style of writing, his English language skills, his wit and his known passion for Italian food make him, in my eyes, the primary suspect. His belief in the revolutionary power of fascism and his actions to bring about this revolution mark him, and his colleague Bianchi, as “new men”. This is a central myth of fascist ideology. The concept holds that for

1 For a more complete description of the Cosmopolitan Publishing Company see Tania Cammarano, “Food, Fascism and Forward Thinking: Australia’s First Italo-Australian Cookbook,” in *Eat History – Food and Drink in Australia and Beyond*, ed. Sofia Eriksson, Madeleine Hastie, and Tom Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 42–75.

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3 Gianfranco Cresciani, *Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, 1922-1945* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980), 53.

Mussolini to create a new Italy, he needed to re-shape Italians. While various intellectuals, then and now, have argued over what the fascist new man should look like, historian Philip Cannistraro sums him up as “the man of action who devoted his life to making the revolution a ‘living reality’”.¹ Both Bianchi and Battistessa fit this mould. It can be seen with the zeal with which they served the principles of fascism and such revolutionary zeal can also be seen in the pages of their publications, notably in the *FACCB*:

*It is time for Australians to realise, in fact, that what one may call Mediterranean cookery has much to offer them. Italian cookery, for instance, embodies ideas, aims and methods that have not only been ripening for literally thousands of years, but have been doing so under climatic conditions far more closely resembling those of Australia than do the British.*²

Here, the author is calling on Australians to act, don't just be content with the status quo, but realise there are new – and crucially – better ways of doing things. This is in contrast to many contemporary Italian-migrant produced cookbooks in Australia which are steeped in childhood memory and nostalgia for a supposedly simpler family-orientated Italian way of life. This archetypically sentimental version of Italy was despised by fascists as the corruption of a glorious older heritage, in particular the empire of Ancient Rome.

The Italian Fascists found much to admire in the Roman Empire. The author of the *FACCB* shared this sentiment as is made explicit in the continuation of the above quote:

Many of the Italian recipes that figure in our pages may have been already hoary antiques when Lucullus, that famous Roman epicure, was the great gastronomic dictator of the world half a century B.C.

*French cookery is practically an offshoot of the Italian. British cookery, with all its merits, can boast no such illustrious pedigree.*³

So even French cooking, generally held up as the pre-eminent form of culinary achievement, is made subservient to ancient Italian recipes. This reverence for Ancient Rome is not surprising if we consider that, according to Professor Charles Burdett, genuflecting to Ancient Rome was “the symbolic language of Fascism”. He argues that journalistic writing in Fascist Italy presented the regime “as having recovered the powerful utopia of the ancient past”.⁴

The need to decisively return to uncorrupted basic principles, quite literally the idea of revolution, was fundamental to Italian Fascism. Political theorist Roger Griffin described it as the myth of national rebirth, where there must be a break with the recent past in order to create a glorious future.⁵ This is clearly visible in the *FACCB*:

*Not, for a moment, that the latter [British cookery] has no merits, but that so many of its good points are unsuitable, or only half-suited, to Australian conditions.*⁶

And:

*Too many Australians of British stock [have been] over-faithful to the footsteps of their fathers.*⁷

Stop eating like the British, the author says, although in a very gentle way, with no doubt an eye to local sensibilities. Although elsewhere in the book the author's contempt for some areas of Anglo Australian cookery cannot be contained, for example when he describes “the way in which peas and beans are ruined in Australian kitchens amounts to real sacrilege”.⁸

Once the past has been broken with then something better can be ushered in:

*Let us try, here, to do our modest best towards encouraging the opening of a new and better chapter in the history of Australian cookery. Surely the time is ripe for such a move!*⁹

1 Philip V. Cannistraro, “Mussolini's Cultural Revolution: Fascist or Nationalist?,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 7, no. 3/4 (1972): 131.

2 *First Australian Continental Cookery Book* (Melbourne: Cosmopolitan Publishing Co. Limited, 1937), 2.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Charles Burdett, “Italian Fascism and Utopia,” *History of the Human Sciences* 16, no. 1 (2003): 93.

5 Roger Griffin, “The Sacred Synthesis: The Ideological Cohesion of Fascist Cultural Policy,” *Modern Italy* 3, no. 1 (1998): 5–23.

6 *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 2.

7 *Ibid.*, 163.

8 *Ibid.*, 164.

9 *Ibid.*, 165.

This injunction reads like a political manifesto. The author believes cooking is not just something to be confined to the private and generally female domestic sphere, but rather is integral to the fabric of national life and the public good. It shows the men behind the book weren't trying to recreate a taste of home for themselves and their own community, while otherwise trying to fit in with Australian society. Instead these men were interested in creating and promoting a new and better food culture which they believed was suitable for all Australians. In short, they wanted to bring about a culinary revolution. While the early fascists created revolution by violence, these men attempted to usher in radical change by appealing to logic and reason.

This is not to say the *FACCB* promotes the type of cultural chauvinism that we might expect of fascism. Even if primarily Italian, the book has a cosmopolitan approach that is at odds with Mussolini's policy of cultural autarky and the xenophobia which became hallmarks of his regime. However, what is often forgotten in regards to the Italian Fascist regime is that in its early years, it welcomed foreign influence. According to Ruth Ben-Ghiat, Italian Fascists initially had a policy of "purposeful 'openness'" and would happily co-opt foreign ideas if it suited their needs. However, this policy of openness changed with the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, and as the need and desire for economic autarky grew, cultural autarky became the goal.¹ It is worth noting that this policy change occurred well after the men who were later to publish the *FACCB* had left Italian shores. In any case, the *FACCB* demonstrates its cultural openness by including recipes from 21 different culinary traditions and praising many of them effusively. This shows a commitment to presenting a food culture that was most suitable for Australia, not just an emulation of Italian culinary practices.

Another common thread shared by fascism and the *FACCB* is that they are both seeking a utopian future. Sociologist Ruth Levitas defines utopia as "the expression of the desire for a better way of being".² The *FACCB* is clearly the expression of a desire for Australians to eat well, which in the opinion of the author, is as essential to a civilised life as literature or the visual arts. In fact, the book is a celebration of the civilizational importance of gastronomy, for cooking "can proudly claim to be at once the oldest of arts and the youngest of sciences."³ However, the author did not believe culinary utopia need be in Italy or even wholly Italian in nature, he saw its promise right here in Australia. This can be seen in the many references to the excellent nature of Australian produce and climate:

*...no other country in the world offers better opportunities for vegetable-production and appreciation, whether as regards quality, quantity, or variety, than does this Commonwealth.*⁴

*No country in the world is better qualified than Australia to win lucrative and healthful results from fish.*⁵

And the author even predicted the success of the Australian wine industry:

*In Australia, if it (the wine industry) did not start so soon, it will certainly live as long. We claim this, in fact, for one of the chief merits of our book, that it should bring into something like its right perspective a healthful, remunerative, open-air industry destined to grow so vigorously during the coming years.*⁶

For such a utopia to come into being, however, what's needed is for Australians to apply the cooking techniques of the people that know how to make the best use of wonderful natural ingredients from a mostly sunny climate – Italians, of course!

But returning to Levitas' definition of utopia, I'd like to expand on it:

*And it reminds us that, whatever we think of particular utopias, we learn a lot about the experience of living under any set of conditions by reflection upon the desires which those conditions generate and yet leave unfulfilled. For that is the space which utopia occurs.*⁷

During this conference I have heard many speakers reflect on this and, from a historical perspective, it provides a really useful way to think about utopian literature. It forces us to ask the question of what

1 Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press, 2001), 135.

2 Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia* (Witney, Oxfordshire: Peter Lang, 2011), 9.

3 *First Australian Continental Cookery Book*, 1.

4 *Ibid.*, 163.

5 *Ibid.*, 31.

6 *Ibid.*, 293.

7 Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 9.

else was happening in the lives of the men behind the *FACCB* that compelled them to envision their version of utopia?

It is entirely possible that they felt discriminated against or at least sensed some of their host country's hostility to non-British migrants. A cartoon in Brisbane's *Truth* newspaper published in the 1930s depicted an Italian as dark, aggressive, and angry.¹ By the mid-1930s anti-Italian sentiment would've been on the rise, especially on the sugarcane plantations of Queensland and minefields of WA, where there was fear that Italian labour would take Australian jobs. This anti-Italian feeling could also explain a number of mysteries about the *FACCB*, including why it is called a continental cookbook, rather than an Italian one, why the Italian author remained anonymous, and why no Italian is used in any of the recipe names – for example lasagne with pesto is called “Genoese Ribbon-Macaroni” and pizza is simply “A Neapolitan recipe”.² Admittedly all of these “mysteries” could also be explained as the author simply trying to make the book more accessible to the average Australian reader.

What I believe is clear, however, is that the author felt that Australians did not sufficiently value Italians, their history and their culture. Take, for example, this quote which is ostensibly about the inability of Australians to cook vegetables:

One opposing factor still at work is the prejudice against everything “foreign”, and one forgets or overlooks that the use of certain vegetables in certain “foreign” countries has been the result of centuries and centuries of experience and civilisation.³

Now imagine it said “Italian” rather than foreign and think beyond vegetable cooking advice – this is what I think the authors are trying to say:

*One opposing factor still at work is the prejudice against everything **Italian**, one forgets or overlooks that **Italian culture** has been the result of centuries and centuries of experience and civilisation.*

The utopia the cookbook's author imagined is one where the knowledge, experience and attributes of Italians are appreciated and valued. It is one where the raw produce of Australia, a Garden of Eden in a way, meets centuries of culinary refinement which happens to be well suited to the climate – surely the best of all possible worlds.

In conclusion, the men behind the *FACCB* didn't want to quietly assimilate into Australian society, nor did they want to operate in their own “Little Italys”, they actually wanted to change Australia. To make the case they did not paint themselves as nostalgic for the foods of home or appeal on the basis of novelty, the common way foreign food was presented in this period. Instead, they appealed to logic and reason and, as we can see in this quote, common sense:

*It is only **common sense**, then, for Australians to avail themselves of what, in the very nature of things, must offer them most valuable and interesting examples of food preparation. To ignore such a mine of information is not merely to confess, but to cherish, one's own ignorance.⁴*

They did not advocate that Australians should follow the Italian Fascists in their attempt to create culinary autarky and, as such, the *FACCB* is not a blueprint for a fascist diet. It is, however, an idealistic attempt by educated men to guide a nation out of a mono-cultural culinary cul-de-sac that employs the early fascist openness of co-opting the best of foreign thinking and techniques for a national purpose.

These men had a vision for their new country and a confidence about playing their part in bringing it about. It wasn't to be, whether that was because of historical circumstances or simply that they were men before their time. In fact, it is only in recent decades that culinary cosmopolitanism they imagined for Australia has, to some extent, come into being.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Tania Gammarano is a PhD student at the University of Adelaide who is researching the history of

1 Cartoon reproduced in Gianfranco Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia* (Sydney: Knockmore Enterprises, 1988), 164–65.

2 First Australian Continental Cookery Book, 96, 269.

3 Ibid., 164.

4 Ibid., 2.

Italian food and foodways in Australia. She has a Masters degree in Gastronomy and has presented papers on different historical aspects of Italian food at conferences in both Italy and Australia. Prior to embarking on an academic career, she wrote about food for News Limited and AAP, amongst others. She was also the founding editor of food and recipe website, taste.com.au. She has taught food writing at the University of Adelaide, and is currently teaching in the Higher Education program at William Angliss Institute.

Emily Carter

The role of hospitality during the Automation Revolution

ABSTRACT

This presentation will provide a brief historical context before exploring the changing role of hospitality in the context of modern technological advances. As we progress rapidly into the Automation Revolution, societal and workplace roles as we know them will go through upheaval, reimagining, and restructuring. This provides a framework in which hospitality and in particular, the service of food, has the opportunity to undergo a kind of renaissance – a re-assessment of purpose, economic value, and social function, in line with evolving social morality and beliefs.

As more and more jobs are automated, human endeavours will be channelled into roles which require the human element – creativity or face to face contact – including hospitality. The time is now for the industry to consciously shape the way we want society to view and value food-related services. If automation allows for greater process efficiency and increased profits, there is opportunity for the re-valuation of the remaining labour-intensive services, provided those services also meet the psychological and emotional needs of the general public. These changes are already upon us and it is speculated that the automation of the workplace could be completed in as little as 15 years, completely reshaping the typical workplace model that we have carried since the industrial revolution and right through the technology age.

Finally, we look at what the optimal future could be for the food and hospitality industry, provided that the automation revolution and information age advancements are leveraged to provide the greatest value back to society, despite a somewhat dystopian risk of increased class divides.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Emily is a communications professional and lover of food who believes that gastronomy is the glue that holds society together, the straightest path to our emotions and values, and the one of the greatest tools for leveraging social change. With a background that includes workplace culture & wellbeing, restaurant promotion, and market analytics, she has a fascination with what makes societies tick. Emily currently works for Pinnacle People, the largest hospitality recruiter and staffing agency in Australia, reviewing social and industry trends. She is also the 2016 recipient of the Industry Professional Scholarship for Le Cordon Bleu Master of Gastronomic Tourism.

Susie Chant

The effect of marketing on historical perceptions of local foods in Australia

My PhD investigated the history and evolution of the concept of 'local food' in Australia from the late 18th to the early 21st century. I did this by examining the meanings attached to and conveyed by local foods within their social-historical context. I argued that a preference for local food did exist in the post-1788 environment and I supported this argument with the identification of various factors that were responsible for distinguishing local foods in Australia, including government intervention, marketing and industrialisation.¹ Firstly, in relation to government intervention, policies around food were initially focused on rations and the establishment of a sustainable food supply. As food quantity increased, policies turned to issues of quality and purity, then food production, linking local foods with nation building. The rationale for food policies was often as much social as economic, for example family farms promoted the traits of hard work and thrift in order to raise the moral tone of the colonies. From the late 1800s, agricultural policy focused on production maximisation, while food policy focused on dietary improvement. In the 1900s, protectionism was viewed as the basis for nation building, due to the shifting of consumer expenditure away from imported foods to local foods.²

Secondly, industrialisation served to change the face of local foods from small-scale products, produced up until the late 1800s, to large-scale, highly industrialised, branded products, which appealed to consumers due to their supposed safety, convenience and low cost, and because they represented social progress and the advancement of Australia. The impact on local foods in Australia was significant, resulting in increased production and population growth in urban areas. It also resulted in the appearance of iconic Australian specialties and the emergence of a commercial marketplace with strongly identifiable, branded products, and was instrumental in shaping the food culture of Australia. In fact, technology, packaging and processing were all symbolic of progress, civilisation, efficiency and liberation.³

Thirdly, by the late 1800s, household consumption had become a subject worthy of attention and literacy, so local distinctiveness as a marketing feature was evident in terms of what local foods were offering and communicating to consumers. This was reflected through the use of popular cultural themes like austerity, refinement, food security, patriotism, nationalism and independence. Campaigns promoting locally produced foods also encouraged Australians to view eating certain products as their moral duty.⁴

One of these campaigns was what was known as The Great White Train, launched in 1924 by the Australian Made Preference League, to promote Australian made food products by appealing to patriotism. The League's aim was to counter the popularity of imported goods at the time and promote the demand for locally made products, creating employment and encouraging a class of skilled artisans. In general, local industry was encouraged to produce goods that were new, original and reflective of the culture at the time.⁵

The Empire Marketing Board's campaign followed the Australian Made Preference League in 1926 and was a compelling example of how aspirational narrative was employed to stimulate trade between nations, through the creation of a psychological background that linked empire producers and consumers in order to increase consumer demand for empire products. Australians were being encouraged to view eating certain products as their moral duty. The Board managed to change the definition of what Australians considered 'local'. Throughout Australia's earlier periods of settlement, definitions of local ranged from the direct point of production or consumption, to state-based references of regional specialties from the 1830s, to national branding from the 1880s onwards, first reflected by trademarks referencing 'Australia' or using Australian symbolism. The Empire Marketing

1 Chant, Susan M. A History of Local Food in Australia 1788-2015. PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide, 2016. <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/99519/2/02whole.pdf> Accessed 24 February 2017.

2 Chant, 2016: 47-91.

3 Chant, 2016: 47-91.

4 Chant, 2016: 47-91.

5 Official Souvenir, Australian-Made Preference League (Sydney: Australian Made Preference League, 1926).

Board (EMB) signified the widespread adoption of ‘empire’ as local.¹

The message the EMB conveyed was that fruit from Australia or tea from India wasn’t foreign; such foods were considered local because they were imperial. In purchasing these products, the consumer was persuaded that they were consuming the products of their own garden. Local food was embedded with meanings for consumers that related not just to origin, but to ethical consumption. Thus consumers were supporting their fellow empire producers by ‘doing the right thing’. Australia’s primary produce, namely apples, pears and dried fruits, were targeted as major British imports, signalled by elaborate displays in the retail sphere. Sometimes Australian products were even advertised in Britain by the Australian Joint Publicity Department as “All British product[s]” rather than products of empire.² Dominion identity appeared most commonly associated with food from farms, and only very rarely was it associated with other primary produce, although forestry and fishing were exceptions. Empire was idealised as a potentially self-sufficient, reciprocal system of trade, a competitor to the emerging powers of the United States and Germany.

Dominion primary production was considered ‘local’ and can be seen displayed in posters of Australian commodities such as wool, dairying, meat production and fruit, which were all familiar products of ‘home’ farms from Britain. The marketing imagery also softened the often harsh edges of diverse dominion landscapes to make them more like ‘home’. In Australia, orchard scenes prevailed over hot and dry outback settings, and the harsh landscapes associated with wheat production became romanticised pastures. The poster campaigns were well disseminated in the colonies and taken up with enthusiasm, achieving greater and more lasting prominence there than they did in Britain. In fact, demand exceeded supply in Australia. In Sydney, thousands of posters were distributed, appearing in railway stations and on retail store windows, with EMB imagery most evident during ‘Empire Shopping Weeks’, which began as early as 1911 and continued right up until 1952.³ The posters are historically significant not only as early examples of modern public relations and consumer marketing campaigns, but also because of their aesthetic and artistic qualities. Commissions paid to artists were as much as £300 for a full set of five posters in an era when £700 would buy a three bedroom semi-detached house on the outskirts of London. The posters are large and visually stunning, created by some of the most famous artists of the time. As such, they represent unique examples of industrial art from the late 1920s and the early 1930s.

Although the posters varied considerably in style, they collectively romanticised ‘local’ food, along with hard work, bountiful fields, busy factories and crowded shops, with maps being a favoured theme. MacDonald Gill’s *Highways of Empire* earned him £157 as well as boosting his reputation.⁴ Because of their prevalence, EMB images reflected a much broader definition of local, extending well beyond the national branding of ‘Australian made’. Gill’s map was of the ocean highways that linked the empire to Britain, promoting a very literal sense of local. It featured an unusual spherical projection and a style reminiscent of renaissance cartography, including stars in the night sky, cherubs blowing wind, ships sailing the world’s oceans, scrolled annotations, the use of Latin, borders embellished with wildlife, and bold use of colour alongside strong curved lines, giving it a contemporary Art Deco appeal. The map actually caused many passers-by to hesitate a few moments and “seriously contemplate imperial matters.”⁵ The Board was so inundated by requests from schools for the map that several additional print runs were ordered. Even two years after it was issued, public demand for the map still exceeded the Board’s supply. In one 1929 exhibition, 26,000 copies were ready for handout, but 100,000 visitors mobbed the display, knocked down the rails, and caused the Board to close its booth. The public also heavily endorsed other poster maps, which school teachers described as a “*wonderful help both in Geography and History lessons; admirable for illustrating school geography; and a splendid means of showing our boys the links of Empire*”.⁶

The posters that attracted the most attention were produced in multiple sets and displayed in the

1 Chant, 2016: 76–83.

2 ‘Advertising Australian butter’, *Gippsland Times*, 14 March 1927: 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/62607181?searchTerm=Advertising%20Australian%20Butter&searchLimits=-state=Victoria||||-title=108>. Accessed 24 February 2017.

3 ‘Empire Shopping week’, National Library of Australia, Trove, Digitised newspapers and more, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/result?q=%22empire+shopping+week%22&sortby=dateAsc>. Accessed 24 February 2017.

4 J. S. Murray, ‘Projecting the Empire’, *Fine Books and Collections* (OP Media, 2014), <http://www.finebooksmagazine.com/issue/1002/empire-1.phtml>. Accessed 24 February 2017.

5 Murray, 2014.

6 Murray, 2014.

Board's own frames, of which 17,000 were set up in public areas across Britain, Canada and Australia. The frames were organised into five panels and the two smaller panels frequently carried cheaper letterpress messages that linked the three large lithographed posters together into a common theme. Often the centre panel in the display was a map that conveyed relevant information about Empire trade. The posters were changed every three weeks (in some cases every week) to keep them in the public eye as much as possible.

The Christmas campaign in particular became a vehicle for slogans that promoted local food in a way that represented the unity of empire, notably in the form of an empire Christmas pudding. The 'King's Empire' Christmas pudding recipe, an EMB creation which featured 'local' ingredients from across the empire, became "the most famous recipe in the world" at the time.¹ A column in the *Sydney Morning Herald* declared: "At Christmas time we can have our plum puddings made entirely from Empire ingredients, according to the recipe which has been supplied by the King's own chef, Monsieur Cedard, and which is sent out to any housewife who applies for it to the EMB."² Empire products were embedded with ethical meanings that related to patriotism and consumption, and shoppers were encouraged to perceive the empire as an ethical and interconnected concern. The Board's construction of a geographical family was a significant component of the campaign imagery and was responsible for shaping the public's ethical disposition towards the empire.

Despite the success of the well-received advertising campaign, by 1933 the British Parliament closed the EMB. The 7-year campaign produced more than 800 different poster designs. Moreover, the EMB's legacy had single-handedly changed the consumption preferences of empire consumers:

It is to the housewife that the Empire Marketing Board makes a specially direct appeal. Five years ago women did not know much about Empire products. They went into a shop and bought their meat and vegetables and groceries, and never bothered to ask whether they came from Imperial markets or from foreign countries. It simply never occurred to them. But now they ask straight away for Empire produce, and woe betide the shopman who cannot provide New Zealand meat and butter, Australian wines and jams, South African fruits, or other Empire products. We know all about them now, and it is quite useless for the shop people to tell us that such and such a thing is out of season or unprocurable. Nonsense, we say, and to confute them we can produce the books which the Empire Marketing Board have thoughtfully provided to help us in our shopping. First comes the calendar of fruits and vegetables of Empire, which tells what fruits and vegetables are procurable from the Empire, and at what times of the year they are to be had in the shops. Then there is the book of Empire dinners, which gives two menus to each month of the year, the recipes being made up of Empire ingredients normally available at that season...."³

In summary, my findings are that attention to local food is not a new phenomenon. On the contrary, my research has shown that the term 'local' served as a proxy for a vast array of cultural values and moral tenets. These were drawn from contextual economic forces and ideological dynamics that changed over time and were historically determined. Therefore, the concept of local can be defined as an historical concept since it can be read and understood as a concept deeply shaped by the unfolding of historical circumstances. The evolution of concepts of local food in the Australian context illustrates the extent to which different historical settings are able to inform and inspire different and sometimes antithetic concepts of local. For example, at various points in time, 'local' was a synonym for concepts such as 'necessary', 'independence', 'progress', 'refinement', 'national', 'industrial', 'patriotic' and 'Empire'. These concepts were culturally determined by the prevalent group or socio-political entity with which consumers and producers at the time identified, and sometimes opposing concepts existed concurrently. An example of this is the rise of nationalism in the period before and after Federation, which heralded the use of origin in labelling and branding for the first time, when the word Australia or the use of Australian symbolism first appeared, thus associating local food with independence, however around the same time, Empire foods were marketed as local, associating local food with *interdependence*.⁴

1 Kaori O'Connor, 'The King's Christmas pudding: Globalization, recipes and the commodities of empire', *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009): 127–155.

2 *Sydney Morning Herald*, Tuesday 9 April 1929: 13

3 'Empire Marketing Board', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, April 9 1929, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/16544689?searchTerm=empire%20marketing%20board&searchLimits=l-state=New+South+Wales||l-title=35>. Accessed 24 February 2017.

4 Chant, 2016: 134–137.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Susie Chant is Academic Manager for Le Cordon Bleu in Adelaide, where her focus is in the area of food entrepreneurship and food ethics. Susie recently completed her PhD titled *The History of Local Food in Australia 1788-2015*, and has a Masters in Gastronomy, a Masters in Entrepreneurship and Innovation, and is an award winning chef. She has owned and operated many successful hospitality businesses in South Australia and also teaches in the areas of food entrepreneurship, innovation and creativity, and ethics and cultural aspects of entrepreneurship.

Nan Chen

Dutch Utopia: Imagined, Realized and Subverted in Paintings of Food

ABSTRACT

Holland is not often considered as utopian when it comes to food. Yet food has been central to Dutch visions of utopia and its moral foundations. This paper reviews paintings from the middle age to the Golden Age, to show that food and utopia have long been interdependent in Dutch culture.

Dutch painters have pioneered the art of documenting the way people ate and aspired to eat. But their imaginary feasts and meticulous still life painting contained carefully coded metaphors for the moral foundations of utopias and the dystopias of lives led without such foundations.

In his triptych painting “The Garden of Earthly Delights” Hieronymus Bosch depicts a utopia, in which humans pick giant berries and cuddle together inside a glass vessel, eat fresh seafood, and use crustaceans as carriages and giant festive hats. In a time where religion exacerbated eschatological anxiety, such utopian vision brings hope and desire. Yet those giving in to earthly desire are represented as gluttons going straight to hell.

In the 17th Century, Holland became a center of trade and art. Food from all corners of the world was abundant. Countless still life and genre paintings of the period recorded a realized utopia known as the Golden Age. Here celebrated were cornucopias of fruit and vegetables, fresh meat, game and fish prepared on pewter plates, cheese on fine blue Chinese porcelain, Venetian sweets, fruit pates and berry pies. Gastronomic delights rendered in almost photographic realism, make one’s mouth water. Damascus tablecloths, colorful oriental carpets and exquisite Brugge lace made the most envious backdrops. Even family meals of herring, bread and beer were depicted as simple, wholesome, utopian.

Yet these paintings are also of nature & death; a reminder that celebrating utopia relies on a consciousness of its very transience. The menace of famine in Van Gogh’s “The Potato Eaters” has the same intent, but offers a dystopia to help us to reflect on the good that is in our lives.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Nan Chen is a food writer and cook, who writes about food history and art, as well as cross culture understanding through food and cooking. She is a former food columnist of *The New York Times* (China), currently contributing to *The Financial Times* (China) as food columnist. Her first book on food history and recipes will be published in June, 2016. She lives in Paris with her family.

Lilly Cleary

From oxen to oxymora: convergences and contradictions in present-day visions of utopia

ABSTRACT

In her presentation to the 11th Symposium of Gastronomy, held in Hobart 1999, Gay Bilson interpreted the nominated theme – the Pursuit of Happiness from Colony to Republic – in terms of Utopian ideals. Anticipating the turning millennium, it seemed likely to her that upheavals caused by globalism, new technologies and the push for republicanism would ‘produce a plethora of new utopian ideas and essays’ intent on articulating solutions to existing social and economic problems – for surely, ‘utopias are by nature commentaries on present societies’ (Bilson, 1999). Sadly, as history indicates, the republic is no longer immanent, and despite some interjections, discourses of utopianism continue to be conceived as ‘hopelessly’ focused on reaching ‘far-off goals in a distant future where all our problems will finally be solved’ (Massumi, 2002). In keeping with the theme of this year’s symposium, this paper seeks to retrieve the arguments so carefully developed by Gay as she sought to weave together the seminal texts of Charles Fourier and Michael Symons, with a side-servicing of Roland Barthes. Her objective was not to explain each, but to illuminate their convergences; a shared conviction in gastronomic pleasures as pivotal to creating a better society, girded by a shared passion for systematic organisation and a tendency to proselytise. Similarly, this paper seeks to illuminate what I suggest are related, yet unrecognised, present day convergences (and contradictions) for present-day utopias – in this instance, the interwoven narratives of moral economy, a crisis of trust, and strategies for social change.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Lilly Cleary teaches in the Bachelor of Food Studies and Master of Food Systems and Gastronomy at William Angliss Institute where she played a critical role on the food studies curriculum development team. She has also taught at the postgraduate level at the University of Melbourne. She graduated from the Master of Gastronomy at the University of Adelaide (2004) and recently completed her PhD at the University of Melbourne where she examined ideas of trust in alternative food networks.

Kim Connor

Feeding the Confined: The Reality of Institutional Diet at Hyde Park Barracks

ABSTRACT

From the 1780s reformers like Jeremy Bentham advocated the social utility of institutions (such as prisons, workhouses, asylums and schools) as sites of control and reform where the lower classes could be moulded into moral and productive citizens. These sites could be considered capitalist “utopias”, in the sense that they were built on ideologies of constructing a perfect work force and an ordered society. This paper will explore the ways in which Australian institutions used food to express these ideas, particularly as a medium of social control.

As a case study, this paper will focus on the World Heritage listed site Hyde Park Barracks. The Barracks is one of Sydney’s iconic buildings, but also plays an important role in the institutional and bureaucratic history of the city. Commissioned by Governor Macquarie, the main building housed male convicts from 1819 until 1848 when it was turned over to the Female Immigration Depot, and later also the Destitute Asylum.

Material excavated from inside and around the main building, as well as material discovered beneath the floorboards during renovations in the early 1980s forms the basis of this study. Using archaeozoological techniques the historic animal bones have been analysed to shed light on the lives and experience of the inmates, and to re-evaluate the historical documents.

These three institutions (the convict barracks, immigration depot, and destitute asylum), housed in the same building at different points in time, were very different in terms of their aims and their inmates. Nevertheless, the archaeological and historical evidence suggests that throughout the building’s institutional occupation food was an important locus of power.

In spaces where the authorities could shape and condition the working classes, the inmates’ diet became a reflection of ruling class imaginaries for what the labouring masses should eat, and by extension how they should behave. They were driven by three competing but desires: food must be as cheap as possible to produce, but sufficient for health, and at times labour, as well as plain enough to deter others from entering the institution. The archaeological evidence is uniquely placed to highlight the strategies which inmates used to resist the regulations imposed upon their food, and their lives.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Kim Connor is an Honours student in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Sydney. Her Honours thesis is a faunal study of the archaeological material of Hyde Park Barracks. Her interests include the archaeology of food, culinary history and the intersection of gender and early capitalism. She is also the author of the food history blog *Turnspit & Table*.

Moya Costello

Utopia is up the road and toward the past: young winemakers return to ancient methods

My discipline is creative writing and I teach food and wine writing, and write about food and wine, among other things. I currently live on the far north coast of New South Wales, Australia: Byron Bay might be a recognisable place name as a highly desirable tourist destination, and that's the geographical area I'm mainly talking about, particularly the hinterland, inland from the coast. However, I lived in Adelaide, South Australia, arguably Australia's central home of wine-making, for over twenty years. When I moved interstate for work, I found myself in a biodiverse (rainforest, subtropical) region, outside of the main cities, characterised by good soil, long hours of sunlight and high rainfall. But I looked around for local wine, and it wasn't, with one exception, in the immediate vicinity. The humidity facilitates fungus and mould growth, making wine grape-growing very limited in success.

But just up the road from where I live, in the village of Clunes, is the post office, general store, café, semi plant-nursery, bottle shop, cellar, and next-door hairdresser, all on the main road between Lismore, Bangalow and Byron Bay. These businesses are currently run by members of the enterprising Dixon family who have made them the village centre, and who make a feature of selling local produce. The bottle shop and cellar, the latter now moved to just outside the village, are managed by the son, Jared Dixon.

Jared Dixon, and his alumnus mate from Charles Sturt University, the original home of vintner education in Australia, Daniel Graham, currently based in the Barossa, South Australia, are emerging (to use a term deployed in Australia for artists of all kinds with first notable public works) Australian winemakers experimenting with wild ferment, largely discarding filtering and fining, and a 'cork and wax revolution' (they toyed with the idea of calling themselves that). These three specific methods – wild ferment, nonfiltering/nonfining, and bottling with cork and wax – complement Dixon and Graham's genuine commitment to the natural, organic and, where possible, sustainable. In relation to the latter, Dixon, however, often uses imported heavy French bottles, but this is about distinctive identity, specific aesthetics and acknowledging history. Dixon's and Graham's methods are based in a true *jouissant* celebration of the singular pleasures of wine, ancient in origin.

Natural and organic are now considered critical for our biosphere's survival. However, at the three-year-old 2016 Rootstock, Sydney, Australia, wine festival for promoting sustainable farming in food and wine production, with no or little additions in winemaking, the unfining/unfiltered wines – or 'cloudy orange' as Australian wine critic Max Allen has described them – were considered, in a personal conversation I had with a very small sample of crowd members, to be only the latest fashion, garnering a following because of being a trend. And 'hipsters', or trend-setters/followers, were present in numbers at the festival, with the obligatory short beards and moustaches, long-sleeved check shirts, skinny-legged chinos and sockless lace-up shoes.

As young, independent winemakers, particularly without ownership of a vineyard, Dixon and Graham are practical creatives – they work with what is at hand. But like the contemporary hipster phenomenon – and Rootstock was replete with consuming hipsters – what is attractive about a return to the past is that it's a phenomenon of embellished reinvention, not simple repetition.

A one-man, hand-made operation is Dixon and Graham's labour-intensive style, from picking grapes, to pressing them, and then impressing bottles with labels, designed by friends or close associates either in the village or further afield. Dixon and Graham's respective labels, Jilly and Sigurd, are named from particulars of their individual family histories. Dixon's paternal grandfather had a lost love, Jilly, a maid below his station (think a more lamentable Demelza, though from the north, Cumbria, *not* making it with the southern Cornwall Poldark). Sigurd is a mythic hero from a Norse saga: Graham had a maternal Norse grandfather who came to Australia seeking a new world.

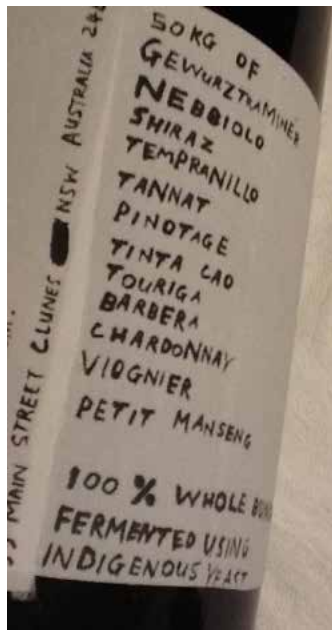
But in an acknowledgement of their *amour du vin français*, in the varied co-development of their wine labels, their current dual label is, in typical Australian larrakin style, Sud de Frank, meaning, for them,

Frank, an imagined character, is from Australia which is south of France, the bottle completed, in comedic irony, with the French flag colours on its bottle cap.



Sud de Frank, from Jared Dixon and Dan Graham, 2016 Moya Costello

Both individual labels, Jilly and Sigurd, feature actual handwriting or its typeface representation.



A hand-written back label on the 2016 Jilly Field Blend, 2016 Moya Costello

The hand-made ‘signature’ of the wines underpins the artisan profile of the winemaking, which includes numbered bottles filled with wine made from grapes that are ‘at hand’. Dixon’s wines have also featured cloth labels of a hessian or denim lookalike, relating to work in the vineyard.

While Dan Graham is located in the traditional home of Australian winemaking, the Barossa Valley in South Australia, Dixon is unique, in that, with some exceptions, he makes his Jilly wines in the subtropics. Surprisingly, there is a wine zone in Australia labelled the Northern Rivers, because of the Hastings Valley Wine Region, the zone’s only region, further down on the North Coast, centred on Port Macquarie and the Hasting River, around 400 kilometres from Clunes. The only grape really grown in the Northern Rivers Zone with any consistent success is Chambourcin, with its tough skin, and it

features heavily in most of the wineries in the zone. Imogen Wines, owned by Douglas and Christine Kesteven, for example, deep in the Northern Rivers itself at Whian Whian, make Chambourcin successfully.

So for the Northern Rivers Wine Zone, the beginning point of the boundary is located at the intersection of the Queensland/New South Wales border with the north-western boundary inland 89 kms from the coast, around Kyogle, and the eastern border going down to the central coast and Maitland just above Newcastle. This does not exactly map on to what is seen as the Northern Rivers via the local government area or geographically. But if you think of the Adelaide Super zone, it includes regions as far apart as the Barossa and Kangaroo Island. The advertisement below, outside a bottle shop in the coastal town of South West Rocks, 82.7 kms from Port Macquarie, illustrates thinking ‘local’, with the Cassegrain label from the port.



Sign at a bottle shop in the Northern Rivers Wine Zone, 2016 Moya Costello

If we were to think locally, we have to then include the Northern Slopes and the Granite Belt just over the border in Queensland. So, New England is a wine region in the Northern Slopes Zone. It is just above the Northern Rivers Zone but inland. And of course grape-growing conditions are different because of higher altitudes. Mark Kirkby, the viticulturist of New England’s Topper’s Mountain, sells grapes to Dixon. The ancient, volcanic red soil is suited to Dixon’s favourite grapes, Nebbiolo and Tempranillo, and Dixon says that New England is perfect for wild ferment, as there is an abundance of wild yeast. But another favourite for Dixon, for example, is the Chablis-style Chardonnay from Western Australia, where he used to work, at Houghton’s winery. But he transported the Chardonnay across the continent, from the Indian to the Pacific Ocean, west to east. Graham has worked for the large commercial enterprise of Yellowtail, but also for the smaller Hope Estate, Hunter Valley.

Dixon and Graham’s enthusiasm and commitment to wine’s history and aesthetics, and their need to source available grapes, mean they are inventive wine makers, prepared to take risks. This adventurous experimentation is evidenced by recent vintages with an unusual mix of the grape varieties ‘on hand’. Dixon once took his grapes from Topper’s Mountain’s mixture of varieties planted on the outer boundaries of the main vines to distract and feed the birds so they wouldn’t touch the main crop. Indeed, Dixon subtitled his 2016 Jilly Dick Dixon New England Shiraz Nebbiolo ‘addicted to the unknown’. While Dixon’s founding, home-base brand or label is Jilly, he liberally subtends a variety of aliases or nicknames to Jilly. The aliases of White Wolf of Cumbria, although named for his grandfather, and another, Lone Ranger, and Roman Giallo (or yellow), a 2015 New England Petit Manseng, speak to these independent winemakers’ sense of nothing-to-lose risk-taking. Dixon said the Giallo fought through to its fine end, like the Roman soldiers, and, to reflect that empire, the gold wax over the cork drips luxuriously down the bottle, and the Roman Giallo label is a leather-like shield or a piece of leather-like armour. Dixon has also used F.I.F.O., meaning fly in and fly out of a vineyard far from the Northern Rivers.

2016 marked the fifth vintage for Dixon and Graham, having first made wines under their respective labels in 2012. Made in small batches, many of the vintages have sold out. And because they’re boutique, they are not cheap wines in terms of cost. As example of these mixes, Dixon made his 2016 Jilly The White Wolf of Cumbria New England Rosé (although not named as the latter on the label) from Pinot

Noir, Sauvignon Blanc and Gewurztraminer. The 2015 Sigurd White Barossa Valley Blend by Graham is a combination of Gewürztraminer (Springton), Marsanne (Lyndoch) and Gargenega or Soave (Mt Crawford), from vines in the Barossa. Although unusual, Graham's mixture is well judged and finely balanced, which is proving to be a characteristic of his wines.

The bottle shop at Clunes that Dixon manages is like walking into his private cellar, his own Aladdin's Cave. He stocks wines of interest to him, that he likes to drink, whose makers he knows or that he has had a hand in making. Dixon stocks both Jilly and Sigurd in this eclectic wine store. There's wine from Italy and Spain, from Witches Falls in Queensland, who largely make their reds from Granite Belt grapes, from New England in the form of Topper's Mountain, and from small, independent winemakers such as Konpira Maru Wine Company, Simão & Co and Ochota Barrels.

Dixon's own wine has been taken up by Northern Rivers' leading, hat-winning restaurants, Town and Harvest, Byron Bay's The Farm restaurant, and the fine-wine sellers Brisbane's Cru Bar and Cellar, Melbourne's Blackhearts and Sparrows, and Sydney's Annandale Cellars, and the Merrivale Group of Australian restaurants and hotels, and an exporter of 'natural' wines to the East. Graham sells into Brisbane's equally discerning Craft Wine Store and Sydney's Moncur Cellars.

Experimentation in any art form requires that the consumer learn appreciation. Graham wants to put the wines in front of people who have that experimental inclination. Quite probably the hipsters at the Rootstock festival see themselves as this. And for cork-and-wax, your first such experiment is retrieving your discarded corkscrew, given most Australian wines are now under stelvin or screw cap.

The unfiltered whites can appear cloudy, and largely they are not familiar on the palate. And Graham notes that 'Australian wine-drinkers are used to clean, single-dimensional wines'. But they aren't straightforward. While a lack of filtering/fining may allow for more purity of fruit, the opposite problem may also be true: the impossibility of distinguishing easily one grape from another. Mark Kirkby from England's Topper's Mountain thinks winemaking is one of the 'dark arts' – alchemical, featuring as much mystery and chance as science – but Dixon believes wine-making is a creative process. Nevertheless, despite what Max Allen has said, the whites still can have the most extraordinary colour, making you think of medieval mead; a dense, golden honey, sometimes with a hallucinatory bronzed-pink tinge; silken sherbet; and gold brocade. They can be distinct and pleasurable even luscious wines, but at the same time have restraint, elegance and intrigue. At the very least, minimum intervention and filtering make for food friendly wines which are Dixon's forte. Graham is, more simply, interested in the delicious. But to develop the local palate for these newbie wines, Dixon and Graham hold wine-tastings outside the bottle-shop door, at local-produce dinners – feeding the wine drinkers with snapper, rabbit, mushrooms, artichokes and greens – at the Clunes café.

At the cellar door, Dixon and Graham are voluble. Both dark-haired, curious and energetic, they fix the wine-drinker with the glittering eye of the Ancient Mariner to regale him or her with impassioned narratives about their wine. And the wine-drinker is captivated just like the wedding guest, or the Sultan by Scheherazade's story-telling.

Both young winemakers, at least for the moment, are flying their magic carpets. Dixon is revelling in the creativity. Graham plans to return to exploring international vines. For both, this experimental phase is more like a permanent philosophy powered by curiosity, and the desire to tell another story in national winemaking.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr Moya Costello teaches Creative Writing in the School of Arts and Social Science, and Food and Wine Writing in the School of Business and Tourism, Southern Cross University. She has two collections of short prose and two novellas (*Kites in Jakarta* and *Small ecstasies; The office as a boat and Harriet Chandler*), and work in scholarly and literary journals and anthologies. Specifically, she has scholarly, and creative, work on wine published in the journals *TEXT*, *Locale*, *M/C*, *Griffith Review*, *Sample* and *China-Australia Entrepreneurs*. Her co-authored *Locale* article was republished in *Environmentally sustainable viticulture* (ed. C Gerling), Apple Academic Press.

Christine Cremen

Soylent Green (Spoiler Alert) is People! Food in Film and Popular Fiction, 1888 to 2015

I am *not* an optimist. For me, the glass is always half empty, the liquid inside is flat and brackish, possibly poisoned, and there's a dead fly floating in it. Which is why I regard the notion of an utopian society with deep misgivings – especially when it comes to what might be envisioned for our food.

American writer Edward Bellamy's socialist utopian novel *Looking Backward*, published in 1888, was a popular and influential work. It was a huge bestseller and actually inspired the founding of several utopian communities. Briefly, *Looking Backward* tells the story of a young Bostonian called Julian West who falls asleep and wakes up in the year 2000 to discover that the US has been transformed into a socialist utopia. Bellamy's imagined dream world contains a number of things that make our lives easier and more pleasurable in the 21st century – entertainment is available in one's home via cable, there are debit cards, even a system of bulk buying through stores that resemble our modern-day Costcos¹.

One prediction that he made, however, which I am extremely glad never came true is that, in 2000, Bellamy's Bostonians eat in public kitchens.

Can't you almost smell the foul miasma rising up from all those steam tables? My own experience of sampling the fare from a community kitchen came about recently after a spell in hospital, when I signed up for the local council's *Meals On Wheels* service. Now this wasn't as bad an experience as those Maggie Beer discovered that elderly people were having in certain care homes, but for someone, for whom one of the joys of life is eating good, fresh, tasty, well-prepared food, it wasn't pleasant. I can sum it up in two words – savoury mince. If indeed we had all been eating in public kitchens by the beginning of this century, bearing in mind the way that they are set up, and run, in no way would this be a dream come true for us, but rather a real nightmare, sounding the death knell for any sort of innovation or inspiration in our food culture.

By contrast, I'd quite like to sup in Shangri-La, especially since the diet of the inhabitants of that famous fictional utopian community featured in James Hilton's best-selling novel from the 1930s *Lost Horizon*, helped them to live far beyond the average lifespan. (It's been suggested that Hilton took his inspiration for Shangri-La from his visit to the Hunza Valley several years before *Lost Horizon* was published², but the food on offer in this story is much more interesting and more palatable than what is eaten by the Hunza.)

I knew that we were in for a good time gastronomically in Shangri-La when Hilton's hero and the other survivors of their plane crash are fed mangoes and white wine by their rescuers.

The sort of food eaten in this hidden-away community in the Himalayas could be described as a kind of fusion of Indian and Asian cuisine, and they also drink what sounds like a delicious home-grown tea. I'd love to taste the food and drink we read about here, but I wouldn't be welcome in Hilton's fictional world, and neither would some of you. It's basically a big boys' club. Girls are allowed if they're young – or rather, look young – and are beautiful. (And it doesn't hurt also if you are of royal blood.) So if my plane crashed near Shangri-La, far from being a candidate for the top job there, as our hero was, I'd probably find myself sent off to labour in the fields – like all the rest of this story's happy natives.

Now, you're never going to be treated to fine dining in the dystopian narrative. Check out, for example, *Highrise*, a recent movie with a dystopian storyline, where a Siberian Husky is being spit-roasted in the opening scene. And, you have to be very well-off indeed, just to have access to food as we know it in the 1973 science fiction feature *Soylent Green*. It's 2022: we are in an over-populated and polluted New York where the resultant extreme food shortages have meant that, say, a punnet of strawberries, is going to cost you something like a week's wages.

Most citizens subsist on a diet of soylent green, a synthetic foodstuff which, as you've just seen, our hero discovers is made from the bodies of the dead, and, even more horrifying, that there are plans afoot for

some members of the population to be bred like livestock for other people's food. It's unlikely, however, that Swift's satirical essay *A Modest Proposal* is ever going to become a reality in this way.

Moreover, we human beings mature far too slowly compared to the two and four-legged animals we presently rely on for our food. In addition, to keep us adequately fed, those in charge of state-sanctioned cannibalism would be obliged to order the slaughter of roughly two adults for each member of the population. And as natural reproduction can increase a population by, at best, only 3 to 4 percent, supply could never keep up with demand. We would, effectively, be selecting ourselves out of existence³.

For one thing, a diet based on long pig won't keep you alive – it will in fact eventually kill you, and in a particularly unpleasant way. You will risk contracting kuru, a fatal and incurable neurological disorder once prevalent amongst certain tribes in Papua New Guinea who engaged in a form of ritual cannibalism, whereby deceased family members were cooked and eaten. This disease is also known as the laughing sickness because, in its final stages, those suffering from it die in contortions resembling laughter⁴.

Finally, a major theme in Australian author Charlotte Wood's feminist dystopian parable *The Natural Way of Things* (published in 2015) speaks to just how disconnected we are from what we eat. The novel concerns a group of young women – each of whom has been involved in a sexual scandal with a powerful man, and all of whom are city dwellers – who are kidnapped and kept prisoner on a remote abandoned rural homestead. Eventually, their pre-packaged supply of fast food runs out, and faced with imminent starvation, one of the prisoners takes some rabbit traps she finds, and sets them in the bush. Soon both captives (and their captors) are dining on stewed rabbit, and, later, kangaroo. The rabbits she finds in her traps are dead, but the kangaroo isn't. So this book poses the tough question – if, like our heroine, you are actually starving, could you kill Skippy? Though butchering Skip might present some difficulties, a lot of us at least would be able to cook him. But as far as rabbit (which was one of the staple dishes of my childhood) goes, there might be problems. Hardly anyone (at least the Anglo-Australians) in this country knows how to cook rabbit these days, and one of the best bits of this story is reading how – after foraging for suitable greens – through trial and error, these women, none of whom are at home in a kitchen but have watched cooking shows on TV – manage to make this dish.

Here's a little taste of how they do it.

'They understand now, after the first week of Yolanda's catch, that the longer you cook the rabbits the more edible the flesh ... During the cooking the rabbit's body had twisted up on its haunches, and now it sat up, like some mummified cat. Verla's mouth flooded for it: this holy thing: protein, life ... [But] it was a piece of wood ... a hard pale lump of balsa wood. Then Barb's patron saint, Jamie [Oliver], visited her. 'You gotta boil it?' she cried out. 'He did it in, like, some kinda soup! With carrots and *beer* and shit!' So each day now it's Leandra at her vigil, kneeling by the stove, feeding it, wiping at it with a dirty cloth. There is Barbs at her big pot on the stove top, her face pink with condensation, peering into the water's rolling simmer. There is Yolanda skinning rabbits in the scullery, tossing them in a pile in the sink ... And each day it is Verla picking up one pink body after another by its Barbie-doll haunch, and cleaving through bone ... So each day there are no carrots and no beer but there is meat and salt and water and rabbit stew. All their hours and days circle the stove and curve towards the stew, and they might be pock-faced and sallow but they are eating.'⁵

It's heartening to think that when times are bad, my sisters might step up to the plate and put what we need on our plates. Nevertheless, there's a scene in *Soylent Green* which is all about love, sacrifice and how a pleasure shared is a pleasure doubled, which gives me more hope for humanity.

Some of us may have just attended Robert Appelbaum's plenary session where mention was made of the film *Babette's Feast*, based on a short story by Isak Dinesen. The title character Babette is a French housekeeper working in Jutland, who spends all of the money she wins in a lottery on the ingredients for a sumptuous meal which she cooks for her employers, two elderly sisters, and the other members from their village of the religious community to which they belong.

For me, the simple meal shared in *Soylent Green* has much more significance than Babette's magnificent offering to the gastronomically deprived.⁶ Here, Charlton Heston's character pays a small fortune for a

real meal which he cooks and then shares with his elderly friend, played by Edward G. Robinson.

Babette's gift may seem like the ultimate act of generosity, but her actions are not entirely without self-interest: formerly a renowned chef, she uses this occasion to reveal herself as a great artist by creating her greatest-ever culinary masterpiece. We are meant to believe also that this dinner generates a new sense of harmony amongst those members of the community who attended it. These diners, however, are elderly people who have never drunk wine, nor eaten anything other than the plainest of food. Come the morning after when they wake up, undoubtedly in agony from dyspepsia and hugely hung over, far from feeling grateful to their would-be benefactor, they are more likely to unite only in wanting to tar and feather Babette and run her out of town.

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- Babette's Feast* (1987) Denmark. Dir: Gabriel Axel.
Highrise (2015) Great Britain. Dir: Ben Wheatley.
Soylent Green (1973). Dir: Richard Fleischer.

FILM CLIPS

- Soylent Green* (1973). Dir: Richard Fleischer. (1) *Soylent Green is People*; (2) *The Meal*, youtube.

NOTES

1. Wikipedia.
2. 'Can biologic ageing be slowed or reversed?' (2009, 04), *Health & Stress* 1-12 suggests that the story of Shangri-La is based on the concept of Shambhala, a mystical city believed by Tibetan Buddhists to be isolated from the world by the Himalayan Mountains. Its inhabitants were happy and healthy and could live for centuries. Shangri-La was resurrected in the 1930s by James Hilton's novel *Lost Horizon* that was later made into a popular movie. It is believed that the inspiration for Shangri-La was the Hunza Valley in northern Pakistan near the Tibetan border, which Hilton had visited several years before his book was published. This is an isolated green valley surrounded by the western end of the Himalayas that closely matches the description in the novel and where people lived long and healthy lives due to the absence of stress. Sir Robert McCarrison, a physician who had studied 11,000 Hunza natives in Kashmir from 1904-1911, wrote that they not only enjoyed unusual longevity, but preserved their youthful physique and appearance well into their eighties. McCarrison attributed this to the fact that they were 'endowed with a nervous system of notable stability' (i.e. resistant to stress) and were 'far removed from the refinements of civilisation'.
3. Steven Vogel, "Prime Mover: A Natural History of Muscle" (W. W. Norton & Co., 2002). Quoted on Life's Little Mysteries, a sister site to Live Science (<https://www.livescience.com/topics/lifes-little-mysteries?type=article>).
4. Most of the information I gleaned on the topic of kuru came from anecdotal evidence provided by a friend, Ms Dix Hawke, a native North American who trained and practised as a medical doctor in her youth. During our conversations she mentioned that, as with a number of other indigenous peoples, her Iroquois ancestors engaged in ritual cannibalism by eating certain body parts (such as the hearts and kidneys) of their enemies from other tribes whom they killed in battle '... until the advent of the Mounties spoiled everyone's fun'. Professors McGee Harvey, Richard I. Johns, Albert Owens and Richard S. Ros of Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and University of Medicine, *Principles & Practice of Medicine*. Published by Appleton Century & Crofts, NY, 1947. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary, www.merriam-webster.com
5. *The Natural Way of Things*, pp. 173-5.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Christine Cremen is a writer and critic whose main areas of interest are genre fiction, popular cinema and television. She was a long-time contributor to the radio show, The Food Program. Her most recent work has been a production, as a performance piece, from the book, A is for Apple, of Alan Saunders' Q is for Qualia, a comic conversation about food between the philosopher Socrates and his friend Alcibiades.

Rumina Dhalla

Sustainability in the Australian Wine Industry: Authenticity and Identity

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores the rise and adoption of sustainability related certifications in the Australian wine industry and its implications for the consumers of wine, the organization and the industry. This industry is facing a wide range of rapidly emerging, global, eco-certifying programs compelling institutional constituents to adopt sustainability initiatives.

Using qualitative methodology and data from interviews and quotes from the participants, we explore the drivers compelling the wine industry to become organic or biodynamic producers, the impetus for certification and the implications for organizational identity. The escalating number of ‘sustainable’ certifications and certifying agencies give rise to growing confusion about what are considered sustainability initiatives in the wine industry, how they relate to environmental initiatives, and in particular the link between sustainability initiatives and the organic and biodynamic growing and production.

There is growing literature about the reputational, marketing and economic value of certifications (Atkin, Gilinsky, & Newton, 2012) and the strategic implications of certifications for the wine producers. Sustainability certifications have become a ubiquitous part of the institutional environment across many industries, in particular, the consumer facing industries and scholars have been exploring this growing trend through a number of lenses. For example, scholars exploring the marketing value of sustainability initiatives have found a link between sustainability certifications and premium pricing (Delmas & Grant, 2014; Loureiro, McCluskey, & Mittelhammer, 2002).

Institutional forces are compelling the global wine industry to adopt sustainability initiatives and there is a growing number of biodynamic and organic wine producers, however not all producers in these domains opt to get certified. We found a strong link between identity of biodynamic farms and wineries and biodynamic production of wine. Biodynamic winemakers promote healthy practices, and take a custodian view of the soil. While identity was salient for organic producers, the external considerations such as consumer preference, and potential health concerns and benefits also played a role in their strategy. Sustainable wines were predominantly linked to environmental and cost considerations. All three forms of sustainable production explored in this study promote utopian wine production and protection of the environment.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr. Rumina Dhalla is an Associate Professor, Organisational Studies and Sustainable Commerce area in the Department of Management, College of Business and Economics at the University of Guelph. She is also the Project Lead for the Guelph East Africa Initiative and a member of the University of Newcastle’s Wine Studies Research Network. Her main research interests are in organisational identity and reputation and their implications for organizational strategies, sustainability and CSR. Most of her work explores identity at firm and industry levels. Her recent research projects include the banking and wine industries, social enterprise and food supply. She is the recipient of major grants from Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for Canada for her research.

Kelly Donati

The entanglements of cultivars and cultivators: a utopian project for reframing gastronomy beyond the human

ABSTRACT

Gastronomic discourse and practice, defined by many as an art of living, is concerned with the deceptively simple question of how can we eat and live well. However, in the age of the Anthropocene, a new model of gastronomy is required, one that goes beyond the human if we are to cultivate livelier approaches to sustainability and agriculture. This paper considers how gastronomic thinking can be extended beyond human interests in recognition of the multitude of lively agricultural entanglements involved in the process of producing food. In particular, how might food production be reconceptualised to enable the cultivation of a more ethical approach to the lives of other species on which we depend? Recent inquiries into more-than-human relations offer up conceptual strategies for acknowledging the agency of nonhuman things in order to destabilise the centrality of the human in how the world is imagined, such that we might develop more creative, attentive and responsible approaches to both human and nonhuman lives. This, I argue, is a fundamentally utopian project. Taking inspiration from nineteenth-century writer Charles Fourier whose utopian imaginary positions agriculture as central to rethinking the economic, social, sensory and gastronomic relations of early capitalism, this paper draws on fieldwork with small-scale orchardists, Katie and Hugh, in Central Victoria, Australia to explore the agency of more-than-human assemblages and ‘industrial attractions’ on farms. What makes Fourier’s unique ideas germane to this paper is that the pleasures of food emerge not through the performance of connoisseurship but rather from heterogeneous associations bound up in the act of farming and eating. Resisting fantasies of mastery and control, Katie and Hugh acknowledge the appetites and metabolic work that makes their own work come to life, literally and gastronomically, as well as their own limitations in what they can know and do as farmers. Theirs is a story of farming with innumerable earth-others in an economy that is irreducible to the functions of capitalism and in which growing good fruit necessitates feeding multiple species relations well. These more-than-human stories of farming are important to enlivening our relationship with the edible species upon which we are dependent and, even more critically, to re-imagining farming and gastronomy as truly multispecies endeavours.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Kelly Donati is a lecturer and coordinator of the Bachelor of Food Studies and new Master of Food Systems and Gastronomy at William Angliss Institute. She completed her Master of Gastronomy at the University of Adelaide where she also lectured. She recently submitted her PhD thesis at the University of Melbourne which explored gastronomy as an agricultural practice involving a multiplicity of metabolic and social relations between species. She is former president of Slow Food Victoria and continues to work closely with Slow Food Melbourne.

Jacqueline Dutton

Utopias of terroir, vines and desirable wines

ABSTRACT

Traditional western utopias are grounded in four founding myths: the Golden Age of original harmony, the Platonic Republic of order and justice, the medieval Land of Cockaigne, and Millennial hope for future rewards. In general, western utopian literatures and social experiments have drawn on all four of these founding myths, in differing doses and combinations, to project their images of an ideal society on the crumbling walls of contemporary chaos.

By tracing the lineage of utopian thought in parallel with the development of the French wine industry, I will demonstrate unexpected correlations between the two trajectories. As religion and politics, geography and science, philosophy and taste intertwine across the centuries, it becomes clear that utopia and winemaking are equally driven by desire for a better way of being in the world.

Through a case study of Bordeaux, I will illustrate the utopian nature and culture of winemaking, from vine to glass, examining the relative importance of terroir, viticultural practices, desire for earthly pleasure, and future-focused winemaking. In this way, I hope to explain how and why the practice and discourse of winemaking in France is idealised and realised.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Jacqueline Dutton is Associate Professor in French Studies at the University of Melbourne. She has published widely on contemporary French literature, including a monograph in French on 2008 Nobel Laureate JMG Le Clézio's utopian visions. Her writing on utopias has featured in the Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature, *Utopian Studies*, and *Puerto del Sol*. Recent editing projects include volumes on dark travel (*Postcolonial Studies*), counterculture (*M/C Journal*), time and travel writing (*Nottingham French Studies*) and the future of Francophonie (*AJFS*). She has also written for *Meanjin*, *The Monthly*, *The Age* and *The Australian*, and is currently working on a cultural history of wine in Bordeaux, Burgundy and Champagne.

Ferne Edwards

ICT-enabled food sharing: creating transformative pathways

ABSTRACT

Food sharing is one of the oldest forms of collaborative behaviour, with a long history of analysis within the anthropological, evolutionary and behavioural sciences. With the help of ICT technologies and increased web connectivity (e.g. webpages, social media, apps, and online maps), food sharing activities are experiencing a resurgence; from meal sharing apps that are used to facilitate the exchange of homecooked meals, to online maps that reveal surplus harvest, to various social media used to broadcast, discuss and arrange local activities such as food swaps and community garden meet-ups. Other innovative applications are also being developed to reduce food waste, to welcome refugees, to bridge generation gaps, and to test the quality and appeal of meals before they enter the marketplace. As such, ICT-enabled food sharing (ifood sharing for brevity) has the potential to influence all aspects of food production, consumption, distribution and waste, through gifting, barter, and commercial exchange. Yet, the question remains as to whether these activities are merely interesting examples of niche practices or are the roots of a transformative gastronomic revolution for food systems.

In contrast to other sectors of the burgeoning sharing economy, such as peer-to-peer accommodation and finance, car sharing or online staffing, scant attention has been paid to ifood sharing in contemporary scholarship. In response, this paper outlines the multidisciplinary architecture underpinning the SHARECITY project which is examining the practice and potential of ifood sharing to assist in creating more sustainable urban food systems. It first outlines the development of a database mapping the location, form and focus of ifood sharing in 100 cities across six continents before examining the collaborative and recursive processes of coding, mapping, and decoding that lie behind the visualisation of those urban ifood sharing landscapes. Drilling down into the database the case of Melbourne is used to explore whether its ifood sharing activities are providing spaces for a politics of hopeful gastronomy to develop within the city and whether there is potential for ifood sharing to help carve out more transformative pathways for utopian urban gastronomy.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr. Ferne Edwards is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Trinity College Dublin for SHARECITY. Awarded a PhD in cultural anthropology from the Australian National University, Ferne has more than a decade of research experience on sustainable cities, food systems, and social change. Specific research includes 'freegans' and food waste, alternative food networks, urban beekeeping, the impact of climate change on Australian food systems, and ethical consumption. Ferne's PhD investigated how civil society driven food economies contribute to feeding urban populations in Venezuela and Australia. Since 2013, Ferne has collaborated as a World Social Science Fellow.

Maria Emanovskaya

Food as Part of the Consumer Dystopia in Post-Soviet Russia

In the 1980s the promises of a better future and of a socialist consumerist utopia, once announced by the Soviet project, are fading away as never before. The arousing hopes for change are oriented towards its capitalist alternative. Although much of the questions discussed at that time concern politics and democracy, for ordinary people the most evident marks of changes are found in their daily lives, and on their plates in particular. That is why food turns out to be a perfect lens for analyses of the realities and ideals during a period of ideological shifts. The conflict between old (even disenchanting) and new (dreamed of, but often deceiving) ways of living, thinking and even eating does create a whole territory for multiple possibilities. The latter are at the centre of our analyses of the recent Russian history.

We tend to put into perspective the dystopian Russian literature (Viktor Pelevin's *Generation " "* and Vladimir Sorokin's *Day of the Oprichnik*) evoking food and consumption with the discourse found in the press and especially in women's magazines. Looking at the so-called transition period and its hopes and fears balancing between utopia and dystopia seems to be a key to understanding the ambivalence of contemporary Russian food politics and public opinion on the matter.

During the whole Soviet history food was an integral part of the utopian project: from the "factory-kitchens" of the 1920s and early 1930s created to liberate women¹, through kolkhoz and sovkhoz to produce food collectively, to industrialization of the food production supposed to finally bring enough food².

Although, by the last decade of the Soviet Union food has become the symbol of multiple dysfunctions of the system and just another proof that the promises of a better future and of a socialist consumerist utopia shouldn't be taken seriously anymore. Contrary to the Western countries where the age of abundance and that of the food waste were fully embraced by the 1980s, the Soviets experienced multiple shortages. There was no starvation, but a lot of food items were difficult to obtain. For example, canned green peas when found in stores were kept throughout the year for holiday meals, as they were one of the key ingredients for the main holiday dish, the Olivier salad³.

A joke at that time went: "What is long, green and smells sausage?" And the answer was "A train from Moscow". Trains were painted dark green and the city of Moscow had the best supply in the country, so people travelled there to buy products unavailable in their hometowns. Sausage was a highly appreciated food product drastically lacking in the USSR and also another key ingredient for the same Olivier salad. Little by little sausage became a symbol of abundance achievable only by embracing capitalism.

The change of the political regime did bring full stores (especially in Moscow and other big cities), even if they were rarely affordable for common Russian salaries.

Two worlds, the old Soviet one & a brand new one, seemed to be crushing together and the time of lots of changes arrived, as did the necessity to reconsider the values. A new literature was reflecting this process.

The dystopian literature became particularly widespread in the USSR in the second half of the 1980s following the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev. But at that time it was producing a critique of the Socialist utopia and trying to imagine possible futures⁴.

The book discussed here is quite different as it is the first post-soviet dystopia dealing with the arrival of consumer capitalism in Russia. The novel *Generation " "* written by Viktor Pelevin is first published in 1999. It is translated into English two times and has two different titles *Homo Zapiens* and *Babylon*.

The novel tells the story of an aspiring poet becoming a copywriter for the advertising and fully

1 Rothstein & Rothstein, 1997

2 Piretto, 2011

3 Kushkova, 2012

4 Khagi, 2008

embracing the new consumerist order and the chaos in the country after the fall of the Soviet Union. While the book is full of drugs, Mesopotamian philosophy, Che Gevara, media substituting reality and questionings of the Soviet person, I would like to focus on the edible in the novel. It appears right from the very beginning:

“Once upon a time in Russia there really was a carefree, youthful generation that smiled in joy at the summer, the sea and the sun, and chose Pepsi.

It’s hard at this stage to figure out exactly how this situation came about. Most likely it involved more than just the remarkable taste of the drink in question [...] No matter which way it was, as these children lounged on the seashore in the summer, gazing endlessly at a cloudless blue horizon, they drank warm Pepsi-Cola decanted into glass bottles in the city of Novorossiisk and dreamed that some day the distant forbidden world on the far side of the sea would be part of their own lives¹”.

This dream of the West embodied in Pepsi actually arrives and Russians are invited to discover a whole new gastronomical world full of unknown products. The press and women’s magazines in particular tend to pass the knowledge about them to common Russian housewives. This is how avocado is explained by *Rabotnitsa* magazine in 1995:

“Here’s one really exotic food that you will be able to cook if somebody offers to you as a gift or if you succeed in buying it – a beautiful vegetable, avocado. On the outside it looks like a pear and its taste is close to a nut²”

The article goes on explaining how to cook it with other exotic products such as ginger and soy sauce and eating it warm. Articles like that are quite common. The Russian consumer is constantly treated as a child that needs to learn a proper behavior: “Don’t drink an expensive cognac in large portions. Don’t add fruit juice into old alcoholic beverages. Don’t mix whiskeys with each other. Don’t drink Veuve Cliquot with a borsch or a beer with an ice-cream³”.

Thus, food, and especially new and exotic foodstuffs, become a way to transcend borders and come closer to the imaginary West. But Viktor Pelevin’s novel goes on to push that idea so far as to arrive to its extreme opposite. At one point the protagonist finds himself adapting western advertisements to the Russian consumer. He figures out that the way Russia is at that time won’t last long and one day a military dictatorship will come into power and no matter what its political or economic program, it will turn to nationalistic agenda. The main esthetics then will be that of a pseudo-Slavic style, so the traditional Western advertising won’t have its place in Russia anymore. Taking that into account the protagonist works with the advertisement of Sprite positioned as an “uncola” in the US. He explains that the Coca Cola being a symbol of freedom for the generations of 1970s & 1980s in the Eastern Europe, the term “uncola” has strong anti-liberal and anti-democratic connotations there. That fact makes it very desirable in a situation of militaristic dictatorship. He also thinks that it would be better to change the packaging to a more pseudo Slavic one: a birch tree looking white bottle with black stripes. And a slogan would be “In a spring forest I was drinking a birch Sprite”. That strange fantasy is a parody of what was actually happening in Russia in the time of the writing. In the second half of the 1990s first Russian inspired fast food restaurants were opening and trying to mix Western business strategies with Russian foods in rather peculiar ways.

The desire of going back to roots, even imaginary ones, as predicted in Pelevin’s novel, becomes stronger in the Russian society as a disillusion of capitalist Western world grows. New kind of dystopias reflects this process, and one of them is the *Day of the Oprichnik* written by Vladimir Sorokin and published in 2006. The novel presents a nearest future where patriotic and xenophobic Russia has cut itself from the rest of the world by a Great Russian wall, the monarchy is restored and the only sources of income for the State are the natural gas and taxes on Chinese goods transiting to Europe. The country and its patriotism are controlled by violent and corrupt *oprichniki*, members of the secret police. Food is mentioned quite a few times in the novel and almost every time it is some old traditional Russian food.

1 Pelevin, 2002
2 Rabotnitsa, 1995
3 Rabotnitsa, 1998

One exception occurs in a particularly interesting moment describing the food offer in this dystopian world. The protagonist is looking at the window of a kiosk:

“It’s the standard selection: Rodina cigarettes and “Russia” cardboard-filtered papyrosy, “rye” and wheat vodka, white and black bread, two types of chocolate – Mishka the Bear and Mishka in the North – apple and plum jam, butter and vegetable oil, meat with and without bones, whole and baked milk, chicken eggs and quail eggs, boiled and smoked sausage, cherry and pear drink, and finally “Russian” cheese.

His Majesty’s father, the late Nikolai Platonovich, had a good idea: liquidate all the foreign supermarkets and replace them with Russian kiosks. And put two types of each thing in every kiosk, so the people have a choice. A wise decision, profound. Because our God-bearing people should choose from two things, not from three or thirty-three. Choosing one of two creates spiritual calm, people are imbued with certainty in the future, superfluous fuss and bother is avoided, and consequently – everyone is satisfied. And when a people such as ours is satisfied, great deeds may be accomplished.

Everything about the kiosks is fine, there’s only one thing I can’t wrap my head around. Why is it that all the goods are in pairs, like the beasts on Noah’s Ark, but there’s only one kind of cheese, Russian? My logic is helpless here. Well, this sort of thing isn’t for us to decide, but for His Majesty. From the Kremlin His Majesty sees the people better, they’re more visible. All of us down below crawl about like lice, hustling and bustling; we don’t recognise the true path. But His Majesty sees everything, hears everything. He knows who needs what¹”.

The first part of the quote is a satire of the Soviet times mocking the nostalgia that more and more Russians are expressing. The second paragraph addresses the idea of Russians waiting for somebody else, a paternal figure to come and take care of them, helping them with the choices to be made and assuring a better future for them.

But reading the novel now you can’t help thinking of how much it predicts Russian future. Two years ago the country banned imports of food products from Europe and a few other countries, where much of the food was coming from. The range of foods available to Russian consumers was drastically reduced, the prices for local products went up and their quality down. But the political and popular discourses insisted on the idea that Russians shouldn’t be corrupted by some foreign parmesan or *jamón*. And here the story comes back to the sausage and people opposing Putin’s politics are treated as petty materialists selling their soul for a sausage once again. To conclude we should say that Russian dystopian literature seems to be far from exhausting the food subject: the just announced Vladimir Sorokin’s next novel *Manaraga* is going to tell a story of a future where books are not published any more, but are sought after for a new fashionable way of cooking known as “book’n’grill”. There’s more food to come!

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Maria Emanovskaya is a PhD student at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales in Paris (France). Her PhD thesis in cultural geography is covering three decades of changes in Russian food habits. From the last Soviet decade of the 1980s, through the turmoils of the 1990s and more prosperous 2000s to the present conservative turn, she explores the evolutions of home cooking, eating out and

consumer habits on multiple scales (urban, regional and national). Food consumption turns out to be a wonderful lens to analyze complex identity changes that Russian society is undergoing.

Maria Emanovskaya recently edited a special issue on food consumption in Eastern Europe and Post-Soviet States of the on-line journal *Regard sur l'Est* (n°70), http://www.regard-est.com/home/breve_contenu.php?id=1614

Josh Evans & David Szanto

Scripts and Improvisations in Food Practice

Part I: Scripts and Improvisations

What is a script? Text, recipe, representation, trigger, cultural document, gesture, trace of identity, surface for iteration, symbol? A script is performed, enacted, improvised upon, owned, published, copyrighted, kept secret, shared, embodied, revised, forgotten. Is it intellectual property or epistemic thing? Inherited or emergent?

Does it seem odd to frame such practices as cooking, gardening, and eating as ‘performances’ with food? What about the activities that take place in laboratories and factories and wholesale distribution hubs? Or the processes that play out in and on the soil of farms and ranches, or under the surface of oceans and lakes? Why apply this word—or the related terms, *script* and *improvisation*—to aspects of gastronomy that seem to have little or nothing to do with theater and art, and the ‘imitative’ connotations they carry? There’s not much that is more immediate than doing things with food, after all. Right?

One reason to take a performance-based approach to thinking, doing, and feeling with and about food is that it helps us interpret our oh-so-familiar subject in new ways, perhaps helping to understand things that previously seemed ‘too obvious’ for examination. Performance theory and methods tend to raise new questions as well, by drawing attention differently and particularly to things we weren’t already sensing. In numerous fields and practices, from anthropology to physics, economics to art, performance is helping unpack what had once seemed irrefutable and axiomatic. Performance shakes things up, rattles our assumptions, and (usefully) destabilizes existing frameworks of knowledge.¹

As noted, the notion of a “food script” is decidedly connected to a performance-based understanding of gastronomy. It is a term that suggests there are written or unwritten rules and patterns that influence and describe how food systems—and all the actors within them—behave. It also suggests (as do all things that govern behaviour) that there are opportunities for playing with, bending, breaking, or rewriting those rules. In other words, it raises up the companion notion of improvisation. Together, the two enable us think about the various contexts, situations, and ‘realities’ of food as being composed of both *guidelines for interaction* and *myriad possible enactments* of those guidelines. Any moment in which food is involved, therefore, becomes understood as both scripted (structured, ordered, and pre-determined) and improvisational (variable, messy, and open-ended).

Many things—including various authorities and power structures—tell us that this is not the case. These voices would say that there is a social order that controls how life (and food) plays out, and that there are laws and principles of the world that are unbreakable. (Unsurprisingly, this way of seeing things is often in the best interests of the agents behind those voices.) Nonetheless, innovation, mutation, and evolution just keep on happening. And what are those ‘-tions’ if not creative and unpredictable riffs on what we thought was the way things were and would always be?

Many of our scripts are extremely useful—the rules for passing through urban intersections, for example, or our shared values about workplace behaviour, or the recipes we inherit for making excellent desserts. They provide helpful instructions and create reassuring boundaries, both of which humans need. Yet they can also restrict our freedom to play, as well as the potential to discover that which is new or underdeveloped. This is why naming things as scripted-and-improvised—and engaging with that inherent tension—is a valuable approach when dealing with food and food systems. The dynamic movement between guidance and evasion, or between reiteration and renovation, is what leads us to discovery. It also offers the potential to change the ways things are when we are not so happy with the status quo.

Consider the following script:

Performance score for a plenary session

A small, rectangular table stands centered in front of a large group of people.

JOSH and DAVID enter and sit, facing the group.

(From this moment in the performance, all in the room will be known as ACTORS: people, chairs, walls, lighting, writing implements, electronic devices, language, affective gestures, air currents, microbes in and on all of these...)

DAVID frames things with a series of terms, concepts, and implications related to performance theory.

JOSH interweaves stories of documenting research, enacting recipes, and playing with food and drink.

DAVID refers to a previous day's food performance, and an upcoming symposium meal.

JOSH digs deeper into messy microbial collaborations in fermentation.

DAVID and JOSH remind each other of each other's hybrid performance practices.

Some ACTORS dismantle DAVID's framing and unravel JOSH's weaving. The same or other ACTORS recombine the pieces, using their own tastes, words, and concepts.

All ACTORS repeat the sequence until scripts and improvisations become incorporated.

If you were at the 2016 Symposium of Australian Gastronomy in Melbourne, you would have seen food scholar Josh Evans and me give a joint plenary talk that both followed and diverged from this performance score. Our presentations were considerably more detailed than what appears above, including images and asides, pauses, drinks of water, reminders to keep on schedule, the environment of our conference room and its technologies, and of course all the other people in that space, including their movements and responses. Was that person who called our talk “bullshit” scripted into the score above? Was the other participant, who told us we had the *two coolest jobs ever*? Not explicitly (as the text attests), but in an implicit way, yes, because a script and its context assume the space for action, reaction, comments, feelings, and all the other in situ, real-timespace improvisations that tend to occur.

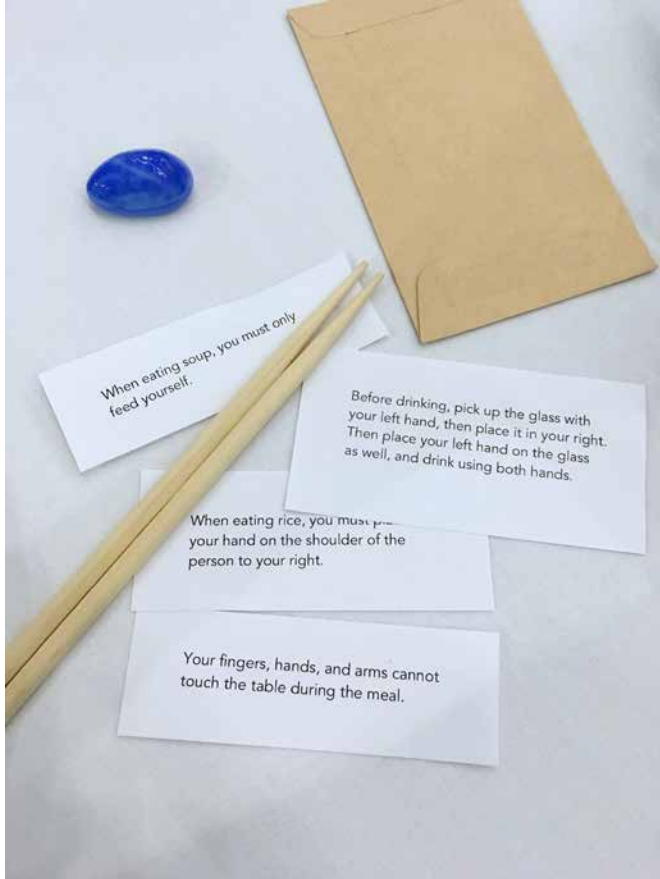
Josh's work at the Nordic Food Lab over the past years served as substance for his imagining scientific experimentation with food as a set of improvisations around various scripts. (See Part II for his own account of these.) Culinary and laboratory guidelines, principles of chemistry, biology, and physics, and the objective of producing gustatory pleasure are all types of scripts—some more formalized in text, some more socio-culturally embodied. My own experience in food pedagogy, creating art installations, and conducting workshops about eco-gastronomy also both follows various scripts and plays with them. Moreover, as this text is aiming to express, what we *all* do with and within food can be counted as performance, whether it is ‘following’ a recipe or shopping list, ‘picking from’ a menu or store shelf, or ‘correctly using’ the tools of table, farm, or fermentary.

What is notable about the script/improvisation model is that it appears in many other academic fields, albeit under some rather different nomenclature. The underlying concept has already provided value in these areas, bringing new light to social interaction, scientific processes, the production of beauty and pleasure, and the risks of large systems and their inherent flows of power and control.² For gastronomy, the same can be true.

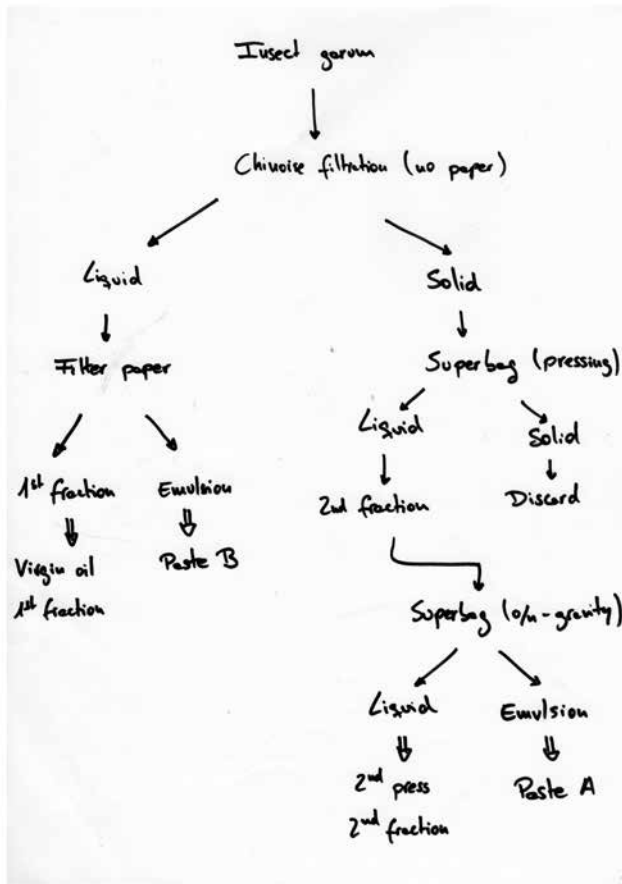
Said otherwise, this model can help those who observe, analyze, and describe food systems to perceive and interpret what is going on in ways they might not have previously done. For those who engage in those systems, through practices of production, processing, distribution, or retail, the model might help identify opportunities for intervening differently, potentially disrupting dominant structures of power and finding new, more sustainable, and more equitable ways of ‘doing’ food. And for every eater, perceiving food as scripted can aid in becoming attuned to the potential enactments with and around it, including how scripts both help and restrict us. Adopting the model can therefore empower people to feel the confidence and reassurance to grow, make, serve, and consume food in ways that are culturally relevant and socially appropriate to their own conditions.

In reflecting on various moments from the symposium, I started to see all sorts of scripts and improvisations that took place. (*Not surprising*, I can hear you muttering, given how *obsessed* he is with

this subject...) In what follows, therefore, I share a few images and the potential they suggested (to me) for something to happen next. You may interpret them differently—as suggestive of other futures, or perhaps simply as documents of a performance that happened in our shared past. If so, then great! What you think and do with these images are just another improvisational interpretation—one that we can chalk up to the underlying scriptedness of food, text, and the performance of gastronomy.

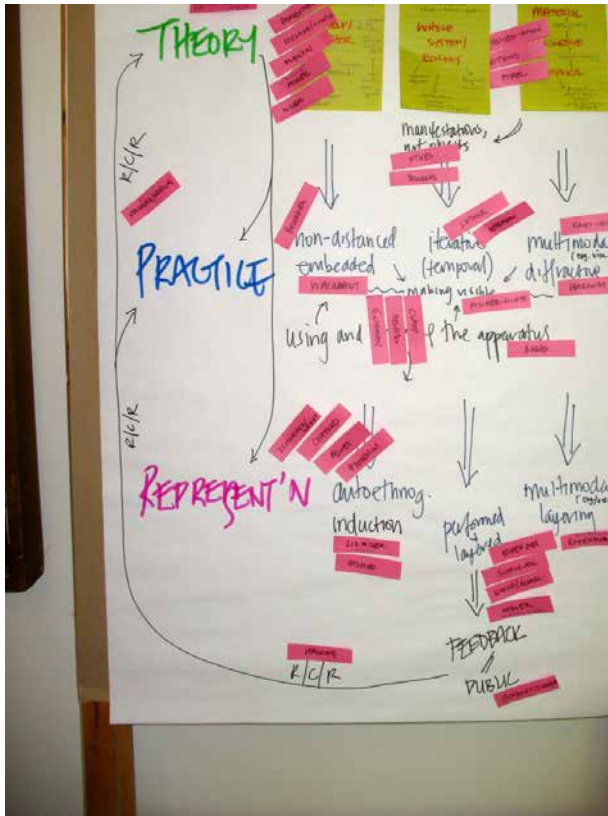


The rules of the table are only rarely written down, generally in etiquette books that are more often used as references for our more formal food occasions. Nonetheless, each of us seems to know what to do—more or less—when faced with a plateful or bowlful of food, along with some eating implements and a cohort of fellow diners. What happens when new and unfamiliar rules are introduced into that setting? And what happens if some of those rules interfere with or contradict each other, or bump up against the unwritten guidelines that are already embodied within us? On Day III of the Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, I curated a set of imposed scripts for the midday meal. Each eater at our “Lunch by the Rules” received an unmarked envelope bearing four different dining instructions. What they chose to do with those rules—obey, improvise, interpret, or rebel—was up to them. At some tables, the rules became the focus of conversation and behavior. At others, the scraps of paper were twisted up and chucked on the ground. What would you do, when faced with such a situation? More importantly, why?



(photo: Lisa Vockenhuber/Finespitz.at)

This page out of Josh Evans’ notebook from his time at the Nordic Food Lab in Copenhagen, Denmark, shows a flowchart for making “insect garum.” (*Garum*, an ancient Roman condiment, was made from fermented fish and fish entrails, and was probably quite similar to *n c m m* and other forms of fish sauce commonly used in various Asian cuisines.) The branches of this flowchart-structured ‘recipe’ suggest various moments in the process of making insect garum when decisions need to be taken by the maker. Different elements are separated, and then different culinary and scientific techniques are enacted with or upon them. What does this script say about what took place in the Lab? Do we see Josh’s hands wielding a chinois sieve, dumping waste material into the bin, or tasting the ‘final’ results? Do the spaces of the Lab, its equipment and surfaces, and Josh’s colleagues and visitors figure in what happened? And what of the microbial and enzymatic agents that must be at work at the same time? What scripts guide their actions—and how might they be improvising around those scripts, unbeknownst to the human observer...?



(image: Josh Evans/Nordic Food Lab)

Another kind of flowchart, from another kind of food research. In this case, a flipchart page with words, arrows, and scraps of Post-It notes that together attempt to describe the process of doing “research-creation-reporting,” a hybrid method of academic work. First conceived and championed by several institutions in Montreal, Québec (Canada), research-creation was an acknowledgement that both the head and hands participate in any kind of scholarly practice. Moreover, when material engagement (like that within art, engineering, and food-making) is actively brought together with the social sciences and humanities, new kinds of knowledge and understanding can be generated. Research-creation blends theory with practice, and when “-reporting” is appended, reflection and feedback (from readers, audiences, and peers) are added to the mix. But then when you try to document that process in a clear, tidy way (like in the form of a script on a flipchart page), the result is not so simple. Messy? You betcha. And that’s the beauty of having a set of guidelines and the permission to improvise—they give you the space in which to make a mess and then see what comes of it.



(photo: David Szanto/Icebox Studio)

On the final night of the Symposium, chef Annie Smithers served up a remarkable feast, riffing on the food-related texts of Charles Fourier. A 19th century French philosopher and contemporary of Brillat-Savarin and Grimod de la Reyniere, Fourier wrote about utopian socialism. He also coined the term “gastrosophy,” as both a critique of and response to those aforementioned gastronomes, who he found to be too prescriptive and rules-bound for his own liking. As the meal commenced (with radishes, salt, and some very good bread and butter), Colette picked up this tiny whole radish and skewered it with a safety pin. She leaned in close to me, and attached the edible corsage to my lapel. What do you suppose suggested to her that she do that?

Part II: Experiments, Scripted and Improvised

David has outlined what scripts can be, and how they relate to improvisations. I would like to focus now on some of the things scripts do when we enact them, through three examples of fermentation experiments I carried out with my colleagues at Nordic Food Lab (hereafter NFL) between 2012 and 2016. A bit of background: NFL is a non-profit organisation, founded in 2008 by René Redzepi and Claus Meyer of restaurant Noma in Copenhagen, to investigate the edible potential of the Nordic region and share the results openly with chefs, academics, and the wider public.

The first example concerns an experiment we began back in the fall of 2012. We wanted to make some salty, umami-rich fermented sauces, akin to soy sauce but using a range of products from our region, and some extra things we had on hand. So we went down to our basement dry store, pulled down all sorts of grains, pulses, nuts and seeds, and extra aromatics, and filled the counters. We crowded the stovetop with simmering pots of beans and peas and grains, laid out malts and mushrooms and dried berries and herbs, and measured out all the salt at our disposal. When everything was ready, we began—mixing and matching on impulse and noting down everything that went in. The script gave us the general method, but the actual recipes emerged through improvising. This ‘shotgun approach’ yielded twelve trials.



[twelve trials]

We tasted all of them after three months. Seven made the cut. One in particular was remarkable—it was nutty, a bit fruity, rich and structured and complex. For all of us, it tasted like the liquid essence of foie gras—and thus it gained its name, ‘faux foie’.

Original faux foie

500 g koji³ (quinoa)

250 g koji (4 parts nøgen byg 43 : 1 part sunflower seeds)

750 g cooked butterbeans

30 g dry morels

500 g bean stock

1 L 20% brine (6.2% salt in total mixture)

Combine in a sterilised container. Cover the surface of the mixture with plastic wrap and store for three months.



[photo—faux foie]

We were so taken by this sauce that we began to iterate the recipe, tweaking the ingredient ratios, aging temperature, time interval.

How did this script work? First we improvised, given some general, intuitive starting scripts, (rough sense of salt ratios for microbial stability, using enough proteinous substrates to yield the umami taste we were after), themselves accrued from past improvisations and scripts and improv-script hybrids. From these improvisations we derived individual, concrete scripts in the form of recipes; we then improvised again within the constraints of the most promising recipe scripts. Script and improvisation,

rather than one simply succeeding the other, were mutually entangled all the way down.

Despite our best efforts and multiple rounds of trials, replicating the faux foie eluded us. So were these scripts simply records of past practice? Or directions for possible future practice? Or were they merely artefactual fragments, capturing neither the chance success of the first iterations nor the potential for reproducing it?

Perhaps, alas, we were never meant to recreate this rare gem. Yet if nothing else, the faux foie script tells us something important and generative about scripts and improvisation—that there is always a space, however great or small, between them. We can approach this gap in different ways: we can try to reduce it asymptotically; we can widen it with wild abandon; we can maintain it stoically; we can cultivate its creative potential as an essential feature of iterative practice.

Fermentation as a form of food practice is particularly fertile in this in-between space. Why might this be so? It is not quite cooking, in the stricter sense of orchestrating physico-chemical transformations of food. It also involves biological and ecological transformations; it requires listening and responding to these metabolisms, these appetites not our own and nor wholly other. It invites, and even necessitates, collaborating with these living, will-full, multispecies companions in the in-between.

Other experiments open up different configurations of this script–improvisation space. Beginning in 2011 at NFL, we began experimenting with non-traditional substrates for fermented fish sauce-style products (or, as the ancient Romans called them, ‘garum’).

Original grasshopper garum

400 g whole grasshoppers

600 g wax moth larvae

225 g pearled barley koji

300 g filtered water

240 g salt

Blend insects until broken up but not into a smooth purée and keep in a container. Mix insect purée, barley, water, and salt together. Place in a non-reactive container with cling film directly covering the surface. Place container in a 40° C incubator or suitable area, and allow at least 10 weeks to ferment. The garum will separate and remain on the bottom of the vessel, and should be decanted/siphoned with an appropriate pipette/tube. The paste is also excellent, and should be passed through a fine sauce net.

After tasting the paste, we realised we might explore post-production processing more. In the summer of 2013, we began to make two ‘pressings’, as one does with olive oil. The first pressing involved filtering the fermented mixture through a filter paper solely by gravity, obtaining a translucent liquid with few impurities. We called this ‘Extra Virgin Grasshopper Garum’. The second pressing actually involved some real pressing, where we took what remained in the filter and pressed it through a fine mesh bag to obtain ‘Second Press Grasshopper Garum’, analogous in some sense to pomace oil.

In the summer of 2015, we took things a bit further. We made production batches of five ‘single-species’ garums using the same basic recipe as the original, with only one species per batch: grasshopper (*Locusta migratoria*), cricket (*Acheta domesticus*), wax moth larvae (*Galleria mellonella*), bee larvae (*Apis mellifera*), and mealworm (*Tenebrio molitor*).

Single species insect garums

1000 g insects (55.9%)

250 g barley koji (14%)

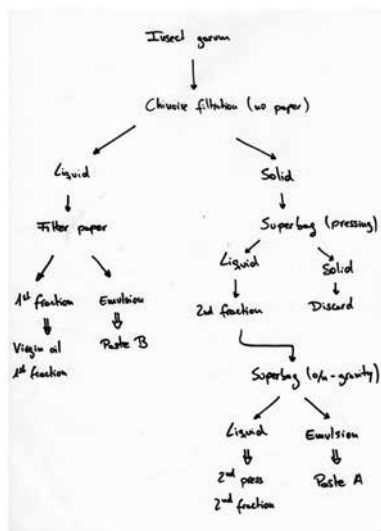
300 g water (16.8%)

240 g salt (13.4%)

Incubate at 40°C for >10 weeks

Filter, bottle, pasteurise at 72°C for 15s

And then, when it came time to filter, we realised we could go into yet more detail than we had before. Based on our initial filtration experiments, and the revelation of the very tasty paste, we extended these principles to yield the following script, before beginning filtration:



[photo—flowchart]

We began with the complete garum mixture, post-fermentation. We passed this mixture through a chinois without filter paper, to begin to separate the liquid and solid phases. We then let the liquid phase pass through filter paper by gravity, yielding a fine liquid that had passed through the paper, as well as an emulsion left on it, which we suspected contained residual compounds and water suspended in fats. The filtered liquid we allowed to further separate into lipid and water phases, yielding ‘Virgin Oil’ and ‘Insect Garum 1st fraction’ respectively. We passed the emulsion left in the filter paper through a sauce net and called it ‘Paste B’—because we were not quite expecting to have it, in fact, and had already named its analogue ‘Paste A’. The script laid out beforehand was already opening up space to improvise.



[photo—fractioning garums]

Meanwhile, the solids reserved from the very first filtration through the chinois we pressed through a fine mesh bag, yielding a cloudy liquid, and a bit of solids held back from the filter—mainly chitin, small bits of barley husk etc.—which we discarded. The liquid we then let pass through a fine mesh bag by gravity, yielding a more opaque liquid than the 1st fraction, which we called ‘Insect Garum 2nd fraction’, and an emulsion left in the mesh bag which we called ‘Paste A’.

Thus, in total, we obtained five products from this fractioning process: Virgin Oil, Garum 1st fraction,

Garum 2nd fraction, Paste A, and Paste B.

The single-species garums were delicious (except for the Mealworm, which was thin and unremarkable) and distinct from one another. We began experimenting further with the pastes, which were just as distinct in taste as the garums, ranging in colour from pastel peach to ombré ochre. Some also had a unique, silky texture.



[photo—pastes]

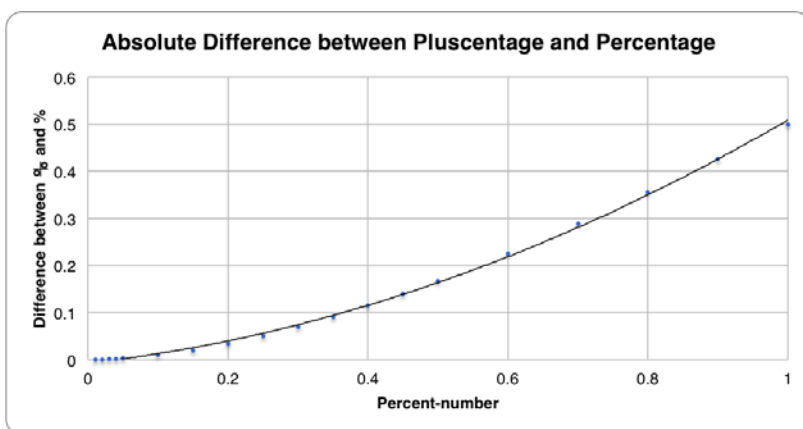
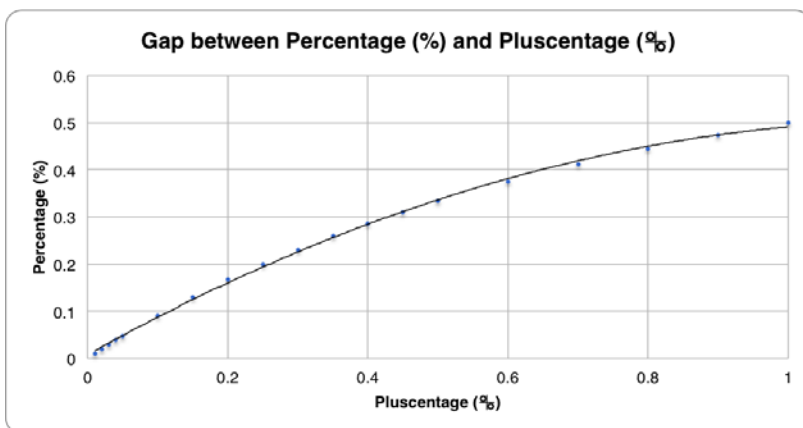
In this long-term, iterative experiment, we could say the improvisation began with the first impulse to taste the paste—an unexpected feature of the initially scripted process. That first distinction led to multiple pressings and further fractioning. The script generated not only new products post-fermentation, but also ever more refined versions of itself. And it could have been taken even further, with a centrifuge, and ideas for using the discarded fragments of exoskeleton.

The main functional ingredient in both of these fermentation experiments is the focus of our third example: salt. More specifically, how to measure it in fermentation scripts and practice.

‘2% salt’ is a common rule of thumb in simple lacto-fermentation recipes—for making sauerkraut, kimchi, and other kinds of vegetable pickles. By the summer of 2013 we were realising that this simple edict contained a crucial ambiguity, which unintentionally yielded multiple possibilities from the same script.

For a typical lacto-fermentation, rather than starting with 1000 grams of vegetables and 20 grams of salt, it is simpler to weigh the vegetables you have and add 2% salt to them. This is how most chefs and fermentors will perform the script of ‘2% salt’: 100 parts something plus 2 parts salt. Yet for most scientists, ‘2% salt’ means something different: a mixture of 2 parts salt with 98 parts something else. At this low level, the difference between the two enactments is negligible, but it gets bigger and bigger as the desired percentage increases: 10% vs. 9.1% is significant; 35% vs. 25% is enormous.

As we mulled over this problem over a couple years, different ways of representing this distinction emerged: ‘process’ vs. ‘product’, ‘factor’ vs. ‘ratio’, ‘production’ vs. ‘composition’, each with their own pros and cons. We ended up settling on ‘pluscent’ vs. ‘percent’—and even designed our own nifty notation for the former: %.



[graphs—visualising the pluscentage–percentage gap]

I then devised an experiment to investigate how this difference might matter not only for the taste of mixtures but also for how these differences might lead to different microbial ecologies, and potentially greater divergence of flavour through the fermentation process. This experiment could be understood as a kind of metascript: a script designed to operate on another script—in this case to test out its coherence and fidelity.

I made two different model fermentation systems—a low-salt miso and a high-salt miso—using Øland brown beans (a variety of heirloom bean from the Swedish island of Øland, in the Baltic Sea), pearled barley koji, filtered water, and sea salt (Table 2), in duplicate, each with three trials: one with salt by percent, one with salt by pluscent, and a negative control with no salt.



[photo—miso trials]

I took samples of ~5 mL at 2-week intervals over the 3-month fermentation, for a total of 7 samplings,

which I froze to await metagenomic sequencing of their microbial communities at the Natural History Museum of Denmark. I also conducted a fast aroma and visual analysis after sampling for the seventh and final time.

This preliminary experiment had plenty of room for improvement—obtaining more and more rigorous sensory data, and the samples are yet to be sequenced and analysed—but the preliminary results of the misos revealed some sensory differences between them, which suggested differences in their microbial communities.

What does this experiment reveal about scripts and improvisations? It shows us how scripts contain hidden ambiguities. NFL's interdisciplinary space revealed the ambiguity of this '2% salt' script through different groups interpreting and performing it differently alongside each other. It was the theatre, the space in which the script came alive, that identified its ambiguity and allowed it to be worked through and resolved.

These three examples of experimental food fermentation show how scripts and improvisations, rather than being clear-cut categories, interdigitate as far as we can trace them. These reticulated interactions between scripts and improvisations in food fermentation practices generate the open-ended space where new tastes emerge and can recursively self-replicate, where otherwise invisible ambiguities are revealed and resolved, where multiple possibilities are gestured towards and pursued further. Similarly, these three experiments show us how, rather than being in tension or at odds, scripts and improvisations inform each other and dialectically co-evolve. Indeed, they need each other—it is as impossible to improvise in a scriptless vacuum as it is to enact a script without simultaneously improvising upon and around it.

In short, food practices are necessarily blended enactments of scripts and improvisations. Understanding food practices in this way, as the above fermentation experiments illustrate, also reveals how they can be a way of testing out alternative, more sensitive, more flourishing relationships with our multispecies companions, who allow us to eat well in the first place. This kind of food practice, that actively plays with script and improvisation and the space they co-create, is a way of proposing and building utopian visions—cosmopolitical experiments we can taste and eat.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

David wishes to acknowledge the support of William Angliss Institute and the University of Gastronomic Sciences for making possible his participation in the 21st Symposium of Australian Gastronomy.

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"Part I: Scripts" is adapted from Szanto, David. 2016. "A Few Food Scripts." University of Gastronomic Sciences. http://www.unisg.it/assets/ecogastronomy_melbourne_unisg_scripts.pdf.

Some passages of "Part II: Experiments" have been adapted from NFL blogposts written by Josh Evans, under NFL's Creative Commons licence: 'Faux foie' <<http://nordicfoodlab.org/blog/2016/3/14/faux-foie>>; 'Fractioning insect garums' <<http://nordicfoodlab.org/blog/2016/3/18/fractioning-insect-garums>>; 'On measuring' <<http://nordicfoodlab.org/blog/2016/3/4/on-measuring>>. See these pages for the full story of each experiment.

NOTES

- ¹ For more on performance theory and practice, see: Banes & Lepecki 2007; Carlson 2004; Denzin 2003; Dolan 1993; Fischer-Lichte 2008; Pearson 2006; Salter 2010; Schechner 2003; Schneider 2012; Szerszynski et al. 2003; Turner 1988. For more on performance and food studies, see: Berghaus 2009; Geis 1998; Hey 2015; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1999, 2012; Szanto 2017; Szanto et al. 2016; Whittal 2017.
- ² For more, see: Dwight Conquergood (2002) on using performance as a device for “intervening” in the normativities of other research methods; Jack Goody (2008) on the points of connection between the recipe, the prescription, and the experiment; Owen Chapman & Kim Sawchuck (2012) and Bruno Latour (2005) on the ways in which “the social” is not a pre-constructed reality, but akin to the way artists interpret scores and choreographies; Pierre Bourdieu (1993) on the dynamic between “field” and “habitus” in creating our moment-to-moment understandings of and interactions with ‘reality’; James Gibson (2014) on the visual cues or “affordances” of designed objects; and Niels Bohr (1934/2011), Karen Barad (2008), and Ian Hacking (1987) on the dynamics between theory and practice, models and realities, and apparatuses and their enactment.
- ³ For more on koji, see <<http://nordicfoodlab.org/blog/2013/8/koji-history-and-process>>.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Joshua Evans is a postgraduate student in history and philosophy of science at the University of Cambridge, where he is doing research on microbial ecology and domestication. Prior to this he worked for four years with Nordic Food Lab, a non-profit organisation in Copenhagen that does open-source experimental research on taste and food diversity. Much of his work there focussed on neglected and underutilised edible resources such as insects, wild plants, and fermentation techniques. He has done

graduate work in food microbiology in Denmark and on food history and culture in France, and prior to joining the Nordic Food Lab team he earned his bachelor's in the humanities at Yale where he studied literature, philosophy, and sustainable food systems.

David Szanto is a researcher, artist, and professor, taking an experimental approach to gastronomy through design, ecosophy, and performance. Past projects include: performances exploring belonging, representation, and microbes; digital art collaborations producing socio-technical hybrids; and curatorial work at the intersection of academia, art, and activism. Publications include articles and chapters on research-creation, food systems visualization, emotionality in academia, and human-material performance in food milieus. He is currently Professor-at-large for the University of Gastronomic Sciences in Italy, coordinating the Eco-Gastronomy Project (www.unisg.it/ecogastronomy). David is a Vice President of the Canadian Association for Food Studies and an Associate Editor of its peer-reviewed journal, *Canadian Food Studies*.

Duncan Galletly

Tantric lessons from a cornflake cookie

ABSTRACT

This paper considers those few moments when the eater is allowed to take control of the foodway - the transition from plate to pylorus - from food as an object of desire to one of disgust.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Duncan Galletly is an Honorary Associate Professor of Anaesthesia at the University of Otago. He has over 100 papers in the scientific literature but has spent more time and interest investigating the taxonomy of cakes and biscuits, icons in food, Brilliant Savarin, the staining and illustration of cookery books, sauce, cider and zomato. He publishes a little journal of gastronomy - the *Aristologist* - and has a website of the same name. He makes cider in his spare time and is currently working on the republication of New Zealand's earliest cookery books.

Darra Goldstein

Life Has Become More Joyous, Comrades': The Myth of Abundance in Early Soviet Life

ABSTRACT

The 1917 Russian Revolution ushered in the greatest utopian experiment in history. By the time the Soviet Union was officially declared in 1922, its Ministry of Enlightenment was already theorizing the conditions under which politically and socially liberated Soviet citizens would thrive. No aspect of life went untouched in the government's efforts to transform the essential structure of society: literacy, hygiene, and nutrition were all part of the educational campaigns. In particular, the Soviets demonized the nuclear family with its personal rather than collective values. Women had to be liberated from familial burdens and demands, most famously those involving the kitchen. By the mid-1920s the Soviet government had come up with a radical idea: massive factory-kitchens to feed the collective rather than the individual. The public preparation and serving of meals offered a crucial opportunity to remove individuals from unhealthy domestic environments.

This paper explores the rise and fall of the factory-kitchens, as well as other culinary aspects of the alleged utopia that flourished under Stalin, such as the promotion of hygienic government shops over traditional farmers markets; the advancement of "ethnic" recipes from the constituent Soviet republics to further ideals of national unity; and the creation of a myth of abundance through lavish vitrines, colorful posters, illustrated cookbooks, and mass carnivals that harked back to medieval European practice. Even as the political terror of the 1930s progressed, Russians experienced a parallel universe in which Soviet-made chocolates and champagne, previously disdained as symbols of bourgeois life, were touted as evidence that life had indeed "become more joyous." The paper ends with a brief look at Russian culture today, two decades after the collapse of the Soviet Union, to show how Soviet ideals of a gastronomic utopia have been transformed through older Russian conceptions of abundance and plenty.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Darra Goldstein is the Willcox and Harriet Adsit Professor of Russian at Williams College and Founding Editor of *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, named the 2012 Publication of the Year by the James Beard Foundation. She served as editor in chief for *The Oxford Companion to Sugar and Sweets* and for the Council of Europe's *Culinary Cultures of Europe: Identity, Diversity and Dialogue*. Goldstein has also authored five cookbooks, including *The Georgian Feast* (1994 IACP Julia Child Cookbook of the Year) and *Fire + Ice: Classic Nordic Cooking*, nominated for both James Beard and IACP awards. She is series editor of *California Studies in Food and Culture* (University of California Press) and editor in chief of the new magazine *CURED*.

Catie Gressier

Hunting, foraging and the search for enchantment

ABSTRACT

Fuelled by concerns regarding the environmental and public health impacts of the industrial food complex, a growing number of Australians are pursuing alternative post-capitalist, and decidedly utopian, foodways. These range from growing, hunting, foraging and trading food, through to roadkill consumption, fruit pilfering and dumpster diving. Drawing on ethnographic research among new wave settler-descended subsistence hunters and foragers in Victoria and Tasmania, I explore their recourse to both imagined animal moralities and European peasant ontologies as key rationalisations for their gustatory engagements. Applying Kohn's (2013) notion of telos to foodways—particularly the meaning sought via the means-end relationship of labouring to secure one's own food—I explore hunters and foragers' constructions of the human as animal within their claims to confounding capitalist norms, contributing to environmental sustainability, and re-engaging authentic human-animal relationships in the pursuit of enchantment through the dirty, sweaty and bloody practices of hands-on food procurement.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Catie Gressier is a cultural anthropologist specialising in issues surrounding human-animal relations, settler societies, tourism and the anthropology of food. Her first book, *At Home in the Okavango*, explores emplacement and senses of belonging among the white citizens working in the safari industry in northwest Botswana. In her current role as McArthur Research Fellow at The University of Melbourne, she is examining the growing interest in wild meat consumption in urban and rural Victoria and Tasmania. Her second book, *Illness, Identity and Taboo among Australian Paleo Dieters*, will be released in 2017. She holds a PhD from the University of Western Australia, and serves on the Editorial Board of Anthropological Forum.

Semi Hakim (co-authored with Shirley Kaston and Onur Daylan)

Utopic or Dystopic? Symbols of utopic appetite in “Halil brahim Sofrası” Song

ABSTRACT

Utopian appetites are commonly found in tales and ancient rumours; besides the abundance and fertility. This paper will focus on a famous song called “Halil brahim Sofrası” performed by singer Barı Manço (1943-1999) on 1983. Manço was one of the leading artists for progressive rock in Turkey, thus this kind of music genre was well suited for utopic symbols and imagination. “Halil brahim Sofrası” is briefly matching with ancient rumours on which utopic equality and prosperity which are shaped with religion; these attributes does not clash with More’s utopia. All of them shows a harmony in terms of pairing food, banqueting and food production. From our point of view, utopic imaginations are derived from religious promises and establish “Eden” on earth again. As a common progressive rock theme, in this song, every lyric symbolised a moral status and ethical expectations. For instance, “an empty pot” symbolises “empty mankind” which is contrary of an utopian perspective. Barı Manço, skilfully binds symbols and advices with ancient rumors throughout the song, which can be seemed as he uses feast as a connector. Barı Manço has been regarded as a “Modern Poet”; Manço sang his songs as a storyteller in them and often gave advices to the audience. In “Halil brahim Sofrası”, Manço urges guests of the feast about sycophants. In a similar manner, he talks from Hythloday’s mouth to urge society about sycophants.

In our paper, first we summarise “utopic appetites” of ancient tales then outline needs for religion, in order to develop a utopic community. Second, we track progressive rock themes those might accepted as “modern utopic stories” and discuss it with a music critic. Then, we deeply focus on Barı Manço’s song and define the symbols of this utopic feast. Finally we try to match these symbols with Sir More’s Utopia in order to answer following questions: Is the Halil brahim Sofrası” utopic or dystopic song? “Are the all utopic appetites edible?”

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

After graduating from Tourism Management, Semi went on to receiving Culinary Training at Culinary Arts Academy of Istanbul. After several internships within Turkey and Europe, Semi went back to Turkey to start working with Institute of Creative Minds where they establish the research and community project for Anatolian food, Gastronomika. Semi worked as a Managing Partner in Gastronomika 2013 till 2015 coordinating researches and organisations. In 2013 he also started working for Kitchen Guerilla which was an international group of chefs organising food events within Europe and Turkey, as Head of Operations for Turkey till 2015. Between 2014-2015 Semi worked for Slow Food’s ESSEDRA Project for Balkans and Turkey, as project coordinator for Turkey. The aim of the project was cataloguing, protecting and supporting the small producers within Balkans and Turkey where also raising awareness towards them. Between 2015-2016 he was also consulting chef for Markthalle Neun in Berlin for Kantine Neun project.

In 2016, with Shirley Kaston, Semi founded Kök Projekt in Istanbul. Kök Projekt is a social innovation organisation that focuses on food and gastronomy. Kök Projekt aims to connect food and technology, to create a sustainable and healthy food production, distribution and consumption ecosystem. Kök Projekt aims create a new generation of platforms for food entrepreneurs to create, get support or funded for their ideas and projects. The core belief is that humans are the center of innovation, therefore works on establishing sustainable food innovation network, working for future of food.

Graham Harding

Inventing tradition and terroir: the case of champagne in the late nineteenth century

In 1887 the newly formed trade body representing the ‘Grande Marque’ houses of Champagne won a decisive victory in a long series of bitterly fought legal actions over the right to use the term ‘champagne’ on the label. Victory ensured that the only wines that could bear the name ‘champagne’ on the label were those grown and produced in the French region of Champagne. The purpose of this paper is to explore how the champagne industry moved over the next ten to fifteen years to consolidate this legal victory. The judgement at the Angers ‘cours de cassation’ was conclusive but it had not closed down those producers of sparkling wine from the neighbouring region of Saumur or the Rhineland who had been using (or abusing) the term ‘champagne’. They remained a very significant threat to the Champenois.

This paper focuses on the steps that the Syndicat du Commerce des Vins de Champagne (SCVC for short) took to re-make the image of champagne. I say ‘re-make’ because their promotional efforts, which centred around the Paris Exhibitions of 1889 and 1900, involved creating a foundation myth for their wine. The purpose of this myth was to address the perception that champagne was ‘fabricated’ or manufactured rather than a natural product by invoking a unique ‘terroir’ of beauty, grace, courtesy and inspiration. Central to the execution of this project was a man named Raphael Bonnedame. He was editor of *Le Vigneron Champenois*, the paper of the champagne trade, author of many books on champagne houses, primary author of the publicity booklets produced for the Exhibitions and assiduous promoter of his native region. I will argue that he played a key role in the creation of the modern branding of champagne.

Modern branding theory has come to distinguish many separate kinds of brands (which I will not attempt to enumerate here). By the mid nineteenth century the term brand was essentially used to denote the products of different producers, for example Veuve Clicquot’s champagne or Beecham’s Pills. The focus is on the house, that is the family of the founder. By the late nineteenth century separate product brands were being created, e.g. Sunlight Soap in which the name of the producer was subordinated to the name of the product itself. Regardless of type, such branding took tangible form. The coat of arms or the name on the cork, the product name on the label, the colour of the label or the foil around the neck, the word ‘champagne’ itself; all these are tangible marks that can be protected from counterfeiters through court action. However, what modern branding theory and practice has come to recognize is that protecting the tangibles is not enough. Brands are not just marks of identity but also tools to manage meaning. Such meaning is built up over time by consistent communication *to* consumers and through the consistent experience *of* consumers. The process is two way rather than unidirectional and involves not just tangible marks of identity but intangible associations or values. This paper examines what I suggest is a pioneer attempt to create meaning to complement legal protection.

The SCVC and Bonnedame were focused in the 1880s and 1890s on a new form of branding which demanded the support of powerful yet intangible symbols. Today we recognise territorial or regional brands as a separate category of brands. Parma ham is one such, Cheddar cheese another. To be effective such brands need to make a clear link not just with the geographical origin but with the meaning of the place. Here we come to that tricky French term – *terroir* – a term that embraces not just soil and climate but also admits a cultural dimension based on the history and practices of the inhabitants of that space. There are many definitions of ‘terroir’ but I suggest the most useful is that of Dominique Barjolle who calls it ‘a human space characterised by a shared history’.¹ Using modern branding theory is a means of reflecting on what the SCVC and Bonnedame did with their territorial brand – ‘champagne’.

There is a vast modern literature on the theory and practice of branding though relatively little on the history of branding. Much of what does exist has been written from an American mass-market perspective and generally locates the origins of modern marketing and branding in America in the

¹ Dominique Barjolle, Stephane Boisseaux, and Martine Dufour, *Le Lien Au Terroir: Bilan Des Travaux De Recherche*, (Lausanne: Institut de l’économie rurale, 1998), https://www.aop-igp.ch/_upl/files/Lien_au_terroir.pdf.

years before and after World War One. A few writers, notably Roy Church, have argued for a European perspective and directed attention to the nineteenth century brands of British entrepreneurs such as William Hesketh Lever, of which Sunlight Soap is a good example. Relatively little attention has been paid to the history of luxury branding, although there are many hagiographies of brands such as Louis Vuitton and, of course, many champagne houses. Very little attention has been paid to territorial brands and place-name branding with the first books and articles starting to appear in the last decade.¹

Whilst the development and exploitation of the territorial brand of champagne in today's marketing practice has been studied in a number of recent articles, notably by Steve Charters and Jennifer Smith Maguire neither of these scholars, though well aware of the history, devote time to origins. The only person to do so is the historian Kolleen Guy, whose 2003 book *When Champagne Became French*, studies the early marketing of champagne, largely through the extensive collection of labels held in the Marne archives.

In this paper, however, I will primarily draw on the publications written for the Syndicat du Commerce des Vins de Champagne and on the marketing initiatives of *Le Vigneron Champenois*, which Raphael Bonnedame edited and published for many years after taking over from his father in the late 1870s. Bonnedame also had a printing and publishing business which published many of the key SCVC documents. Broadly speaking, the sources fall into four groups: collections of legal judgements, popular guides to the production of champagne written and produced by Bonnedame for the two Paris Exhibitions in 1889 and 1900, the SCVC's account of the 'Palace of Champagne' at the 1900 Exhibition (which re-used material from the 1889 Exhibition) and articles in *Le Vigneron Champenois*. This paper making leaves aside the legal collections and focuses on the other three groups.

The information available on Bonnedame himself is scanty and the archives of the SCVC remain inaccessible to outsiders so it is difficult to decide whether he was mainly a copywriter or whether he had a more important role in the deliberations of the SCVC. Nonetheless, as editor of the most important trade newspaper and practising journalist with a deep knowledge of the champagne houses, whose histories he had written in a series called 'Les Gloires de Champagne' he was clearly an influential figure.

The Syndicat du Commerce summary of the judges' decision at the 1887 hearing in Angers was that 'les vins récoltés et manutentionnés en Champagne ont seule la droit de porter ce nom'.² In other words wines grown or vinified outside the area could not use the name 'champagne' on their labels. A variant of this same line is still used on the official champagne websites.³ For the Syndicat the victory at Angers was 'une consécration de notre droit' ['sacred vindication of our rights'] but they recognised that they could not simply rely on the law. In a letter published in *Le Vigneron Champenois* they called on their colleagues to participate in a collective presence at the forthcoming 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris. They argued that not to do so would be to leave the field open to those illicit competitors who would once again attempt to 'usurp' their place and their name. Not to put on a show would, they said, be an 'abdication'.⁴ The proposal for a collective display was accepted and the outcome was what the *Petit Journal* guide to the Exhibition called an 'audacious' display that represented the history of a bottle of champagne from vine to glass rendered in wax figures at 1/10th scale.⁵ Though there is no definitive visual evidence but the heavily illustrated SCVC report of the 1900 display strongly suggests that these figures were re-used.⁶ To ensure that the visitors understood the significance of what they were seeing a *Notice Historique sur le vin de Champagne* was given to all visitors.⁷

In his booklets written for the 1889 and 1900 Exhibition, Bonnedame had essentially three themes in mind. These were the process of creating champagne, the unique qualities of the region and, third, the revitalisation and popularisation of the legend of the seventeenth century Benedictine monk, Dom Pérignon, whom he portrayed as the 'inventor' of sparkling wine. Firstly, he insisted that the 'inimitable

1 See, for example, Simon Anholt, *Competitive Identity: The Brand Management for Nations, Cities and Regions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

2 Syndicat du Commerce des Vins de Champagne, *Propriété Du Nom De Champagne. Arrêts Et Jugements Divers* (Reims: Matot-Braine, 1905), p. 9.

3 See www.champagne.fr, accessed 15 November 2016: 'Champagne only comes from Champagne, France'.

4 *Le Vigneron Champenois*, 26 October 1887, p. 1.

5 See *Le Petit Journal* guide at http://www.worldfairs.info/expopavillondetails.php?expo_id=6&pavillon_id=992, accessed 25 October 2016.

6 Fernand Blondeau, *L'exposition Du Syndicat Du Commerce Des Vins De Champagne En 1900: Rapport Général, Présenté Au Nom De La Commission Exécutive* (Reims: Matot, 1901).

7 Syndicat du Commerce des Vins de Champagne, *Notice Historique Sur Le Vin De Champagne* (Épernay: Bonnedame et Cie, 1889).

qualities' of champagne were due not to 'artifice but to the special nature of the soil and geography of the province of Champagne'. He was emphatic that this was not a 'fabricated wine' (as many had alleged) but that its 'transformations' were based on the 'ingenious use of natural forces' and the 'constant labour of generations'.¹ His own proof copy of his 1893 book on Moët & Chandon insisted that 'it was of the utmost importance to show people that our wines are natural' and in the text he changed 'ils sont travaillés' (that is, 'worked on') to 'ils ont à subir plusieurs manutentions très délicates' ('put through very delicate operations').²

Second, Bonnedame focused on the unique – even utopian – qualities of the Champagne region. The *Quelques Mots sur le Vin de Champagne* depicted his homeland as a paradisiacal region which represented the 'l'esprit Gaulois' or 'spirit of France'. Walking to and from the harvest each day the workers sing joyous 'songs of the countryside'. Unlike the Anglophone writers of earlier in the century who depicted the 'peasants' as crafty, suspicious and greedy, the author painted a picture of the Champenois as sober, moral and courteous, whilst the women had all the gifts: 'beauty, grace, wit and warm hearts'.³ His presentation of Champagne as a Utopian terroir had been foreshadowed in *Le Vigneron Champenois* a few years earlier when the newspaper ran a poetry competition, which he helped to judge.⁴ The newspaper appealed to the 'vast federation' of French poets to reflect in verse how 'the wine of Champagne is the wellspring of all the great men and all the noble sentiments that inspire us, the French'. 'Buvons ce necteur de Cocagne' was the rallying cry of one of the winners, thus linking Champagne to the mythical land of medieval plenty.⁵ Stylistically, the illustrations to the *Notice Historique* show vineyard work as it had been fifty years earlier. These illustrations contrast strongly with advertisement pages of his newspaper which carried detailed drawings of the latest vineyard technology required to spray the vines or inject them with chemicals in the vain attempt to combat phylloxera. Hopeful letters to *Le Vigneron Champenois* insisted that its soil would resist phylloxera, the most dangerous vine disease of the nineteenth century. The correspondents were wrong but Bonnedame's powerful depiction of a unique and original terroir still echoes through contemporary champagne marketing.

The third of Bonnedame's themes was that of the man he called the 'inventor' of champagne. His writings, whether for the Exhibitions or in his other works on the champagne houses, rescued Dom Pérignon from almost sixty years of near obscurity. The 1820s mythology of the humble cellarer at the Abbey of Hautvillers who called to his colleagues 'come quickly for I am seeing stars' was revived.⁶ In Bonnedame's account he was the 'inventor of champagne' who knew how to make it sparkle. In fact Pérignon probably spent his working life in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century trying to eradicate the second fermentation that caused the bubbles but made the wine prone to spoilage. It is certain that Pérignon did not invent the cork. It is a myth that he was blind. The consensus of modern scholars is that he was an expert blender and it is telling that as late as 1884, Paul Chandon de Briailles of the eponymous champagne house, proposed that the chemist whose technical innovations had enabled the creation of modern champagne should be honoured with a statue in Epernay.⁷ The proposal came to nothing, instead a statue of Dom Pérignon was finally erected in 1910.⁸ In 1914, his starring role in the creation of champagne was confirmed by *Le Petit Journal*, which was then one of France's most popular newspapers. Their front cover in June 1914 celebrated the 200th anniversary of Dom Pérignon's discovery of champagne. Not only a founder but a date.⁹

This 'invention of tradition' – as Hobsbawm and Ranger famously put it in 1983 – was very convenient for the industry.¹⁰ By the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century champagne was becoming more and more strongly associated with vulgarity, new money and somewhat unrefined carnality. Just two weeks after it celebrated the bicentennial, a short story published in *Le Petit Journal*

1 Raphael Bonnedame, *Quelques Mots Sur Le Vin De Champagne* (Epernay: Bonnedame, 1899).

2 Raphael Bonnedame, *Notice sur la Maison Moët & Chandon d'Epernay* (Epernay: Bonnedame, 1893).

3 Bonnedame, *Quelques Mots Sur Le Vin De Champagne*, pp. 21–5.

4 For the genesis and results of the poetry competition see *Le Vigneron Champenois*, 26 March 1884, 9 April 1884 and 16 April 1884. Bonnedame was secretary to the jury.

5 For Adolphe Chavance's winning poem see *Le Vigneron Champenois*, 13 August 1884, p. 3.

6 The mythology owed its substantive origins to Dom Oudard, writing of a man he never knew. See René Gandilhon, *Naissance Du Champagne, Dom Pierre Pérignon* (Paris: Hachette, 1968).

7 *Le Vigneron Champenois*, 2 July 1884, p. 1.

8 Kolleen M. Guy, *When Champagne Became French: Wine and the Making of a National Identity* (Baltimore, Md.; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), p. 28.

9 Supplement to *Le Petit Journal*, 14 June 1914, p. 1.

10 E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition, Past and Present Publications* (Cambridge: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–14.

describes how its anti-hero ‘dreamt of nothing other than night-time bars and private rooms (cabinets particuliers) where, after the champagne, mad orgies were unleashed’.¹

The focus on utopian terroir that the SCVC and Bonnedame pioneered was equally powerful in the long-term. Analysis of the current marketing strategies of the champagne houses shows how both large and small houses project an image of terroir-based authenticity. This continues to be backed up by extensive use of trade law to prevent any others using the world ‘champagne’. In 2004, a Swiss village called Champagne was banned from using this name on its own wine.

The SCVC’s initiative appears to be the first time that a region actively set out to promote an image rather than simply assert the link between place and production. Such basic linkages have been traced back into the eighteenth century but consist of little more than lists of French regions and their notable products – such as ‘jambon de Bayonne, or truffes de Périgord.’² It appears that Champagne was the first territorial brand to create an image for its region in support of its defence of legal rights. Camembert presents an interesting parallel example but its campaign to create national recognition for a territorial brand followed from its exposure to French troops during the First World War almost a generation later.³

Today, many firms make use of foundation myths. Jim Beam whiskey is one obvious example. Their website calls the brand ‘an American tradition’ based on over two hundred years of production of whisky. However, the Jim Beam name itself dates back only to 1933. Johnny Walker did found the whisky brand that now bears his name, but the founder’s name itself was first used in only 1908. But, no other five billion euro industry can trace its origins back to a single ‘inventor’ – even if the word is increasingly used within quotation marks.⁴ For that the Syndicat and Bonnedame must take credit. Pierre Boisard, who studied the origins of Camembert, called his article the ‘future of a tradition’. In their imagining of a natural wine produced from a utopian terroir by a monk of genius, champagne invented the tradition and created an enduring marketing proposition that has now guided the portrayal of the industry for well over a century.

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Graham Harding returned to history after building the UK’s largest independent marketing and branding agency. He is now attached to the University of Oxford (St Cross College) where his doctorate

¹ Le Petit Journal, 29 June 1914.

² Philippe Meyzie, «La Construction De La Renommée Des Produits De Terroirs: Acteurs Et Enjeux D’un Marché De La Gourmandise En France (Xviiie-Début Xixe Siècle).» *French Historical Studies* 38, no. 2 (2015); see also Philippe Minard, «Le Bureau ‘Essai De Birmingham, Ou La Fabrique De La Réputation Au Xviiiè Siècle.» *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, no. 5 (2010).for the development of ‘Made in Birmingham’ as a mark of quality

³ Pierre Boisard, “The Future of a Tradition: Two Ways of Making Camembert, the Foremost Cheese of France,” *Food and Foodways* 4, no. 3-4 (1991).

⁴ See <http://www.bbr.com/producer-703-dom-perignon>, accessed 8 November 2016.

focuses on how nineteenth-century French producers collaborated and competed with English merchants and agents and in so doing created the template for modern champagne. Publications include *The Wine Miscellany* (2005), which was published in UK, USA, France and other countries and articles in the *Sage Encyclopedia of Alcohol* (2015) and the *Journal of Retailing and Consumption* (2016). A chapter on champagne in the nineteenth century will be published in *Devouring: Food, Drink and the Written Word, 1800 - 1945* (Routledge, 2017).

Melissa Harper

Reimagining hospitality: Gay Bilson at the Bennelong restaurant

ABSTRACT

The Bennelong, housed in Sydney's Opera House, is one of the city's longest running and best-known restaurants. Established in 1973, Bennelong has had something of a 'chequered' history undergoing numerous shifts in personnel, style and reputation as Opera House management have waxed and waned regarding their vision of what the restaurant should be. In this paper my focus is on Gay Bilson's tenure at the Bennelong between 1995 and 1998. Lured to the restaurant, just as she was on the cusp of retiring from the industry, Bilson was entrusted with the task of transforming what had hitherto been a culinary disappointment into a culinary destination worthy of its location in Australia's most famous public building. She brought to the space two decades of experience as a restaurateur and cook, a reputation as a pioneer of a culture of fine dining in Australia and a passionate belief in the significance of the restaurant in the broader cultural life of the city. Bilson understood eating as art, dining as theatre and envisaged the Bennelong as a space of performance, equivalent to any of the other performance spaces in the Opera House. But the cooking and serving of food was not only a creative act, it was an intellectual one. Over time Bilson had honed a kind of philosophy of hospitality that guided her approach to the function of the restaurant and the nature of the relationship between the restaurateur and the diner.

This paper explores Bilson's ideas about the serving of food in the public domain of the fine dining restaurant. In particular it examines how those ideas were received. Bilson's approach to food, gastronomy and restaurants won her international acclaim but also wrath, and some diners were not afraid to voice their displeasure at her efforts. Here I tease out the tensions between the creative professional who sought to bring a philosophical approach to the Australian table and the customer who sometimes rejected it as an unwelcome intrusion of elitism.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Melissa Harper is a senior lecturer in Australian Studies and Cultural History at the University of Queensland. She is the author of *The Ways of the Bushwalker: On Foot in Australia* (2007) and a number of articles on the history of bushwalking. Melissa is currently working on a history of dining out in Australia since the 1960s.

Saman Hassibi and Amir Sayadabdi

Representation of Persian Cuisine in Western-Iranian Cookbooks

ABSTRACT

The emergence of Iranian cookbooks in Western languages in recent years marks a critical point in the development of Iranian cuisine. These books which are all written by Iranian authors based abroad, have an ethnographic character; that is the primary intention of their authors is not providing the recipes, but presenting a homogenous ‘Persian’ culture through the perspective of the cookbook genre. Having left the country mostly after the Iranian revolution, most of these authors evoke a romanticized setting of Persian culture in their books. This is defined by an unrealistic projection of the culinary richness and abundance of Iranian cuisine in order to reclaim Persian ‘civilized’ and ‘exquisite’ cultural identity. As a result, the image and practices of original Persian cuisine has been transformed to a substantially enlarged and exaggerated culinary repertoire. Using a content analysis of Persian cookbooks written in English by Iranian authors in the last 20 years, our paper will examine the transformation of the perception held by those outside Iran of what Persian cuisine really is, and constructing a ‘utopianized’ Persian identity through food and cookery texts.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Saman Hassibi is a PhD candidate at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. She received her MSc from the Norwegian Hotel School at the University of Stavanger, Norway, where she worked on a project on Norwegian food culture with cooperation of the *Norwegian Cookbook Museum*. Her research interests mainly focus on food culture, culinary tourism, and the relationship between food and media. She is also interested in history of food and is currently working on two independent projects on Persian culinary history.

Hilary Heslop

Pathways to Food Utopia from Australia's Past

This paper will propose that the Aboriginal people of Australia managed the land in a systematic and scientific fashion creating a park-like landscape with open woodlands and extensive wildlife. In this ordered and controlled environment they spent far less time on procuring food than their European counterparts would on their arrival in 1788. How can we learn from this past to take Australia to a more cohesive and sustainable future?

“The myth that Aboriginal people had no knowledge of husbandry was a mistake based on prejudice”

Robert Etheridge Paleontologist, 1894

Strong evidence insists that the hunter-gatherer tag, given to the Aboriginal Australians by the colonists, was a myth to suit the European narrative of the time to assist in claiming both dominance and possession of the land. Prior to their arrival the Aborigines used a land management system that used fire, water systems and tree grass mosaics. This system was the caretaker of an estate covering 7.7 million square kilometres encompassing huge diversity including rainforests and deserts. The indigenous people of this land thought of it as single and universal and this philosophy formed the basis of their land management system. They used fire to control growth and to create regeneration which in turn allowed them to move grazing animals by carefully locating their feed and shelter. They dammed rivers and used weirs whilst ensuring that some fish could still migrate. Allies and clans could be hundreds of miles away and it was important that food sources were available to all. There were three rules to this system:

- Ensure that all life flourishes
- Make plants and animals abundant, convenient and predictable
- Think universal, act local

Fish Traps

They dammed rivers and used weirs whilst ensuring that some fish could still migrate. Allies and clans could be hundreds of miles away and it was important food sources were available to all.



Brewarrina Fish Traps

Courtesy Victoria State Library

Fire

They used fire to control growth and regeneration.

“Fire, grass, kangaroos, and human inhabitants, seem all dependent on each other for existence in Australia; for any one of these being wanting, the others could no longer continue. Fire is necessary to burn the grass, and form those open forests.”

Thomas Mitchell, Sydney, January 1847



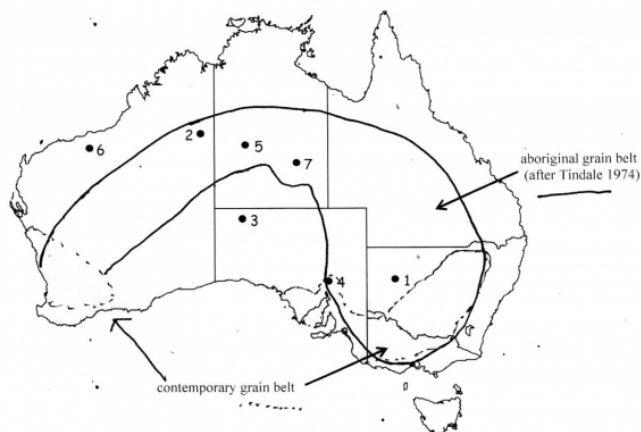
Image courtesy Getty Images

Grain

“There is a perennial grain-cropping system as it was used in the long term past but which is still there for the discovery if we are wise enough to look”

Ian Chivers, 2012

Adjunct Professor Southern Cross University



Evidence of harvesting and trading grain

Evidence of baking dating back 25,000 years.

Evidence of surplus grain

Colonialism and dispossession will have a devastating effect on the Aborigines and their system of land management will all but disappear. All indigenous animals were soft footed but hard hooved livestock imported from Europe will overrun the land eating native grasses and other food sources and causing Australia’s thin top soil to wash away. The grassy patches and pathway will disappear and give way to

the landscape we know today.



North Esk River 1809

Image courtesy Mitchell Library



North Esk River 2008

Image Courtesy Bill Gammage

Present Day

The profile of indigenous food in the late 20th century was a pedestrian affair. In the 1980s indigenous cookbooks and food companies began to appear but take up into the mainstream was minimal and indigenous ingredients was always on the fringes of Australian cuisine. In direct contrast the profile of food, restaurants and gastronomy grew in Australia as the interest in cooking, dining out and wine became a clear lifestyle choice for many Australians.

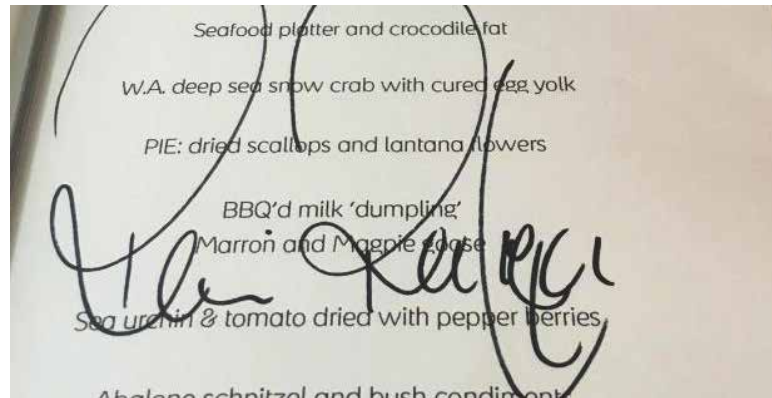
However, In the last decade ethics, sustainability and foraging have become stronger trends as the impacts of global warming begin to take effect. Interest in an empathic land management system and sustainable perennial crops is gaining a much wider audience. Celebrity chefs (ironically many of

them not Australians) have taken up the ingredients ensuring they appear in latest restaurant reviews, food magazines and blogs. Authors like Bruce Pascoe and Bill Gammage are redefining the history of the Aborigine and their agriculture heritage and contribution. Perhaps finally the time is right and a forgotten past and its people may shape the future for a more cohesive and sustainable Australia.

“Culinary reconciliation”

John Newton, 2016

Writer



Celebrity chefs and indigenous food

Rene Redzepi

Ben Shewry

Jock Zonfrillo

“I have a dream. In 2025 5% of the agricultural grain crop will be under perennial Australian Aboriginal grains, ten percent of the root croplands will be growing murrnong (yam daisy) and other Aboriginal root crops. Native raspberries will become 5% of the berry market and a real Australian sorbet will drench real Australian ice cream. This is not just a dream because all of those plants are perennial. You do not have to plough the land for any of them so there will be an element of carbon sequestration and CO₂ reduction on this innovative land use and in a drying continent to use plants that have been domesticated by Aboriginal people over tens of thousands of years to take advantage of Australian soils and moisture and fertility levels is environmentally sensible. These plants are adapted to Australian pests and because we will use tractors less, we will compact the soil less, and as a consequence use less fuel and produce fewer carbon emissions. And we will be eating more soft footed kangaroos. We have them grazing our land, why not eat them. That’s what I dream. I dream that Australians will learn to truly love their country and not farm it as if it was Kent.”

Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu: Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident? The Utopian Projects of Indigenous Agriculture in Australia*

“If we are to survive, let alone feel at home, we must begin to understand our country. If we succeed, one day we might become Australians”

Bill Gammage, 2011, Writer

THANKS

Juleigh Robins

Jacqui Newling

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Hilary Heslop has worked globally in food retailing, food manufacturing, hotels and restaurants. Work experience in the United Kingdom, USA, Hong, New Zealand and Australia for major retailers and hotel chains has focused her interest on the tensions between food ethics, sustainability and consumerism. She currently resides in Melbourne..

Peter Howland

Utopian Moorings: terroirial imagining, genealogical remembering and the ephemerality of wine

ABSTRACT

In this paper I argue that among the many histories of wine, 'good wine' arguably has an enduring history as a utopian product. This is increasingly evident since the introduction of single vineyard and vintage wines in the late 17th century and subsequent rise of modern connoisseurship in the early 1900s. In 18-19th century 'good wine' was a vanguard product of elite colonisation, while in the present 'good wine' is a consummate commodity of the globalised middle-class. Indeed the contemporary artisanal production and urbane consumption of 'good wine' almost banally assigns the neoliberal distinctions of middle-classness and reflexive individuality.

Marked by a terminating materiality, 'good wine' is distinguished by a kaleidoscopic nostalgia of romanticised pasts, transitory presents and pulsating futures variegated by desire, promise and uncertainty. Furthermore, as a product routinely caught between the utopian tensions of became and becoming, 'good wine' has long been moored on the solidities ascribed to place (especially terroir, regionality, nationality, cartography and geography) and time (particularly the genealogies and progressive ephemerality of vine-age, vintage, cellaring, New and Old Worlds).

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr Peter J. Howland is a lecturer in Sociology, School of People, Environment & Planning, Massey University, New Zealand. He has a long standing research interest in the production and consumption of wine, with particular foci on its economic, class/reflexive distinction and identity, place/time and tourism/leisure modalities. Peter is the editor of the *Social, Cultural and Economic Impacts of Wine in New Zealand* (2014, Routledge).

Stephanie Johnston

A Letter from Sydney: Wakefield's utopian vision as the basis for a bid for World Heritage listing of the Mount Lofty Ranges Agrarian Landscape

ABSTRACT

In a work of imaginative speculation *A Letter From Sydney, The Principal Town of Australasia* Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1829) outlined his ideas for a fresh approach to the art of colonisation: 'No pains should be spared to teach the labouring classes to regard the colonies as the land of promise, which it should be their highest ambition to be able to reach...' Utopian ideals informed the colonist's theories from the beginning, as 'the object of the South Australian Association is not to place a scattered and half barbarous colony on the coast of New Holland, but to establish there, and gradually to extend, a wealthy, civilized society (Wakefield, 1834, p. 147). The novelist Anthony Trollope, a visitor to Australia in the early 1870s, wrote that South Australia was expected to become 'a happy Utopia' of free religious conscience, progress and respectability (Whitelock, 1985).

The Mount Lofty Ranges bid for Unesco recognition as a World Heritage area will argue that South Australia was the first place in the nation, and, indeed, the world to apply the principles of 'systematic colonisation', subsequently applied elsewhere in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and other regions of the New World. Previous colonisation had been characterised by enforced labour and unregulated land acquisition, while the model of systematic colonisation was based on the assisted migration of free settlers, prescription of the composition of the population according to age and gender, fixing a minimum price on land sales, the containment of settlement, and the detailed surveying of town and country landholdings ahead of sale.

Those founding utopian principles embraced Indigenous land rights, religious freedom, multiculturalism and the agrarian ideal of a self-supporting society of agriculturists. The Unesco bid will illustrate how those utopian ideals continue to be reflected in the settlement patterns and ongoing land management policies of the Mount Lofty Ranges region, where contemporaneous German, British and Polish settlement, and an intensity of cultivation over generations of family-owned farms have created an enduring and distinctive landscape mosaic that is also associated with some of Australia's best known visual artists and art movements.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Stephanie Johnston is a former book publisher turned urban and regional planner who writes for a number of publications including *a+u*, *Citiscopes*, *Historic Environment*, *Australian Garden History*, *Art Link Magazine*, *The Adelaide Review*, *SA Life* and *Fleurieu Living Magazine*. She is Project Manager of the Mount Lofty Ranges World Heritage Bid, a deputy board member of the Adelaide Park Lands Authority and is the Presiding Member of the City of Charles Sturt Development Assessment Panel.

Ross Karavis

The Federation Banquets and Australia's participation in transnational culinary and trade networks

ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper is the significance to Australian culinary history of the 'Federation Banquets' which were held in Sydney as part of the the 'Commonwealth Celebration' — the official eight day public program of events that began on New Year's Day 1901 to celebrate the formation of the Australian nation. These dinners have received scant attention. Scholarly accounts have focused on the politics of the Federation process, the development of the Australian Constitution and how Federation shaped the contemporary Australian nation. This paper analyses the ephemera (menus and invitations), entertainment, and mode of food service for four 'Federation Banquets', drawing on key texts from the fields of Food Studies, Australian Historiography, and Sociology, to provide new insights into the cosmopolitan nature of Australian culinary culture at the start of the twentieth century. I argue that Australia's active participation in the transnational networks of people, products and ideas connected the Federation dinners and those who attended them to an international network of 'ideal communities', with shared forms of food consumption, production and commensality. This participation also reflected an emergent Australian identity that was Imperial in outlook, but diasporic, provisional and transitional in expression.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Ross Karavis works at the Royal Agricultural Society of Victoria organising national and international food and beverage competitions. He has an interest in food history, transnationalism and globalisation and international trends in the consumption of food and beverages in the 21st century. He has a MA in Food Studies (2015) and a Graduate Certificate in Food Writing (2011) from the University of Adelaide, and a MA in Journalism (1996) from the University of Technology, Sydney.

Sophie Langley

Inedible and unavoidable

Cultural geographer Tim Ingold suggests making is a way of ‘following materials’ in order to come to know them or know about them (2010). We follow food materials in this way when we cook. But what might we learn about so-called inedible and unavoidable food wastes by using them as materials with which to make useful and valuable things? How might this help us create food systems that value more highly both eating well and food materials themselves? This multidisciplinary project documents an intervention in my own individual practices that uses these food scraps as materials to make things not intended for eating, but still for use indoors in domestic spaces. It explores practices on the boundaries of gastronomy to consider things and practices that might not quite make it onto the plate, in order to consider—not only as food—what would otherwise become food waste as an integral part of the pleasures of eating well. Its documentation through a combination of sound and essay encourages listeners to reflect on their food wastage and envisages a utopian appetite where eating well means considering all the possibilities of food materials.

Introduction

My work is interested in questions of value around food, and how these relate to its wastage in practice. It uses an intervention in my own practices with food waste — what I will refer to as the *social practices* in my research — and the documentation of and reflection on that intervention through *creative practice* research methods, to consider these questions in light of social practice theory, cultural geography, new materialism, and what might be broadly termed posthumanist theory.

For the purposes of this paper, I want to consider more closely what it might mean to shift those values and to consider the ethics of what we eat and what we waste in order to move more towards something we might call a utopian food future. I’m wanting to consider the emotional and psychological affect of changing social practices around food waste.

What follows is a sonic essay in three parts. The sonic essay is a form I am developing, combining essaying with sounds – or, in this case, descriptions of sounds – in order to describe and reflect on the affective nature of changes to social practices with food that might normally be wasted.

Collecting

There are dried lemon peels all over my house. They are in jars in my kitchen cupboard and on bookshelves in my bedroom. They are in jars of vinegar and carrier oils on sunny windowsills. They are in small cloth bags hung inside jackets on coat hangers in my wardrobe.

Imagine the low hum of a dehydrator. It is a fuzzy, wavering noise, the sound of air moving around an enclosed space, between the trays of drying lemon peel. It’s the kind of sound that becomes background, and is forgotten about. The warm air moves between the gaps, escaping through the cracks in the small white spaceship of the dehydrator, warming fingers. Imagine me humming along with the dehydrator, absentmindedly trying to match the tone of the machine’s continuous exhale.

Slowly, lemon peels have infiltrated my life. I learned to dry them, first in a dance with the oven, and then in a dehydrator, so that I could collect them. The detritus of an appetite for lemons.

The house fills with the smell of lemon blossom as they dry.

The clatter of plastic trays, the snapping of a dried lemon peel, the soft clinking of the peels dropping into a glass jar, the circular scraping of the lid being tightened on the jar.

The scent of dried lemon peel is different to fresh. It’s heavier, richer, less acidic, sweeter. Between my fingertips the lemon peels feel powdery and oily.

Gay Hawkins argues that the “imperative to manage our waste better or avoid the ‘waste stream’ altogether doesn’t really get to the heart of how we might come to live differently with things” (2006: 76). She suggests that thinking of waste through Bill Brown’s ‘thing theory’ framework (2001) — that is, thinking of waste as things rather than objects — might allow for waste to become “full of the

possibilities of becoming a resource for being” (2006: 75). In a similar way, Joshua Ozias Reno suggests that waste might be thought of as both a sign of the life from which it came, and a sign of possible new life (Reno, 2014).

My collecting of lemon peel and other food waste materials began as an attempt to reduce or even eliminate certain parts of my own food wastage, but as the collected material has piled up, it has become something else as well. It has become a way of, as Hawkins suggests, *reframing* this waste in order to really notice its *thingness* (2006: 80). Collecting in this way has allowed me to press pause on the usual ways these materials might move through our lives—or at least to create a much slower and longer timescale. It has allowed me to really notice them, and to notice the ways in which I respond to the detritus of my own diet, both physiologically and psychologically.

Living with some of my food waste in this way both allows and forces me to consider it.

I consider how I might use it. I can eat some of it, but my collecting of recipes has had to move beyond ways in which I might eat the lemon peel. I have a notebook full of other useful things I can make with it — things for cleaning my house, and for cleaning my own body.

Over time I have also come to think about the series of threads that have come together to bring all this lemon material into my house; and about the connection between eating well and excess. I have been troubled by the often assumed relationship between exchange, use, and value, and the often ignored relationship between guilt and avoidance. I have come to believe that it isn’t enough to aim for a reduction in food waste.

Guilt, unexpectedly, has loomed large. I didn’t expect this because I was collecting the lemon peel in order to avoid its wastage. But as I have gathered the peel, I have also collected my guilt, dried it out, and put it into jars throughout my house, in the spaces between the peels.

Vitality

Consider the lemon peel.

Rind, pith, flesh. Juiced, the flesh is saggy, stringy and sticky. The pith is, perhaps, split, but otherwise intact. Depending on the lemon, it might be thick or thin, and it is usually a little spongy. The rind is bright and zesty, perhaps with some bits burned by the sun. But mostly its surface is mottled, and vaguely bumpy under the fingertips. Lemon rind feels clean, somehow.

When I think of touching lemon rind, I often imagine it first as being cool, perhaps something that’s come from the cold storage in the fruit and veg store. But if I let my imagination rest here a little longer, with the rind under my fingertips, the roundness of the fruit in my hand, the zest becomes warm — a lemon pulled straight from a particular tree in the backyard of one of the rental houses I’ve lived in.

Before I dried the lemons, I tried using them fresh, the way you might if you were making marmalade.

A sharp metal knife slices lemon peel on a wooden chopping board. The knife sings a little as it’s lifted from the wood. The juice of the lemon coats my fingers.

When you come to consider a thing like this, and to, as cultural geographer Tim Ingold suggests, ‘follow the material’ in order to make something with it (2010), you come to understand that sometimes the material itself has more control over whether you will throw it away than you do. Sometimes, food waste is inevitable.

I read somewhere, or am told by someone, that the oil from lemon peels can be used in cosmetic products for your hair and skin.

First, I try the lemon peels in a tea I make to rinse my hair — made with apple cider vinegar, chamomile and honey. The addition of lemon peels brightens my hair, and the oil leaves it feeling fuller. Encouraged, I add it to a face cream I’ve been making with other oils and beeswax.

The slow bubbling of an oily liquid in a pot on the stovetop; a wooden spoon stirring the liquid bumping against the edges of the pot. Then the loud whirl of a stick blender moving in and out of the oily liquid;

muted when it is submerged, louder and clearer when it comes to the surface.

As with the hair tea, I add lemon peel fresh.

This is a mistake.

After a few days, the cream smells Not Quite Right. Not *off* exactly, but vaguely sour. I use it anyway, because I am stubborn and I don't want to waste it.

Later that day, my skin begins to burn along my cheek bones, just a little. I think maybe it is just the heat of the day.

I use the cream again the next day.

My cheekbones burn hotter, and itchy blotches appear on my cheeks and jawline. I refuse to believe it is the face cream. I must be stressed. And a little sunburnt.

I use the cream again the next day.

The burning and itching worsens. My skin feels raw.

I am not that stressed. It is not that sunny.

I stop using the face cream and my face returns to normal. Frustrated, I scrape the cream into the compost and throw it away.

Jane Bennett writes about the vitality of matter as “the capacity of things — edibles, commodities, storms, metals — not only to impede or block the will and designs of humans, but also to act as quasi agents or forces with trajectories, propensities, or tendencies of their own” (Bennett, 2010: viii). Hers is not a vitalism in the traditional sense. Rather than suggesting vitality or vibrancy as a separate force that can enter and animate a thing, she equates affect with materiality — that is, Bennett's conception of vitality is *intrinsic* to materiality, even to our own materiality. I can, to use Ingold's phrase again, “follow the material” of the lemon peel to make with it. But its inherent vitality means it might also make something of me.

It might force me to *listen* to it, to smell it, to properly notice it as a *thing* rather than a mere object.

Thinking of food waste materials as things with an inherent vitality, and capacity to ‘act back’ necessarily complicates any quest to reduce or eliminate food wastage. There is a link between this vitality and the guilt I was surprised to find when I learned to dehydrate the lemon peels and make with them differently.

Fresh, the lemon peels' vitality acted on my skin. But dried, this vitality troubled me more deeply, well below the surface of my skin.

Mesh

I didn't expect to find myself considering guilt. But once I found myself there, it actually seemed inevitable.

Trying to think and write my way out of and away from this guilt, I was forced to consider it more closely, in much the same way that keeping the lemon peels rather than throwing them away forced me to consider those materials more closely.

Behind the guilt is something, I think, much more interesting. Something much more complex, and important to consider in any quest for a utopian food future. It's an awareness of what Timothy Morton calls ‘the mesh’ (2010) — that is, the interconnectedness of everything. My guilt is a response, one that Hawkins might argue is encouraged by much environmentalism, to feeling overwhelmed by the mesh and its implications. Despair or sadness might be other responses — and indeed I've had those too.

Morton suggests that these sorts of responses to ‘thinking big’ are common, because thinking what he calls ‘the ecological thought’, that is, thinking about the mesh, undoes what we think of as reality.

Glenn Albrecht's concept of ‘solastalgia’ — very real psychological distress about environmental changes

to place (2010) — is perhaps helpful here too. The collected lemon peels were for me an entry point (albeit not the first one) into thinking the ecological thought about how we eat. The environmental impact of our dystopian food present also forms part of that mesh, as do the various human health problems connected to diet.

To notice the thingness of food waste is to see its value in other potential uses for it. To look beyond edibility for those uses is to see how the way we eat is connected to a whole lot of other practices in our individual lives, such as domestic and personal cleanliness. Social practice theorists such as Elizabeth Shove might argue that changes in those practices are influenced by much more than ‘more efficient’ technology, or more efficient waste management (2003).

To make things with food waste materials is to see that a utopian food future would also mean changing the way we think about those other practices, and therefore how we think about and use time and space.

This is an overwhelming thought, and I can see why many want to avoid it, either by throwing things away, or by eliminating food waste altogether.

I want to argue that any movements towards a utopian food future will need to be able to respond to this solastalgia.

I wonder whether one such response might be to also notice the value of these materials beyond their edibility, exchange value and utility. Albrecht might call this *soliphilia* — a concept similar to *biophilia*, *ecophilia* and *topophilia* (2010). A kind of joy in place, or in this case, a kind of joy in the vitality of materials we also sometimes eat. To see these things as beautiful and fascinating beyond their usefulness to humans — that is, to see eating well as part of a broader mesh of human social practices and nonhuman trajectories, propensities and tendencies — might be the beginning of a utopian food future.

This fascination is what the non-essaying parts of my work are attempting to grow. The sounds — or descriptions of sounds — of materials and my practices with them, and the images I take alongside those sounds. My hope is that this approach might help us to consider how we might live with these things differently.





Imagine the rustle of paper bag as dried herbaceous material is pulled out of them; the sound of jar lids unscrewed and the tinkling clatter of dried lemon peel poured onto a wooden surface.

I gather all the ingredients together on a large chopping board, each material in its own little pile. The lemon peel joins a collection of other dried ingredients. I smell each of them briefly as I collect them together, trying to imagine their combined scent. I feel the brittle dryness of the herbs between my fingers.

When I have all the ingredients together, I write their names down in a notebook. It's a kind of recipe. One that no one else could follow — really just some notes to myself, to jog my sense memory the next time I make this, although I know the outcome is different each time, either because I add a new ingredient or take one away, or because some other condition beyond my control is different.

The sound of brittle dried herbs being crushed into a jar, the rustle of dried lemon peel landing on top. A bottle is unscrewed and liquid glugs from the bottle into the jar, the hint of a hiss and a bubbly trickle as it covers the dried ingredients.

I am making a hair tonic. I add the dried ingredients to a glass jar, which I then fill with apple cider vinegar and several big spoonfuls of honey.

The sound of the lid being screwed onto the jar, and the jar being shaken, the solid ingredients and liquid sloshing about inside. Imagine my breath speeding up with the effort of the shaking.

I sit the jar on a sunny windowsill, where it will stay for several weeks. The sun will warm the liquid and draw the oils out of the plant material and into the vinegar. Like a slow cooker, but slower still.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Sophie Langley is an essayist and radio maker with an interest in food, environment, waste, making, phenomenology and social practice. She is a Masters by Research candidate in RMIT University's NonfictionLab. Her research explores through a series of sonic essays the value in practices of making things using food scraps as materials.

La Vergne Lehmann

Modern kitchen: utopia redux or hopeless cause

In the decades following World War II, the modern western kitchen started to develop through the combination of improved infrastructure in the form of facilities such as running water and electricity coming directly into the home along with the post-war manufacturing boom that was able to supply homes with a range of new kitchen appliances. In the supply of food to consumers, industrial agricultural practices led to an increase in the range and availability of produce and food processing technology increased the shelf life of many packaged food products. This was the modern Kitchen Utopia.

However, by 1960 when Vance Packard published ‘The Wastemakers’, kitchen appliance manufacturers had already identified the kitchen as a room where they could promote increasing consumption of kitchen appliances through planned obsolescence.

Since that time changes to lifestyles, working habits, technology, food health standards, labelling and food availability along with increased knowledge of different cultural food options have inevitably changed what and how people purchase, prepare and consume food. The food we consume is a combination of the organic food produce that we either purchase or grow ourselves, the processes by which we prepare and cook that food for consumption and finally the activity of consumption. All of this occurs in our kitchen and as a consequence produces waste. The kitchen was Utopia no more.

But kitchens produce more than just food as waste. Other waste by-products include the transient packaging materials and the more durable gadgets and infrastructure. In recent years the problem of rapidly growing landfills, the environmental impacts of poorly managed landfills and the recognition that much of what was being thrown away still had some value has seen the emergence of waste resource recovery. This positive reappraisal of waste materials, with their value increasing is a direct result of greater recognition of waste as a resource that can be put to better use through recycling and reuse.

Consequently, where once we considered the consumption – waste process to have a relatively linear path, that process can now result in a number of pathways where items or the materials in those items can be diverted back through the consumption system several times before they complete their journey. Perhaps we are finally seeing a Kitchen Utopia Redux.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

La Vergne Lehmann currently works in strategic planning for waste management in regional Victoria but has had a long term interest in food, food culture, food waste and archaeology. In being able to combine all these interests La Vergne has been able to undertake research on the modern archaeology of the kitchen through the prism of the waste it produces from the ephemeral food waste to the movement of durable items such as whitegoods as well as the basic infrastructure of the modern kitchen.

Jane Levi

Edible utopias

Charles Fourier (1772–1837), usually described as one of the founding ‘utopian socialist’ thinkers, developed his ideas at the peak of the reinvention of gastronomy in the early nineteenth century. In his model society called Harmony, food and love were the most important elements, and in his writing food in all its senses acts as both metaphor for and real expression of an ideal world. However, although he believed that food should be at the heart of a happy and creatively fulfilled society he disagreed fundamentally with the gastronomic writers of his time as to how this could be achieved. He insisted that in order to reach our utopian potential we must be producers, processors and knowledgeable discussants of all aspects of our food: simply to be a well-informed consumer is not enough.

Fourier’s critique of gastronomy as an anti-utopian pseudo-science that led to nothing but excessive consumption and poor health (in the individual body and the body politic) resonates as much today as it did in the early nineteenth century. This paper therefore offers a review of Fourier’s alternative to gastronomy - his theory of ‘gastrosophie’, a holistic and integrated approach to growing, cooking and eating - highlighting how it differs from models of gastronomy presented in his time and our own. By way of practical example it discusses the ways in which Fourier’s ideas have been applied to the development of the Edible Utopia project commissioned by Somerset House in London for its year-long Utopia 2016 celebrations, challenging us to consider the ways in which food could be deployed as both the fantastical and practical everyday substance at the heart of a better future.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr Jane Levi is a postdoctoral research fellow at King’s College London. She received a Wellcome Trust People Award in 2015 to fund research and curation of the current Feeding the 400 exhibition for the Foundling Museum, London and is working with a team of artists and growers to develop Edible Utopia for Somerset House. *Food, Politics & Society*, a book co-authored with colleagues at Birkbeck, University of London for University of California Press, will be completed in 2017. A long-time participant in and organiser of the Oxford Symposium on Food & Cookery she is chair of the trust administering the Sophie Coe Prize in food history.

Jessica Loyer

What Makes a Superfoods “Super”?

The Discursive Construction of Utopian Edibles

ABSTRACT

Superfoods have emerged as an increasingly significant category of health food products and related popular discourse about food, health, and values. They are celebrated for their purported extraordinary nutritional and/or medicinal values, “natural” qualities, associations with “exotic” or “pristine” places of origin, and histories of traditional or indigenous use; in short, they are represented as utopian edibles providing not only a nutritional panacea but also an antidote to overly-technological and industrial modern food production practices. The term appears prominently in marketing, on product packaging, and in the media, where tentative scientific conclusions and studies funded by economically-interested parties tend to be presented unproblematically as facts (Weitkamp and Eidsvaag 2014). However, the term “superfood” defies precise definition, and both products and discourse are poorly understood by the public and regulatory bodies, leading to confusion as to what a food with such a label promises. Based on textual and visual analysis of superfoods books and product packaging, and focus group interviews with superfoods consumers, this paper presents a distillation of the discursive construction of “superfoods” as utopian foodstuffs. It demonstrates that the concept of superfoods is a composite of ideas about food, health, and values, and their associated politics, deeply embedded in Western thought and practice, and illustrates how superfoods have emerged and developed at the intersection of discourses of functional nutritionism (Scrinis 2013), nutritional primitivism (Knight 2015), and critical consumption (Yates 2011). Yet these discourses are not uncontested; because superfoods are positioned as existing between established social categories such as food and medicine, nature and culture, primitive and modern, they are both alluring and confusing to consumers and thus provide a distinctive lens through which to examine the tensions that pull at contemporary food culture. Understanding the real hopes, fears, anxieties, and moral dilemmas expressed through superfoods enables us to locate points of possibility to broaden discussions about “good”, “healthy”, and “fair” food and food systems, and how to achieve these goals, in ways that move beyond discursive dualisms and recognise the complexity of values that constitute contemporary foodscapes.

Introduction

Superfoods are everywhere these days, including here at the Symposium of Australian Gastronomy. In my conference bag, I found a little package of paleo granola made by the Australian Superfood Co. It features a lovely illustration of Australian native botanicals and a logo declaring that it is one hundred percent natural. Below, it notes that it contains riberry and Davidson plum, has no artificial flavours, colours, sweeteners, or preservatives, and is vegan, paleo, a source of protein, and a good source of fibre. I also found superfoods here in a most unlikely location: the bathroom at the conference hotel. Waiting by the shower was a little tube of superfood skincare hair revive conditioner, boasting contents of the “Incas Superfood” maca root containing “super nutrients” that are known to stimulate hair growth, strengthen and revive dull and lifeless hair. Apparently you don’t even have to eat superfoods to tap into their life force.

These products, and others like them that appear in health food shops, chemists, and supermarkets across Australia, are representative of discourses found throughout all superfoods media and marketing. There is no precise definition of superfoods; it is not a regulatory category like “organic” or “fair trade”. The label largely appears on product packaging and in magazines and newspapers. This lack of definition has led to much confusion among consumers and regulators alike regarding what a superfood is and what to make of their various claims.

As a scholar of food and nutrition culture, I examine how meaning is constructed around these products by analysing their various representations in media, such as books, in marketing and product packaging, and by interviewing people all around the world involved in their production, distribution,

transformation, and consumption. This paper is a distillation of this research, which enabled me to identify where superfoods fit in contemporary food and nutrition culture, how we can read them to understand their quasi-utopian desires they express, and what are some of the consequences of their popularisation.

Nutritional Primitivism

Superfoods are framed as utopian edibles via a dominant discourse of nutritional primitivism – the idea that optimal health and nutrition can be found by looking towards so-called primitive foodways, which are portrayed as natural, traditional, authentic, and sometimes exotic (Knight 2015). Food studies scholar Christine Knight first developed the concept of nutritional primitivism in relation to low-carbohydrate diets, and this idealising of the primitive imaginary increasingly surfaces in other places in contemporary food and nutrition culture, for example in Paleo and raw foods diets. It has clearly blossomed and captured the public imagination in superfoods. The fact that foods as different as Australian native berries and a root from the Peruvian central Andes can both carry the superfood label, and that it can be found on both a packet of granola and a tube of conditioner is testament to the reach and breadth of the concept.

In superfoods, the discourse of nutritional primitivism also interacts with other key concepts in contemporary food and nutrition culture. One of these is what nutrition historian Gyorgy Scrinis (2013) terms *nutritionism*: a reductive understanding of foods as composed of nutrients and nutrients as the basis for health. We see this in the packet of Australian superfood paleo granola in the claims of being high in protein and fibre, for example. However, nutritionism tends to work in a particular way in superfoods discourse, where a so-called primitive superfood will be identified and then scientific studies will be done to verify traditional knowledge about a food's healthfulness. The other overlapping discourse found in superfoods is *critical consumption* (Yates 2011) – the prioritising of moral or ethical considerations when purchasing consumer goods, often as a type of political action – and we see this, for example, through fair trade and organic labels which are increasingly prevalent on superfoods packaging.

Primitivism has been studied extensively in other areas of culture such as art and literature, but is relatively unexamined in food culture. Primitivism is a nostalgic discourse, viewing civilisation negatively and longing for simpler or purer times. Much like the utopianist, the primitivist is disapproving of humanity's current state, and expresses this discontent via a contrast with the imagined primitive ideal. She defines the primitive as opposite to the present, idealising aspects of primitive life that she finds lacking in the present. While primitivism references, and often conflates, different ancient and indigenous cultures and their practices, it does not seek to accurately describe or document such so-called primitive cultures, but rather to critique the time and place from which the primitivist representation emanates. As cultural scholar Mariana Torgovnick notes, "the needs of the present determine the nature and value of the primitive" (1990: 9).

Because primitivism is critical of the contemporary world, it tends to appear in tumultuous times. For example, primitivism appeared as an important theme in art and literature in the 1920s, which Torgovnick attributes to "a sense of despair and anxiety caused by World War I, which made people ask the vexed question of how and why the West had taken the wrong path" (Torgovnick 1997: 10). Primitivism is thus indicative of "a sense of crisis in civilization" (Bell 1972: 80). The implication of primitivism's self-reflective nature and appearance at particularly challenging historical moments is that as scholars, we can read each instance of primitivism as a distinctive criticism of contemporary life. Rather than dismissing instances of primitivism in popular food culture as simple marketing ploys, we can work to understand the real hopes, fears, and anxieties expressed through primitivism and help progress solutions. We also arguably have a responsibility to point out inaccuracies in primitivist representations and their potential harms, and to examine the dangers in conflating primitivism (and other forms of nostalgia) with utopianism.

Nutritional Primitivism in Superfoods Books

There are two major criticisms of contemporary food and nutrition culture evident in superfoods

media and marketing. The first is the limitations of nutritional science as a paradigm to understand the relationship between food and health. Nutritional primitivism in superfoods questions, without completely rejecting, the reductive concept of nutritionism and its application in the development of fortified, enhanced, biofortified, or otherwise technologically manipulated “functional foods”. We see this in the emphasis on superfoods’ “natural” qualities, as well as the reference to traditional knowledge – which, as noted above, is often presented in tandem with nutritional science. We can see this clearly in a passage from Julie Morris’s book *Superfoods Kitchen* (2012) where she explains why açai berries are “speciality superfoods”. Morris tells us that “ancient Amazonian tribes began using açai thousands of years ago, both medicinally and as food,” but also that it is “one of nature’s most concentrated sources of antioxidants” and contains “healthy monounsaturated and polyunsaturated fats”. (needs page numbers)

The second key criticism is the idea of compromised public health, environments, and societies caused by contemporary food production and provisioning practices. Morris argues that we need “ancient” superfoods because “efforts to increase food production have resulted in natural food that is less nourishing”, but “most superfoods have not been subjected to this methodology, as they have never been popularized by Big Agriculture” (2012: 14). According to her logic, it is precisely because superfoods have been safeguarded by primitive populations and overlooked by “Big Agriculture” that they are so desirable; it is therefore not inherent qualities of food that make them “super”, but their symbolic distance from contemporary food production. While she never clearly defines the precise problems with “Big Agriculture,” her use of a simple binary pitting the modern against the primitive hints at her critique: modern foods are produced by large corporate entities using intensive methods; primitive foods are produced by small independent farmers using traditional methods.

In David Wolfe’s book *Superfoods: The Food and Medicine of the Future* (2009), he uses primitivism to critique modern food production slightly differently by emphasising inherent superior qualities of superfoods. Nonetheless, these superior qualities serve to distance these foods from modern industrial food production practices. He argues that “because superfoods have a high level of inner vitality and life-force energy, they can be grown organically without chemicals or artificial fertilizers” (Wolfe 2009: 4-5). This idea of a primitive “life-force” that has been lost in the modern world is pervasive across primitivism, and central to its emotional appeal.

Nutritional Primitivism in Maca Packaging

I now turn to superfoods packaging to illustrate the gap between representation of particular superfoods and practices of production, using a case study of maca powder produced by the Australian superfoods brand Power Super Foods. Maca is a root vegetable from the central Andes known for its fertility and hormone support properties (and apparently also its ability to revive lifeless hair). This package features a stylized image of indigenous looking women in traditional dress, harvesting maca by hand into baskets against a bucolic alpine backdrop. This image is obviously a representation used to sell a product: it communicates certain reasons that Australian consumers should value maca by creating a sense of tradition and authenticity, a connection with the past as well as with a particular exotic place, and therefore a certain distance from modern industrial agriculture, food production, and dietary diseases.

However, drawing upon fieldwork among maca producers in Junín, the centre of maca production in the Peruvian Andes, I can state that the reality of contemporary maca production differs significantly from its representation. Harvest workers are both male and female, they wear modern dress, they use hand tools and tractors, they collect maca in plastic sacks, and they employ contemporary agricultural science to increase production efficiency. I do not mean to suggest that the packaging imagery can be directly compared with these documentary images; one is clearly intended to sell a product while the other documents scholarly fieldwork. However, this casting of production outside of intersubjective space and time harms producers by denying their very real and not always pleasant experiences as small actors in a big global food system.

Conclusions

If we can read nutritional primitivism in superfoods as a particular set of critiques of contemporary

food and nutrition culture, and we can also see that primitivist representations are reductionist and potentially harmful, we must also ask if exotic superfoods are really the best solution to the problems posed or if they simply represent the commodification of values. I can optimistically report that many Australian superfoods consumers are, indeed asking this very question. When I conducted focus group interviews with superfoods consumers in Australia, they expressed frustrations with modern food provisioning and reductive nutrition culture, but they also expressed scepticism towards superfoods as the solution. Many of them know that when they purchase superfoods, they are being sold a primitive ideal, but they still buy the products in the hopes that they might help and probably will not hurt. It is no coincidence that a lot of superfoods are consumed in smoothies, where all of these magical ingredients are blended together into a kind of talismanic, protective object.

To tie this all back to utopianism, I will conclude with another quote from Torgovnick:

“What we are seeing in the United States [and Australia] today is the full-tilt exploration of patterns formed in the 1920s: fascination with the primitive as an expression of fears about what the West has wrought in the world, even of white European self-loathing – often with an accompanying utopian impetus for change. Utopian desires are emerging strongly once again at the end of the twentieth century, in movements that envision the primitive as a locus of harmony and as a shelter from the dangers and fragmentation of modern life” (1997: 18).

Ultimately, as scholars, to respond to these desires and movements, we need to do more than identify nutritional primitivism and “life the veil” on commodity fetishism (or even racism). Pointing out inaccuracies and exploitation are important tasks, but correcting a knowledge gap has been shown to be insufficient to change behaviours. Our work must also acknowledge the real fears and values below the surface of popular food and nutrition culture in order to replace primitivist and utopian imaginaries with more realistic and equitable visions and projects.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Jessica Loyer has a background in history and gastronomy with a focus on foodways and migration and an interest in the intersection of food, health, and values. She has recently completed her PhD in Food Studies, working on a project researching the significance of superfoods as both a health food trend and as global agricultural products. She currently works as a researcher within the Food Values Research Group at the University of Adelaide. She can be found on Twitter @jessloyer.

Paul Magee

Nothing to live for, other than life itself

Constructed to eradicate the evils of pride and wealth, Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516) offers compulsory employment for all, towns of uniform size and custom, collective eating halls, clothing of uniform appearance, taboos against make-up, against gambling, hunting and hawking, no opportunities for the display of difference other than through virtue or intellect and—my own personal favourite, because it reminds me of Canberra—suburbs 'of equal size, each with its own shopping centre in the middle of it' (80). The point is that once you flesh out the Utopian vision with some details as to what life looks like there, it begins to sound very boring. After all, it's all been settled, well in advance. In *Utopia*, "politics is supposed to be over, along with history" (Jameson 42). There's nothing to live for there, other than life itself.

My paper attempts to take the measure of Frederic Jameson's two-fold argument that, on the one hand, More's account of the Utopians "never tempts us for one minute to try to imagine ourselves in their place" (39) but, on the other, "the boredom or dryness that has been attributed to the Utopian text is ... not a literary drawback, nor a serious objection, but a very central strength of the Utopian process in general" (40). What if More's *Utopia* challenges us precisely by making the object of desire so thoroughly boring, boring us of all of our subjective investments, and reminding us that we'd still be living? Jameson has also remarked that "people find it easier today to imagine the end of the world than the end of capitalism" (qtd in Anderson 75). Could it be because the latter prospect would bore us?

I combine this discussion with reflections on travelling across the Nullarbor to Perth, thinking of how bored I would be if I had to sell petrol at a roadhouses like Madura Pass, 1256 kms from Perth, 1450 from Adelaide, 200 kms from the nearest roadhouse in either direction. And now we're on the road from Caiguna to Balladonia, "one of the world's longest sections of straight road," 145 kms without a bend (Ashworth, Turner and Egger, 156). Mind, if I asked, some of these people might find the prospect of living in Canberra, where I do, pretty boring too. Where does an openness to difference come from? Could our sense of boredom be a presentiment of it?

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Paul Magee studied in Melbourne, Moscow, San Salvador and Sydney. His books are *From Here to Tierra del Fuego* (University of Illinois Press, 2000), *Cube Root of Book* (John Leonard Press 2006) and *Stone Postcard* (John Leonard Press 2014). *Cube Root of Book* was shortlisted in the Innovation category of the 2008 Adelaide Festival Awards for literature, for the Ann Elder and Mary Gilmore Prizes, while *Stone Postcard* was named in *Australian Book Review* as one of the books of the year, 2014. Paul has published widely on poetic composition and critical judgement. He teaches poetry at the University of Canberra, where he is Associate Professor.

David Matthews

Noma and the creation of terroir in Australia

In 2003 Noma opened in Copenhagen – the culmination of a collaboration between two signatories of what was called the New Nordic Cuisine manifesto, Claus Meyer and chef Rene Redzepi. Despite initial scepticism (the term ‘whale fuckers’ was thrown around) Noma’s status has grown to the point where it has been ranked as No. 1 on the World’s 50 Best Restaurants list four times. What’s more, its approach has spread globally with restaurants (high and low) now commonly delving into hyper-local ingredients to create location-specific cuisines.

At its heart, New Nordic Cuisine is a self-consciously created approach to food that draws links between the Nordic people, the landscape, local ingredients and practices. Noma’s way of delving into this became reliant on foraging.

Of Noma, Byrkjeflot, Pederson and Svejenova (2013) wrote: “They are shaping a new ‘taste of the North’ with new ingredients such as birch sap, bulrushes, puffin eggs, foraged chickweed, Arctic brambles, and livestock breeds from the times of the Vikings and new approaches to traditional techniques, such as salting, marinating, or smoking.”

Noma is what I will refer to as a *terroir restaurant*. We’ve spoken a lot about terroir throughout the Symposium. I think we have a few ways of defining it. Graham Harden spoke on the second day, and used Dominique Barjolle’s definition which summed it up as: “Human space characterised by a shared history.” And we spoke about terroir being a relationship between people and place.

Tressider (2014) says these “differ from other restaurants by privileging the central relationship between food, culture, history and geographies to generate experience”

Noma creates a link through time and place to Nordic producers and the land through the act of foraging, effectively positioning New Nordic Cuisine as being founded on links between Nordic people, the Nordic region and the history of their relationship with place. Noma as a terroir restaurant is part of a symbolic system of myth and outward cultural expressions that are understood as explicit markers of national or regional identity, that is The Nordic.

Why are restaurants important in understanding national or regional cuisine?

Wilk (2002) argues that: “There is an important set of distinctions between cuisine that is unself-conscious, non-reflective aspect, ‘habitus’ of food that is deeply embodied through many cultural and social practices, and cuisine as part of the national imagination, as a set of public, political, performative, symbolic discourses”

I suggest that Noma is a restaurant acting as a performance space, self-consciously constructing and performing what a cuisine for the Nordic region.

I am also inclined to believe in a trickle-down effect from top restaurants in an age of Instagram, celebrity chef dominance, saturation in food medias, the World’s 50 Best awards and *Chef’s Table*.

With Noma having come to Australia in early 2016 there’s a chance to examine its meaning and relevance for Australian cuisine. To ask what it means to build an Australian place-based cuisine. Was Noma Australia a utopian model for Australian food?

Noma in Copenhagen

Firstly, let’s talk about how Noma works in Copenhagen.

Hermansen (2012) argues that Noma performs a regional cuisine that speaks of the Nordic as a region, which exists as a space that brings the people of several nations together through shared cultural histories and a common understanding of relationship to landscape. He argues that terroir acts at a local level, making the point that Noma functions to, “‘produce locality’ in a post-national world,” by connecting diners with an imagined community (Anderson, 2006).

In the case of Noma, production of the imagined community of the Nordic people in the Nordic region,

perhaps a utopia of sorts, occurs through a sharp focus on the local, including the use of local foods and producers, as well as the practice of foraging.

For meaning to be created at Noma there must be a connection with personal and collective histories connecting diners to the land through food and to their regional history: for the Nordic people, ingesting the food must bring about awareness (at least implicitly) of membership of the imagined community that is the Nordic people, a community tied to the Nordic region.

In Hermansen's (2012) understanding the history of the Nordic folk was tied to the landscape:

"The Nordic landscape as an image of primordial beauty and as the 'natural habitat' for the Nordic folk transcended the narratives of the individual nation-states...The (re)creation of Nordic terroir enables the Nordic folk to discover 'who they are' through an encounter with the landscape, tradition and the 'natural' world, and puts them 'in touch' with the natural seasons and climates of the land they inhabit."

And as Redzepi writes in his first book:

"I suddenly had the feeling that most Scandinavians recognised something in our food... Everyone has tried walking round a lake, where the dead leaves crunch under your feet – or at any rate they have visited a farm. A visit to Noma should reflect these experiences, and many Scandinavians have told me that a meal in our restaurant reminded them of something lying hidden way back in their memory. Maybe they tasted the same gooseberries while walking in the woods as a child...Several have said that it was like hearing a new language and being able to understand what was being said"

What's important to note, is that the Nordic terroir created at Noma is contingent on a relationship with nature that is considered to be one of intimacy and romantic rurality.

Not only are the Nordic people put back in touch with the landscape at Noma, they are put in touch with their own roots which are based on a long history in a place that has been consistently settled by a people of a homogeneous race and culture. At Noma the use of indigenous ingredients and foraged wild foods serve to enhance the sense of belonging to the Nordic region for the Nordic people.

So Noma creates a kind of local gastronomic utopia, reaffirming the connection to the landscape, and reinforcing the collective myth of the Nordic that has developed over a long period of time. The next question is, what happens when you try to do this in Australia?

Noma comes to Australia

In 2003 Redzepi conducted a research trip through Scandinavia, tasting wild and local foods, meeting locals and delving into their history. That was the foundation for what Noma would become. He recreated this in Australia through 2015 with a series of research trips. Instagram posts leading up to the opening teased a variety of 'newly discovered' ingredients: green ants, an emu egg, various molluscs and crustacea, native plants, and animals like magpie goose.

Dishes that featured on the menu were a 'midden' with different types of shellfish, topped with a tacky chicken stock reduction brushed with crocodile fat. An entree of native Australian fruits dressed with seaweed and dusted with Kakadu plum powder. Abalone 'schnitzel' with assorted native beach plants and a homemade 'Nomamite', like a Vegemite. There was also their take on Golden Gaytime for dessert, made with malted barley.

Commentary veered towards the idea that the food tasted familiar, but not. A friend I went with mentioned that it tasted like 'the bush', and that you could taste the harsh environment these plants had struggled in.

Noma in Australia, by definition, could be seen to be attempting to create an Australian terroir, by as Tressider (2014) writes, "privileging the central relationship between food, culture, history and geographies to generate experience," in a space that brings together various aspects of culture, tradition and place.

As Redzepi said in 2010, "There has to be a whole new connection, understanding of place, its history, terroir, microclimate, "Then looking at how we should push that all onto the plate" (Redzepi quoted in

Savill 2011, 169).

I think here we can see how Noma Australia effectively attempted to build what we might call a cuisine from scratch, based on place.

So, If New Nordic Cuisine functions through the creation of a Nordic terroir founded on a historical relationship of proximity and closeness with the Nordic landscape, did Noma Australia function to create an Australian terroir that equally speaks of an Australian relationship with the landscape? Can it? Is this where we find a culinary utopia?

People and Place in Australia

In Australia, forming a connection between the people and place based on nostalgia for a time when Australians were more connected to their landscape is a misguided interpretation; rather, an Australian terroir-based cuisine serves to highlight the colonists' lack of a significant connection with the Australian landscape.

In the Australian colonial connection to landscape and the bush in particular, we have something entirely different: a relationship of hostility, suspicion, mystery, danger and wariness, coupled with a preference for imported foodstuffs and practices.

Colonial writers speak of the bush as a hostile environment. George Grey writing of unceasing flies, thick, impassable vegetation, and hostile wildlife. Louisa Ann Meredith writing of prolific dust storms and unceasing flies. Frank Fowler, trekking inland, writes of the droughts and floods: "These two extremes are overpowering; they make that interior almost uninhabitable, and they rule the character of the country, the produce, the people, and the history of the land" (Ranken 1874, 240).

It's not that native foods were not used. In fact, Bannerman (2009) states that among early convicts native food resources were certainly exploited "on every plane of feeding", but that the use of bush foods, "also represented failure: the depletion of stores, extreme poverty or separation from the society of 'home'" (Bannerman 2009, 20).

John Kinsella (2008), also discusses how the ideal of an Australian pastoral differs significantly from tradition. There is no nostalgic ideal here as there is in the Nordic region:

"Here, the destruction of environments is recognised, as well as the fact that the hierarchy of land ownership, a concept imported from Europe in particular, though not exclusively, has meant that no nostalgia, no return to an Eden, is possible. These Edens are about dispossession and ownership by the few" (Kinsella 2008, 132).

Finally as Andreasson understands, by focusing purely on the local, and connecting with a nostalgia for the past, Redzepi's cuisine, even in Copenhagen, carries a racial and ethnic demarcation, as only certain people can trace their ancestry back to the Vikings, a mono-racial Nordic past, and the Nordic *terroir* (Andreassen 2015).

In Australia, it's maybe more about the inability to trace it back. At least for the majority of diners. There's also the recognition that both the product and the philosophy at a terroir restaurant require high levels of cultural and economic capital to engage with the experience.

In Australia, creating a place-based Australian cuisine in a fine dining restaurant has the potential to erase history by creating a terroir that is built on a myth of the past. This is a past in which the Australian relationship to its landscape, including indigenous foods and indigenous people and their culture, is reimagined as a thoroughly positive relationship in the same frame as the Nordic relationship to their own landscape. Perhaps an Australian terroir built from the ground up needs to involve some kind of reconciliation. I'm reminded of Bruce Pascoe's vision of Aboriginal people holding warm bread baked from native grains. Was this vision satisfied at Noma Australia? If not, is there merit in this approach?

Note that taking the same approach in Australia as was taken in Denmark is also to discount the organic growth of a distinctive Australian cuisine that has occurred over decades of immigration,

experimentation, travel and integration of new ingredients and techniques – as much as reindeer moss and chocolate discounts the existence of a Nordic home-cooking classic such as taco quiche. To Noma's credit, they attempted to deal with a very complex issue, balancing it by bringing in elements of Australian food culture – Vegemite, Gaytimes, schnitzel – with local wild foods, referencing the story of the restaurant site, and paying homage to it with the 'midden' dish, for example.

So is there a model for a culinary utopia in the creation of Australian terroir? Well I would say perhaps Noma is it. As instructive as Thomas More's utopia, which does so with its unreality. It's not real, in a way. It's not organic. It is a model. It should be questioned, held up, examined, discussed, and referenced, but not necessarily mimicked, and having happened so recently it will be important to continue to do these things as it recedes into history.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

David Matthews is a trained chef and has worked in Sydney restaurants. He is currently a senior subeditor and writer at *delicious*. magazine and has recently graduated with a Masters of Food Studies from The University of Adelaide. During his studies he was awarded the Penny Hill Award for Food Writing 2014. His final dissertation was about Noma and creating terroir in Australia.

Dianne McGrath

‘Food Waste on the Diner’s Plate: Utopian Dilemma, or Result of Utopian Dream?’

ABSTRACT

Food waste is under-recognised in the hospitality sector. Research worldwide has mainly been conducted in households, with little examination of how waste occurs during service, especially on the diner’s plate. Social and cultural expectations of ‘hospitality’ dictate the framework within which a person dines. It is hypothesised a disconnect in value perception occurs between the establishment and the diner, leading to the provision of utopian feasts, and consequently creating waste. This paper shares interim data from two Australian hospitality sector research projects, *Watch My Waste* and *What’s On Your Plate?*, undertaken as part of a PhD project. The figures presented are interim results, however preliminary information suggests a large proportion of foodservice waste occurs on the diner’s plate, created by unsuitable portion options and mismatched value perceptions.

Introduction

Food connects, celebrates and expresses who we are: our communities, our social networks, ourselves. This is especially so when we dine at commercial establishments such as restaurants and cafes. Within this is a ‘dark side’ of hospitality: the ‘necessary trade-off’ of food waste in the moment of exchange between the provider and eater: on the diner’s plate. How much food is wasted during this exchange? The Australian food and beverage services sub-sector, which incorporates restaurants, cafes, and similar establishments, is estimated to create approximately 858,000 tonnes of organic waste annually, almost all of which is food waste (DSEWPC 2013). This goes predominantly to landfill, with only 7.6% diverted, creating unnecessary greenhouse gas emissions. There is a lack of granular data on food waste within the sub-sector, and until now that issue has been largely ignored.

Hospitality

The term “*hospitality*” is derived from the Latin term “*hospitalis*”, meaning “*hospitable*” (Oxford Dictionaries (online) 2015), and describes a world where hosts and guests have an interdependent relationship in which the host displays cordiality and generosity, whilst the guest shows reciprocity (Flammang 2009). In foodservice, this definition suggests a focus on an exchange, product, offering, and environment where entertainment, generosity and welcome are shared with and between customers and/or the establishment/hosts. Guest reciprocity takes many forms, including waiter tips, increased loyalty, recommendations to others, return visits, and extra purchases (Kandampully, Zhang & Bilgihan 2015; Wang, Severt & Rompf 2006). Futrell (2015) determined that gratitude and obligation combined contributed to the reciprocity expressed by diners. This relationship, and the embedded cultural expectations, lead to a mutually beneficial relationship whereby the diner and host unite over food for gains that are not only economic, but experiential, cultural and entertainment (Morgan, Watson & Hemmington 2008; Walter, Edvardsson & Öström 2010; Wu & Liang 2009). However, this convivial meeting creates food waste.

Food waste

Food is used hospitably beyond nutrition; having functions of identity, kinship, and pleasure (Gold 2012), often resulting in food left over, unused, or wasted (Evans 2012; Porpino 2015; Stephenson 2014). Consider the breakfast buffet at a hotel where a fixed fee is charged for the meal, or the fee is included in the cost of a room, so it is seemingly ‘all inclusive’ or ‘free’. Guests commonly fill their plates with excessive food, leaving enough food on their dishes on conclusion of their meals for another sitting. Or the frequently visited local restaurant where the owner provides unordered extras to known guests ‘on the house’ that are graciously received, but left.

A significant number of resources are wasted in growing, storing, transporting and preparing wasted food (Mason et al. 2011; Singleton 2012), most of which goes to landfill in Australia creating further environmental problems through methane production. The social and ethical consequences are often

overlooked:

- The inequity of the number of Australians who go without food (8%) (Lockie & Pietsch 2012), and
- The unspoken ethical problem: animals are killed for no reason but to go to landfill (Edwards & Mercer 2007). Examining the breakfast buffet further for example: bacon left on a diner's plate or in the bain marie at the end of service represents an animal that gave its life for:
 - a) A diner to decide they did not wish to eat it all, and/or
 - b) The establishment wanted to display abundance for its customers.

Food waste is an unrecognised cultural tension in the utopian world of dining out.

Background

Food waste is a global problem at the household and commercial level (DSEWPC 2013; FAO 2011; Mason et al. 2011). In developed nations such as Australia, proportionally more food is lost or wasted at the retail-to-consumer end of the food production chain in which foodservice is situated than in developing nations (FAO 2011). This is reflected by larger numbers of food waste studies in Australian households than in the commercial sector (Mason et al. 2011). The Australian foodservice sector has very poor diversion and recovery rates, particularly the hospitality sector (<5%), making this sub-sector a target for food waste reduction and management initiatives (DSEWPC 2013). The fractured nature of the sector consists of over 85,000 businesses comprising of fast food outlets (34.5%), restaurants (25.7%), cafes (24%), pubs and bars (8.2%), and clubs (7.5%) (The Intermedia Group Pty Ltd 2017). With a high staff turn-over (88% in 2015 for restaurants and cafes (Deloitte 2015)), this creates challenges for managing food waste efficiently (DoE 2013).

Food waste accumulates incrementally across the Food Production and Consumption Cycle (FPCC), which includes the steps from menu planning through to customer service (Cordell & White 2010; Mason et al. 2011; Riedy et al. 2010 (cited in Mason et al. 2011)). Data for the Australian hospitality sector are scant, and are mostly estimates from high-level figures with multiplication factors applied and extrapolated from low sample number surveys (DSEWPC 2013; Mason et al. 2011). UK data from WRAP suggest that food waste is created proportionally across different stages of the FPCC, and that on average businesses in the hospitality sector waste about 220 grams/cover of food, with the waste occurring as preparation waste (45%), customer plate waste (34%) and spoilage (21%) (LRS Consultancy & SRA 2013). The UK study consisted of a single food waste audit done by a researcher in 19 different establishments from three countries. Ignoring the inherent bias in researcher-executed assessment, no data of this type exist in Australia, nor of the diner's experience in the creation of food waste when they eat out.

The Australian Diner's Plate

'Do Australians leave food on their plate when they dine out?' 'How much do they leave?' and 'Why?' are questions examined by the research projects, *Watch My Waste* and *What's On Your Plate? Watch My Waste* is an exercise quantifying and qualifying aspects of food waste in the Australian hospitality sector. As part of the study, food waste amounts for spoilage, preparation and customer plate waste were collected from businesses for all sitting periods. Baseline data are shared from the first 12 businesses to conclude the study. *What's On Your Plate?* examines food waste through the lens of the diner using an online consumer survey. Three hundred and forty-nine (349) participants responded to questions relating to their last dining out experience and their thoughts on food waste when eating out. Data collection closed for both studies in December 2016. Consequently, all figures stated here represent interim results only, and cannot be assumed to be final.

Interim *Watch My Waste* baseline food waste audit data showed that waste occurred within businesses as customer plate waste (60.8%), preparation waste (34.5%), and spoilage waste (4.7%). The total amount of food wasted in the preliminary results equated to approximately 215grams/cover – almost identical to the UK amount of 220grams/cover (LRS Consultancy & SRA 2013). One main difference to the UK data was the proportion of food waste occurring on the customer's plate (60.8% AU compared with 34% UK). An examination of the interim *What's On Your Plate?* data sheds some light.

When *What's On Your Plate?* respondents were asked if they ate everything they were served last time they ate out, the interim responses were 28% 'no' and 72% 'yes'. The amount of food left by the 28% of diners was on average 18% of the food served (range 0% - 60%; standard deviation 13.2) in the preliminary results. The top 3 reasons food was left were: 1. Portion size, 2. Received extras that were not wanted, and 3. Didn't enjoy the food. To date, diners have had a dominant economic response ('It's a waste of my money' – 84.1%) followed by an environmental response ('it will create greenhouse gases when it goes to the rubbish tip' – 73.9%) when asked what happened when they left food on their plate when they ate out (multiple answers allowed). Most respondents were aware of the problem of food waste in venues such as where they last dined out, and thought that there were solutions to this problem (65%).

Examples of quotes to date from research participants related to food portions included:

"We're a pub. That's what we do." – chef interview

"I wish they didn't serve too much food" - *What's On Your Plate?* respondent

"I think that smaller portion sizes would reduce waste, but customers (sic) perception would be poor value for money and it would be bad for the business" - *What's On Your Plate?* respondent.

Discussion & Conclusion

Discussion

Food waste is generally recognised as a problem needing significant attention, and no more so than in the hospitality sector. However, one cannot manage what one does not measure. The interim results from *Watch My Waste* and *What's On Your Plate?* suggest that:

- a) Food waste is prevalent in the Australian hospitality sector. The results suggested participants produced the equivalent of a steak's-weight in food waste per person served across all sitting periods according to interim baseline food waste audits.
- b) A large proportion of food wasted by businesses was on the diner's plate. From data to date, more than 1 in 4 Australian diners left approximately 20% of their meal on their plate when they last ate out.
- c) Portion issues drove diners to waste food. Interim results suggested meals were too large, food items arrived on the plate that were not on the menu, or unwanted accompaniments were provided with no choice (e.g. chips, salad, rice, garnish).
- d) There was a tension between the problem and solution. Businesses establish the 'rules of engagement' of hospitality, scripting the mutually understood expectations for diners. For example, the typical pub meal is understood and expected to be excessive in size to present 'value for money' for the diner. This is what both actors expect, deliver and experience. Yet it can create tension for both actors: the chef who is disappointed when half a meal comes back to the kitchen uneaten; the diner who feels it is a waste of their money or has a large environmental impact.

The restaurant as a hospitable exchange is an "orchestrated space" with "ritualized exchanges" (Shelton 1990, p.507), guiding the diner's engagement through setting and performance (Grove & Fisk 1992). The physical and social environment co-create a self-reinforcing script to produce food waste when the expectation for all parties is that of a degree of excess. This suggests there are elements of the script that can be modified to direct the diner's experience to be one where less food waste occurs. Some potential solutions were recommended in preliminary responses in *What's On Your Plate?*: smaller portion sizes, variable portion options, and accompaniments offered as separate sides.

Interestingly, research from Ohio State University showed that explicitly advising diners that an establishment composts, or uses another landfill avoidance initiative, is not effective in reducing customer plate waste (Welshans 2017). When diners "know the food is going to be composted instead of dumped in a landfill, they aren't as concerned" (Welshans 2017, para 1). Such knowledge potentially allows the diner to relinquish responsibility, as they are seemingly not creating an environmental problem as they conceive it. This disregards the resources wasted and living beings needlessly killed embodied in the food not eaten. Scripting aspects of the immediate dining experience itself (menus,

price, plate size, optional sides, variable portion sizes, interaction with service staff, availability of doggy bags, etc.) is worth exploring for its impact on guiding a diner's choice.

Yet the risk in altering the currently accepted state of dining utopia creates discomfort for many actors and their audience. There is a seemingly understood shared sense of 'value' in what is designed, presented, received, experienced and disposed of when dining out. The mere act of an item's disposal creates a sense of worth or value to individuals (Türe 2014), suggesting that food and food waste may be differentially valued. This is reinforced by interim *What's On Your Plate?* responses, noting food waste to be '...a waste of my money'. This tension requires not only re-scripting by establishments, but also a re-conceived notion of value. What does it mean to show hospitality? What is truly valued? Where are acceptable points of trade-off? Perhaps if it can be shown that food waste is not waste but a valuable resource, and that food is more valuable than what it is currently perceived to be; an ethical utopia may become more than a dream when we dine out.

This paper pre-empts insights of perceived value, expectation, and the theatre of dining out that will be explored in the full research analysis. As it is an interim examination of data from separate research projects, the results presented should be read recognising a full statistical analysis is ongoing. Thus, it is not known if these preliminary results represent the population, or whether the experiences of these diners accurately correlate with the food waste audit figures gathered from foodservice establishments. This paper does not quantify how much food is wasted in the Australian hospitality sector. That information will be modelled from the *Watch My Waste* research analysis. Similarly, a more complete understanding of the diner's experience with food waste will be uncovered in the full analysis of the data sets from *What's On Your Plate?*. Further research questions posed by discussions in this paper include:

- a. Why do diners leave certain food types on their plates?
- b. Which scripted interventions have the greatest impact on food waste reduction?
- c. What does the value spectrum look like for the establishment, the diner, and where do they intersect?
- d. How to raise awareness of the issue for businesses and diners?

Conclusion

Interim results from two national hospitality sector food waste research projects suggests that there is a tension between what is perceived to be desired and what is received in the utopian world of hospitality. Approximately one in four Australians left nearly 20% of their meal when they last dined out. This was principally due to portion considerations, and potentially a misconception of value. Solutions for reducing food waste on the diner's plate may include offering variable portion sizes, sides as an optional paid extra, and smaller servings in general. Diners expect establishments to set the rules or framework for the dining experience, suggesting that establishments must take the lead where practicable. More research is needed to ascertain the effectiveness of a variety of food waste reduction initiatives, as well as determining low food-waste intersection points of perceived value between the establishment and the diner.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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Julie McIntyre

Utopian ideals in James Busby's colonial vision

Utopian thinking is premised on imagining a better future. In regard to wine, simply mentioning the word may evoke a quotidian Utopia: the imagined improvement of a glass of red or white the end of the working day. This view says much about the relative serenity of my social world as well as my research interests, and I acknowledge that wine is treated very differently by health researchers who are focused on the prevention of social harm from overconsumption of all forms of alcohol.¹ Nevertheless, in a decade of burgeoning studies of wine within the humanities and social sciences there is broad agreement that the politics of production and trade, and the rituals of consumption that coalesce into symbols of human experience, are worthy of inquiry.² As I have argued elsewhere in collaboration with John Germov, this requires attention to the dynamic mobilities of cause and effect, and of agency and structure, circulating as knowledge and material culture between wine drinkers, promoters and makers.³ An historical sociological approach allows for the unique inter-relationship of ideas of taste and culture with the pragmatics of production that unites winemakers, traders and consumers. It also takes account of political economy and the wider historical context of wine industry development. Such as the social and cultural conditions in which James Busby developed his contribution to early Australian wine growing within an emerging colonial order.

Busby is perhaps the single most famous individual in Australia's early wine history, according to the wine industry.⁴ Still, he is given very little credence in wider Australian historiography because wine has only recently become nationally important, economically and culturally.⁵ This means that little is known of Busby's skills of rhetoric, advocacy and instruction which I contend had greater enduring significance than the one vineyard he planted near Sydney and the importation of grape vine plant stock to New South Wales, for which he is renowned within the industry. As he set down his ideas in print in 1825, 1830 and 1833, this conferred authority on his contribution and Busby has continued to be influential in wine chronicles and timelines, and the naming of brands. For the record, Busby's books are part natural philosophy, part botanical theory, part instruction manuals. He played a fundamental role in wine boosterism in colonial Australia. Lesser known is that the tenor of his books, and his letters to family and friends, was wickedly disparaging and idealistic as well as learned. Indeed, I commend the prose portions of his books to you for reading pleasure. What concerns us here, however, is: was his enthusiasm for wine growing an expression of utopianism?

Contemporary literature proposes that 'Utopia' is a philosophical twin of social theories of how to achieve a 'common good' and indicates that there remains scant agreement on what might constitute utopia as 'a better place' or related imaginaries about where this better place might best exist.⁶ This absence of consensus is reassuring. The impact of totalitarian states during the twentieth century bears witness to the extent that dogma prescribing an ideal authoritarian polity or governance may result in dystopia. What is clearer is that the desire for utopia comes at a time of fear of, or experience, of dystopia – when the act of newly imagining a better world is conjured as a circuit breaker to reorient social and political progress. Indeed, it is argued that in Utopian frameworks 'the role of the prophet is not to predict the future, but to remind the people that if they carry on as they are doing, the future will be exceedingly bleak ... [it is prophets who reveal] unacknowledged sources of injustice and suffering, that are bound to bring catastrophe if they are not redressed before it is too late'.⁷

James Busby has been called 'the prophet of Australian viticulture'. This title was bestowed in 1940 by a New Zealand journalist and researcher of Busby's career as the British Resident in New Zealand from the late 1830s after his departure from Australia. Here is an explanation for how this labelling of Busby came about. When the journalist Eric Ramsden published a history of Busby's role in the drafting and signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, which recognised Maori prior occupation of Aotearoa

1 See for example <https://theconversation.com/au/topics/alcohol-342> [accessed 25/02/2017]

2 McIntyre and Germov 2016

3 McIntyre and Germov 2013

4 Beeston 2000

5 McIntyre 2012

6 Jacobsen & Tester 2012, 3

7 Eagleton cited in Rigby 2012, 151-2

New Zealand, Ramsden found that he possessed extra material on Busby and Australian wine growing. He subsequently submitted this latter research to the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* published in Sydney.¹ Therefore Busby's colonial legacy was bifurcated by the Tasman: one nation's wine pioneer; another nation's administrator of Indigenous recognition. This separation is not unexpected in the nationalist historiographies of Ramsden's time and more recently Busby has been drawn into New Zealand wine history as that country's industry has flourished since the turn of this century.²

In the Australian context however, was Busby a Utopian prophet for wine? Or is prophet a grand term when dedicated advocate might be more accurate?

To briefly sketch his biography: in 1824, as a young Scottish agriculturalist, James Busby immigrated with his parents and siblings to Sydney in the British colony of New South Wales. The family moved as a result of James Busby's father, John Busby, receiving the appointment of coal mines manager and water surveyor; this second role being Busby Senior's ultimate employment.³ Once established in Sydney, James Busby self-published a book called *A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine* (1825). He declared this to be the first book in the English language to address how to grow wine grapes and make wine from them, which had not taken place in Britain for many centuries.⁴ Busby gained his expertise on wine production from reading French publications and as a result of living for some months in a French wine district of modest reputation, prior to his voyage to Sydney.

Busby's interest in wine growing did not occur in a vacuum. It represented a continuity of English interest in grape wine as a lucrative product of colonial trade since the sixteenth century when English trading companies followed Columbus to the New World of the Americas and established colonies.⁵ Busby, like many lettered Scotsmen of the Enlightenment, attached much value to French wine production and sought to emulate it in new British territories. There were official reports recommending colonial wine production and Busby saw an opportunity to win a reputation that would secure his future through land grants in return for seeding a beneficial colonial export enterprise. Busby in the *Treatise* believed the "natural" role of colonies was to send raw materials to the centre of empire – that is, "intercourse between a colony and its parent state, which consists of the raw product of the one for the manufactured commodities of the other".⁶ Colonial wine, although manufactured in the colonies (though presumably to be blended and labelled by London merchants), could be of great economic benefit.

Soon, however in New South Wales when presented with the actuality of very few gentlemen farmers and a greater number of lower class settlers (often freed convicts) who were predisposed not to wine growing but to heavy alcohol consumption Busby revised his stance. When he wrote *A Manual of Plain Directions* (1830), he adopted a less florid tone in his prose, in response to criticism from colonists who found the *Treatise* to be pompous and inaccessible. He also predicted social and therefore economic disaster if the current level of drunkenness (from all forms of alcohol) continued. In the *Manual*, Busby's rationale for creating a wine industry metamorphosed into an environmental Utopianism to achieve social perfection with economic benefits. This is clearest in his repeated exhortation of an Arcadian ideal. "In the state of happiness", wrote Busby, "which is promised to the people of Israel, by the prophet, he tells them that 'they shall sit, everyone under his own vine, and under his own fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid'.⁷ A future of bounty and ease would allay fear. Coursing through this vision of bounty and ease is the emulation of what Busby perceived as a French tradition of planting corn and wine on adjacent lands, one for sustenance; the other for pleasure, as articulated by Arthur Young in an account of his tour through France in the late eighteenth century.⁸

While an illogical slippage may be detected in the *Manual* between exactly which grapes New South Wales settlers should grow and for what purpose, Busby believed in the transformation of New South Wales colonists from their present lives of alcohol abuse, squalor and depravity to a state of grace

1 Ramsden 1940

2 <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/james-busby> [accessed 25/02/2017]

3 <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/busby-james-1858> [accessed 25/02/2017] This entry contains historical errors

4 Busby 1825 xxxiv

5 Dunstan and McIntyre 2013

6 Busby 1825 iv

7 Busby 1830, 27

8 Young 1794

though wine growing and drinking. As I and others have written elsewhere, Busby was not alone in his thinking that the introduction of access to inexpensive, low alcohol wine could encourage sobriety.¹ This theory had a surprising persistence in colonial New South Wales policy making until the 1880s. Yet in Busby's case, the rhetorical shift to social benefits and utopian idealism that occurred between the writing of the *Treatise* and the *Manual* is not as evident in his third book, *Journal of a Tour of Spain and France* (1833). The *Journal* chronicled his journey to collect a varied and largely pointless collection of grape vines which he imported to the colony of New South Wales.²

Finally, what should we conclude from the change in Busby's thinking between 1825, 1830 and 1833? Did he remain an economic opportunist after writing the *Treatise* and simply cloak this in a convenient argument for substitution of wine for spirits and beer in the *Manual*? Not entirely. Busby conceived the *Manual* in what other historians have identified as the most drunken period in Australia history.³ There was genuine cause for concern about social harm from alcoholism; harm that threatened social disorder which in turn endangered the potential of the colony of New South Wales to fulfil its 'natural' role within empire. Busby experienced dystopia. Reading across his private correspondence: although he comes across as rather fatuous in the *Treatise* and in his letters to colonial officials, his private correspondence reveals that the wellbeing of his extended family were probably his prime motive for intervening to encourage an end to intemperance in favour of the emergence of a prosperous and cultured colonial society. He sought an Arcadia of quotidian serenity. Certainly Busby's advocacy for wine growing is significant. More than this, in the *Manual* Busby attempted to sound an alarm against potential doom on the matter of alcohol in society. It is rather dismaying then to consider that Busby's efforts led to a brief surge in elite interest in winegrowing and no discernible effect on the more populous labouring class and small farmers who he sought to reach.⁴ It is to be hoped that alarms sounded about contemporary futures for the production of food and alcohol (to be consumed in moderation), are more effective.

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Julie McIntyre is a Research Fellow in History at the University of Newcastle. She has published widely on wine in Australia and more recently on digital history and tourism. Her book *First Vintage: Wine in Colonial New South Wales* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2012) won a 2013 Gourmand Publishing Award. It was shortlisted for Gourmand's Best Wine History in the World prize and the NSW Premier's History Awards, as well as other honours. Her current project 'Vines, Wine & Identity: the Hunter Valley NSW and changing Australian taste' is funded by a three-year Australian Research Council Linkage Grant to meld histories of migration, imaginaries, transimperialism, business, consumption, place and environment. For 'Vines, Wine & Identity' Julie is co-authoring a new history of Hunter wine and co-curating a major exhibition of the region's wine heritage. She is a founding member of the University of Newcastle's Wine Studies Research Network, an Associate Editor of the *Journal of Wine Research* (UK) and serves on the steering committee for the new Australian Environmental History Network. In 2016 she convened the first international conference on wine studies in the humanities and social sciences at the Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, King's College London.

Professor Richard Mitchell

Food and Eating as Performance: Unlocking a Kiwi Gastronomic Utopia

In the last two decades there has been an awakening in New Zealand cuisine. Most importantly, us Kiwis have actually begun to embrace our food as a core part of our cultural identity. Like Australia, our colonial past and migration throughout the 20th Century (both inbound and outbound) has shaped our culinary identity. By the 1980s we were a culinary wasteland, described as “... *shamefully dull and incompetent, even by New Zealanders themselves* (Burton 1982, xii). By the 1990s New Zealand cuisine had begun to explore its own trajectory (most notably through fusion cuisine), seemingly shunning its colonial past. However, a second renaissance is underway that is embracing the past and exploring a culinary utopia where our colonial apron strings and waves of migration are valued and celebrated. At the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic we have been exploring ways that we can uncover the mythology of this gastronomic utopia through the performance of stories of our food as an integral part of being Kiwi. This presentation will explore some case studies that demonstrate this performance of Kiwi culinary culture in practice.

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Dr Richard Mitchell and Adrian Woodhouse

Fostering Culinary Identities Through Education – Abandoning the Vacherin and embracing Phyllis’ Pavlova

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Introduction

This paper is a dialogue between two academics, discussing two different approaches to contemporary culinary arts education. The approach is one based on the narratives of two students navigating very different pedagogies. One pedagogy is the well-established master-apprentice approach to vocational education and the other is the new design-led approach developed by the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic (Dunedin, New Zealand).

The paper is informed by reflexive ethnographic practices (Hegarty, 2011) implemented throughout the six years of delivery of a Bachelor of Culinary Arts at Otago Polytechnic, New Zealand. The article is presented via a story-telling methodology - a methodology which has long been associated with the construction of meaningful knowledge in higher education (Alterio, 2008). As such, storytelling can provide us with deeper and more significant insights into professional practice and the actions that inform and drive them (Alterio & McDrury, 2003). Meanwhile, the insights discussed here are based on observations of how a number of students have engaged both the traditional and design-thinking pedagogies. They are not representative of any one student but rather tell the story of the pedagogies themselves and not the student personas portrayed. In essence these are design “walk-with-me” personas used to illustrate how each model works. In turn, each persona has their own voice to create an emotional reality and to capture the complexities of their own given situations (Alterio, 2003).

To this end, this paper will read as a series of vignettes relating to a number of issues at play in both the traditional and design-thinking pedagogies of culinary arts education. Some of these issues relate to the explicit curriculum while others are part of Michael Apple’s (1982) notion of the ‘hidden curriculum’. The vignettes are presented ‘in character’. They represent both the cognitive and emotional responses that the personas have to the pedagogies. As such behaviours and languages that may seem unnatural (or even unpleasant) to the reader are in essence not part of the social realities or cultural identity that the reader maybe accustomed to (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) also suggest that we need to be aware of our own views and bias to better understand the social reality of others.

The conclusion highlights the key questions for the future that these two approaches raise.

Meet The Students

Jonno Buxton (Level 3 Certificate in Basic Cookery)

Hi, I am Jonno. I am 17 y.o. I left school at the end of year 11, coz I hated the place. I am a cookery certificate student.

I like cooking coz my cooking teacher was fun. Before I did cooking at school I didn’t know anything about food. We never ate out much and mum’s cooking isn’t that flash. My form teacher suggested that I do cooking coz I am not very good at writing and stuff, she said that I am good at working with my hands. I am so glad she did, coz cooking at school was great and I was good at it. Plus the food was yum.

My favourite chef is Gordon Ramsay. One day I want to be just like him and own my own place. When I have finished at Tech I want to go and work at the best restaurant in town so I can learn how to be the best chef that I can.

I work part time at the local pub as a kitchen hand so I can get faster at my work. I work pretty hard, but the boys get on the piss after shift so its lots of fun.

Chloe Jones (First Year Bachelor of Culinary Arts student)

Hello, my name is Chloe and I am an 18 year old first-year Bachelor of Culinary Arts student. I love

cooking! My grandmother taught me so much about food and I want to learn more about how to make my own recipes.

I was pretty good at the academic stuff at school, but I never took any cooking classes as my teachers said that I would be better to concentrate on getting achievement standards so that I could go to university. The careers advisors suggested I do some science subjects so that I could do a food science degree or maybe nutrition. To be honest I hated science, as I really just want to learn about food, but my parents want me to go to Uni to get a degree. I loved English and Art at school as they allowed me to be creative.

I am not really sure exactly what I want to do when I graduate, but I do know that I would love to work in food somewhere. I love cake decorating and my grandma's baking is so amazing, I'd like to set up a business selling the sorts of cakes that she makes.

I am a barista and sometimes I help out in the kitchen at an organic café. We just got reviewed in Broadsheet and the girls are so excited.

Vignette One: In the classroom

Jonno

Vacherin!?! How the fuck do you even say that!?! What is this bullshit? Isn't that just a 'bird's nest'? My posh aunty brings them to our place every Christmas. I hate them. What's wrong with a Pav?

Chef Schmidt says we have to learn all these different types of meringue for our assessment. To be honest, I am shitting myself about all of these things I have to remember. I have no clue what the difference is between the French, Swiss and Italian ones. They all look the same to me in the textbook.

I do remember making that one in class the other day. My arm was sore for days. Fucked if I know why we had to beat the eggs by hand, at work the sous chef Lou chucks it all in the Hobart.

Chef Schmidt is some kind arsehole. He just likes inflicting pain on us. But man, that meringue swan he demonstrated for us was way cool. I wish I was that skilled. He's the man! I showed the photo to Chef Lou and just laughed and said "what a bunch of wank!"

Chloe

Today we got our design brief for Patisserie. Before I got the brief I had already started to look for some inspiration by looking Adriano Zumbo's latest TV series. This was a good starting point for me because the brief has asked me to design a dish based on the values of my favourite pastry chef. It also says that the dish has to be suitable to go into a local café. That's also really cool because can design it for work.

The brief also says that we have to include a meringue in the dish somehow. There are some video links online that we have to have a look at before we go into the kitchen. I watched the first one the today and I had no idea how important baking was for rural communities. The Country Women's Institute were ahead of their time. I am so going to get some of grandma's old CWI cookbooks out for my research for this project.

I am not sure what is happening in the kitchen today, it just says 'Meringue Design Challenge'. These things make me nervous, as we never know what to expect. In the end it is usually a lot of fun, but I am not always comfortable working on group challenges.

Discussion

On the face of it these two vignettes are simply dealing with different approaches to the delivery of content. For Jonno, the content is delivered by his tutor (the master/the expert). He is expected to learn the canon of the classical repertoire which is the foundation of modern Western cookery. The pinnacle of this canon is its application in a Eurocentric haute cuisine environment (the assumption is that there is a hierarchy of culinary knowledge and skill with haute cuisine at the top) and, as such, the context for this learning is assumed to be that environment. This presupposes that Jonno has aspirations to work in this type of context (Woodhouse, 2015). In this case, Jonno does have aspirations but he is

finding it difficult to reconcile this with his everyday reality of working in a very different context. He is conflicted by the messages he is receiving from the institutionalised (legitimate/espoused) source of knowledge and that of the knowledge from the practice of the industry (Schön, 1983).

For Chloe, she is faced with navigating the uncertainty of a project-based pedagogy. She acknowledges the fact that this uncertainty creates some angst for her when she is given a design challenge, but she also enjoys the fact that she can bring her own content to the context described in the project brief. Chloe is able to draw on past learning experiences (watching Adriano Zumbo) and to explore more widely than the method of making meringues (the social history video on the Country Women's Institute) so that she may put her learning in a broader context. As such design is used as a pedagogical framework for what is described as a cognitive constructivist learning strategy (Alterio & Day, 2005).

However, beyond these differing approaches to learning, there is also a fundamental shift in the locus of motivation for the students in question. For Jonno, he is learning in a system that is driven by extrinsic motivators (assessment, qualification and legitimacy). He is motivated by need to learn the 'truths' of the classical canon and the need for legitimacy in the world of haute cuisine (whether this is real or a figment of his and the collective imagination). Becoming 'qualified' legitimises his place within the 'cheffing' community. The qualification is a means to an end and as such is a right of passage. This model of culinary education is built on maintaining the rhetoric and structures of the rights of passage – the language, the gatekeepers, the uniforms and the unquestioned 'truth' (the classical repertoire).

For Chloe, there is a mixture of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. She too, is driven by the legitimacy that the qualification affords. This, however, relates to her level of academic achievement rather than becoming a member of the culinary community. There are many pressures that have led her to 'need' a degree (of any kind) to legitimise her social status. However, design allows an inquiry-based pedagogy where she can bring her own taste, personal motivations and desires to her learning. As such she can bring her own worldview to the classroom and explore it from a multitude of angles. She is not driven by the content for content's sake, but by how this new understanding can enrich her own personal context. The content may or may not have any direct relevance for her future career, but she has a broadened understanding of how to apply knowledge and understanding in different contexts, identified by USESCO (2002) as being a useful in her future, whatever it might bring.

Vignette Two: Assessment

Jonno

I've got a resit tomorrow. My bloody Vacherin didn't work during assessment last week. Chef Schmidt told me I failed because my meringue was too grainy and far from perfect. At work I get it right every time because we use the Hobart and its easy to whip up, but Chef Schmidt said that only cowboys do it that way.

I'm gutted I fucked up on assessment day coz when we were practicing in class I nailed it at least once and was so close the other time. Chef said he hadn't seen anything that good in a practice before.

I am absolutely packing it. I don't like letting Chef Schmidt down. He is tough on me but I know that this will be good for me when I get into a real kitchen. He has even been teaching me some of the tricks he has learned that aren't really in the textbook, but seem to work really well. I am gutted that it didn't work for me on assessment day.

I also didn't do very well on the theory test and have to resit that too. I just can't get my head around the difference between the types of meringue and it's hard to remember when I have to use each one. We only use one type of meringue at work and it's not any of the ones we have to learn at Tech.

I really need to pass this assessment! It's important that I know this shit coz the next level is fucking hard. Chef Schmidt told us that if we can't make a perfect French meringue every time, we won't be able to make macarons. He also said that there is this super hard thing called a Japonaise meringue that is so technical. If I want to succeed in a real kitchen I have to nail the advanced stuff too.

Chloe

I'm so excited to be finally doing my assessment today. I have spent weeks exploring different alternatives on paper and in the kitchen. I've even made an eggless meringue using aquafaba (chickpea water) as we have heaps of it at work and I hate to see it go to waste. I am not going to make this for my assessment, but they have put it on the menu at work, which is kind of cool.

After lots of trial and error and making heaps of mistakes, I have decided to make a pavlova based on Grandma Phyllis' recipe. I have so many amazing memories of her serving this crunchy pavlova to us when we visit. I was also so inspired by the Country Women's Institute's (CWI) cookbooks that I really wanted to do something based on my New Zealand heritage.

My recipe works well for the café that I work in because it's a mini pavlova and it uses organic and free range ingredients and I have decorated with foraged edible flowers. In the end I decided not to go with Adriano Zumbo as my favourite pastry chef, instead I used the CWI as my culinarian.

The process of developing the dish was a bit scary at times as I had to get feedback from my lecturers and classmates, even when I was just mucking around with ingredients. In the end the feedback was awesome because I learnt heaps about how different people will react to my food. In one of my prototyping sessions, I wanted to get feedback on the texture of two different recipes: one chewy and one crispy. It was a 50:50 split and even my lecturers didn't agree with each other, so in the end I just had to go with Grandma Phyllis' crunchy-style. I wanted to stay true to her memory.

I know there are heaps of things that could go wrong today and I really want to show people the best possible dish because I am super proud of it, but I also know that if it doesn't go well I have done enough work that I won't fail the assessment. We've been getting heaps of feedback on where we are at when we take our workbooks to checkpoint and the lecturers have been really positive about my work. I can also see that I do more work than most of my classmates and they often come to me for help with things so I must be doing ok.

We also do a reflection after the main assessment where we look at our processes and what we have learned from the assessment, including anything up to the point of actually cooking the dish. That's an opportunity for us to look at what went well and what we could have improved on. I know that I probably explored too widely and tried too many different things so I haven't had a lot of time cooking this particular recipe. This is something I will explore in my reflection as I know I could narrow things in my process so that I get more time to work with a specific recipe. This has happened for a couple of assessments now so I really need to refine my processes.

Discussion

The assessment processes outlined in these vignettes reflect the difference between a behaviourist (reference) and constructivist (reference) approaches to learning and assessment. One of the key differences is that for Jonno it is an assessment of his learning, while Chloe has a project where the assessment is the learning (see Alterio and Woodhouse's (2009) discussion of assessment **of** learning versus assessment **for** learning).

Chloe's assessment recognises that much of her learning occurs in the process of preparing for the assessment and she is rewarded for that work. It also acknowledges that self-, peer- and group- feedback is instrumental in the learning process so her assessment actively promotes this formative feedback. By contrast, Jonno is assessed for his competency at a given point in time. He practices/studies to achieve the predetermined outcome. There is some feedback along the way, but this comes from the tutor (master/expert) and reinforces the absolutes of the canon. He is assessed on his ability to master technocratic skills that segment knowledge into discrete categories and hierarchies. There is still a stair-casing of knowledge and skill that could be conceived of as constructivist (e.g. advanced methods build on the mastery of less advanced methods). However, this is built on one worldview: the French taxonomy of cuisine developed by (Escoffier, 1907).

Chloe's assessment allows her to construct her own authentic and meaningful knowledge based on her own worldview (Alterio & Day, 2005). As such, stair-casing for Chloe is based on 360 degree (self, peer and lecturer), formative feedback on her learning processes. She shares her work with lecturers

and classmates throughout the project and (p)reflects on the feedback before and after the date of the cooking of the dish that she has designed. Chloe’s assessment also acknowledges that she brings existing knowledge and skill (e.g. her work experience and learning from her grandmother), while Jonno’s work experience is dismissed as being unworthy of the canon (e.g. the guys he works with are ‘cowboys’).

Chloe’s assessment is a process and this is rewarded by spreading the assessment over the entire project or learning process. Many students struggle with this to begin with as they are used to being able to ‘cram’ for summative assessments at the end of a project/semester. This type of ‘assessment as learning’ means that it is impossible to save your ‘learning’ to the very end. A by-product of this is that, once students embrace the process, they are more likely to be mindful learners throughout the semester as learning that is vital to their assessment outcome might occur at any time.

Jonno’s assessment is based on a single, bounded outcome. It is no more or less summative than Chloe’s but relies on delivery of skills and knowledge devoid of context and within a particular timeframe. Rote learning can solve this short-term need to perform with limited long-term benefits.

Conclusion

These vignettes discuss just a small part of the Food Design Institute’s ‘design as pedagogy’ approach to culinary arts education. They highlight some of the key differences between the traditional vocational approach and the design approach to culinary education in classroom and assessment philosophies. Table 1 summarises these differences.

Table 1: Key Differences between traditional and design pedagogies in culinary arts education

	Traditional	Design
Learners are...	<i>passive</i> consumers of knowledge	<i>active</i> producers and consumers of knowledge
Knowledge is...	<i>unquestioned</i> (there is a <i>truth</i>)	<i>critiqued</i> (there are only <i>truths</i>)
The canon is...	French classical (<i>haute cuisine</i>)	not predetermined (the learner creates/explores their own)
Practice is...	<i>technical</i> through a <i>recipe</i> (the outcome is assessed)	<i>conceptual</i> through a <i>process</i> (process is assessed and assessment is a process)
Failure is...	frowned upon	an integral part of the learning process
The application of knowledge is...	assumed (<i>haute cuisine</i>)	context-driven (multiple applications)
Control of knowledge is...	<i>structural</i> (the State, institution and lecturer has absolute control of the learning)	given to the student (they have some <i>agency</i>)

In an ideal world, culinary arts education would have active, engaged learners who shape their own education and understand how it could be applied in a range of real-world contexts. Using design as pedagogy puts in place a constructivist framework that goes some way to achieving this. At the core of this approach is the realisation that students need to be given a level of control (*agency*) over their learning. The concomitant outcome is that institutions and educators must let go of a control of the knowledge –they must become what King (1993) terms the ‘guide on the side’ rather than the ‘sage on the stage’.

This is not an easy task because, as Woodhouse (2015) points out, there are several structures at play that create inertia that resists change. These include:

- The master-apprentice educational paradigm that has persisted for more than 500 years in vocational education. This was reinforced through the industrial revolution and the development of the guilds (knowledge became about producing workers for industry);
- The transformation of the guilds into State-run learning institutions, which further reinforced the

structures of the guild system;

- The deep entrenchment of Escoffier’s 110 year old canon within culinary education;
- The remaining belief within the industry that there is a hierarchy of cuisine (haute cuisine at the top).

Design is a useful and convenient framework to apply as a form of pedagogy as it already has established tools and language (indeed its own structures) that embrace the agency of the designer and that of the end-user of that which is being designed. As Speicher (in Vander Ark, 2017) suggests, design as pedagogy provides “the tools and methods [needed] to apply design thinking - discovery, interpretation, ideation, experimentation and evolution.” At its core, design is pretty straight forward: it is good old fashioned thinking and making (or, indeed, thinking through making). At some time in the past, in the process of institutionalisation, culinary arts education forgot about the thinking.

The Food Design Institute’s approach is not inherently anti-tradition, anti-French or even anti-classical, but rather opens the learning to other worldviews. Fundamental skills and methods are still at the core of our approach and many of these are derived from the classical methods of cookery, but their application is open to interpretation and application. Without these fundamentals it is impossible to transform commodities into value-added products, services and experiences.

It is important for us to acknowledge that the persona case studies presented here relate to differing levels of education with different learning outcomes. However, and probably more to the point, design as a pedagogy can be used at all levels within the education framework. An example of this is the technology curriculum from year 7 to year 13 in New Zealand schools which embraces design (technology) and its associated pedagogies as a framework for enquiry based learning (Mitchell, Woodhouse, Heptinstall, & Camp, 2013). Arguably, allowing students some agency over their learning could be seen as beneficial at *all* levels of education. The critical question therefore is, if it happens at intermediate and secondary school why is it typically not adopted within tertiary vocational education?

Similarly, by no means are we suggesting that Jonno is only capable of operating within the traditional, behaviourist model of culinary education; quite the contrary. A constructivist approach such as the design pedagogy used at the Food Design Institute could liberate people like Jonno from what Freire (1970) calls the ‘oppressive’ structures that have reinforced his place in the education system (and wider society) for many years. Freire’s (1970) core principle is that education should permit self-liberation through conscientization by providing him with agency to develop his own more meaningful learning. In this it is possible for him to discover new ways of solving problems, exploring his creative talents and communicating his thinking.

For the last two decades there has been a growing voice in hospitality literature that calls for a critical turn in hospitality (Lugosi, Lynch, & Morrison, 2009; Mitchell & Scott, 2013) and culinary arts education (Deutsch, 2014; Hegarty, 2011; Woodhouse, 2015). The use of design as a pedagogy provides a framework to facilitate this critical turn. In turn, this creates graduates who have skills that allow them to quickly adapt to new situations, identify and solve problems, be creative, be effective communicators and apply their culinary skills in different contexts. In short, they are liberated from the shackles of the worker to become the professionals that the industry has called for for decades.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dr Richard Mitchell is Professor in Food Design at Otago Polytechnic (Dunedin, NZ). He has more than 140 publications which explore the intersection between people, place and food and beverage. Over the last 5 years he has been at the forefront of the emerging field of food design, presenting on this topic in London, Austria and New York and throughout Australasia. He is a founding member of the editorial board for the International Journal of Food Design and is convenor and creative director for the International Food Design Conference and Studio (<http://fooddesign.nz>).

Adrian Woodhouse is the academic leader for the Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme at the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic, New Zealand. He is a double award winning national tertiary teaching award winner and current member of the Ako Aotearoa Executive committee. As a qualified chef and tertiary teacher, Adrian's research focuses on the critical examination of culinary arts culinary arts pedagogy. This work has seen him present at numerous conferences and symposiums both nationally and internationally on the power relationships in culinary education.

and specialises in early Australian food culture. Jacqui is a PhD candidate in history at Sydney University, researching early settler foodways and food security in the colonisation of New South Wales.

Jacqui Newling

Paradise or purgatory? - fate, famine and food security on Norfolk Island 1788-1790.

Key to the architecture of colonising New South Wales was that a supply of provisions would be sent to the colony within two years of settlement. By January 1790, however, the promised replenishment supplies had failed to arrive. They had been shipped from England aboard HMS *Guardian*, but she struck an iceberg near the Cape of Good Hope on Christmas Eve, 1789, just weeks from her destination, preventing the supplies being delivered as promised.

It was expected that the provisions store would be augmented with fresh foods, cultivated by the settlers or foraged native produce. Despite assurances from Sir Joseph Banks that Botany Bay was a verdant landscape, Sydney's sandy soils proved unproductive for European-style crop farming. And after two years of extractive harvesting, the native food supply – esculent vegetables, fish, game birds and animals – was inconsistent and unreliable, and laborious and time consuming to procure. Compounded with the onset of El Nino drought conditions, the fledgling colony of New South Wales was facing a very real prospect of famine.

The situation on Norfolk Island, however, seemed more promising.

Norfolk Island was settled in March 1788, just weeks after the First Fleet landing at Botany Bay. With glowing reports of its natural attributes the island had been identified as a potential jewel in the English crown during Captain James Cook's voyage of discovery in 1774. Originally, all eyes were on the island's majestic pines, which showed great promise for the Royal Navy as ships' masts, and the wild flax that could be processed for rope-fibre and sailcloth. The French had been sniffing around too...

As it turned out, the island's pines, 'the utility of which such sanguine hopes had been entertained', proved to be unfit for masts - each tree branch formed a deep knot in the trunk, rendering the timber too weak.¹ Similarly, despite committed attempts to work out how to process it successfully, the flax failed even in the simplest expectation that it might be useful for culinary applications, as pudding cloth, for example, or storage bags.²

But Norfolk Island boasted other attributes – especially when compared to the mainland Sydney settlement. Ample rainfall and luxuriant soils meant that crops would flourish and vegetables could be grown in abundance. There were no quadrupeds to hunt but surrounding seas teemed with fish, game birds were so tame they could be knocked down with sticks, wood-cabbages, wild sorrel and native spinach could be foraged. And there were no indigenous inhabitants to contend with, which was a continuing problem for the Sydney settlers.

A founding party of twenty-three settlers under the command of the young Philip Gidley King was slowly added to over 18 months or so. By August 1789 the island was supporting a population of 120, made up of convict labourers, artificers and marines' corps supervisors. As in mainland Sydney, salt-rations – flour, salted meat, rice and dried pease – brought out from England underpinned the diet, but the settlers' toils clearing and cultivating the land had produced bountiful crops and garden stuff. Commander King reported that 'four to six months flour ... [was] expected from the grain harvest' plus seed reserves for the following year.³ Norfolk Island might indeed become the green grocer and bread-basket for the mainland settlement.

But there had been hiccups along the way.

Squalls, gales and even a hurricane, destroyed gardens and hampered work, and at times brought it to a stop. The fish were large and fat and 'very fine eating' but supplies were precarious, and the seas were rough and treacherous. Some days produced dozens of fish, but many delivered only a few or none at all.⁴ In bad weather or rough conditions the boats could not go out all.

1 David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales from Its First Settlement, in January 1788, to August 1801*. Volume 1, 1798. pp. 62-63; 76-77; 89-90.

2 Phillip to Dundas, October 4, 1792. *Historical Records of Australia (HRA)* p 389; Grose to Dundas, April 21, 1793, *HRA* p 428; Collins, January 1791 p. 152.

3 Collins, August 21, 1789. p. 89.

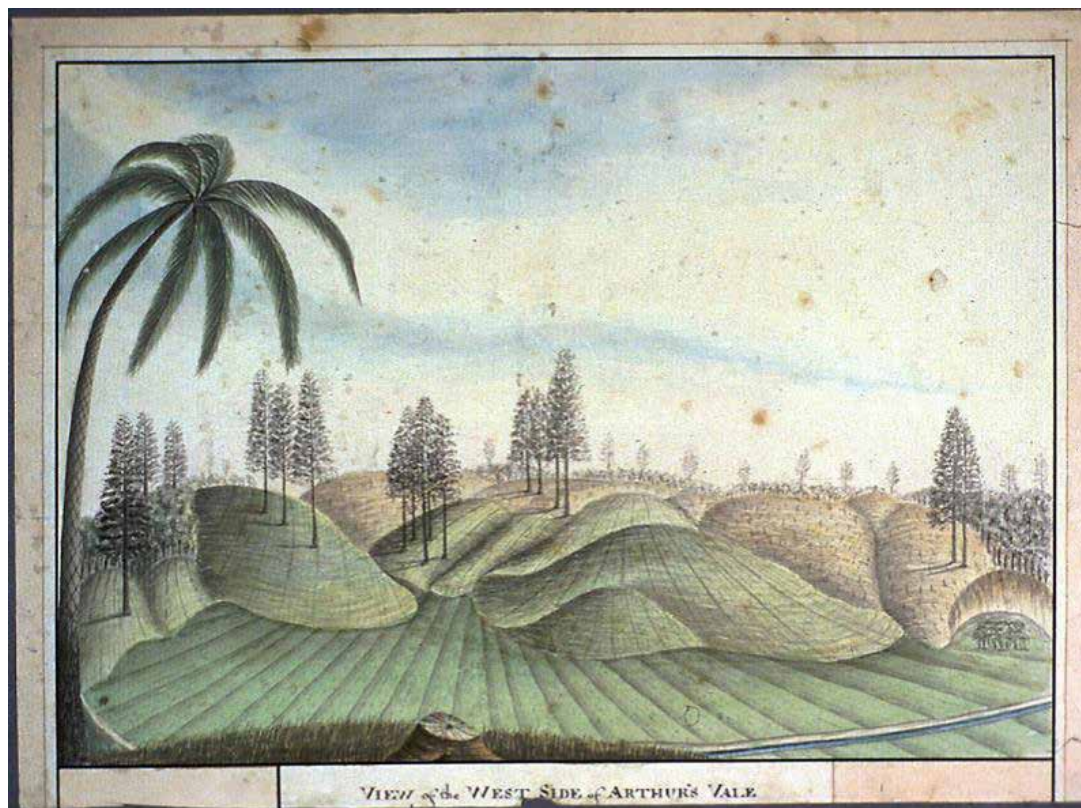
4 King, Philip Gidley. *The Journal of Philip Gidley King 1787-1790*. Australian Documents Library Sydney, 1980: for example, March 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 28,

Foraging proved risky - five men suffered poisoning in April 1788 after harvesting beans which ‘much resembled the Windsor bean’.¹ Preparing them as they might the familiar English broad bean, the colonists first boiled and then fried them in butter, but the cooking process did not prevent their toxic effect: ‘in two hours time they were seized with violent gripings, retchings (sic) and cold sweats’.² Even the pigs which at first ‘provided very well for themselves in the woods’ had to be penned after two hogs died having eaten something poisonous.

In May 1789, following a strange northerly wind, the gardens were plagued with voracious caterpillars.³ The women were tasked with beating them off the wheat and treading them into the ground, with limited success. They disappeared within a few devastatingly destructive weeks, and colonists began planting new crops, but an infestation of rats destroyed many of the newly sown plants and seeds. The settlers set traps, lacing them with oatmeal mixed with ground up glass, which helped keep them at bay.⁴ Spring brought on a fresh round of destructive insect activity, this time from what they called ‘grubs’ - ground-worms which still plague the island today. Dismayed at their virulence, Commander King complained that ‘what [the rats] have spared the Grubs have destroyed.... Every ... plant is eat[en] off as fast as it appears out of the ground... where the Evil will end I know not.’⁵ The women convicts were again given the combative task of plucking the grubs out of the ground and off the plants with frustratingly minimal results.⁶ By October King was able to report that ‘the Grubs had almost totally disappeared but [the gardens were] now plagued with large flocks of Parroquets’ which devoured newly sowed seeds and played ‘great havock’ with the ripening corn.⁷ Wild quail had been similarly destructive the previous summer. To add insult to injury, the caterpillars returned in November, this time stripping the vegetables of their stalks and leaves. Again, it was down to the convicts’ manual labour to protect the crops from the voracious pests, women plucking the caterpillars off by hand and men beating the birds away with long poles.⁸

Displaying great resilience, the settlers overcame each of these disasters, developing strategies to avoid them recurring – altering sowing and harvesting times, improving storage facilities in learn-as-you-go fashion. Very much a child of the Enlightenment, the young commander constantly sought ways to bring chaos to order.

1788; December 23, 1788; March 11, 1790; Hunter, John. *An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*. 1793 p. 183.
 1 King, (in Hunter) p. 313.
 2 King, (in Hunter) p. 313.
 3 King, May 9, 1789.
 4 King, April 14, 1788; King, (in Hunter) p. 312.
 5 King, September 1, 1789; King, (in Hunter) p. 343 December 1788. King, *Journal*. October 6, 1789.
 6 King, October 6, 1789.
 7 King, October 27, 1789.
 8 King, December 3, 1788; November 18, 1789; King, (in Hunter) p. 376.



Watercolour 'View of the West Side of Arthur's Vale', ca 1790s (Series 36a.06), attributed to George Raper. Sir Joseph Banks' Papers, State Library of New South Wales. CY 3011 / 111

Testament to their efforts in the face of all these challenges, King reported in January 1790, that their 'wheat had returned twenty-fold, notwithstanding [they] had had much dry weather.... the convicts ... [have] in general very good gardens, and many [anticipate] a very large produce of Indian corn.'¹ Meanwhile, grappling with barren soils and failed harvests in the mainland settlement, and with only three months provisions left in the stores to sustain close to 1000 people each day, Governor Phillip focused on Norfolk's successes rather than its hurdles. In his mind, if the island's crops were so good after all the damage suffered from pests and vermin to yield grain sufficient for six months' bread for everyone upon the island, and have seed-stock for the next season, only proved the extent of the island's agricultural richness.² Combined with the additional benefit of fish and game birds, Norfolk Island seemed a paradise. But we must keep in mind however, that the calculation of six months bread was based on a population of 120 people, and King had reported that he expected four to six months' grain – the governor was taking a glass half full measure.³

To relieve pressure on the native food supply and what little their gardens could produce in Sydney, Phillip sent about one third of the population – 280 convicts, marines and their children – and a portion of the colony's remaining provisions were dispatched to Norfolk Island aboard the colony's only two ships, *Sirius* and *Supply*. The *Sirius* would then venture to China for emergency provisions.⁴

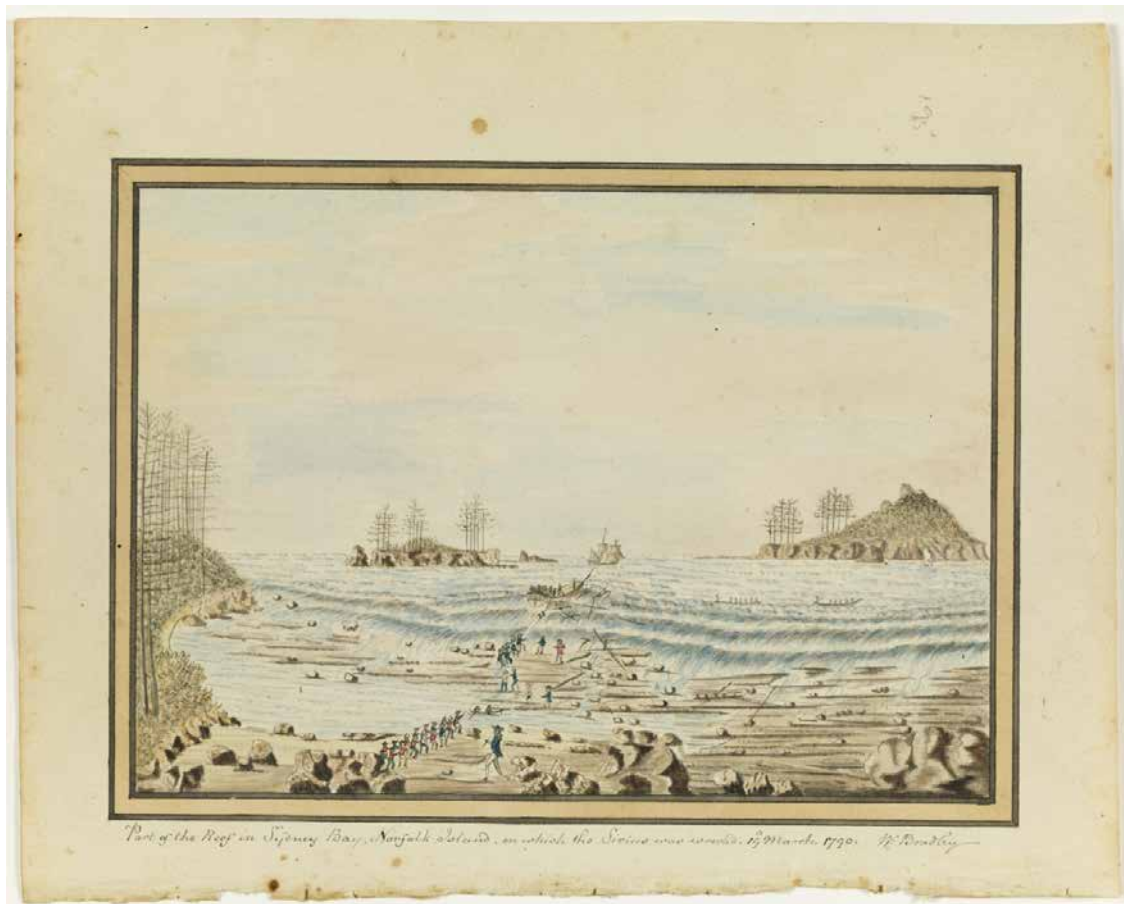
With its steep and craggy shorelines dotted with submerged reefs, the island was (and still is) notoriously difficult to access. The convicts and marines were landed safely on March 16, but in the process of unloading their goods and chattels the *Sirius* struck a hidden reef and was wrecked upon the shore. For a remote colonial outpost thousands of miles from the nearest trading port, this was no small catastrophe.

1 Collins, Account. 1798. p. 95 February 1790.

2 Phillip to Sydney, February 12, 1790. HRA p. 147.

3 By February 1790 when Phillip was reporting to his superiors the population on Norfolk Island stood at 149.

4 Collins, Account, p. 96



William Bradley - Drawings from his journal 'A Voyage to New South Wales', 1802+. Safe 1/14. State Library of New South Wales.

People worked around the clock to salvage the provisions and anything useful. All manner of equipment and personal belongings were thrown overboard in the hopes they would float in on the tide, including a menagerie of live animals – pigs, goats and poultry, but provisions being 'the chief object' took priority. Water damaged barrels of rice and dried peas were immediately opened and dried out on the shore while good weather prevailed.

Any hopes of a mercy voyage to China for provisions were also dashed upon the reef. The *Supply* returned to Sydney with Commander King aboard to report back to the governor. 506 people were left stranded upon the island, including the *Sirius* captain and most of her crew. Feeling the full horror of their plight, King admitted of his failure to address the hazardous landing conditions on the island with great lament, confessing, 'I should have got this business done, but that it would have been a great hindrance to cultivation, which I ever thought was the principal object to attend to.'¹ It was now up to the little *Supply* tender to journey to Batavia (China was too ambitious a voyage), leaving no line of communication between the two settlements. David Collins expressed the tenuousness of the colonists' situation:

*it was painful to contemplate our very existence as depending upon her safety; to consider that a rough sea, a hidden rock, or the violence of elemental strife, might in one fatal moment precipitate us, with the little bark that had all our hopes on board, to the lowest abyss of misery.*²

It would be five long months before Norfolk Island received any relief or contact from the outside world; the Second Fleet arrived in Port Jackson in June 1790, bringing immediate relief for mainland Sydney, but it was not until August 7th that stores ships arrived at Norfolk Island. Even at half-ration

¹ King, (in Hunter), p 397 (see postscript)
² Collins, p. 107 April 17, 1790

– flour 3 lb, Beef 1½ lb, or 17ozs of Pork and 1 lb of Rice per person per week; children above twelve months old received half this amount, and those under twelve months, 1½ lb Flour and 1 lb of Rice Pr. Week – there were but four months ration in the stores.¹



Mount Pitt Petrel. Collection of sketches by J. W. Lewin, P. P. King, P. G. King and others, 1793-1850. State Library of New South Wales, PX*D 379 / a1642013

An acute fear of famine pervades the stranded colonists' letters and journals; moods lifted with each fish catch, but winter seas were often unyielding. There are constant references to starvation, and it was only by divine providence that the people survived, with the arrival of *Pterodroma solandri* - 'Mount Pitt birds' or 'Providence petrels' - migratory sea birds which nested on the islands peaks.² The authorities at first tried to limit the slaughter of the petrels, but with the meat ration so low, found this difficult to enforce. Within a few weeks they relaxed the restriction, withdrawing half a pound (220g) of salt meat per week in lieu. 'Great havoc' ensued, and birds were killed in vast numbers, as colonists devised clever tactics to capture them. According to sailor, Jacob Nagle,

*we Would Start Out About Four in the Afternoon & Reach the Mount by dusk as I suppose About four Miles up hills & down Steep Vallies & when Out there Would Nock up a fier & wait till the birds begin to [descend] there Would be Sum of all denominations Sailors Soldiers & Convicts ... [They] Would Come to us we hallowed hoo ho ho and the birds Would Come Running ke ke ke thinking it was their Mate or their Young and by that Means Every Man Would take him & what he thought was Sufficient to Carry which would be [up to] 30... birds each... When our NapSacks was Completed every Man Would lite his large torch & Set out homewards...*³

Clearly, the colonists found the yield worth the eight miles return trek to Mount Pitt, or perhaps they also enjoyed the sport; game hunting was a popular sport in England, and one of the few 'liberties' allowed on the island, especially for convicts. Over 172,000 catches were actually documented, recorded by acting quartermaster, Ralph Clark, but double this number is a strong possibility.⁴ Albeit rudimentary maths, calculating the 69 days where data was collected, an average of 2300 birds were being killed per

1 Clark, Ralph. The journal and letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792. May 14, 1790. Fidler, P.G.; Ryan, R.J. (eds). 1981. The extra weight of beef accounts for it being in a wet brine, corned beef style, whereas the pork was a dry measure.

2 Hunter p 123; Bradley, William, 'A Voyage to New South Wales', December 1786 - May 1792, June 17, 1790.

3 Nagle, Jacob. Jacob Nagle his Book A.D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty Nine May 19th. Canton. Stark County Ohio', 1775-1802, compiled 1829. p. 133. Nagle states between 16-30 birds per man per night.

4 Clark, Ralph. The journal and letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787-1792. Fidler, P.G.; Ryan, R.J. (eds). 1981. The records do not cover the full season and are incomplete; Medway, David G. 'History and causes of the extirpation of the Providence petrel (*Pterodroma solandri*) on Norfolk Island' in *Notornis*, 2002, Vol. 49. The Ornithological Society of New Zealand, Inc. 2002 p. 56.

night, resulting in 4.5 birds per person per day. Alternatively, dividing the 172,000 birds between 500 people over the sixteen weeks of which records were kept, results in 21.5 birds per person per week, or three per day; twice this if we accept more recent scholars' estimates. Not dissimilar in size to mutton birds, each might yield approximately 100 g meat plus rich body fat; these quantities of bird meat, albeit somewhat fishy-tasting, seems a fair, if not advantageous, trade-off for 220g salt pork deducted per week from the ration.



A Young Mount Pitt bird - natural size [Petrel], ca 1792 / Sydney Bird Painter.
State Library of New South Wales PXD 680

Not only did the birds provide meat, their eggs, noted to be of similar in size to a large duck egg, were known to be 'excellent'. It appears from Clark's journal that the birds' eggs were preferred to their meat, with hunters selectively harvesting birds with egg, releasing those without. The petrels, which mate for life, lay one egg per pair per season; it is little wonder their population on the island was much diminished with a few years, and became extinct during the first convict settlement period.¹ According to Clark, some convicts were inhumane and merciless in their egg-gathering techniques:

[they] had to Mount Pitt only for the Sake of the Birds Eggs[.] the[y] Catch the birds and them that have no Eggs the[y] let goe again and them that are with Egg the[y] Cut the Egg out of them and then the[y] let the Poor Bird fly again which is one of the Cruelles things which I think I Ever herd - I hope that Some of them will be Caught at this Cruel work for the Sake of making ane example of them.²

Unreasonable and bizarre behaviours, especially around food preparation and consumption, are symptomatic of famine stress or semi-starvation syndrome - indeed, how else could this barbaric practice be justified?³ Studies of crisis and calamity attest that in the face of famine

1 Colonies of *Pterodroma solandri*, now protected, can be found on Lord Howe Island, and are being reintroduced onto Phillip Island, off Norfolk Island.
2 Clark, Journal Friday May 21, 1790
3 Dirks, Robert. Social Responses during Severe Food Shortages and Famine' in *Current Anthropology* Vol. 21, No. 1, February 1980. pp. 21-44. p. 22, 31;

culture disappears, leaving an essentially bestial nature... All else is put aside as starvation mercilessly rips off the 'social' garments from man and shows him a naked animal, on the naked earth...¹

Or were the colonists simply tired of their meat, given the great numbers of petrels being caught? Beyond having a slightly fishy flavour there are no outright complaints from diarists about the quality or taste of the flesh. Regardless, selective harvesting for eggs, and discarding the meat in favour of an egg - especially after the effort and energy required hunting them - does not sound like the behavior of hungry, let alone 'starving' people.

Remarkably, relief arrived just as any surviving birds vacated the island on their seasonal journeys. The *Sirius* crew received news of their recall to Sydney, and despite their fears of isolation and famine, at least one sailor lamented their departure from the island. Perhaps aided by the comfort of a full belly after the relief had arrived, George Raper praised this 'Paradise of Nature, this Empire of the East'. Despite its three 'pernicious evils' - 'Blights, Grubs and Paroquets', he insisted there was 'no cause of complaint but by individuals':

everything grows in the most luxuriant manner... our crops are flourishing... [with] a good prospect of picking vast quantities of French beans, ... many fine heart cabbages and lettuces ... potatoes ... Fine fish ... [when available] are exceeding[ly] fat and firm, and we had, besides, our friends the 'Pitties' (the vulgar appellation).

[N]othing could have been better timed, and though rather paradoxical, everything happened as favourably as could be: the ship being cast away in the only spot where there would be the least chance of saving our people [and] the provisions, all our men keeping health to the last, our crops in a flourishing state... the Birds as [described].²

Providence had played her hand.

Mainland Sydney's prospects improved in the later 1790s, with agricultural expansion along the Hawkesbury. Norfolk Island however, meanwhile suffered a spate of poor harvests and struggled with the continued problem of naval access, so vital in these times. It was determined in 1799 that 'this island never would be the utility which might be expected from the very expense that was incurred on its account [administering and supplying it].³ Between 1805 and 1814, the majority of convicts and settlers were relocated to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), many of them founding the town of New Norfolk, in the Derwent Valley.

Epilogue

Norfolk Island was resettled as a place of harsh secondary punishment for convicts between 1825 the end of convict transportation to New South Wales in 1855, and is listed on the World Heritage Register as one of eleven significant convict sites in Australia. In 1856 the island was given over to a civilian community of Pitcairn Islanders, many of their descendants remaining on the island today. Its 13.3 square miles (34.6 sq km) now supports around 1,600 residents, with up to 1000 additional tourists in peak season. Meat (beef, goat and poultry) and seasonal vegetables are produced locally but packaged goods are imported by ship or flown in from Australia and New Zealand. A pier was built in Sydney Bay in the 1840s and subsequently extended, but there is still no direct access for large ships. Freighters anchor some sixty metres off-shore, and goods are transferred onto small lighters, to be unloaded from the pier, but only in favourable sea conditions.

Cows roam freely about the island, grazing on verges, but dairy production ceased several years ago; fresh milk from New Zealand costs \$8.20 per litre and 250g butter \$5.31; locally baked bread is \$3.30 per 650 g loaf. In consequence, local residents generally use UHT milk and spread their bread with locally grown avocado, aka 'poor man's butter'. A 1.6kg whole chicken (fresh or frozen, uncooked), costs \$14.72 or ready-cooked \$14.50. Fresh local eggs retail for \$8.20 per dozen.⁴

Gandevia (1975) p. 10

1 Dirks p. 31 citing Sorokin, *Man and Society in Calamity* (1975)

2 Raper, Sir Joseph Banks' Papers, State Library of New South Wales. CY 3011 / 111, CY3008/652

3 Collins, April 1799 p. 205

4 Prices current December 20, 2016, courtesy Foodland Supermarket, Norfolk Island.

Eggs from wild birds, such as sooty terns, are consumed by local residents and fresh fish is caught when weather permits, the trumpeter being the prize catch.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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Diana Noyce

Of Rice and Men: Embracing Utopian principles in Changi Prison during the Second World War (1939-1945).

‘War is probably the single most powerful instrument of dietary change in human experience.’

With its founding principles of desire, order, justice and hope, Utopia represents a framework to think about gastronomy as both an imaginary ideal and a realisable goal for the future. Moreover, the utopian theme encourages us to envisage the gastronomic project of eating well, bridging disciplinary boundaries, encompassing different spaces, practices, cultures and times. For the Australian soldiers interned in Changi prison located on the island of Singapore during the Second World War (1939-1945), that despite the hardships, the implementation of utopian ideals and principles was, as this paper demonstrates, a realisable goal.

In December 1941, the Imperial Japanese Army invaded British Malaya in Southeast Asia, culminating in the Battle of Singapore, an island at the southernmost tip of the Malaysian Peninsular. When the British surrendered to the Japanese on 15 February 1942, thousands of civilians and military personnel including 14,972 Australian servicemen were interned in Changi Prison, a British peacetime garrison. The Australians were housed mostly in Selarang Barracks built to accommodate a capacity of 900 men. The Barracks was made up of eight major buildings, a dozen or more minor buildings and 400 acres of land.



AUSTRALIAN WAR MEMORIAL

P03821.029

FIGURE 1: Selarang Barracks, 1942. Photo taken secretly by Major Kennedy Byron Burnside. Australian War Memorial, P03821.029.

From the moment of surrender a Prisoner of War (POW) is at the mercy of the military force which has captured him. As prisoners under the totalitarian regime of the Imperial Japanese Army the men were required to abide by its rules, its discipline, its principles and its culture, and particularly the demands and orders of the guards. However, to prevent a decline in the social order brought about by imprisonment, the internees of Changi prison attempted to create a society and community that adhered to the principles of justice and order, and at the same time gave them hope for the future. That meant embracing their new environment, and bridging the cultural gap between the captors and the captives.

At this point in the discussion, the dispelling of a few myths about Changi prison is required, many of which persist to this day. The view of Changi as a prisoner ‘hell’ expressed within many popular historical works and often repeated within the media, is an interpretation derived from knowledge of the horrific conditions on the Burma-Thailand railway, not Changi. The brutal enslavement of

prisoners which resulted in the death of one in three British and Australian soldiers has become indelibly ingrained upon the wartime narrative. Changi, says historian Tim Bowman, became a byword for all the indignities and atrocities committed by the Japanese towards the allied servicemen and women captured by them in 1942 following the battle for Malaya.

The main POW camp at Changi, however, was certainly no holiday camp. Prisoners-of-war in Changi did suffer deprivation and loss of self-esteem, but conditions were not appalling. Although food was rationed, it was provided every day. As soldiers, Australians had consumed about 4,000 calories each a day. In Changi, they received about 2,000 calories. However, on the Burma-Thai railway, on Ambon, at Sandakan, and in many other POW camps, they received far less. When comparing his time in Changi with his later experience on the Burma-Thai railway, Captain Lloyd Cahill recalled, 'If you were in Changi, you didn't realise it, but you were in heaven. You had light; electric light, and sewerage and God knows what. Could play poker every night and do what you wanted to do and they had a first-class entertainment unit there.'

There was also piped water that contributed to the POW's cleanliness and overall healthier conditions. In Rohan Rivett's *Behind bamboo* (1946), the first account published by an ex-POW, he noted that after coming from the harassment and persecution of the tightly controlled POW camps in the Japanese-occupied Dutch East Indies, 'Changi appeared to us like POW heaven'.

Moreover, those that were lucky enough to stay in the camp for the duration of the war, had access to the best medical services available to any prisoner-of-war camp in South East Asia, including a dental centre and a psychiatric ward, and rarely saw a Japanese soldier. To the Japanese at least, Changi was a repository of men, a storehouse of labour for the aforementioned labour camps.

Faced with 50,000 allied troops who were not going anywhere, the Japanese made a very smart decision as far as the allies were concerned, says Bowden. Not wanting to waste their fighting men to look after prisoners of war, they decided to leave the British and Australian command structures intact, so they could effectively look after themselves. Furthermore, unlike other POW camps, the Japanese administrators of Changi allowed the commanding officers of the British and Australians to discipline their soldiers and maintain order. The dearth of Japanese guards stationed in Changi highlighted the relative autonomy the prisoners received in running the camp.

The entire camp initially came under the control of British Lieutenant General Percival who had been the head of Singaporean defence forces prior to the surrender. However, a strict regime of discipline and routine was imposed on the soldiers by their own commanders in order to maintain hygiene, health and morale.

In particular, to maintain health, dietary change became imperative for their survival. As familiar foods such as meat, butter, bread and potatoes became unavailable, those that were previously unknown, unfamiliar or taboo became acceptable alternatives. And, through technological and innovative developments in the camp, new food choices were created rather swiftly.

Polished white rice was the main food that altered the men's eating habits. Australian army rations were heavily meat-based but the newly-captured prisoners had to adjust to a rice diet. Rice was supplied to the prisoners by the Japanese as rations, and became the staple ingredient of the diet of the prisoners at Changi for the length of their captivity. However, as private 'Snow' Peat succinctly put it, 'no bugger knew how to cook it.... The only time the army cooks had ever used rice was to make rice pudding'. 'The first efforts of the army cooks to cope with rice defy description', said Sergeant David Griffin, 'it appeared on the plate as a tight ball of greyish gelatinous substance, nauseating in its lack of flavour and utterly repulsive'.



FIGURE 2: POWs eating rice, 1942. A water damaged photograph taken secretly by Private George Aspinall. AWM, P02569.132.

It took some time for the cooks to work out how to separate the grains and keep it fluffy. War artist Murray Griffin said, ‘it took a while, but soon the cooks could make rice sit up and beg. It was coloured bright green and orange, pink red and just plain white [depending in what the rice was cooked, for example, palm oil coloured the rice pink/red]. But it was all rice, and some men could not take it.’ Constipation became endemic. However, as the war progressed supplies were often disrupted as merchant ships were sunk or pulled out for the war effort and plain white rice became extremely difficult to come by. To make up the shortfall in rice, the ration was frequently adulterated by the Japanese to make it go further. It was grey when the rice ration was filled with iron fillings or yellow when filled with slaked lime (calcium hydroxide). These additives caused constipation to quickly turn to universal dysentery. Rice was also frequently full of weevils, but the weevils were cooked with the rice as they provided added protein to the diet. Apart from rice, a little tea, sugar and salt were issued, together with the occasional ration of meat, fish either fresh or dried, and a few vegetables. As well, edible leaves such as hibiscus leaves found around the camp were added to the vegetable ration.

There also had to be a change in attitude by the army towards army cooks. Normally cooks were well down the pecking order, but nutrition and cooking became the primary concern underpinning all health and welfare. A fellow internee, Dr Rowley Richards recalled how the men in the kitchen and hygiene squads had to be recruited from the most able men in the camp. Indeed, according to one internee, ‘the story of cooking for those three and half years was one of making not enough to go around, or transforming filth into something which looked attractive and tasted reasonable, and of working with one-tenth the equipment that was needed.’ Murray Griffin an official war artist (mentioned earlier), captured in Singapore and interned in Changi provides a comprehensive resource of life in Changi Prison. Through his artwork, Griffin recorded the dietary changes and all the inventions, improvisations, and range of activities the men engaged in to preserve life. The images reveal ingenuity, resourcefulness, and determination in the face of adversity. The artwork is held in the Australian War Memorial and can be accessed online.

Changi Industry Inc.

The prisoners in Changi established a workshop within the camp to produce most items, such as shoes, brooms, dentures, artificial limbs, soap, and cooking equipment needed by the men. Machinery was procured either stolen or abandoned when the internees were on work parties outside the camp.

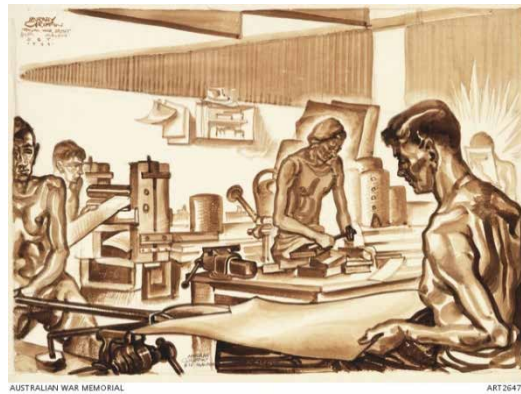


FIGURE 3: Making and repairing metal food containers, 1944. Murray Griffin Collection, AWM, ART26479.

Cooking utensils quickly wore out. The internees fashioned kitchen utensils from whatever scrap materials they could find. In particular, food containers or dixies for use by the men needed constant repair. They were at first repaired with scrap metal and old car body steel. Later green painted metal lockers in the barrack buildings were used. Over time, the camp became proficient at building all the necessities needed by the prisoners.



FIGURE 4: The camp potter, 1945. Murray Griffin Collection, AWM, ART 25074

Changi even had a camp potter. In August 1944, the camp hospital required suitably designed pots to collect toddy (sweet sap) from the coconut palms for use with patients suffering from beriberi and other ailments. With the aid of an old crank-shaft, local clay and a constructed kiln, Private J F Blondahl managed to make not only toddy pots, but mugs, salt pots, vases, seed trays and containers and hotplate bases. The clay was found at Changi 12 feet (3.6 metres) down when digging holes for human waste.

With rice the staple ingredient in the men's diet, the prisoners sought many different-ways of cooking it to decrease the monotony and increase palatability. Initially, rice was boiled in modified Soyer stoves. Australian prisoners, however, began learning from the Dutch prisoners different ways of preparing the rice to create variety. Soon cooking improved steadily with rice cooked in broth, fried, steamed as plain dumplings or boiled into a porridge mixture.



FIGURE 5: Frying rice cakes, 1942. Murray Griffin Collection, AWM, ART 26489.

The POWs learnt to make rice cakes that were fried with palm oil (it tasted like axle grease but was rich in vitamin A) on a makeshift stove consisting of a metal plate over an open fire. Rice was also ground to make flour firstly using bottles and later mechanised grinders were invented and manufactured from odds and ends of scrap metal found outside and inside the prison. Rice flour and water fried in palm oil became a substitute for bread. In 1944, when the POWs were moved out of Seralang Barracks to Changi goal (initially a civilian goal), to cope with the requirements of many thousands of men, three large deep-fry cooking stoves were constructed in the goal. A round-the-clock staff turned the monotonous rice into the substitute bread as well as other 'doovers'. A doover was anything made of rice which did not look like rice. Pies, tarts, cakes and rissoles all came under the genus of doovers.

Mealtime was naturally greatly anticipated. All food was equally divided so the men received the same amount. Breakfast was usually 'pap', a dish made by boiling ten gallons (45 litres) of rice with 40 gallons (180 litres) of water, and by continuing to add water as fast as it boiled away. Palm oil was then added and boiled again for hours until the 'whole mixture looks like an enraged custard and no longer resembles rice at all'. Finally, the entire 50 gallons (225 litres) was sweetened with two pounds (900 grams) of sugar. A camp favourite for lunch or 'tiffin' (an in-between meal) could be 'pastry' made out of minced boiled rice, filled with tapioca root, flavoured with *blachang* (Malay for fermented shrimp paste, however, for the internees it was sundried paste made out of fish offal), and finally fried in palm oil. This would be served with a watery soup. Stew made with sweet potato and greens, or if available meat or fish, boiled rice and tea without milk or sugar could be had for dinner.



FIGURE 6: Meal time at Changi, 1943. 'Doovers' can be seen bottom left hand corner. Murray Griffin Collection, AWM, ART25102



FIGURE 7: Duck yard, 1944. Murray Griffin Collection. AWM ART 26508.

When the rice ration at Changi POW camp was sufficient, a certain amount of swill enabled many men to keep poultry, (mostly ducks) and a motley assortment of pens sprang up everywhere, composed of wire, split bamboo, old sheets of iron and lalang grass. As the rice ration went down and down, so did the birds, until they were turned into soup. At first, they had been fed on snails, but the snails became so popular as an edible supply of protein, that the snails, like the birds, soon became completely eradicated. The men also established piggeries which were also short-lived. Other supplies of protein came from snakes, frogs, birds, cats and dogs. For many internees, a regular Sunday midday meal of dog became a recognised institution. Snail suppers provided an excellent means of entertainment and hospitality



FIGURE 8: 'Jock' Campbell smokes the fish issue, 1943. Murray Griffin Collection, AWM 25075. Note his artificial leg made in the camp

When fish was issued as rations, it was often 'on the turn'. By smoking the fish in an improvised smoker made from a metal locker the nearly-rotten fish were preserved and given a more edible flavour. Fresh fish was also provided to the hospital by the Australian Infantry Forces (AIF) fishing party who with very little equipment managed to supply 2000 pounds (907kg) of fish to ill and malnourished hospital patients.¹

The Vitamin Factory

The prisoners received few medicines from the Japanese and the food and medical supplies sent by the Red Cross for the POWs were mostly withheld by the Japanese. As malnutrition began to appear amongst prisoners, fighting vitamin deficiency diseases became a great concern. Soon vitamins as well as carbohydrates, fats and proteins rapidly became household words. It was up to the internees to

experiment with their own mixtures and remedies. Hence, chemists, botanists, engineers and doctors were engaged amongst the internees to find remedies for vitamin deficient diseases as well as all manner of ailments including skin diseases. By their knowledge and ingenuity these professionals were not only able to keep men tolerably healthy but also to save many lives.

The Japanese at times issued rice polishings in an effort to make up for the woefully deficient Vitamin B1 in the men's diet. The rice polishings supplied, however, were generally of very poor quality and many of the sick would not consume them. A machine therefore was constructed to squeeze the wet polishings in a press. After soaking, the polishings were rolled in clothe and then placed in the barrel of the press. The performance was repeated three times. This made the polishings more palatable for the sick to consume. Men would drink a pint (450mls) of the extract at a time.

The men cut, crushed, and soaked lalang grass, a grass effective in combatting beri beri and pellagra, both vitamin B deficiency diseases. A machine was built in the camp from a large lawnmower and two rollers, and run by electricity. After the grass was cut and crushed it was then soaked dissolving out the vitamin from the broken grass cells. The foul tasting, yellow/orange coloured liquid was rich in thiamine but disliked by the men. At times the men had to be forced to drink it. Often at meal time, especially work parties, men were given a serve of rice and a serve of grass soup.



FIGURE 9: Grass extract shed, Changi camp, 1942-43. Murray Griffin Collection. AWM ART24471.

Yeast, containing the essential vitamin B1 was given as a small issue to everyone to help in the battle against malnutrition. The Japanese supplied brewers' yeast from the Singapore brewery with which to start a culture. The yeast was grown on sweet potatoes, sugar and flour that formed part of the camp rations and then boiled. After 36 hours, the brew was ready for drinking. The alcohol naturally present in the brew, unlike the grass soup, made it a popular medicinal drink.

Desperate for vitamin rich food, the men established vegetable gardens which the Japanese encouraged and initially supplied seedlings. An area of 70 acres (28 hectares) adjacent to the camp was cleared of rubber trees, tangled undergrowth and coconut palms. Drains were constructed, anti-erosion measures were put in place, wells were dug, and primitive hand pumps fitted. Soon an ordered garden emerged. The felled timber fuelled the camp stoves. To maintain a big market garden, hacked from a tropical jungle and deprived of all save the most rudimentary tools, was no mean undertaking. Nevertheless, with human urine and sludge from the septic tanks as the main fertilisers, by November 1943 the unit gardens were contributing monthly no less than 7,000 pounds of vegetables to the rations.¹

Ceylon spinach was one of the few plants that grew well for the prisoners of Changi and provided the much-needed vitamin C, B vitamins and iron. The spinach became a staple of the POW diet. Amaranth (not technically a grain but a seed and a form of protein) grew prolifically but was unpleasant to eat and turned the teeth black. Sweet potato and tapioca (cultivated for their leaves as well as a carbohydrate), artichokes and yams, soya beans (from which they made tempeh, fermented soya bean made into a cake

1 Peter Madden, 'The AIF Seedling Nursery', in Grant, p. 208.

form), and eggplants called brinjals were also grown as well as papaya. Bayam, (Chinese spinach but of African origin) later became a favourite and was eaten twice a day.¹ Finely ground tapioca was used as a rice flour substitute for making cakes and biscuits. Apart from tapioca, most of these foods were foreign to an Australian palate in the 1940s.



FIGURE 10: Two men carrying a basket of Ceylon spinach, 1944. Murray Griffin collection, AWM, ART26499

In May 1944, all the Allied prisoners in Changi, now including 5,000 Australians, were moved to Changi Goal and its environs, which up until that time had been used to detain civilian internees. With five men to a cell, it was necessary at night for two of the men to move onto the walkway outside the cell to create more space for each other. As well, the Japanese provided materials to build 100 metre huts for living quarters and kitchens outside the gaol for the rest of the prisoners. New gardens had to be established. Seedlings were raised for planting in the unit gardens. During working hours, Changi became a hive of activity, every prisoner with his own job to do to ensure the smooth running of the camp as well as providing the necessary food for their survival—stacking firewood, making compost, raising seedlings and tending the new garden.

Work parties were also sent outside the camp to repair infrastructure in Singapore itself and to construct an aerodrome at Changi point. This gave the work parties opportunities to supplement camp rations at great risk by trading with the locals as well as the black market which was strictly off limits to the internees. Theft from Japanese warehouses was also common. Pianos, gramophones, pictures, ornaments, sporting equipment such as golf clubs, and books by the hundreds were also brought into camp by the returning work parties. Moreover, prisoners were actually paid by the Japanese for work done outside the camp. A canteen was established in 1943 and with pay in their pockets troops could purchase eggs, day-old chicks and ducks, coconuts, Java weed (for tobacco), gula melaka (sugars from the sago and toddy palm), Australian tinned food, local fruit such as papaya, vegetables and the much-coveted condensed milk.

Feeding The Mind

Not only did the body need to be fed, but also the mind. Soon after arriving in Changi an education scheme was established under which every man was to have some form of intellectual activity, however slight. Changi University held classes ranging from astronomy to pig breeding. Moreover, books brought into camp were catalogued and a substantial library of 20,000 books was created on subjects as diverse as economics, history and constitutional law. Book clubs were formed. Concerts and plays were held regularly. All manner of sports was played from cricket, golf, volleyball, basketball, football, to tennis played on a rebuilt court with lines marked in red clay.

Furthermore, living under the tyranny of a conqueror, the men naturally looked to the future and freedom which most men, according to Alick Downer who taught law and politics in the camp, believed to be never far away. In looking to the future, thoughts focused on building a better world with many of the better educated internees writing papers that were read and discussed on diverse subjects as socialism, the new capitalism, future immigration to Australia, and the improvement of cultural, political and trade relations between nations.² These discussions gave men not only hope for the future,

1 H. Hutchance, 'The Changi Garden Party', in Grant, p. 296.

2 Alick Downer, 'Prisoner of War Politics', in Grant, p. 115-119.

but also hope for a better future.

In conclusion, with the combination of the ration issue, the camp Messing Fund (CMF) that enabled the purchase of additional foods considered necessary to maintain health; the black market that grew rapidly in scope and enterprise, trading with the locals, vegetable gardens, a canteen, and the occasional Red Cross parcel, Changi had become almost a self-supporting town complete with sports fields, concerts, cafes, book clubs, university and supper parties.

The Japanese occupation of Singapore ended officially on 12 September 1945 when Japan surrendered unconditionally. Compared with other Prisoner of War camps such as the Burma-Thailand Railway, Changi did not have a high death toll. Out of the 87,000 POWs who passed through the camp, only 850 died.¹ Although the men were thin and exhausted at war's end, many of the fatalities at Changi were the result of battle wounds the men had sustained before being taken prisoner in 1942, or while convalescing following their return from hard labour on the Burma-Thailand Railway, and not because of conditions at the prison. In creating a society that adhered to the principles of justice and order, by embracing their new environment, through ingenuity in devising things to eat from the raw materials at hand, and having hope for the future, a high survival rate of the Australian internees ensured.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Diana Noyce holds a Master's degree in Gastronomy from the University of Adelaide and has been researching and teaching food history and food culture for a number of years. She lectures at various institutes on aspects of food and culture including U3A, WEA, the NSW State Library, Q Station and the Maritime Museum, Sydney. Her major research interests include War and Food, Antarctica, particularly during the Heroic Age and Charles Darwin (he not only collected specimens but ate them as well). She has also presented papers at various conferences both in Australia and overseas, in particular, the International Commission for Research into European Food History, the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery, and the Symposium of Australian Gastronomy. Publications include dining on the Legendary Train journeys of the world (The Ghan), various journal articles, including online journals as well as newspapers.

¹ Lachlan Grant, 'Changi in myth, memory and history', in Grant, p 16.

Charmaine O'Brien

Meat Three Times a Day — Colonial Australia as a Gustatory Paradise

After working up an appetite promenading the thousands of exhibits at the 1867 Paris exposition visitors could choose to satiate themselves with a diversity of international food and drink.¹ There was the novelty —for the time—of tea with lemon slices floating in the cup at the Russian concession and iced brandy smashes at the American bar; the exotica of Iberian drinks or coffee in a 'real Algerian café'; the native sophistication of French dishes as well as Swiss, Prussian, Viennese and Bavarian offerings.² Yet it was the joints of roast beef served up by a 'caterer from the wilds of Australia' that "carried off the palm for gastronomic achievements [sic] in the presence of all the cooks of the capitals and courts of Europe".³ When this news made it back to the colonies the only local newspaper to report this colonial culinary success declared it "strange indeed" that someone from the "land of mutton and damper" had been able to win the "rapturous approval of Frenchmen" for their cookery.⁴ The 'caterer' in question was actually a duo, Felix Spiers and Christopher Pond, and the particular patch of antipodean wilderness they hailed from was Melbourne, capital of the state of Victoria. Booming, bustling gold rich Melbourne to which the siren call of a particular utopia —easy fortune— had drawn people from all around the globe: Spiers and Pond made themselves rich there by catering to people's social aspirations. This paper will explore the particular culinary Shangri-La they created but first it will consider why their international success was met with incredulity rather than pride.

European Australia was hardly more than an infant in 'civilization' terms by the mid-nineteenth century, but it had a firm reputation as place of distasteful eating. The inhabitants of the antipodean colonies were believed to be uncouth eaters who existed on a singular diet of meat, bread, over-cooked potatoes and cabbage and stodgy puddings swilled down with gallons of strong sweet tea. As a matter of association Australian cooks were "dreadful".⁵ Counter reports of Australia as a veritable paradise with a bounteous food supply and "the best cooks in the world" were overridden in favour of promulgating a vision of the colony as a culinary dystopia, the roots of which lie in its unique penitentiary origins, and universal themes of class, gender and immigration.⁶

Australia was colonized to solve the "inconvenient" problem of overcrowded English jails. Its antipodean location made it a convenient place to exile felons —out of sight out of mind. Transportation there was banishment to the ends of earth, intended as a social 'death' for the criminally convicted but a less brutal negation than dying swinging from the gallows. This decision had been influenced by a libertarian belief that criminals could be reformed by becoming "cultivators and proprietors of land" in a place understood to be of considerable agricultural possibility.⁷ The notion that Australia was a fecund land was entirely based on the reports of the small group of English explorers, most notably James Cook and Joseph Banks, who 'discovered' Australia in 1770. They reported rich soil "in which "any kind of grain", sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and spices, could be easily grown and pasture so lush all year round that it would support more cattle than could ever be delivered there. They had little evidence to back these claims but as they were the only Britons to have seen the place they were taken at their word. The first fleet was sent off in expectation that application of convict labour to this bounteous land would result in food self-sufficiency in two years.⁸

In 1791 an English women's magazine reported the three year old colony at Botany Bay as a "civil settlement governed by polite norms", where cultivation had "exceeded expectations" and spice plantations were soon to be established —the "natives" apparently had been subdued through "kindness"—a determinedly idealistic projection on behalf of the writer (Albion 25).⁹ The colonists

1 Bureau International des Expositions 2012 'Paris 1867', January 1 2014, at <http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/home/history-of-expos/item/96-1867-paris>

2 Anon 1867 'The Great French Exhibition' Argus 16 July, 5-6

3 Anon 1868 'Eating and Drinking' South Australian Advertiser 13 November, 12

4 Anon 1868 'Eating and Drinking' South Australian Advertiser 13 November, 12

5 Argus, 1876, August 9, 4; Ewing, Ritchie, J.1890. An Australian Ramble or a Summer in Australia. Paternoster Square, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 135.

6 The Doctor, "Cooks: At Home and Abroad," Nepean Times, December 24, 1898, 7.

7 Deirdre Coleman. "The Camp as 'New Albion': Early Visions and Views of Sydney. Australian Writing and the City, 18-30 in Australian Writing and the City." In refereed proceedings of the 1999 Conference held at the New South Wales Writers' Centre Sydney 2-6 July, edited by Fran de Groen and Ken Stewart, 1999.

8 Charmaine O'Brien. 2016. The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc

9 Coleman, "The Camp as 'New Albion'", 18.

in situ were questioning whether Cook's intimation that an agricultural paradise would be easily established was in fact a fantastic fable as they had failed to materialize it. Instead they had come close to starvation because crops withered instead of flourishing, and the ample supply of fish anticipated was subject to considerable seasonal fluctuation. Baseline rations had to be reduced to subsistence levels to make them last. Far more time was spent hunting and foraging native foods than ever went into spice farming. Even if the settlers had been able to locate the "finest meadows in the world" they lacked the skills and knowledge necessary to build a food system from scratch.¹ The Government had failed to send any experienced agriculturists to the colony believing perhaps that urban criminals would be able to transmute into farmers by their own will, yet the situation was blamed on the colonists inadequacy rather than failure of bureaucratic planning.²

Estimation of Australia's potential did prove prescient; it just took longer than expected. Ten years after settlement the colony had become a place of "plenty, ease and pleasure", but the "shameful, distasteful stigma" of the country's convict origins and a tenacious perversity to hold the place in "odium and disgust" overshadowed any positive representations.³ This willful persistence in disparaging the colony extended to food. The picture of people struggling with starvation, or eating a monotonous and miserable diet fitted the image of Australia as a land of rogues and savages. English taxpayers had funded its establishment as a place of punishment and the idea that its 'inferior' population might be eating better than they were would have been hard to swallow: images of a culinary dystopia prevailed and the "ghosts of Botany Bay" were more present in the global understanding of Australia than its flourishing crops and cornucopia of produce.⁴

Despite the unsavoury representations of colonial conditions another utopian vision of Australia emerged in the early nineteenth century attracting increasing numbers of free settlers. Land was the source of wealth in Britain tightly held by the upper classes. Over in the antipodes land could be had for the taking because it was purportedly *Terra nullius* and did not belong to anybody; there was also a labor shortage in the rapidly and immigration was actively encouraged: Australia was emerging as a place where anyone could improve their pecuniary position, and subsequently their social status. The colonial population was of varied British descent —with a smattering of others —but English cultural and social norms dominated including a rank ordered social hierarchy. However members of the elite British upper ranks, did not as a rule, migrate to the antipodes —unless they were escaping a scandal or insolvency— and their absence allowed more fluid social conditions than in England. In this far away land people could also more freely fabricate their origins or amplify tenuous claims to superior social qualification and get away with it. "Social metamorphoses were not only possible, but common".⁵ Those that ascended to the upper strata of colonial society jealously defended their newly gained territory doing all they could to keep others from advancing on it. One of the ways the ostensible colonial gentry sought off the perceived threat of other social climbers was to assert themselves as the rightful arbiters of good taste, modeling their standards on English modes.⁶

The principal attractor for any colonial immigrant, regardless of his background, was to make money and ideally take on a gentlemanly lifestyle including an abundant table. In Australia it was possible for anybody who worked to afford better food than in England and more of it, particularly meat, such was the case that the novelist Antony Trollope deemed it the "working man's paradise" after he toured the colonies.⁷ In England meat was a high status food, available only to the wealthy on a daily basis. This equitable access to meat denied the colonial gentry the use of what was an important social symbol in British culture and their defence against this was to assert the use of it negatively, writing disparagingly of it being gorged down in great quantities at more than "twice the average consumption of England". This comparison was correct but the average consumption mentioned was less than four ounces (100

1 O'Brien, *The Colonial Kitchen*, 14.

2 O'Brien, *The Colonial Kitchen*, 13.

3 David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales Volume 1 With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners &c. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country. To Which Are Added, Some Particulars of New Zealand: Compiled by Permission, From the Mss. of Lieutenant-Governor King*, 407 (Sydney: University of Sydney Library, 2003), accessed January–April 2015 <http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/colacc1>.

4 John Rickard, *Australia: A Cultural History* (London: Longman, 1988), 28–29; O'Brien, *The Colonial Kitchen*, 26–27.

5 Ewing, *An Australian Ramble or a Summer in Australia*, 135.

6 Charmaine O'Brien. 2014. "The Taste of Class: Colonial Australian Food Writing, Fact or Fiction?" In *TEXT Special Issue 26; Taste in Writing and Publishing*. Edited by Donna Lee Brien and Adele Wessel. Accessed October 2015, <http://www.textjournal.com.au/speciss/issue26/content.htm>.

7 Anthony Trollope, *Australia and New Zealand*, Vol. 1 London: Chapman and Hall, 1876), 75, accessed March–April, 2015, <http://www.archive.org/stream/australiaandnew03trolloog#page/n10/mode/2up>.

gms) a day, making colonial consumption around eight ounces—less than current average in Australia.¹ A Melbourne doctor even blamed “overstuffing” with meat for children dying from dysentery and typhoid when the cause was more likely civic neglect to install a sewage system in this heavily populated city.² No one bothered reporting what the colonial working man thought of being able to feed his family meat each day; perhaps his answer might have been somewhat more utopian.

Let us come back now to the ‘wilds’ of Melbourne in the late 1850s. The Victorian gold rushes had made it a place of unbounded opportunity for any man—no matter his class or creed—to make money and fulfill his material desires.³ Yet once his worldly needs had been satisfied what the so-called ‘self-made man’ most wanted was to be considered a respectable gentleman. However if you were not born to this designation it could only be earned through enacting appropriate social behavior and nothing was more indicative of a gentleman than his performance at table. A ‘real’ gent, or his female counterpart the ‘lady’, would have learnt perfect table manners in their nurseries, but parvenus had to seek alternative modes of learning the right way to hold a fork. It was difficult to learn the niceties of dining from those of upper rank because they would not have you in their home, but a man could go to Spiers and Pond’s Café de Paris. This duo’s particular ambition was to achieve “social and culinary reform” and the Café was a place of social equitability open to all men—women were not permitted.⁴ At the Café a patron could, by observing the dining practices and etiquette of more socially skilled gentleman dining around him, gain an education in how to behave at table in the most civilized way. Partaking of the Café’s menu of fashionable and classic dishes prepared by “continental cooks” and accompanied by a well-chosen selection of wines would give him understanding of the finer points of the materials required for high living. Real ‘ladies’ did not frequent such public places limiting their opportunities for social learning if they needed such improvement.⁵ If a self-made husband was eating in fancy restaurants and expecting the same standard at home from a wife who had not had the benefit of his experience it might lead him to take up his pen and write to his favourite newspaper to complain that “bad cookery” was an “evil that exists in almost every middle-class household”.⁶

Men outnumbered women three to one in Australia in the early nineteenth century. Back in Britain there was purportedly an excess of so-called ‘redundant’ women unable to find suitable husbands or employment.⁷ The solution to both problems was obvious: send the women out to colonies where they were certain to find well-paid work commensurate with their class and education, and a mate. The reception that awaited the boatloads of women who elected to go to Australia was not what they must have expected. The colonists resented London making the decision to send them out. Critics of the schemes worked to discredit the female emigrants by decrying them as the “dregs of British workhouses...unemployable in the old country”, insisted they lacked the skills for colonial life and were unacceptable, all the while ignoring the reality that many of the women were actually skilled.⁸ That these women had freely chosen to travel independently was also considered “unnatural” and their need to work to support themselves added suspicion as to their motive and background: the colonists feared the women had something to hide and immoral intentions. None of this prevented the colonists actually engaging them as servants as their desire to enjoy the status symbol of having someone to do their household work was stronger than their prejudices. And it was domestic work such as cookery that many of the middle class emigrants had to take on when they discovered that there was limited demand for the type of governess roles they were trained for: if these women were terrible cooks it was because they had never expected to do more than concoct a few simple nursery dishes. The working class females who went into domestic service as cooks would have expected to toil for others but among them were a large number of poor uneducated Irish girls sent out in the wake of the Great Famine. Their predominantly Protestant employers conceived them as of inferior race and suspiciously believed they sent their wages to support the work of popery. These girls were unlikely to have ever eaten the type of middle-class

1 Geoffrey Blainey, *Black Kettle and Full Moon: Daily Life in a Vanished Australia* Camberwell, Victoria: Penguin, 2003, 201.

2 Blainey, *Black Kettle*, 201; Charmaine O’Brien. 2008. *Flavours of Melbourne: A Culinary Biography*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

3 O’Brien, *Flavours of Melbourne*, chapter 3.

4 *Opinions of the Press on Messrs. Spiers & Pond’s Management of the Café De Paris Melbourne and of Many of the Principal Enterprises of Which They Have Been Connected*. Melbourne: Herald Office, 1861, 10. *Opinions of the Press on Messrs. Spiers & Pond’s Management of the Café De Paris*

5 O’Brien, *The Colonial Kitchen*, chapter 4.

6 “National Training School for Cookery,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24, 1874, 6.

7 Marion Aimes. 1988. ‘The Victorian Governess and Colonial Ideals of Womanhood’. *Victorian Studies*, 31, 4: 537-565.

8 Rushen, Elizabeth. 2003. *Single & free: Female Migration to Australia, 1833-1837*. Spit Junction Victoria: Anchor Books: Aimes, ‘The Victorian Governess’, 537-9.

English cookery newly well-off colonial families aspired to, let alone having been trained to cook it.¹

If colonial cooks were collectively producing “objectionable” meals it could well have been entirely due to technical inadequacy.² Even so discrepancy between the ambition of their employers and the level of skill of the employed and the social anxiety their employers felt about the presence of educated single women and Irish girls in their kitchens could equally have adversely affected the way they assessed the meals prepared for them. Poor opinion of colonial cooks might have derived from the experience of eating meals served up by a servant genuinely lacking in skills but social and cultural prejudice might have equally influenced their tastebuds.

Australian writers and scholars, for the most part, have mounted little challenge to the predominant idea that our colonial food history was deplorable: those who have find it makes small impact on revising popular imaginings of early culinary ineptitude. For a nation that enthusiastically promotes itself as having a distinguished food culture it seems “strange indeed” that we do not aspire to a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of our food heritage. I wonder though if what lurks behind our insistence on maintaining our dystopian idea of Australian food history is a much greater tension: the fact that our ancestors dispossessed Aboriginal people of their land and radically altered the place they had eaten well from for tens of thousands of years. It is often human inclination to turn away from tension when we feel challenged in resolving it and perhaps our cultural insistence on accepting that our colonial ancestors ate a diet that was boring, abominable, and unappetizing is in part a defense against facing the enduring conflict inherent in the existence of a European ‘Australia’.³

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Charmaine O’Brien researches and writes about food history and culture and the psychology of eating. She is the author of several books on Indian food including *The Penguin Food Guide to India* and *Flavours of Melbourne: A culinary biography*. Her latest book is *The Colonial Kitchen: Australia 1788-1901*. Charmaine is currently completing a PHD in creative writing and the psychology of creativity.

1 O’Brien, *The Colonial Kitchen*, chapter 4 & 5.

2 “National Training School for Cookery,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, June 24, 1874, 6.

3 The Aboriginals who have lived for tens of thousands of years on the continent that more recently became known as Australia did not know it by that name. The first recorded use of the name “Australia” is in the journal of the explorer Matthew Flinders in 1814.

Mikaël Pierre

The French presence in early Australian wine culture: a “disembodied” migration

Colonial Australian elites imagined a wine industry would lead to economic and cultural improvement. Mediterranean cultures were considered an ideal of development and wholesomeness to civilize the new colony. In particular, France was seen by Francophile pioneers in Australia as an exemplary model due to the reputation of French wines among British elites. We can notice a strong French influence in colonial wine terminology regarding techniques, tools, grapes and wine estates. However, we also know that there were only a few French migrants in this colony at this time. It was therefore a transnational process with only marginal human migration. To develop viticulture in the colony, British settlers in Australia sought to transfer vine growing and wine making savoir-faire by conducting observational trips to France and bringing skills, technologies and vine stocks to Australia. They also translated texts of French writers about vine growing and winemaking for a wider diffusion of knowledge in the colony. This “disembodied” migration raises some methodological and epistemological questions for it is not about transmissions related to a significant chain migration or a diaspora; it is an attempt to transplant an idealized culture. This presentation brings fresh perspective to technology transfers between France and colonial Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Holder of a Master of History from Université Bordeaux-Montaigne, Mikaël Pierre worked on innovations in wine trade and the role of the Calvet family in Bordeaux. He is now a doctoral candidate in joint supervision with the University of Newcastle, Australia and Université François-Rabelais de Tours, France, investigating the transnational history of the exchange of vine stock, skills and technologies between France and Australia.

Mary Pope

Utopian ideals, dystopian tables: Examining the gluten-free, vegan and paleo diets

This paper explores the ways in which popular dietary trends in the Western World strive to embody Utopian ideals of perfection, yet do so with dystopian consequences. The specifics of these ideals depend upon the chosen dietary doctrine, but often include one or more of the following desires: perfect health, cleanliness, morality, and/or alignment with the “natural.” Seeking the Utopian promises buried within the narrative language of the Paleo, Vegan, and Gluten-Free diets, this paper examines the work of each diet’s major proponents. By comparing and contrasting the guidelines of various diets, I emphasize the defining characteristic of our modern foodscape: the valorization of severe self-discipline. I argue that the action of exercising strict control over one’s diet serves well the orderly component of a Utopian society, but leaves lacking the ideals of freedom, justice, pleasure and communality. This self-discipline, while a seemingly voluntary forfeiture of gastronomic freedom, imprisons the eater to a precise set of dietary behaviors, with little room for deviation. These selective diets also act as status symbols, displaying the globally inequitable privilege to choose or eschew particular foods without worry of starvation or malnutrition. An elite few can afford these choices, a fact that stands in direct contrast to the Utopian principle of justice. Meanwhile, the stress of maintaining constant vigilance over each edible morsel reduces the individual capacity for taking pleasure in eating well. Perhaps most importantly, the adoption of stringent dietary habits can lead to mealtime isolation, as a communal table can rarely satisfy the needs of both the Vegan and the Paleo factions. If it is true that those with whom we share our meals are those with whom we share our lives, then might the splintering of our dietary cultures result in the splintering of our communities? And if the concept of Utopia is nearly inextricable from notions of a communal life, are our restrictive diets steering us toward such dystopian extremes?

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

A North Carolina native, Mary Pope holds a B.A. (Summa Cum Laude) in Interdisciplinary Studies from Appalachian State University. Her self-designed curriculum examined food systems through Sustainable Development and Philosophy. Mary has traveled extensively; always with an eye on the role food plays in development, culture, and relationships. She’s served as an Americorps Volunteer to Heifer International, a board member for Blue Ridge Women in Agriculture, and a farmhand through World Wide Organization of Organic Farms. Since moving to Australia, Mary’s found purpose in actively volunteering with the Brisbane chapter of Youth Food Movement Australia, and Northey Street City Farm.

Nick Rose:

Making Gardening Great Again – Urban Agriculture as resistance in neo-fascist Trumpland

ABSTRACT

With the protracted decay in US democracy resulting in the elevation of Donald Trump to the White House, the poisonous xenophobia that led to Brexit, and polls suggesting that Marine Le Pen's Front National may take power in France next April amidst a broad resurgence of the far right in Europe, what does the global return of neo-fascism mean for the food movement in general and urban agriculture in particular? The food movement is fond of saying that 'resistance is fertile', but are sustainable gardening and food production (e.g. organics, biodynamics) always and everywhere necessarily politically progressive? By reference to literature that traces more than a passing connection between the German Nazis and modern environmentalism, this paper opens a political and philosophical can of worms as it explores what role the food movement can play in meeting the contemporary return of fascist ideology and politics

Introduction

Fascism has again surfaced in contemporary politics at both the national and international levels. The election of Donald Trump Jr as the 45th President of the United States in November 2016 has been accompanied by a surge in violence, racism and xenophobia, together with the proliferation of so-called 'white nationalist' and hate groups in the United States, widely attributed to his openly anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim campaigning, together with the policy directions of his administrations in its first months in office in 2017.¹ Trump's 'America First' and 'Make America Great Again' rhetoric and policy orientations – his putative 'palingenetic ultra-nationalism' (Griffin 1991) have seemingly given the green light to individuals and organisations motivated by bigotry and intolerance for groups they view as 'other' and 'different', casting these 'others' as a threat to the integrity and even survival of a mythical 'white' and 'Christian' America. These are the politics of fear that all too easily can slide into organised state violence on a massive scale, culminating in genocide and global conflict, as the experience of Germany in the 1930s taught us all too clearly.

In these dangerous times, it is worth asking the question: what is the role of the food movement in general, and sustainable / urban agriculture in particular, in supporting and expanding an ethic of tolerance and care, not only towards the land and other species, but above all to fellow members of the human species who might be cast as different because of cultural, religious or ethnic reasons. The food movement is fond of saying that 'resistance is fertile', but are sustainable gardening and food production (e.g. organics, biodynamics) always and everywhere necessarily politically progressive? By reference to literature that traces more than a passing connection between the German Nazis and modern environmentalism, this paper opens a political and philosophical can of worms as it explores what role the food movement can play in meeting the contemporary return of fascist ideology and politics.

Looking back: fascist inclinations of sustainable food movements

In the years after World War I, it was not only Germany where fascist-like ideologies found a fertile reception. In the wake of the Great War and the triumph of the October 1917 Bolshevik revolution that ushered in the creation of the Soviet Union, trade unions were resurgent, the suffragettes were winning victories for the political emancipation of women, Britain's empire was visibly draining away, and there was a generalised sense of national cultural decline. In this atmosphere, the British Union of Fascists explicitly framed their political appeal in a narrative of national regeneration to be achieved through an anti-modern revival of the agrarian tradition; a 'rural-nostalgic and organicist' framing that served as the foundations of the British ultra-right in the 1930s (Moore-Colyer 2004, 353). One of the leading intellectual authors of this discourse was Jorian Jenks, the Agricultural Advisor to the British Union

¹ The Southern Poverty Law Centre, which monitors the phenomenon of racial, religious and ethnic hatred and right-wing violence in the United States, reported a tripling of anti-Muslim hate groups in 2016 alone: see <https://www.splcenter.org/news/2017/02/15/hate-groups-increase-second-consecutive-year-trump-electifies-radical-right>.

of Fascists in the 1930s. Jenks laid the blame for Britain's rural decline squarely at the feet of 'financial interests obsessed with cheap food and low wages', leading to widespread soil erosion not only in Britain but many parts of the world, rural de-population and the 'loss of much-vaunted spiritual values associated with the land' (Moore-Colyer 2004, 358). In echoes of the contemporary food sovereignty movement, the British Union of Fascists made food self-sufficiency a 'cornerstone' of their agricultural policy, with '[a] vibrant farming community, secure and independent, supporting, sponsoring and nurturing the native craft tradition [being seen as] the well-spring of creativity and culture' (*ibid.*, 359). The aim was nothing less than to overturn commodity capitalist agriculture and replace it with a revitalised independent peasantry, including compulsory land acquisitions to facilitate a return to farming by urban workers (Coupland 2016).

After World War II, Jorian Jenks was offered and accepted the editorship of *Mother Earth*, the journal of the newly-founded *Soil Association*. In this role he was a strong proponent for a diversified rural economy through land reform, 'the paramountcy of agriculture, the subordination of mechanicism to organicism, the localization of economies and the cultivation of a consciousness of the ties of blood and soil' (Moore-Colyer 2014, 364). He vigorously resisted the modernisation and industrialisation of agriculture, and instead regularly 'applauded the family homestead and 'peasant' farm, [since] the family farm was the seedbed of civilization' (*ibid.*, 365). Jenks argued further that the Western quality of life and human health was 'deteriorating as people became divorced from the soil and fed upon refined foods', with artificial fertilisers 'polluting and perverting' the quality of the food and the soil, and with it Western culture (*ibid.*).

Here it also worth remembering that Rudolf Steiner, a man widely regarded as the pioneer if not the 'father' of biodynamic agriculture, was highly influential in the philosophical foundations of the Nazi party, with his theory of 'five root races, the superior fifth root race being the Aryan (German-Nordic) race' (Staudenmaier 2008, Staudenmaier 2014). Steiner's thought, combined with 'blood and soil *volkisch* mystique' of Ernst Arndt and Wilhelm Riehl, formed the basis for the ecofascist 'Green Wing' of the Nazi party, in which environmental purity could not be separated from racial purity (Staudenmaier 2011).

Looking forward: the contemporary food movement and 'the unbearable whiteness of organics and urban agriculture'

The organic farming movement, which is at the forefront of the local food and food sovereignty movement in rich countries such as the United States and Australia, has been subjected to sustained critique for its 'whiteness', by which is meant not only the anglo-American / anglo-Australian ethnic background of organic farming practitioners and the consumers who patronise alternative agri-food networks such as community gardens, farmers markets and community-supported agriculture enterprises, but also the middle and upper-middle class socio-economically privileged position of the farmers themselves and more especially the consumers (Alkon and Ageyman 2011; DuPuis et al 2011; Guthman 2011; Etmanski 2012; Roman-Alcala 2015). This tendency is well-captured in the highly contradictory persona of self-described 'lunatic capitalist environmentalist libertarian Christian farmer', Joel Salatin. Salatin's achievements in making a viable business from pasture-raised chickens and pigs at his Polyfaces Farm in Vermont have been widely hailed in the local food and food sovereignty movements in the United States and Australia, and he is the subject of much public adulation. Yet, as Rynne Pilgeram and Russell Meeuf argue:

Salatin's celebrity status obscures many of the challenges facing food activists today behind the veneer of the charming, folksy farmer and the rhetoric of freedom, particularly freedom from the corporate food system and corrupt government practices. The tensions between Salatin's free-market, anti-regulation politics and the mainstream environmental movement are managed and contained through nostalgic images of Salatin as a White, male, yeoman farmer and the masculinisation of sustainability. By using an appeal to traditional masculinities to market sustainable food to the mainstream, Salatin's celebrity... works to support consumption and market-driven solutions to current environmental and food justice crises. (3)

Salatin himself has said he disagrees with the idea of the universal human right to adequate food,

enshrined in international law, on the basis of the ‘Biblical admonition that if a man will not work, neither let him eat’.¹ Further, Salatin has recently publicly identified himself with the fossil-fuel funded climate change denial industry.² He therefore is a questionable ally for a progressive food movement, one of whose central claims is that ‘small farmers feed the world and cool the planet’.³

As regards urban agriculture, I have argued elsewhere (Rose 2013) that in rich countries like Australia, urban agriculture must explicitly embrace a far stronger social justice focus on tackling issues of food insecurity that impact on the poorest and most vulnerable members of our societies. Mapping of the incidence of food deserts show a similarly disproportionate concentration of the phenomenon in poor communities of colour in the United States, combined with research suggesting that the majority of participants in urban agriculture initiatives and projects tended to be white, motivated by a narrative of sustainability and ‘urban greening’, whilst the projects themselves tended to be concentrated in Latino or black neighbourhoods, perpetuating a movement that is ‘predominantly white, hegemonic, middle-class and exclusive’ (Hoover 2013, 109).

Further, in a context of ongoing neoliberal austerity and intensification of inequality, urban agriculture projects can lend themselves to the class project of neoliberal capitalism by offloading responsibilities for social care onto communities in the name of greater ‘economic efficiencies’ and reducing ‘bloated welfare expenditures’ (Harvey 2007). Combined with the continuing echoes of the ‘blood and soil’ fascist chants down the decades that still resonate in today’s organic food movement, it can be argued that there is nothing inherently progressive about food movements in the 21st century. On that note, I would invite readers to contrast the framing of urban agriculture by Gretchen Mead of the Milwaukee Victory Gardens Initiative (VGI) in Appendix 1, with the achievements of the City of Rosario in Argentina, as summarised by Antonio Lattuca in Appendix 2.

Concluding thoughts

A progressive socio-political direction must be argued and fought for in any social movement. A critical perspective of social justice and equity should inform all and any food movements that make claims to societal transformation. While no-one tends to argue with the goals of environmental sustainability and health and well-being, if these are not accompanied with a sharp lens that is sensitive to inequalities of class, race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation and religion, there is the very real danger that the food movement, at least in countries like Australia and the United States, ends up being little other than a lifestyle choice for the comfortable middle classes, that sustains and perpetuates, rather than challenges in any meaningful sense, the ongoing predations of rapacious and destructive late capitalism.

APPENDIX 1

Post-Industrial Urban Homestead Act! (PUHA!)

Gretchen Mead, Victory Gardens Initiative, Milwaukee, Wisconsin⁴

A proposal to the City of Milwaukee’s ‘Tournavation’ Challenge 2012⁵

During the Victory Garden Movement of WWII, citizens using their own effort, knowledge and urban land grew 40% of our city’s produce. Communities rallied together to grow, preserve and share fresh fruits and vegetables. Government supported, Victory Gardens provided a means for every person to meet their own needs in times of hardship.

We are again in time of hardship. Inaccessibility of high quality, nutrient-dense foods, economic insecurity, natural resource depletion, and deep apathy related to the out-sourcing of community wealth, leaves the people of Milwaukee subject to multi-generational nutritional starvation and the inability to keep and maintain our beautiful, historic neighborhoods.

These issues can be solved with the implementation of the Post-Industrial Urban Homestead Act

1 See <https://www.farmtoconsumer.org/blog/2016/02/17/21233/>.

2 See <https://www.desmogblog.com/2017/07/06/hero-farmer-joel-salatin-rejects-climate-change-science-standard-denier-talking-points> and <https://www.desmogblog.com/2017/07/30/response-lunatic-farmer-joel-salatin-his-climate-science-denial>.

3 See <http://regenerationinternational.org/cool/>.

4 Gretchen Mead was a key interviewee of my Churchill Fellowship in Milwaukee (28/7 – 1/8/14) – see <https://www.churchilltrust.com.au/fellows/detail/3846/Nicholas+Rose>.

5 The ‘Tournavation’ was a Tournament of Innovation that the City of Milwaukee coordinated in 2012, to seek innovative ideas and proposals about how to deal with the housing foreclosure crisis.

(PUHA!). The PUHA! Act will provide land and homes to eager unemployed and/or foreclosing folks. The homes and land will be located in neighborhoods that have: increased foreclosures, excess unused land, and low access to fresh produce. Each homesteader (the PUHA!) will be granted resources for food production infrastructure, such as soil development, rainwater harvesting, and basic tools. PUHA!'s will receive a small annual stipend to ensure their basic needs are met.

PUHA!'s will be chosen based on their ability to successfully G.E.T. Growing:

1. **G**row fresh produce
2. **E**ngage (lead) community members in growing their own food on their own land
3. **T**each the community how to grow food.

PUHA!'s will be centrally networked for support and education (includes bee-keeping, egg production, composting, project management, leadership support.) Each PUHA! will be granted the land and the home, after five years of successful food growing, and developing their community's ability to grow their own food. Each PUHA! will focus his/her work in small and micro-local neighborhoods, a six to eight block radius - there will be a PUHA! FOOD HUB in every neighborhood.

The City of Milwaukee's Office of Sustainability will collaborate with local NGO partners already working in the PUHA!'s neighborhood, with missions matching Mayor Barrett's proposal request, (food security, sustainable food production, nutrition, and community organizing), such as Victory Garden Initiative and Walnut Way, to oversee the success and training of the PUHA! University partnerships with each collaborating organisation will connect a steady flow of interns to each PUHA, to ensure education of our youth and adequate labor needed at each PUHA! Homestead and Food Hub.

Say "PUHA!" and change Milwaukee, and our great country.

APPENDIX 1

Agroecologically-based urban agriculture: An opportunity to establish integrated State policy frameworks Antonio Lattuca, City of Rosario, Argentina¹

Agroecology can be conceived as an innovative science which:

- incorporates ethics,
- integrates environmental, technical and social dimensions,
- values local knowledge and mixes it with the scientific,
- generates, by means of social actions that are transformative of society as a whole, conditions to establish equitable ways of living, where the focus is people and where every human being can develop all her or his potential, and
- supports the goal of 'living well' for each community.

From this comprehensive and transformative vision, we can conceptualise Urban Agriculture as all activities developed in the urban and peri-urban areas that:

- focus on producing healthy food,
- integrate city planning,
- establish green spaces that provide social, educational, ecological and aesthetic functions,
- use productive methods that don't depend on external inputs,
- generate forms of production and consumption that contribute to socioeconomic advancement, and whose goal is the creation of dynamics towards the establishment of sustainable societies.

Where successfully established, agroecologically-based urban agriculture creates socio-productive and cultural spaces in towns and cities, making possible healthier and more equitable lives for inhabitants, and transforming cities into greener, more resilient population centres ready to meet the challenges of climate change.

To achieve those goals objectives, it's necessary that urban agriculture is recognised and valued for its

¹ Agronomist, Masters of Science in Agroecology; Coordinator-Developer of the Urban Agriculture Program of the Municipality of Rosario, Member of the Technical Staff of Pro Huerta-INTA-National Social Development, and of the NGO CEPAR. Antonio Lattuca was a principal interviewee during my Churchill Fellowship visit to Rosario in August 2014.

multiple benefits that it. City planners can incorporate within urban corridors healthy and aesthetically pleasing oases, where residents can connect with nature, producing healthy food using ecological growing methods.

These oases can be for collective use, *Parques Huertas*, community gardens, green corridors, healthy gardens with medicinal plants, eco-gardens in plazas and public and private institutions; and gardens for family use in patios, terraces and balconies.

In the City of Rosario we have been developing a public policy of urban agriculture, with the Municipality working together with the National Institute of Agriculture (INTA)-Pro Huerta and the National Social Development Ministry, in which universities, civil society, consumer groups, and a network of urban farmers and gardeners actively participates.

During the past twelve years of collective work, urban agriculture in Rosario has created the necessary conditions to become permanently established as an important movement of ecological and social consciousness, achieving important quantitative and qualitative results:

- The establishment of urban agriculture as an activity permanently inserted within the city zoning plan – *Parques Huertas* – green corridors
- The development of enterprises of agroecological huertas as a response to dispossession and entrenched poverty
- The installation of urban agriculture as a permanent activity
- The transformation and advances of enterprises through commercialisation – six weekly markets in different public places, and small-scale plants for processing fruit and vegetables grown locally
- Strategies and proposals for security of tenure of the gardeners
- The development of legal instruments that strengthen the program as a public policy
- Supporting and strengthening gardeners through a legally-constituted urban farming network
- The consolidation of urban agriculture through the incorporation of new social actors into this movement – local, national and international
- The recognition and support of society in its totality for urban agriculture

Today our cities find themselves in a socio-environmental crisis. To meet that crisis effectively, it's vital that we develop and implement public policies that incorporate urban agriculture in the planning of cities.

These public policies must be integrated across and be coordinated by all state instances. While in the first instance the initiative should come from local governments, these should be articulated with provincial (State) and national governments, and bring together civil society, academic, research and all educational institutions, so that urban agriculture can fully develop its potential in the development of our cities.

These integrated public policies must be sufficiently resourced (in financial and human terms), and must be accompanied by a legal framework with adequate laws that prioritise them. This will allow adequate time for the urban farms, gardens and park to become fully and sustainably operational.

Eco-gardens should be established in schools, health centres, hospitals, prisons, plazas and public parks, that function as spaces for inspiration, training and experimentation.

The productive zones and spaces should be accompanied by a system of processing and packing, distribution and commercialisation, with the full participation of consumers; and with a vision of fair trade and in the framework of a social economy, based in the principles of Community-Supported Agriculture.

All this process should be accompanied by a communication plan which reaches the entire population and makes visible all the advantages of these integrated policies, to resolve the social, labour, environmental, food and climate crises that we are currently facing.

Today, the access and the production of clean food without agrochemicals – which is a demand of the whole society – should be regarded as a **universal human right** - and this will enable agroecologically-based urban agriculture to become professionalised, without losing its innovative force, and regarded as

a career of the future.

With that in mind, urban agriculture should be incorporated in the curriculum of all educational institutions, and in research and investigation centres; and in that way the ‘reductionist’ way of viewing urban agriculture as just a policy response for emergencies and only for the poor, will be eliminated.

Some results of urban agriculture in Rosario:

- 67 Hectares Recovered and Preserved
- 22 Hectares Productive
- 45 Hectares set aside for recreation and sport
- 250 urban farmers growing clean food for sale
- 140 young urban farmers
- 1500 gardeners producing for family consumption
- Annual production: 98,000 kilos of vegetables, 5,000 kilos of aromatic herbs, all without the use of chemicals
- 10,000 kilos of vegetables and aromatic herbs processed into sweets, preserves, creams and gels
- 400 consumers participating in the Consumer Network
- 40 Schools with gardens to teach students about healthy eating

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr Nick Rose is a scholar activist: a writer, speaker, researcher and teacher in the fields of sustainable food systems, food sovereignty and food security. The lead founder and former national coordinator of the Australian Food Sovereignty Alliance, Nick is now the Executive Director of Sustain: The Australian Food Network, and teaches in Australia’s first Bachelor of Food Studies, and the forthcoming Master of Food Systems and Gastronomy, at William Angliss Institute. Nick’s 2014 Churchill Fellowship investigated innovative models of urban agriculture in the US mid-west, Toronto, and five provinces of Argentina. He holds a Master in International and Community Development (Deakin, 2006) and a PhD in political ecology (RMIT University, 2013).

Barbara Santich

Cockaigne: Then and Now

Utopia: a nowhere place, imaginary, a dream, an ideal - and the antithesis to actuality.

A vision of utopia typically represents an implicit criticism of the social, political and economic environment in which the particular utopia was conceived, at the same time offering the concept of an alternative social, political and economic order that would give citizens a 'better' life, 'better' always relative. Most utopias have a kind of reciprocal relation with the actual world - they represent a plan to improve it or a reaction against certain norms or trends of the actual world. Utopia represents a counter to the real world, obverse, opposite.

One of the earliest visions of a fantasy milk-and-honey utopia, predating Thomas More's classic by nearly three centuries, is the medieval Land of Cockaigne, tales of which circulated, in subtly different versions, throughout Europe (except Spain) from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. It had different names - Bengodi in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (mid-fourteenth century), Kuchenland or Schlaraffenland in Germany, Luilekkerland in the Netherlands. Although some were translations, they were not all identical, the English version differing from the French and the Dutch. The later Italian version of Boccaccio also differs, primarily because of the addition of a mountain of grated parmesan to the landscape.

This paper focuses on the French variant, *Li Fabliau de Coquaigne*, and the mythical land it depicted, anglicised to Cockaigne.

The first text in Old French appeared around 1250, though the slightly earlier *Carmina Burana* refers to an abbot of Cockaigne. Cockaigne also contains echoes of the Fortunate Isles of ancient Greek myth, also known as Elysium, an earthly paradise inhabited by the heroes of Greek mythology, such as Achilles and Ajax, where the climate was always temperate and there were three harvests of fruit each year.

The Old French poem is quite brief - 186 lines - and follows the standard model later outlined by Thomas More: a narrator recounts an imaginary voyage during which he happens upon an unknown land and proceeds to describe in detail how it functions. In accordance with the general style of travellers' tales, it focuses on aspects that are different. It takes the narrator 25 lines to arrive, to introduce this land 'more blessed by god and all the saints than any other'. Almost all the remainder of the poem is devoted to describing, in the most extravagant detail, the way of life of the inhabitants of this wonderful land.

First, and perhaps most significant, work is abolished. There is no need to work in Cockaigne, where people are paid for doing nothing and the longer they sleep, the more they earn. Bags of money cover the fields, but since there is no need for money in Cockaigne the coins are effectively worthless. The annual calendar is filled with festivals and feast days, with every day like a Sunday, and Lent comes around only once every twenty years. Even so, fasting is hardly a penance because all the foods are so delicious.

Food is plentiful in Cockaigne, and dishes are far more prestigious than the everlasting potage. The walls of the houses are formed of sea bass and salmon, the rafters of sturgeon, the roofing of salted pork, the fences of sausages. Fields are enclosed with spitroast meats and hams and in the streets of the towns roam fat roast geese, closely followed by pots of garlic sauce. Three times a week warm tarts rain down. Tables covered with white tablecloths are set in the streets and in the squares, and people can eat and drink as much as they like 'sans dangier', without risk of ill effects. Further, each person can choose freely, either fish or meat according to his individual taste and without external constraints. A barrow filled with with venison and poultry, either roast or stewed, costs nothing.

A river of wine runs through the land, half of it red wine from Beaune, the best wine in the world, and the other half white wine, the finest that ever came from Auxerre, La Rochelle or Tonnerre, and again it is completely free. People choose whichever they like and drink without fear of the consequences. No one behaves badly; rather, the inhabitants of Cockaigne are polite and gracious.

In Cockaigne sex is all about pleasure, and no shame is attached. The women are all beautiful and sexual

equality reigns, with both men and women free to choose a partner and indulge their desires. Women have the added privilege of knowing that they will be even more honoured.

In this favoured land, obliging drapers deliver each month a diversity of fine clothing in different fabrics, different colours - brown, red, purple, green, some trimmed with mink or ermine. Shoemakers similarly supply a range of fine footwear, and people can have as many as three hundred pairs if they wish.

Finally, there is a rejuvenating Fountain of Youth. The narrator says he saw not one old man in Cockaigne, no grey-haired women; the Fountain of Youth ensures that no one is ever older than 30 years. Knowing this land exists, he says, you'd be mad not to want to come here and, once there, not to stay. But he, he admits, was a fool. He left, and could find no path, no way to return - which is why he can tell his tale.

This fantasy land of Cockaigne, this imagined ideal world, is a materialist utopia that embodied all the desires of ordinary men and women in the medieval period. Representing the antithesis of their actuality, it was almost anarchic in its complete abolition of the rules that governed daily life and in its demolition of the social order. It eliminated the traditional hierarchy of medieval society; in Cockaigne everyone is equal. At a time when rich reds and greens and purples were the colours of the nobility, and ordinary citizens were allowed only dull browns and greys and the faded blue of woad, Cockaigne gave its citizens a rich wardrobe in any colour they choose.

It removed the obligation to work and provided an infinite supply of food. In particular, it supplied its citizens foods that would have been out of the reach of ordinary labourers who would have been lucky to have meat once a week. It also gave them an abundance of wine, the very best quality wine, not the thin, sour piquette that might have been part of their daily rations. This material prodigality contrasts starkly with the harsh reality of medieval life, the constant threat of lack of food and the monotony of the eternal pot.

Cockaigne also annulled all the restrictions imposed by the Church, especially in relation to eating. In this paradise the weekly fast days and the periods of dietary privation, such as Lent and Advent, were effectively cancelled from the calendar. So was the sin of Gluttony, the temptations and consequences of over-indulgence having been abolished, allowing the inhabitants to eat and drink as much as one like without risk.

Similarly, it offered sexual liberation at a time when the Church approved only procreative sex between husband and wife. It regulated sex, or attempted to, in the same way it regulated eating, and banned sex on certain days of the year and at certain times of a woman's cycle. Sex on a banned day was a sin, and even lawful sex could be deemed sinful if it involved pleasure. Finally, Cockaigne gave the thumbs-up to the Church by promising eternal youth, at a time when life expectancy was around 40 years. In summary, Cockaigne represented everything that real life was not, promising happiness and fulfillment on earth, now, rather than later, in heaven.

Never intended as a blueprint for a new society, Cockaigne was more like a respite from harsh reality, a beguiling fantasy where people could imagine themselves in idle bliss, away from the rigours of everyday. As people today might dream of winning Lotto, the vision of Cockaigne represented a promise of a better life.

Seven centuries on, it is tempting to dismiss Cockaigne as the product of an unsophisticated society, a balm for unenlightened minds. Yet many of the distinguishing features of this medieval fantasy land can be discerned in the practices and values of the present day. For example, while work is still an obligation the average working year is continually shrinking. According to the Australian, the amount of leave that an employee may take is now as high as 53 days, out of a working year or 260 days.

Food is not free, but its cost, as a proportion of both household income and household expenditure, is continually shrinking. In 2009/10, food and non-alcoholic beverages accounted for 16.5% of total household expenditure on goods and services, compared with 18.2% in 1998/99 and 19.1% in 1988/89. At the same time as food affordability is increasing, so is its diversity and availability as supermarkets

offer more and more ready-to-eat foods and services such as Deliveroo and Foodora home-deliver restaurant meals to order. Such instant gratification is hardly different to roast geese running down the street accompanied by garlic sauce.

As in Cockaigne, seasonality has been abolished along with the customary rhythm of a standard working week. Dietary norms have little force and people can eat what they want when they want although, unlike the inhabitants of Cockaigne, they cannot avoid the consequences of eating and drinking as much as they like. The risks, however, are different, less the disapproval of the Church than of the medical profession. Nevertheless, while dietary guidelines and safe drinking limits are advised, these are flouted so often as to hardly represent societal norms, and drugs are always available to treat any problems arising from overeating and drinking.

The hedonistic fantasy of the land of Cockaigne is far more easily realisable today than it was for medieval peasants. In the age of Tinder sex is completely liberalised. Sartorial freedom can mean that casual Fridays last the whole week. While the fountain of youth might still be a dream, there are thousands of anti-ageing foods, creams, regimes and treatments to slow the march of time.

To return to the poem: the narrator, having admitted he was crazy to have left the place since he could never find the way back, adds a wake-up call at the end of his cautionary tale: When you find a place you like, where you are comfortable, consider what it offers and don't move if there's no reason to do so. For good measure, he repeats the moral, referring to a familiar proverb: if you're reasonably happy where you are, you'll gain nothing by moving somewhere else. He might as well be saying 'Be careful what you wish for'.

But life for the inhabitants of Cockaigne is an endless loop continually replayed. Implicit in the poem is perhaps another moral. Thanks to the Fountain of Youth, no one ages, no children are born, no work is done, nothing is produced, achieved, invented, created.

However appealing the vision, Cockaigne is chimerical, vacuous, unsustainable. The fate of its inhabitants is an infinity of undifferentiated hours, a virtual existence in an empty bubble frozen in time.

Interestingly, the El Dorado of Voltaire's *Candide*, published in 1759, was similarly doomed.

El Dorado was another imagined utopia where streets were paved with precious stones and where restaurant meals, even the most elaborate, were free, provided by the government. But it was impossible for the citizens to escape their paradise - only with enormous difficulty did Candide and Pangloss find a way out so the story could continue.

With all individual freedom and liberty that we enjoy today, with the relaxation or abolition of norms that previously framed everyday life, and where often the only rules that govern our eating are self-imposed, it is pertinent to ask: Is greater liberalisation in the best interests of society? Will it lead to a more unified society living in harmony?

Perhaps, in the long run, it makes more sense to view Cockaigne as more dystopia than utopia.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Barbara Santich is Professor Emeritus at the University of Adelaide, where for many years she taught food history and culture in the Graduate Programs in Gastronomy and Food Studies, and introduced courses on food writing. An internationally renowned food historian, Barbara Santich is the author of *The Original Mediterranean Cuisine* (1995), perhaps the only PhD thesis to have been turned into a cookbook. Among her many books is *Bold Palates: Australia's Gastronomic Heritage* (2012), which was short-listed in the in the Non-fiction category of the 2013 Prime Minister's Literary Awards in Australia.

Amir Sayadabdi and Saman Hassibi

Representation of Persian Cuisine in Western-Iranian Cookbooks

The emergence of Iranian cookbooks in Western languages in recent years marks a critical point in the development of Iranian cuisine. These books which are all written by Iranian authors based abroad, have an ethnographic character; that is the primary intention of their authors is not providing the recipes, but presenting a homogenous ‘Persian’ culture through the perspective of the cookbook genre. Having left the country mostly after the Iranian revolution, most of these authors evoke a romanticized setting of Persian culture in their books. This is defined by an unrealistic projection of the culinary richness and abundance of Iranian cuisine in order to reclaim Persian ‘civilized’ and ‘exquisite’ cultural identity. As a result, the image and practices of original Persian cuisine has been transformed to a substantially enlarged and exaggerated culinary repertoire. Using a content analysis of Persian cookbooks written in English by Iranian authors in the last 20 years, our paper will examine the transformation of the perception held by those outside Iran of what Persian cuisine really is, and constructing a ‘utopianized’ Persian identity through food and cookery texts.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Amir Sayadabdi is a PhD candidate in Anthropology at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. He received his master’s degree from the Norwegian Hotel School at the University of Stavanger, Norway. His current research focuses on food and identity among the Iranian diaspora. He has been writing and translating articles for *Anthropology and Culture*, the official journal of the *Iranian Institute of Anthropology and Culture* (IIAC), and is currently engaged with two independent projects on Persian culinary history.

Donna Senese (and John Hull)

Wine tourism in the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia, Canada: exploring the ecological utopia of the past, present and future

The Okanagan Valley of British Columbia, Canada is an internationally recognized niche region producing premium wines and quality wine tourism experiences. The British Columbia Wine Institute reports that the wine sector in the Okanagan Valley contributes \$476 million annually to the local economy through tourism and business revenues, providing over 1,400 full-time jobs to the region and generating \$4 million in net annual government revenue. Over a century ago, European settlers were attracted to the remote region of the Okanagan to cultivate the rolling hills and valley set among mountain landscapes. Today, a new generation of settler is attracted to the region for its warm arid climate, agricultural landscapes, and recreational amenities linked to the lakes and scenic mountains. Researchers have acknowledged that the physical environment and natural capital are the main motivators for settling in and/or visiting the region. The Okanagan valley is protected by the Monashee Mountain Range to the east and the Coast Mountain Range to the west providing a mild, dry, continental climate and desert-like conditions providing an ideal setting for grape production. The purpose of this paper is to first explore the past and transformative change in the economic landscape of the Okanagan Valley. A secondary literature review first helps us to understand the factors contributing to the rapid growth of wine tourism in the region. Secondly, an exploratory content analysis of the photographic images from the Okanagan Archive Trust Society, Thompson Okanagan Tourism Association and Destination B.C. provide a context to identify themes of the Okanagan 'ecological utopia' that is transforming the region from an agricultural based economy to a more diversified service based economy attracting new migrants and new visitors to the region. Finally a discussion of the transformational changes from the past and present will be discussed to identify potential future trends that may impact the management and development of wine tourism in the region.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Donna Senese was born in Niagara and has lived in Canada's other prominent wine region, the Okanagan Valley, since completing a PhD in Geography at the University of Waterloo in 1992. Donna is Associate Professor of Geography, University of British Columbia, her research interests include geographies of tourism, protected areas, food and wine. Donna is Director of the Sonnino Working Group, an international trans-disciplinary research collective interested in landscapes of food, wine and sustainability and a Director of Academics at the Sonnino Centre for International Studies in Tuscany, where she continues research in rural landscape change and instructs experiential courses in rural sustainability, tourism, food and wine.

John is an Associate Professor of Tourism Management at Thompson Rivers University in British Columbia, Canada and a visiting professor at University College of Southeast Norway and at the Harz University of Applied Sciences, Germany. He is also a member of the Sonnino Working Group, Italy and the New Zealand Tourism Research Institute. His research addresses the sustainability of tourism planning and destination development in peripheral and rural regions. Specific areas of focus include cruise tourism, creative tourism, geotourism, food and wine tourism, mountain tourism, polar tourism, and wellness tourism. He is co-editor of a book on *Mountain Tourism* (2016) published by CABI.

Amie Sexton

The Birth of the Modern Restaurant: Escoffier, the French and the love of food

When you arrive at your favourite restaurant do you ever wonder why we eat the way do? Why white tablecloths, small entrée forks, fish knives, wine waiters and service from the left?

To answer this question Amie Brûlée, chanteuse and storyteller, takes a left turn into the kitchen to taste the wonders of French cuisine and the influence of Auguste Escoffier, founder of the Savoy and Ritz restaurants, father of modern French dining, chef of kings and king of chefs. Telling Escoffier's personal story and his reinvention of dining in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century, this presentation also explores the intersection of food, society, the arts, and love. The relationship of memory, art, music, romance and taste, as expressed by writers such as Brillat-Savarin, Colette, Proust, and Escoffier himself, are considered together with cultural examples in an attempt to understand the modern French appetite for fine dining and art de vivre. Amie will serve a side dish of songs, performed live, to illustrate how these appetites can merge.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Amie Sexton is a musician and researcher who is currently studying the anthropology of wine production for a PhD at The University of Melbourne. She completed undergraduate studies in music and French, and has a particular interest in the creative process, in wine and the arts. *Amie Brûlée explores French history and culture, and universal themes of life and love in Old Jazz & Cabaret style songs and storytelling.*

Madeline Shanahan

Recipes for Empire: the role of manuscript cookbooks in transforming elite food cultures in seventeenth and eighteenth century Ireland

During the mid-seventeenth century women from elite backgrounds in Ireland started to write and exchange recipes, which they recorded in manuscript cookbooks. As there was no tradition of recipe writing in Ireland previously, these were an entirely new and imported genre. From the eighteenth century on recipe writing became hugely popular amongst the elite classes there, and the sudden proliferation of these manuscripts was connected to a broader series of changes taking place in the country's population, society and culture. The women who wrote manuscript cookbooks were mostly from New English or Protestant Ascendancy families who arrived in Ireland increasing numbers in the wake of the Tudor re-conquest. When we examine the manuscript cookbooks left by the members of these colonial classes, we see that they are remarkably similar to those written by their class counterparts in Britain in terms of structure, scope and contents. Furthermore, recipe writing and sharing appears to have been an important way in which women maintained an active relationship with their families across the Irish Sea. This paper will argue that manuscript cookbooks can be seen as part of a suite of cultural elements which took root in Ireland at this time, and more importantly, that they were used to bring about rapid culinary change. It will explore the history of recipe writing in early modern Ireland, and will argue that manuscript cookbooks were a means through which the new colonial elites modernised and anglicised indigenous Irish food cultures, ultimately replacing them with a standardized and supposedly more 'civilised' cuisine of Empire. In light of this research, the paper will discuss the role of recipes in bringing about change in food and food ways, and promoting idealised culinary cultures.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

In 2013 I completed my PhD at University College Dublin. My thesis examined Irish manuscript recipe books and was published as a monograph entitled *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Text and Food in the Early Modern World* (2015, Lexington). I was the 2015 Irish Studies Fellow at the University of Melbourne and I am currently an Associate Investigator with the ARC's Centre of Excellence in the History of Emotions. In addition to my book I am the author of a range of peer-reviewed publications, including one awarded a Highly Commended in the 2015 Sophie Coe Prize.

Jennifer Smith

The tensions of remembrance: bringing the past into the present.

Nostalgic farmers? The science or art of dwelling as a food producer.

To bring an understanding of my past into the present, I would like to introduce myself. I'm Jennifer Smith, I am from industrial Manchester in the north west of England, I studied archaeology and anthropology at Cambridge University in the rural fenlands of south eastern England. I live in the most southerly (and most rural) island state of Australia, Tasmania, and I am a PhD candidate studying the anthropology of new farmers at the University of Southern Queensland.

I am about to embark on the fieldwork phase of my research – interviewing and participating in the lives of new farmers in southern Tasmania – as I want to explore with them what their motivations were to enter agriculture for the first time in their lives, when national trends show much greater numbers of people leaving agriculture and rural ways of life. Many of my potential research participants have moved physically and mentally as they learn how to farm, and how to become farmers.

I would like to share with you some of my findings from my first year of research, as I think it highlights interesting ideas about new farmers, identity, nostalgia and food production.

Learning how to dwell



This photograph shows a Highland cattle farm in the Derwent Valley of southern Tasmania – a property named, perhaps nostalgically, after the Aboriginal term for the River Derwent and run by new farmers. The owners describe their cattle as being “aged in the paddock”, developing the “full flavour of the region” and they are the embodiment of “slow food” – and the slow food movement has been described as “gastronomic nostalgia”.¹

These and other new food producers, are learning how to dwell as farmers largely through trial and error, with some expert advice, using a mix of intellectual pragmatism and creative imagination – indeed the OED defines agriculture as a science *and* an art.²

Learning through a blend of trial and error, pragmatism and imagination is common for the new farmers I have considered so far. And as the German philosopher Martin Heidegger said:

*The real dwelling plight lies in this, that mortals ever search anew for the nature of dwelling, that they must ever learn to dwell.*³

Heidegger stated that we are born into a time and place not of our own making – that everyone therefore has to learn *how to be* and *who to be* in the world – whether they have always farmed and are from a family that has farmed in the same place for generations, or, whether they are new to farming and to the place in which they are trying to become farmers.

Heidegger himself displayed nostalgia for earlier farming ways of life, introducing opposing positions (or, a dichotomy) between a “peasant’s care and maintenance” versus “the mechanised food industry’s challenge of nature” – a dichotomy between the pre-industrial agriculture of the agrarian peasant and

¹ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York, Basic Books, 2001, p.352.

² *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. C. T. Onions, Third Edition, London, Book Club Associates, 1983, p. 39.

³ Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language and Thought*, Translations and Introduction by Albert Hofstadter, Harper Perennial Modern Classics, London, Toronto, Sydney, New Delhi, Auckland, 2001 [1971], p.159.

the industrial agriculture of the contemporary world.¹

The agrarian imaginary² – a nostalgia for a past way of life that is projected as a future possibility – has been criticised in Europe and the US due to its connection with dangerous nationalistic movements exemplified by *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil). It has also been criticised for mythologizing an apparent innocent, simple and secure time and for concealing inequalities in race, gender and class.³

Nostalgic frames of reference

But from where did this agrarian imaginary, this nostalgia for a past way of life, come? I believe that ideas around the virtuous nature of pre-industrial agriculture is a culturally-embedded mental frame. A mental frame is a physically realised neural circuit connected to our emotions.⁴

They are formed and triggered by our senses (e.g. tastes and smells), the repetition of words and concepts (used in advertising and political rhetoric), even the repetition of physical actions. When a frame is triggered, so too is its opposing frame – hence the tendency to group ideas as opposing concepts, as dichotomies – and to ignore the entanglements of a lived experience.⁵

A nostalgic frame may be influencing people’s perceptions of their own identities as well as their imaginations and dreams; that is, a nostalgia for aspects of the past is influencing how people project their futures and how they behave in the present. A nostalgic frame may be what is helping push some people from urban lifestyles and pull them towards more rural lifestyles.

Identities are narratives, not essences (they are stories, not facts) – and identity is a process not a product.⁶ That is to say, change in identity is a given and identities can look, therefore, contradictory. Matthew Evans from the SBS series *The Gourmet Farmer* has had the freedom to choose his identity (or, at least, to not be concerned about labels and any associated contradictions) – he is happy to be called a hobby farmer, a tree-changer, a gourmet farmer, a foodie farmer, even a dirty chef. But interestingly he is not sure that he can be called a “proper farmer” – because as he says he “wasn’t born one”.⁷

As well as not being fixed, identities are multiple and above all they are relational. Identities relate to our social collectives, our public performances and our private being. The collective, the public and the private are nested⁸, and they are framed by our memories and experiences.

Beware the simplistic dichotomy

So to return to nostalgia, and its relationship to change in identities, it suggests a better time and a better place and as such it sets up a series of dichotomies, for example:

- country or rural life (good) versus city or urban life (bad);
- agriculture as natural and virtuous versus industry as unnatural and corrupt;
- pre-industrial agriculture (correct) versus modern industrialised agriculture (incorrect).

And the emotional arc of the non-Indigenous Australian origin story features a strongly nostalgic narrative – the heroic battling cockie-farmer on ‘his’ own selection, whose hard work set Aussies up well, but we are now in decline...

1 Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings from Being and Time (1927) to The Task of Thinking (1964)*. Edited by David Farrell Krell, Harper Perennial Modern Classics, London, Toronto, Sydney, New Delhi, Auckland, 2008, p.320.
 2 See Christopher Mayes, “An Agrarian Imaginary in Urban Life: Cultivating Virtues and Vices Through a Conflicted History”, *Journal of Agricultural Environmental Ethics* 27, 2014, pp. 265-286.
 3 Per Sandin, Erlend Mårild, Aidan Davison, David E. Nye and Paul B. Thompson, “Book Symposium on The Agrarian Vision: Sustainability and Environmental Ethics by Paul B. Thompson”, *Philosophical Technology* 26, 2013, pp.301-320.
 4 George Lakoff, “Why it Matters How We Frame the Environment”, *Environmental Communication* 4, 2010, p.71.
 5 Tim Ingold, “Bindings against boundaries: entanglements of life in an open world”, *Environment and Planning A*, advance online publication, 2008, pp.1-15.
 6 Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Mistaken Identities*, the BBC Reith Lectures 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b080twcz>
 7 Matthew Evans, *The Dirty Chef: from big city food critic to foodie farmer*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, London, 2014, p.300.
 8 Eric T. Olson *Personal Identity*. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, edited by E. N. Zalta, 2016, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/identity-personal/>



The images above are both of hop-picking in the Derwent Valley of southern Tasmania, separated in time by more than one hundred years. They could be used to illustrate the depopulation of rural regions, the decline of rural communities, and the industrialisation of modern agriculture. It is, however, easy to display dichotomies in this way without investigating the entanglement of past realities and present perceptions. The black-and-white image from the late 1800s looks nostalgically communal and romantic but it lacks an interrogation of these people's lived experiences.

It has been argued, however, that nostalgia does perform an active role in the present lives of individuals and groups, and there is evidence from psychological studies that it increases self-esteem, improves social connectedness and alleviates existential threat.¹

Learning to identify your self and your group

In July 2016, I went to a mid-winter festival in the Huon Valley of southern Tasmania where a *Wassail* was performed. The Wassail (*wael̥s haell̥*, meaning *be healthy* in Old English) is a public collective performance of an English luck-bringing ritual.

*Old apple tree
We'll wassail thee
And hoping thou wilt bear
The Lord does know
Where we shall be
To be merry another year.*

It is performed to rid the sleeping apple orchards of bad luck (using loud noises) and to encourage good luck (by libating the trees with cider, and offering bread crumbs soaked in cider for the birds) – a nostalgic agricultural ritual that is easily transported to Australia as it is connected with a plant and a crop, rather than the land itself.

This festival also attracted new farmers to showcase their food – as new farmers tend to vertically integrate their businesses: planting, tending, harvesting, processing and then selling directly to the public. Is this a nose for nostalgia, or, simply business?

1

Constantine Sedikides, Tim Wildschut, Jamie Arndt and Clay Routledge, "Nostalgia: Past, Present, and Future", *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 17, 5, 2008, pp.304-307.



Established farmers:

Using Word Clouds, we can glimpse how these new farmers present themselves on their webpages and how they compare with public personas as presented by larger-scale established farmers:



New farmers:

These Word Clouds were produced in *NVivo* (a qualitative data package), and display the first 50 most used words on new farmers’ and established farmers’ webpages.

Are there any nostalgic words? There is a small *agrarian* in the new farmers’ Word Cloud, a possible allusion to the past. They also mention the *year* and *season* – possibly alluding to the cyclical nature of agriculture. But the biggest difference between the two is that the new farmers highlight the verb *farming* – as we described at school – a ‘doing’ word. The established farmers are highlighting the noun *farm*, and they use other nouns connected with ownership and place such as *land* and *property*. The established farmers also use more future-oriented words such as *development* and *sustainable*, and more managerial and scientific words such as *operations*, *business*, *commercial*, *breeding*, and *genetics*.

Interestingly, the new farmers talk of the *experience* of farming and they use emotional words such as *love* and *enjoy* – and significantly they also grow *food*. The new farmers also use some of the common mental frame triggers referred to above, in these examples: *organic*, *natural*, *fresh*, and *local*.

As well as on new farmers’ webpages, organic, natural, fresh and local are some of the repeated words chosen for displays at farmers’ markets, and they have become frames to assist people to trust the produce on sale. These words also gather-in their antonyms – e.g. chemical, unnatural, stale, and global. By using these triggers, it can be argued that something negative is being said about the produce from industrialised agriculture without having to mention it explicitly. I’m particularly interested in the use of the adjective and noun *local*, as I think it is saying something about the farmer as much as her or his produce. The word ‘local’ does the following:

- It pits itself against the word global;
- It implies that food hasn’t travelled far – that it is fresh;
- It suggests food is seasonal to that local place – so it includes dimensions of time and space; and,
- It suggests food retains its geographically defined flavour and aroma – its *terroir* – as asserted by the Highland cattle new farmers above.

Many new farmers do not come from the places where they are attempting to dwell as farmers. I believe that these non-local people who are learning how to farm are also learning how to be locals through their food: *they are not local* and may not be accepted as such, but *their food is local* and will be accepted as such. It could even be argued that attempts are being made towards a local stability in what is seen as a globally unstable world.



For good or ill, Paradise is a sensual experience

As well as word triggers, there are sense triggers. Taste and aroma have triggered epiphanies in some of the new farmers. Matthew Evans describes in his memoir how drinking a very expensive cup of coffee which contained cheap mass-produced milk caused him to yearn to grow his own food. Evans was a food critic in Sydney, and the taste of that milk triggered in him the memory of how milk used to taste before it became processed – and he felt “a physical ache to get closer to the soil”.¹

Evans bought land in southern Tasmania and began the long painful process of learning how to farm. At a 2016 book launch in Hobart, Evans commented about peaches – he remarked that in commercial agriculture there was very little commentary about fragrance, and he went on to describe the smell of an old variety peach and the bliss state of eating a peach at its perfect ripeness, the moment when it fell from a tree. Nadia Seremetakis describes how the memory of an aroma, a taste, persists long after the body (and she is alluding to the peach again) has gone, and transports one back to a particular time and place.²

So, our memories brought into the present by sensual, verbal and physical triggers may be shaping our dreams, our future imaginaries, and the transformation of our identities.

Utopian appetites and agrarian imaginaries, however, may actually say even more about us now including our hopes and our fears. Thomas More’s *Utopia* can be interpreted as his attempt to safely criticise the enclosure and adverse possession of land in Tudor England. But More’s *Utopia* also reflects the realities of his time, with unequal power relationships - women are subordinate to their husbands and slaves work at unpleasant jobs and in agriculture (even though all Utopians are expected to farm). Indeed, *Utopia* can be violent –the whip in the black and white image below is being used on a slave in this 1730s plate from a French edition of *Utopia*.

¹ Evans, 2014, p.9.

² C. Nadia Seremetakis, “The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory”, in *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*, edited by C. Nadia Seremetakis, The university of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1994, p.2.



The whips we see in the colour image above are being used on non-humans, and yet it could be argued that the men in this scene are slaves too – they are all, in fact, nameable convicts.¹ This is a painting by John Glover who was a renowned British picturesque artist of 63 when he emigrated to Tasmania with his adult sons and their families in 1830.

The Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery's *Shaping Tasmania* exhibition describes this picture as the artist celebrating his status as a gentleman farmer and mentions the painting's "dreamlike" qualities. The catalogue for the *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque* describes Glover's ability to depict the tension of "Paradise lost" (the remnant vegetation and the Indigenous population) and "Paradise regained" (from physical work rewarded by bountiful crops). We are reminded of the fact that there was a belief that 'man' could be improved through labour – specifically virtuous rural labour.² And here we have a repetition of the culturally-embedded 'virtuous pre-industrial agriculture' frame.

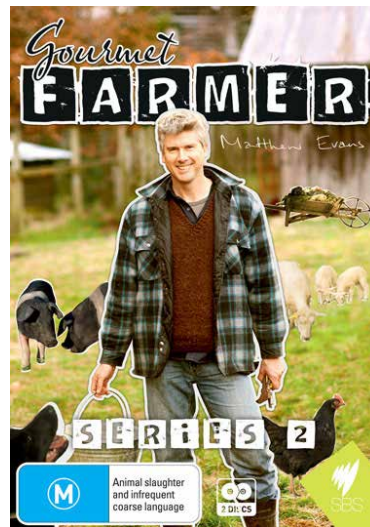
In summary, my research is attempting to uncover the motivations behind the move from more urbanised ways of life, to rural farming lifestyles – and what this means for people's identities and the communities they join.

From new farmers' webpages and memoirs, we see that many of these people are presenting as local food producers, attracting a premium price for their value-added products. The nostalgic frame of an idealised rural past, often triggered by the senses (especially taste and aroma), may be what some of these people are projecting into their futures.

It would also appear, however, that those nostalgic visions are uncontaminated by the daily realities of farming life, and even utopias include "animal slaughter and infrequent coarse language" ...

¹ Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Professor of Social History, University of Tasmania, pers. comm.

² David Hansen, *John Glover and the Colonial Picturesque*, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Art Exhibitions Australia, 2003, p.114.



BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

I am a first year PhD student with the University of Southern Queensland, living and researching in Tasmania. I have recently re-entered the academic world, and the anthropology of farmers and food production is a departure for me (I did dabble in catering in Western Australia in the 1990s). I have an MA from the University of Cambridge in Archaeology and Anthropology, but most of my working life has been involved with Aboriginal cultural heritage management in W.A. and Tasmania. In Tasmania I have worked with the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land and Sea Council, the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre and Hydro Tasmania.

Bob Swinburn

What we know in our bones

In a review of the work of twentieth century German philosopher Martin Heidegger, fellow philosopher Gilbert Ryle described Heidegger's work as bringing to light what we already 'know in our bones'. What is implied here that an inner knowledge exists in us. It is a knowledge that is not easily put into words, but one that has the potential to direct our actions.

In my doctoral research, I have spent the past several years documenting the activities of the winegrowers of Geelong, and more lately, trying to put in to words what it is that motivates them to become small-scale wine producers when any economic analysis would warn them off. Their resilience indicates to me that there is more at stake in their ventures than the pursuit of money. What is at stake is, however, difficult to identify, and even harder to describe.

A conference that has utopia as its central theme offers the opportunity to speculate what is at stake among the winegrowers of Geelong without spending too much time pre-empting the critiques that usually, and rightfully, come with this type of speculation.

My task is to ask what it is that winegrowers 'know in their bones', why it defies description, and more importantly, explore how this knowledge might lead to a brighter future. This future, I suggest, is characterized by a way of relating to the world that, to draw on Heidegger again, goes beyond treating things in our environment only as objects of domination.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Robert Swinburn is a Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology at the University of Melbourne. He is also a wine grape grower, winemaker and consultant. His publications include a chapter in "Wine and Culture; Vineyard to Glass (Black, R.E. and Ulin, R.C. 2013), which explores the French notion of terroir in an Australian context.

Michael Symons

“Utopia is the next meal: In praise of eating, drinking, and being merry”

In 1944, writing about capitalism’s “great transformation” of social life, economic historian Karl Polanyi warned that the economists’ idea of a self-adjusting market “implied a stark utopia” that would spell the end of human life (1944: 3).

Since then, Polanyi’s market society has only fallen more in thrall to the corporate, profit-seeking promise that acting greedily will bring benefits, one day. But greed is insatiable, and the utopianism of eternal growth is destroying civilisation.

Think instead about appetite. It is answered by the next meal. Satisfaction is immediate. A preference for the here-and-now encourages a steady-state, contented or sustainable land.

An existing earthly paradise is celebrated in the slogan “eat, drink, and be merry (for tomorrow we shall die)”. The philosophy is venerable (thousands of years old), and wiser than might initially appear. Indeed, it’s basic to liberalism. That’s liberalism, not neoliberalism.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Michael Symons brings a lifetime’s work, study and dining to gastronomy. He’s a journalist, who became partner the Uraidla Aristologist restaurant for 15 years, instigated the Symposiums of Australian Gastronomy in 1984, gained a PhD in the “sociology of cuisine”, and, among his books, *One Continuous Picnic* is a gastronomic history of Australia, and *A History of Cooks and Cooking* explains how cooks made civilisation. He is presently completing a gastronomic response to neoliberal economics.

Erika Szymanski

Where is the terroir of synthetic yeast? Engineering life, human-yeast collaboration, and good wine for (future) living

Terroir avoids binaries between “natural” and “human,” invoking interdependent relationships amongst elements of an environment – human and non-human alike – in shaping the unique and ultimately tangible (and tasteable and smellable) qualities of a food. In the wine industry, where *terroir* is most often applied, that food is the product of humans and microbes working together. For wine – as well as beer, bread, and a global array of less familiar fermented foodstuffs – long-term human-yeast collaborations have shaped humans and yeast partners along with their edible produce.

Synthetic biology is changing the shape of human-yeast work. The Sc2.0 project (in which Macquarie University and the Australian Wine Research Institute are partners) aims to produce a completely “refactored” and completely functional *Saccharomyces cerevisiae* genome, designed for improved efficiency both in microbiology research and in diverse industrial applications. “Ethical, legal, and social implications” of such work have been dominated by questions about acceptable and unacceptable ways to modify living organisms, how to balance potential benefits with unknown risks, promises of better human futures with perils of messing with nature, whether we are working for better versions of living organisms or exploiting them as commercial tools. Those binary questions can be productively remediated through the lenses of human-yeast collaboration, coworking, and companionship in winemaking, beer brewing, and bread baking. Rather than asking how far we should go in manipulating nature, these established human-yeast collaborations suggest that we should instead ask how we can best continue to develop and care for our human-microbe working relationships. If winemakers and wine yeast are companion species, living with each other in trusting relations of use, how can synthetic biology cultivate those relationships?

Metaphors for human-yeast work – coworking, collaboration, companionship – are tools for envisioning utopian food futures in which we continue to evolve with yeast, and to evolve our relationship with yeast, in ways that may involve synthetic biology alongside very traditional ways of working with yeast. What, then, is the *terroir* of synthetic yeast? What is the flavor of the landscape synthetic biologists and yeast shape together? Is the wine good to drink?

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Erika Szymanski is a research fellow in Science, Technology, and Innovation Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Within the “Engineering Life” project, she studies social entanglements of synthetic yeast and, particularly, the nature and benefits of multispecies collaborations amongst synthetic biologists, social scientists, designers, and yeast. Her doctoral work in science communication at the University of Otago investigated wine industry-oriented science communication and rhetorical strategies for mutual relevance amongst scientific research and winemaking knowledges. She holds Masters degrees in microbiology and English and is a wine science writer with a monthly column for *Palate Press* and a blog at *wineoscope.com*.

Juan-Carlo Tomas

Remembering Pancit molo – Myth and memory in Filipino home cooking

Some dishes in any given cuisine are so imbued with meaning they transcend their raw ingredients and represent more than the sum of their parts. Whether one looks at the typical symbol of the hamburger for American cuisine, the baguette for France or pizza for Italy, one such dish for many Filipino cooks is the soup *Pancit molo*.

At its simplest interpretation, Pancit molo is a wonton soup, what we might call here a short soup. Like many Filipino dishes, it normally appears as part of a shared cornucopia, where small bowls are served steaming hot, sprinkled with chives and crunchy fried garlic. Its origins are clearly Chinese, in contrast to the much of the country's creolised, hybridised cuisine. You won't find Spanish or American markers here, but you will find endless variety. And of course, everyone's grandmother makes the *best* version.

I often remember my grandmother's Pancit molo. A highlight of her kitchen canon, this was brought out for large gatherings where we'd welcome visitors, farewell relatives or at a party, where her giant *caldera* could easily feed two dozen guests with room for seconds. It was always suggested with nervous excitement - 'Don't forget the pancit molo,' one of my aunt's would say excitedly, licking her lips - since you could request it - but not escape its making.

This makes Pancit molo what some authors would call a party food, a nostalgia or act of hospitality. In trying to map where this might fit within Filipino gastronomy, as an Australian of Spanish-Filipino heritage, I read Corina Zappia's article 'Filipino: The Five-Step Plan' in last year's *Gastronomica* with interest. I could identify with her scale, where reaching the ability to eat certain foods made you "more Filipino".

Growing up in Cleveland, her scale runs seemingly in magnitude like the scale for earthquakes, from the putrid to the petrifying, starting at *bagoong* to *balut*, the piping-hot duck egg embryo that's a popular afternoon snack for my nieces, who particularly love eating them in front of their squeamish Aussie uncle.

Pancit molo exists outside this scale, and contains no offal, strong ferments or secondary cuts. There are no bones or eyeballs to navigate, and no pungent *sawsawan*, or vinegar needed. It was easy eating, something westerners could enjoy and more importantly, it could be cooked in quantity and served at the last moment while getting everything else ready and welcoming your guests.

But before all of this, you need to start the Pancit molo. Nana, as we called her, was very specific about what she wanted. Thin yellow egg wrappers, the pancit or noodle, were essential for the dumplings. Ideally they were a certain brand. If that brand wasn't available, there was a hierarchy of poor-but-passable substitutes, but her inference was to always try looking in another shop, to see if they had it. Bonus points for finding them still packed in delivery boxes, for freshness. 'Did you cut them out of the boxes?' her shorthand for praise.

Inside the wrappers sits the filling – a tender blend of pork mince, diced prawns, garlic and chives. Nana always bought her pork from a Chinese butcher to avoid the dreaded boar taint. After carefully combining the ingredients until they resembled a meat slushie, she'd drop a teaspoon onto a saucer and pop it in the microwave to test for seasoning before summoning anyone within earshot to check it as well. If I was lucky I'd get to have a taste of the mix at the same time she did, warning me not to make it too salty since it would absorb more from the stock.

The broth these bathe in takes similar care and attention. Old hens were always preferable to younger chickens, and Nana would start simmering them quite early in the morning, with pork bones sometimes added for flavour. I recall once waking up and, not hearing her familiar snore in the bed next to mine in our shared bedroom, wandered out to the kitchen where she was loading the large pot with chicken and bones to begin the broth. Dawn had barely cracked but she'd already be skimming as it came to a boil, letting me climb onto her stool to look at the bubbling mass, putting me in charge of securing the lid as

it began its long simmer to dinner. It would be years until I was allowed to fold the dumplings, an act I later found to be at the heart of what makes Pancit Molo so memorable.

It starts with its myth. The ability of food to trigger memories is perhaps recalled most evocatively in Proust's classic madeleine, which we examined in the very first session, where flour, eggs, sugar, lemons, vanilla and so on carried, once combined, more than the sum of their parts. Traveling to a wedding in Bacolod, on an island in the central region known as Visayas two years ago made me wonder about the origins of this soup, my own personal madeleine, since this was exactly the sort of occasion where I knew it would show up.

Writing in 'Memories of Phillippine Kitchens', Amy Besa and Romy Dorotan go to some trouble trying to trace the origins of this dish, which supposedly originated on the island of Panay, a 20-minute ferry ride from where I currently was in the sleepy colonial town of Iloilo. They write:

Molo was originally the Parian, the Chinese quarter in Iloilo established in the eighteenth century by the Spanish to segregate the growing Chinese population. According to local legend, [Molo] came about when the Chinese called out a warning against approaching Moros [Filipinos from Mindanao] in their vintas or small boats, who were notorious or raiding coastal villages at the time. The Chinese could not pronounce the r and cried out "Molo! Molo!"

As far as myths go, this one is both romantic and racist, yet today in Mindanao there remains a jihadist insurgency, and the region is rarely visited by tourists.

From here, the soup travelled to the homes of the wealthy elite in neighbouring Negros, where its making and consumption became a hallmark for particularly good domestic cooks or maids, and a way to show off culinary sophistication while displaying hospitality. There is a whole pantheon of pancits and the *panciterias* which made them which we don't have time to go into today.

Blending the simple "caldo" beloved by the Spanish and Portuguese with the dumplings of the Parian, their shape resembles the nun's hats at the Molo cathedral, *uloulo ng madre* or mother's heads, an area which even today is dominated by whitewashed buildings and the neighbouring university attached to the church.

We hailed a cab and asked the driver to take us to what I'd read was Pancit molo's birthplace, the 130-year-old *Panaderia de Molo*, or Molo Bakery. Also famed for what are known as *Sopas de Molo* or soup accompaniments, they made biscuits like thin, crisp *galletas*, wafers, and *biscocho*, what we might think of as rusks, often baked with chunks of crunchy garlic, like a sort of dessicated garlic bread.

But it was here I'd been led to believe Pancit molo also originated, so we entered the simple shopfront, next to the Dominican Sister's Mother House and ordered a bowl of Pancit molo and another of dinuguan, the only things on their menu aside from sugary drinks or the endless range of bakery goods. I sat and waited, all the while expecting an experience which would take me back to that early morning with my Nana, thinking of the memory I would conjure with my first mouthful at this ground zero.

It arrived, in a paper cup – plain, white and very hot – a world away from the soup I remembered. I dipped in my plastic spoon and discovered the dumplings – small, shrivelled and seemingly delicate. Devoid of the yellow hue I was expecting, with no garnish to speak of. I realised I was before my madeleine, unadorned, and so unlike what I expected. I took a spoonful. Lifted it to my lips. And immediately burnt them.

The white, bland soup had been thickened with some sort of starch while the dumplings, wrapped in similar white pastry, mashed in my mouth with little flavour or texture. I searched for chicken, or prawns, scooping the soup to cool and draw the base to the surface and, finding nothing, took another mouthful. The same. Maybe something was missing. I bought some garlic biscotcho and dipped one end in this veritable blancmange. Still not there.

Opposite, my dining companion smirked and slurped his dinuguan. I looked down at my paper cup and saw some of the crunchy garlic had fallen into the soup, and what I then realised is this mother – this first among Pancit molos - was really just a canvas, a blank slate which could only be improved on. I

scraped off more garlic into the soup and, finding some salt, laughed at my Filipino madeleine.

Once the broth for your Pancit molo is underway, you can wrap the dumplings. Nana would aim to have everything ready for wrapping by the time breakfast was done, clearing the table and setting it with the bowl of filling, wrappers, small dishes of water and a bamboo tray dusted with flour for them to sit on. Together, we'd all take our place, and she'd start us off by unwrapping the wonton skins and cut the corners off one side to ensure the pastry cooked evenly once they'd been rolled. Teaspoons would be placed on the table, and she'd show us how much was needed for each wrapper before taking us through the process of wrapping them. Each ball was placed just below the centre of the wrapper, with the cut corners down, before this edge was raised and pressed against the pastry above the filling.

She instructed us to dip our pinky fingers into a small dish of water, then draw a line across the wrapper and enclose the filling within it, like a tiny cannelloni, before pinching in the two open sides, gluing those ends together to make the shape. She'd place it at the very edge of the tray, as if to say 'Now, you need to fill it' – and on we'd go.

We'd laugh, complain, tell stories about the last time we'd been forced to do this and make fun of wonky dumplings or bad folds. We couldn't do anything else while wrapping dumplings – each one needed our full attention – and she'd occasionally come by and scold us for overfilling them, or call us stingy and say they weren't plump enough. Eventually, the whole tray would be full, and she would look on them approvingly before letting us get back to our day's plans, covering the trays with wax paper before turning her attention to other things on the stove.

By the time dinner came around, no bell would be needed to signal a start to proceedings since this was done by removing the lid on her *caldo*, where our charges would be bobbing about in their rich broth, its warm colour contrasted by a shock of green chives and the orange slick of annatto. With every mouthful we'd spot our own creations, or mistakes that had crept in, savouring each bite of dumpling, meat and prawn with visceral delight. Guests would always say it was so tasty, and Nana would shoot them a look she'd given many times before – 'Of course', it would say.

We gathered the year after she passed to make her Pancit molo, something we'd all not had in a long time as arthritis had stopped Nana cooking some years before. My mother's recipe card, with its jumbled list of ingredients gleaned from observations, questions and more questions, reflects the way Nana cooked by instinct rather than formula, and resisted recording her recipes for reasons I will never know.

But this time, we didn't want to do anything other than sit around the table, scooping teaspoons of meat into the chewy yellow wrappers, looking on at what each of us were making and how well we could make each dumpling. We'd try to make each one more perfect, more plump than the one previously, then get ahead of ourselves, overfill them and have to start again.

This time we filled them and remembered, and with each fold incorporated our own memories of Pancit molo, filling it with good times, happy guests, contented stomachs and the pride which comes from contributing to a feast where you'd otherwise just be a diner.

I had finally connected, like other Filipinos, to the reason why my grandmother made the best version of Pancit molo, as each mouthful contained memories only I could have had, memories of my family, my grandmother, and memories of pancits past. Remembered as much as eaten, for Filipinos, Pancit molo satiates an appetite only made stronger by time. Utopia in every bowl.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Juan-Carlo Tomas is a Sydney-based writer, cook and gardener whose work has appeared in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Guardian* and *The Australian Financial Review*, among others. He has degrees in Economics and Social Anthropology from the University of Sydney and the Australian National University, and completed the Master of Arts (Gastronomy) program at the University of Adelaide in 2011. His interests include the cultural formation of identity and performance, oral history and myth-making, and looking for new and innovative ways to squish caterpillars in his backyard garden. His next project will trace the path his ancestors took from the Basque Country through markers in family recipes.

Paul van Reyk

SLIDE 1

“Poor people. Armies. Not enough to eat”: Food Wars in the Dystopian Present in Doris Lessing’s *Canopus in Argos: Archives*.

Introduction

In *The Sirian Experiments*, the third novel in the *Canopus in Argos: Archives* quintet, its narrator Ambien II reflects on the precepts of the Adalantlands, people she has recently encountered: “I was thinking, as I went, about their third precept, that they must not take more than they could use, for it seemed to me to go to the heart of the Sirian dilemma...who should use what and how much and when and what for? Above all what for!” (Lessing “The Sirian experiments” 81).

SLIDE 2

Doris Lessing in her writings often asked this question of the production and distribution of food. Sizemore, writing in a recent edition of *Food, Culture and Society* alerted me to this thread in Lessing’s work. She writes, “[Doris Lessing’s] comments about food and critiques of global food distribution echo through her whole canon” (630). Sizemore examines this through three of Lessing’s fictionalised autobiographical works.

This paper looks at how Lessing addresses concerns about food security through the impact of war in her space fiction quintet *Canopus In Argus: Archives* written between 1979 and 1983 and her post new ice age novel *Mara and Dann*, written in 2000. The quintet is five novels describing the territorial actions of three galactic colonial powers – Canopus, Sirius and Shammat-Puttoria. I will deal in this paper with *Shikasta* the first in the series, *The Marriages Between Zones Three, Four and Five*, the second in the series and the final volume *The Sentimental Agents in the Volyen Empire*.

Lessing herself experienced the impact of war on food insecurity and wrote about it directly in the two volumes of her autobiography *Under My Skin* covering the years from childhood to 1949 published in 1995, and *Walking in the Shade* covering the years 1949 – 1962, published in 1998. I also refer to these volumes in this paper. Lessing wrote no further volumes.

The structure of the paper I take from Collison and McBeth in the Introduction to their collection of papers *Food in Zones of Conflict*. They write:

The ability of people to grow or procure their own food is often one of the first activities to be undermined by warfare, because of disruption to the daily lives of a community, because those involved in the fighting require food for themselves, or because the fields or factories that produce food are destroyed or rendered too dangerous to work in...The relationship between food insecurity and conflict is, of course, one of mutual reinforcement (1 -2).

In this paper I take in turn each of these three effects of war on food security and look at what Lessing says about them in the *Canopus* quintet and *Mara and Dann*.

SLIDE 3

The Century of Destruction

But first I want to place the *Canopus* quintet and war within the theme of this Symposium – *Utopian Appetites*.

In her series of essays *Prisons We Choose to Live Inside* Lessing writes:

“Look at all those utopias written through the centuries...These of course are all criticisms of current, societies, for you can’t write a utopia in a vacuum” (Lessing “Prisons” 7).

Arguably the same can be said about a dystopia. Human society in the latter half of the 20th century as it is depicted in different guises in the quintet is a dystopia. The dark matter out of which Lessing creates her dystopian vision is her direct experiences of the impact of war during her childhood and adult years.

Lessing's father was crippled in World War 1 and while recovering in hospital met her mother, a nurse. Her childhood house was full of "voices [that] went on and on, about the trenches, bombs, star shells, shrapnel, shell holes, men drowning in shell holes and the mud that could swallow horses, let alone me... on and on and on, my father's voice, my mother's, and, too, the voices of many of our visitors" (Lessing "Under My Skin" 83).

By the time she wrote the quintet, Lessing had witnessed the impact also of World War II (her brother survived the sinking of a ship during the war), the Cold War, the revolutionary wars in the former African colonies including Southern Rhodesia, the militarised expansion of the USSR across half of Europe after World War II, the war between the Kuomintang and Mao's Communist Party of China and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. In an interview in 2003 she said the wars in her life "sit on me more and more as a kind of horror" (Mullan).

Lessing ascribes the development of her sense of social justice to this immersion "...particularly from my father's voice murmuring through my days and through my sleep, too, of the war, the betrayal of the soldiers, the wicked stupidities and corruption of government, just expectation and faith betrayed" (Lessing "Under My Skin" 85).

The central event in *Shikasta* is *The Century of Destruction* a barely fictionalised summary of these conflicts where ultimately "A mechanism went wrong, and major cities were blasted into death-giving dust ..." (Lessing "Shikasta" 121-122). It is in the dystopia that follows that Lessing first takes up the impact of war on food security.

SLIDE 4

Disruption to the daily lives of a community

Lessing was born in Persia where her father had settled after World War I as a bank manager. Five years into the job, in 1924, when his leave came up he decided to take the family back to England for a holiday. Lessing's mother decided they would go via trains through Russia and then across Europe. At some point before Moscow the train comes to a stop.

"Children with sharp hungry faces jumped at the train windows, and peered in, or held up their hands begging. My parents talked about them, and their voices were low and anxious and there were words I did not know, so I kept saying, what does that mean, what does that mean? The Great War. The Revolution. The Civil War. Famine. The Bolsheviks. Because we had been told that the besprozorniki – the gangs of children without families – attacked trains when they stopped at stations, as soon as my mother got out to buy food, the compartment door was locked and the windows pushed up...(Lessing "Under My Skin" 42).

This is Lessing's first encounter with the impact of war on food security, food shortages caused by the direct impact of war on land use and food distribution

She next encounters the impact of war on food security when she migrates to England in 1949 where she socialises with "high-minded refugees from everywhere [who] lived their precarious lives in cold shabby flats and scarcely knew where their next meal was coming from" (Lessing "Walking in the Shade" 41). Gottfried Lessing, her second husband who she had left in Rhodesia, was himself a refugee from Communism.

She distils these experiences in *Mara and Dann*. War here is driven by drought and food scarcity and the eponymous brother and sister join a large group of fellow refugees fleeing North across the continent of Ifrik. Hunger is a constant on this trek. They have a little flat bread and a handful of a yellow tuber Mara has knowledge of but others in the group don't. They like the others hoard and guard what food they have. Mara wants to share the bread, roots and water they are carrying, but Dann won't allow it. At nights as the refugees camp "A dozen small fires burned...and around each huddled a few people,

guarding their food and water containers” (Lessing *Mara and Dann* 117).

Hunger leads to desperation and inhuman behaviour. One day a skimmer, an airborne passenger vehicle, crashes and Mara and Dann watch as ‘At once all the [refugees] rushed up, peered in, reached in. Some of the [passengers] were dead, but not all; there were groans and cries and blood, but what the travelers were after were the provisions they carried. What food there was soon found itself distributed among the travelers – kept by whoever had grabbed it” (Lessing *Mara and Dann* 121).

SLIDE 5

Provisioning an army

Wars need armies, and armies must eat. Armies can reinforce food scarcity as provisioning them takes precedence over feeding others.

On Shikasta, as the aftermath of the nuclear war continues, “multitudes of people, nearly all young, who had no prospect of any kind of work, who had never worked, and whose education fitted them only for idleness [form hordes who] rage through countrysides, killing animals, overturning machinery, burning crops, working havoc...They had the misfortune to be young in a world where ever-increasing multitudes competed for what little food there was, where there was no prospect of betterment save through the deaths of many and where war could be expected with absolute certainty” (Lessing “Shikasta” 291, 295). The solution to curbing the youth is to draft them into civil military organisations. These groups of youth “were fed, were kept warm, were cared for, but outside the armies the populations were fed increasingly badly, and there were fewer and fewer goods to go around” (Lessing “Shikasta” 291).

The Marriages Between Zones Three, Four and Seven deals largely with the enforced alliance between Al * Ith, the ruler of the peaceful Zone Three, and Ben Ata, warlord of Zone Four. While the novel’s main concerns are gender relations, Lessing along the way decries the economic impact of war. Soon after their first meeting, Al * Ith, the ruler of Zone Three rebukes Ben Ata, warlord of Zone four.

“Nine-tenths of your country’s wealth goes into the preparations for war. Apart from the actual growers of food, and the merchants of food and household goods, everyone is in the employ of the army, in some capacity” (Lessing “The Marriages” 96).

Ben Ata mulls this over.

“Suppose he sent home – let’s say – half these men? All over his poor meagre land would flow strength, locked up now in the armies. Strength would flow into the arts and crafts of Zone Four. Roofs would be mended, ditches dug, fields properly ploughed. Harvests would fill barns and women would make preserves and pickles...and there would no longer be pinched unhappy faces to see when he rode through his country” (Lessing 1982(2):204).

SLIDE 6

Despoliation of the land

During the years of The Century of Destruction on Shikasta “...the earth was being despoiled. The minerals were being ripped out, the fuels wasted, the soils depleted by improvident and short-sighted agriculture the animals and plants slaughtered and destroyed, the seas being filled with filth and poison, the atmosphere corrupted”(Lessing “Shikasta” 119). The nuclear war leaves ruins “Very different, these, from the ruins of the second war, cities which were rapidly rebuilt. No, these ruins were uninhabitable, the earth around them poisoned.” (Lessing “Shikasta” 121-122).

In her bleakest vision in the quintet Lessing tells of a Shikastan woman who “...stands as she has done for millennia, cutting bread, setting out sliced vegetables on a plate, with a bottle of wine, and thinks that nothing in this meal is safe, that the poisons of their civilization are in every mouthful, and that they are about to fill their mouths with deaths of all kinds. In an instinctive gesture of safety, renewal, she hands a piece of bread to her child, but the gesture has lost its faith as she makes it, because of what she may be

handing the child” (Lessing *Shikasta* 252).

But she also writes of resilience. In the Sahel where famine and hunger have been constants “When Shireen has nothing in her rooms but two or three tomatoes and onions and a handful of lentils and has no idea what she is going to feed her family that day, she will still make a little rissole of lentils for a special friend across the court. And this woman puts some sugar on a bit of yoghurt and gives it to Shireen. It is always a feast, even with a spoon of yoghurt and seven grains of sugar” (Lessing “*Shikasta*” 297).

SLIDE 7

A reversal

The tables are turned on the military in the last novel in the Canopus quintet, *The Sentimental Agents in the Volyen Empire*. Volyenadna is one of three planets in the Volyen system. At the time the story is set it has been colonised by Volyen for its rich mineral deposits, its population given over to mining under slave conditions and is described by Klorathy, a Canopean agent, as a slave planet. It is now under imminent threat of being colonised by Sirius which has recently taken an interest in extending its empire into the Volyen system. Until recently, much of the planet was covered by ice sheets whose retreat has left the land harsh, dry with meagre and dull vegetation. There is little indigenous to eat, so all their food is imported which increases their servitude.

Canopus wants to help Volyenadna secure and keep its independence from both Volyen and Sirius. The plan is to give Volyenadna Rocknosh, “a form of food that would make [it] independent. It is a kind of plant, like one of your lichens. It grows on rock. A few spores scattered on the rocks of this valley, and, they would all be covered with it very quickly. You can eat it raw. You can cook it as a vegetable. It can be fermented in various ways, which will change its nature. With this plant you could be self-sufficient on Volyenadna” (Lessing “*The Volyen Empire*” 110). More importantly, Klorathy tells Calder, the Volyenadan Canopus has chosen to support as leader of the recovery, “without this plant I am offering you, you are helpless. Whether it is Volyen or Sirius, with the plant you can feed yourselves. You can bargain” (Lessing “*The Volyen Empire*” 117).

Calder refuses the offer, but his wife berates him. ‘I am at my wit’s end to find food for the children,’ she remarked. ‘There is hardly anything in the shops. The rations have been cut again. And the last Volyen consignment was half the usual.’” (Lessing “*The Volyen Empire*” 117). When Calder leaves she asks Klorathy for some spores.

The strategy is a success. At the end of the novel Klorathy reports to Canopus “Except for the icecaps, all of this dour little planet now glows a soft red...The [invading] factory colonies felt themselves abandoned by Sirius and have since announced their independence of the Sirian empire, but in the meantime they had no food. Chaos – hunger – fighting between armies and factions of armies all over Volyenadna. Calder and his people watched all of this, and no one told the invaders of the supplies of rich food that filled underground storehouses everywhere. And when these aliens saw that a reddish crust was being scraped off the rocks, and were told this was a lichen used for dyeing and as part of the processes of mining, they believe it. The invading armies had nothing to eat.

Calder and his people bribed them to go away, offering enough food to carry all these polyglot armies back home to their various planets.

‘Food!’, scoffed the Alputs and the starving armies of the factory planets. ‘What food? Where are you going to get it?’

‘We’ll give you all the food we have stored against bad years – for we have bad years, you know, when the snow falls through the growing months. We have to stockpile food.’

They were shown some underground storehouses specially prepared to contain only a few of the infinite variety of foods and products that Rocknosh made. And these armies went away, the holds of their spaceships crammed with not very likable food, pitying and despising the Volyenadnans, and never suspecting the crammed storehouses everywhere under the surface. (Lessing “*The Volyen Empire*” 194 –

195)

Last words

So the quintet ends on a utopian note. But by the time she comes to write *Mara and Dann*, she is again despairing.

At the end of *Mara and Dann*, Lessing gives us a picture of a domestic scale utopia. The siblings have settled in the north of Ifrik with three other refugees on a farm.

“On the table was not much more than bread, vegetables and cheese...There was enough food in the storerooms to keep them going till harvest. There would be a time, not of hardship, but of being careful, till the farm could be brought back to what it had been. The fields grew maize and corn, barley and cotton, sunflowers, melons and squashes; grew, too, grapes; and there was a grove of ancient olive trees that supplied the oil that stood in a big jar on the table. There were goats, the manikin relatives of the enormous milk beasts of the south. Soon they would have fowls, for eggs and for the table, and when there was enough money, would but a couple of horses” (Lessing “*Mara and Dann*” 399).

But Dann tells Mara that he has been asked by a newcomer to the area to “Raise an army from the local youngsters...”

“And we would feed this army by stealing food from the farmers?”

“But they would benefit, because we would protect them.”

“Protect them from what? This place has a good government...So why do the farmers need protection?” (Lessing “*Mara and Dann*” 384)

Earlier, Mara and Dann have visited The Centre a sort of city as museum. Mara wanders through the buildings and “the end of the story in every building was war, and the ways of war became crueler and more terrible...What were these ancient peoples, that they could do such things?...There was a recklessness about the ways they used their soil and their water. “These were peoples who had no interest in the results of their actions. They killed out the animals. They poisoned the fish in the sea. They cut down forests, so that country after country, once forested, became desert or arid. They spoiled everything they touched. There was probably something wrong with their brains. There are many historians who believe that these ancients richly deserved the punishment of the ice.”

So Mara knows the answer to her question. When they add another building to the Centre dedicated to the period she is living through, it will also end with war.

SLIDE 8

In one of her final interviews, Lessing still rails against war:

“Why do we allow wars still? Now we are bogged down in Iraq in an impossible situation. I’ll be pleased when I’m dead. That will let me off worrying about all these wars” (Farndale).

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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Alison Vincent

Developing an appetite for Utopia – Reality versus the Good Food Guide or Hospitality in the age of consumerism

ABSTRACT

Restaurants in Melbourne and Sydney have been ranked as good, better and best since the 1980s with the publication of the first *Age Good Food Guide* in 1980 followed by the *Sydney Morning Herald Good Food Guide* in 1984. Popular with readers from the beginning, these guides served a dual function of providing some basic information about the restaurants listed and establishing aesthetic standards. From the outset the Guides awarded the restaurants considered the best in each city from one to three hats, with three hats reserved for those establishments that offered outstanding standards of food, service and surroundings.

For ten years, from 1985 to 1995, two restaurants, Stephanie Alexander's Stephanie's in Melbourne and Gay Bilson's Berowra Waters Inn in Sydney, dominated the three-hat category in their respective cities. Critics praised their innovative cuisine and their original and individual style. Not all diners however were satisfied with their experience of these fine dining establishments and some were not afraid to make their feelings known. This paper considers what these letters reveal about the tension between restaurateur and customer and in particular the motivation of diners and the role of restaurant criticism in promoting consumerism.

In response to the increasing consumer interest in dining out the *Age* newspaper in Melbourne and in Sydney the *Sydney Morning Herald* started to publish what was, and is still, called *The Good Food Guide*. In addition to being a directory providing information to would-be diners, these guides rank restaurants according to a system of hats – from 1 to 3 hats with 3 signifying an “outstanding” or exceptional restaurant.¹ Throughout the 1980s and the early 1990s two restaurants, Stephanie's in Melbourne and Berowra Waters Inn in Sydney, dominated the highest of the awards given by the restaurant guides in their respective cities.

Stephanie Alexander first opened Stephanie's in a shop front on Brunswick Street, Fitzroy, inner city Melbourne, in 1976. In 1980 Stephanie's moved to a grand Victorian mansion in suburban Hawthorn, which was richly decorated in keeping with the age and style of the building. Alexander was both the restaurateur and shared the cooking at Stephanie's until it closed in 1997.

Gay Bilson's restaurant, Berowra Waters Inn, was situated on the Hawkesbury River, in a setting Bilson describes as “a utopian landscape of water and cliff”,² a good one hour drive north of the Sydney city centre and finally accessible only by boat. The design of the subsequent renovations to the building and the minimalist décor of the restaurant were intended to compliment and merge with the surroundings.³ Gay and her then partner Tony Bilson had gained a reputation for their food at a place called Tony's Bon Gout, which had operated in the city of Sydney, before moving to Berowra in 1977. After Tony and Gay split in 1981, Gay continued to operate the restaurant with chef Janni Kyritsis until 1995.

I think it is appropriate to consider Gay Bilson and Stephanie Alexander at a symposium dedicated to utopian ideals because in establishing their restaurants they were idealists and visionaries. Although their restaurants were physically very different, both women shared the belief that food - its production, preparation and presentation - and convivial dining are integral to a civilised society. Both had a thoughtful and intellectual approach to cooking and eating which included not just a very personal approach to the food they prepared and served but also questioning established rituals of dining and food presentation. They emphasised simplicity, moderation and informality, and both introduced fixed price meals and limited menus based around local, seasonal ingredients. In doing so they were at the

1 Claude Forell and Rita Erlich, eds., *Age Good Food Guide* (hereafter AGEFG), 4th ed., (Melbourne: Anne O'Donovan, 1983), vii. In Sydney 3 hats were awarded to ‘those exceptional establishments that offer food of the highest available local standards, food creatively prepared and served in singularly attractive surroundings’ Leo Schofield, David Dale and Jenna Price, eds., *Sydney Morning Herald Good Food Guide* (hereafter SMHGFG) 1st ed., (Melbourne: Anne O'Donovan, 1984), 8.

2 Gay Bilson, *Plenty. Digressions on food*, (Melbourne: Penguin, 2004), 26.

3 *Ibid.*, 45–47.

forefront of championing an Australian dining culture.¹

Critics praised their interesting, innovative food, their attention to detail and the originality and individuality of their style. Diners were assured that there was nowhere else in the world where the same standard of food, service and surroundings could be had for such a reasonable price.² Stephanie's and Berowra Waters Inn developed international reputations and both Bilson and Alexander regularly took their cooking to international events.

However not everyone was impressed or satisfied by their experience of these restaurants and some took the trouble to formally voice complaints in letters to the restaurateur. Frequently complaints related to issues other than the food, issues that arose from the decisions made by Bilson and Alexander concerning how they wanted their restaurant to function. For example, Gay Bilson only served Australian wines or water with the meals at Berowra Waters consequently there were complaints that soft drinks, beer and spirits were not available with one diner denouncing water as "something that poor people have to drink".³ Many diners were very specific in targeting particular aspects of their experience that had not met their expectations of an expensive, "fine dining" restaurant. There were complaints for example about the atmosphere, the lack of background music, the want of flowers and candles on the tables and the quality of the glassware and cutlery. One can only imagine Bilson's dismay at having her carefully designed dining room described as stark and uninviting and likened to "a sunroom in a convalescent home".⁴

There were complaints about tardy, unhelpful and unfriendly service. Diners wanted to be made to feel important, for example they wanted waiters to pull their chairs out for them and to ask them if they had enjoyed their meal. Some diners were particularly outraged by the fact that waiters did not unfurl the table napkins and place them on the diner's lap, a practice not in vogue at either restaurant and expressly forbidden at Stephanie's since Alexander considered it "meaningless, servile and intrusive".⁵

Despite discreet warnings by critics that the apparently simple food, which was the hallmark of these establishments, might not conform to everyone's idea of *haute cuisine* correspondents were frequently disconcerted by the food they were served. One described the menu at Stephanie's as "a most uninspiring selection of various offal and cheap cuts of meat".⁶ Rabbit and tripe for example were thought to be "most unflattering" to a restaurant with such a stellar reputation.⁷ The challenging and limited nature of the menu meant that some diners struggled to find dishes that appealed to them and often what they ordered was not what they expected. One complainant politely informed Bilson: "Crème brûlée has always had some kind of berries with it when I have selected it at other restaurants".⁸ In reply to a correspondent who suggested that the presentation of the meals at Stephanie's "seemed to reflect a lack of thought" Alexander pointed out that the dishes served at her restaurant were presented exactly as she wished them to be.⁹

Overall disappointment generally centred around the question of value for money.¹⁰ For most diners their expectations had been so inflated both by the hype surrounding the restaurant and the cost of the meal (in 1994 the cost of dinner at BWI was \$85 a head, at Stephanie's \$80) that it took very little to ruin their experience.

These letters provide fertile ground for exploring a number of aspects of the relationship between restaurateurs and their clients. What struck me particularly reading this correspondence was that most

1 Stephanie Alexander, *Stephanie's Seasons* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1993), 38, 26, 94, 166. Of Stephanie's Alexander wrote that the style of the restaurant was the result of her deeply held convictions regarding the preparation and presentation of food and the need to create an enjoyable social atmosphere. She also felt the responsibility to create an Australian restaurant "not tied to the culinary traditions of particular countries", Stephanie Alexander to Dr. A. McLaughlan, 10 June 1986, Records of Stephanie Alexander, Box 24. For Bilson see Bilson, Plenty, 88, 94, 99.

2 Leo Schofield and Michael Dowe, eds., *SMHGF 6th ed.* (Melbourne: Anne O'Donovan, 1989), 26.

3 Wendy Elgood to Gay Bilson, 19 December 1990, Papers of Gay Bilson, Box 5.

4 David H. Dewar to Gay Bilson, 15 October 1989, Papers of Gay Bilson, Box 4. Bilson describes the dining room as 'a verandah for eating in, where to feast on the view was to feast at the table', Plenty, 45.

5 Stephanie Alexander to Dr. A. McLaughlan, 10 June 1986, Records of Stephanie Alexander, Box 24. See also Bilson, Plenty, 94.

6 Dr. A. McLaughlan to Stephanie Alexander, 19 May 1986, Records of Stephanie Alexander, Box 24.

7 Mrs A. Morphet to Stephanie Alexander, 29 October 1984, Records of Stephanie Alexander, Box 24.

8 Wendy Lees to Gay Bilson, 22 November 1989, Papers of Gay Bilson, Box 4.

9 Michael Rowan to Stephanie Alexander, n.d., Stephanie Alexander to Michael Rowan 16 August 1986, Records of Stephanie Alexander, Box 24.

10 For example, "We consider that we did not receive value for money in any shape or form, and for a restaurant with BWI's reputation it is quite ludicrous", Judy Brinkman to Gay Bilson, 6 March 1990, Papers of Gay Bilson, Box 5; "While the food was acceptable, my disappointment lies in the fact that it was not special and a restaurant with the reputation and prices as yours, should be the best!" Anne Tidd to Stephanie Alexander, 22 April 1994, Records of Stephanie Alexander, Box 24.

of those who had written to complain were at the restaurant for the wrong reasons. In general the complainants were not dining expressly to eat the food, nor had they necessarily chosen the restaurant because it served food they liked. In many cases they were eating out to celebrate an occasion, such as a birthday or an anniversary or to entertain overseas visitors rather than simply to engage in the dining experience. They are expecting that in some way the restaurant would make them feel important and somehow make the occasion even more special.

Instead they find themselves in an environment where they feel uncomfortable and where they sense they do not belong. As Gay Bilson puts it, for the experience of the restaurant to be successful the diner needs to bring with them a trust in the motive of hospitality, and a sense that they want to be there.¹ It seems to me that in some of these situations trust in the restaurateur was compromised because the diner was playing a dual role as the recipient of hospitality while at the same time they were host at their own table, that is in a situation where they felt that the tastes and choices of the restaurateur were a direct reflection on their own tastes and their own hospitality.² It is in part then because they are not dining in good faith that they could not appreciate the effort that had gone in to the preparation of the rabbit and the tripe and felt slighted by the informality of the service. In the end they were blind to the worth of their experience and could only evaluate it in terms of what it had cost them.³

Most of the letter writers were dining at these restaurants because they had heard or read so much about them that they felt they had to try the experience for themselves. There is a sense that they did not necessarily *want* to have the experience as much as they thought they *deserved* to have the experience.⁴ When the restaurant critic writes of Berowra Waters Inn: “few intelligent and sensitive customers could have any complaint” he may well wish to imply that the restaurant will not suit everyone but any such implication is of course lost on his readers who surely see themselves as both intelligent and sensitive.⁵

Like Bourdieu we might say these diners are motivated by the desire to accrue cultural capital. Robert Appelbaum calls them “creatures of majestic consumerism”, driven by some or all of the imperatives of “hunger, taste, wealth, class, narcissistic self-regard and the glamorization of consumption by the media”.⁶ Much of their dissatisfaction then is a product of the clash between the ideal of genuine hospitality and the reality of modern consumerism. The media, and critics and restaurant guides in particular, play a significant role in promoting the restaurant goer as a consumer rather than as a recipient of hospitality and encouraging them in what Appelbaum describes as the need to need something that they do not need.⁷

By writing in the first person and writing about their own personal likes and dislikes, and about their own individual and particular experiences, critics contribute to the assumption that the customer is always right.⁸ Complainants write with strident confidence, satisfied that *their* experiences make them qualified judges. Terry Linson thought his complaints entirely justified since he and his partner “eat out regularly and feel we have a good basis for comparison”.⁹ To quote Robert Appelbaum again: “A key feature of the ideology of the consumer society is that though gross consumption is gross, informed consumption is altruism”.¹⁰

By invoking the notion of value for money, critics suggest that there is some sort of tangible cost/benefit relationship inherent in eating out, implying that we can make a value judgment about fine dining in much the same way as we might justify the purchase of an expensive pair of shoes. One diner stated bluntly that, “for eighty five dollars I expected to leave the restaurant feeling full”.¹¹

By ranking restaurants guides promote the idea that there is such a thing as a “best” restaurant and twist the ideals of the restaurateur into criteria for a restaurant competition. The designation of

1 Bilson, Plenty, 36.

2 See for example Alexander, *Seasons*, 212.

3 Bilson, Plenty, 209.

4 Robert Appelbaum, *Dishing it Out*. In search of the restaurant experience (London: Reaktion, 2011), 117, 119.

5 Leo Schofield, “Dinner by a living national treasure”, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 7 August 1984.

6 Appelbaum, *Dishing it Out*, 14.

7 *Ibid.*, 19.

8 *Ibid.*, 155.

9 Terry Linson and Rickie Lou Bridgett to Gay Bilson, 14 January 1990, Papers of Gay Bilson, Box 5.

10 Appelbaum, *Dishing it Out*, 155.

11 Bradley Nathan to Gay Bilson, 2 June 1992, Papers of Gay Bilson, Box 5.

“best” is a product of the system of restaurant criticism that awards it.¹ Rating restaurants implies, and encourages diners to believe, that all restaurant experiences are comparable. Rankings also assume that all the stakeholders in the system understand, and place the same value on, the criteria on which the evaluation is based. Relying on scores given by critics, diners abnegate their responsibility to make their own decisions about what might be best for them. Consequently, and particularly in the case of those establishments given the highest rankings, rather than approaching their dining experiences in a spirit of adventure and enquiry diners enter the restaurant fully confirmed in their expectations of excellence and perfection. The restaurant is judged not according to whether it achieves what it sets out to do but on whether it complies with the critic’s evaluation.

Of course it has to be acknowledged that restaurants benefit from the free advertising provided by newspaper columns and restaurant guides. It is also true that the restaurant itself is a product of the modern consumer society and that restaurateurs and cooks must grapple with the conundrum posed by offering hospitality as a viable commercial venture. What concerns me here is that no matter how well intentioned restaurant critics may be they become “representatives working on behalf of consumers and consumerism”,² promoters of individualistic indulgence, or majestic consumption, rather than spokesmen and women for refined hospitality, for the craft of cookery and for the restaurant as a site of conviviality and *restauration*.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Alison Vincent has qualifications in science (BSc (Hons), Food Technology, UNSW) and history (BA, MLitt, UNE) and is currently undertaking a PhD at Central Queensland University. Alison’s research explores the writing of restaurant critics in Sydney and Melbourne in the 1970s and 1980s and the role of restaurant criticism in establishing standards of good taste.

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1 Appelbaum, *Dishing it Out*, 25.
2 *Ibid.*, 129.

Adele Wessell (& Mike Evans)

Re-regionalising the Food System: The place of chefs in education

The increasing interest in local food production and consumption in light of the costs associated with conventional agro-industrial food systems embraces regional foods and the emergence of regional food networks. This paper examines changes in the education of chefs and consumers in the development of sustainable regional food strategies in Canada and Australia. North Coast TAFE, which has an operational food garden and raises its own beef cattle to supply a restaurant open to the public supports local food production and educates consumers as well as chefs. The Farm at Byron Bay similarly works on a farm to table model, to grow, feed and educate. Both contribute to a local territorial identity, but far from being bound within that, share a relational space in the context of a much larger movement of chefs localising their food chains, evidenced through similar educational models in Canada. Drawing on Morgan and Sonnino's analyses of 'cosmopolitan localism' (2010), this paper discusses what a re-regionalised food system could potentially look like as a utopian ideal in which chefs play a significant role.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Adele Wessell is a historian at Southern Cross University and with Mike Evans is editor of *Locale: Pacific Journal of Regional Food Studies* and convenor of the Regional Food Network. Mike Evans is Professor of Community, Culture and Global Studies at University of British Columbia Okanagan and Director of the Institute for Community Engaged Research.

Ann White

Tasting Celebrity/Tasting Utopia: Celebrated Actor Folks' Cookeries (1916)

"Actor-folk are delighted to have you know what they like to eat and how they cook it."

Mabel Rowland, Foreword to Celebrated Actor Folks' Cookeries

Since the early-twentieth century, the celebrity cookbook genre has traded on the affective connection to celebrity through the conflation of palate with person. This essay examines the promised intimacy with and likeness to the stars proffered by one of the earliest theatrical celebrity cookbooks: *Celebrated Actor Folks' Cookeries: A Collection of the Favorite Foods of Famous Players* (1916). Situated at the intersection of food and theatre history, my paper features a dramaturgical analysis of this cookbook to argue that its formal properties script culinary performance and reading praxes that encourage the home cook/fan to take flights of aspirational and associational fantasy into the utopic world of theatrical stardom.

Celebrated Actor Folks' Cookeries is particularly well suited to an investigation of the relationship of utopian imaginings to gustatory taste because it is not tied directly to a single historical figure or event but to the elite cadre of celebrity. Its 257 recipes include photographs, anecdotes, and facsimile autographs from famed international tragedians, vaudevillians, actors, dancers, and singers from popular touring circuits, Broadway, and silent film. In turn, its pages also exceed the typical reading practices scripted by cookbooks. Cookbook owners don't invariably read their cookbooks in order to cook, but may read them in the same way and for the same reasons that people read novels: for the pleasure of imaginative experience with other worlds.¹ The formal properties of *Celebrated Actor Folks' Cookeries* go even further to carefully shape reader experience by theatricalizing recipes: setting the scenes of (imagined) encounter through visual, narrative, and haptic traces of the celebrated performers.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Dr. Ann Folino White is Associate Professor of Theatre Studies and Associate Chairperson, Department of Theatre at Michigan State University. She holds a Ph.D. in Interdisciplinary Theatre and Drama from Northwestern University. Dr. Folino White's scholarship on popular performance, protest, and food politics has appeared in *Text and Performance Quarterly*, *Performing Arts Resources*, *Women and Performance*, and *TDR: The Drama Review*. She is contributing co-editor of *Food & Theatre on the World Stage* (Routledge, 2015). Her book *Plowed Under: Food Policy Protests and Performance in New Deal America* (Indiana University Press, 2015) was awarded the 2015 Working Class Studies Association CLR James Book Award.

Penny Wilson

Chasing Utopia through the Post-Pasteurian Dream: responding to the desire for the real taste of milk

Canada, Scotland and Australia all ban the sale of raw milk. However, parts of the US, UK, Europe and Australia's closest neighbour, New Zealand have all worked out routines, practices and regulations that help support and manage raw milk sale and consumption. The desire to access raw milk is increasing in many countries around the world (see for example Mayer, 2015) including Australia. However, Australian legislators are taking tougher stands on raw milk sales, be it raw milk in the guise of bath milk, or production of raw milk through herd share arrangements.

Through my research, I wanted to understand why people drink raw milk despite the ban and the public health warnings. I wanted to know why the scientists and regulators appear to be determined to prohibit raw milk sale. I also wanted to hear the stories and the beliefs driving the scientists and regulators of dairy foods to provide me with some context and to explain why raw milk consumption is so contested and so topical in Australia today. By interviewing consumers who source raw milk, producers who enable the availability of raw milk and scientists and regulators involved in milk research, milk legislation, and cattle health, I aim to find a common ground that would enable discussion about the mechanisms that would need to be in place to enable a safer trade in raw milk, if not necessarily a legal trade in raw milk.

This paper draws upon the interviews conducted as part of my research into the fraught world of raw milk consumption as it is in Australia right now. My research explores raw milk through a science communication perspective. By listening to the stories, the wisdom, and the philosophies, I am looking for the common beliefs and philosophies of all those involved with raw milk. My aim is to enable conversation and generate forums to increase understanding between consumers, producers and scientists, leading to the possibility of building and developing guidelines on safety and care.

Although raw milk is a contentious commodity in all states of Australia, the interviews for this research were conducted solely in Victoria, New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory. Interviewing began at the start of October 2015 and continued through to the end of April 2016.

Setting the scene

In the state of Victoria, up until the start of 2015, it was easy to access raw milk in the form of bath milk, labelled and sold as a cosmetic product. The milk was available in health food shops and markets. The containers came with the warning, 'not for human consumption' printed on the label. However, it was generally assumed the milk was for drinking not for bathing.

Tragically, in 2014, several children in Victoria became ill and one child died. The media quickly directed the blame to a particular dairy producing raw milk. In 2016, the coroner acknowledged that she could not be certain that raw milk was the cause of the child's death but found that 'on the balance of probabilities' (Jamieson, 2016, p. 26) the child contracted HUS as a result of drinking raw milk that contained a particular strain of E.coli. She also states that the dairy supplying the milk had labelled the bath milk fittingly and is not responsible for the death. In order to reduce the risk of a similar harm occurring in the future, the regulators in the state added an extra line to the legal requirements governing dairy farming which effectively stops the production of bath milk in that format. Bath milk itself was not actually banned. Any milk product not produced for human consumption was required to contain a bittering agent to prevent accidental consumption. From February 2015, raw milk for direct human consumption in all guises was banned from sale in Victoria. But the laws governing each state are different and are differently worded. Raw goats' milk is legal trade in NSW, raw milk is still illegal to trade but there is an exception in the NSW law allowing sale of raw goats' milk, but produced in adherence to accompanying strict regulations. Bath milk continues to be sold in Queensland and distributed throughout NSW.

To develop a picture of how raw milk is viewed, from a benign necessity, to a dangerous commodity, I interviewed candidates from three groups of people whose focus on raw milk dips in and out of

alignment. I interviewed 15 consumers of raw milk. These are people who have to find a way of purchasing raw milk, from a house cow owner, from the local commercial dairy or as bath milk from the health food store. 13 producers of raw milk who include owners of a single house cow, owners of a few cows, managers of herd share arrangements, and farmers of 100 to 500 cows. I also interviewed 10 scientists and/or regulators. The scientists interviewed were contributing to the decision-making process in some way. The regulators were often but not always scientists. Although my research focused on Victoria and New South Wales, incorporating the ACT, I took the opportunity to interview a public figure from Tasmania, a house cow owner, engaged in a book tour of NSW at the time that I was conducting my interviews.

The consumers and producers taken together form a bigger group in my sample, they are all drinkers of raw milk. I am certain that had I interviewed more farmers, I would have come across those who do not drink milk straight from their own animals. But this sample of producers is comprised of all milk drinkers, or, as is the case of one particular cheese-maker, raw milk users. The producers and consumers group is comfortable drinking raw milk with some provisos. There is a distinctly different awareness within the producer group of the ‘fragility’ of raw milk that garners in them a greater respect for the ways in which milk should be handled, transported, and stored. A couple of the producers stated their reluctance to drink raw milk from anybody else’s cows, being wary of processes and procedures that might not comply with their own routines and acceptance of risk. And just to be clear, drinking raw milk from your own cow is perfectly legal. The illegality starts when there is a trade.

For the consumers, the ideal, or Utopia perhaps, encompasses free and ready access to raw milk. But my question at the start of this research was why do people want to drink raw milk? The scientists say that pasteurisation makes little difference to the taste, texture and the nutritional benefits, so why not, as a consumer, be happy with this safer, nutritious food? And after all, if those who choose to drink raw milk were happy with pasteurised milk, there would be no unhappy regulators, no agitated media and no research for me.

The names of all my interviewees have been changed to assure the best chance of confidentiality. In some cases, the individuals are not quoted directly but rather their statements have been synthesised to distil their message.

Sustainability and less harm to the environment

From the consumers and many of the producers I interviewed, there was an acknowledgement that as a society we have become removed from the source of our food. This notion is reflected by Belliveau (2005, pp. 46–47) who suggests three reasons for people to look to local food: concern about mass produced food harming health and the environment, concern for smaller communities impacted by big business and, a lack of faith in the business of industrialised food processes. Some consumers as well as some producers listed one or all these reasons for looking to local. The ideal for some, means closing the gap created by industrialisation, between the source of our food and the consumer, becoming more in touch with those that produce our food, knowing that the animals are being cared for and treated well, and being satisfied that our food is good for us.

I want to know what I’m drinking, where it comes from, what it’s like, and what sort of life the animals are leading—it’s... It really matters. Lydia, consumer

For Gaye, (consumer), becoming familiar with the product, the cows and the people who are doing the milking was an important factor in sourcing raw milk. The care and welfare of the animals was also important for Sophia (consumer). She also mentions that for her, it is important that the cow lives close by allowing Sophia to see that the cow feeds on lush pasture, is looked after by someone she knows and is milked regularly every morning.

... those of us that are passionate about where our food comes from, what’s in it and the food miles, [we know that] the global and national commercial food distribution system is broken. It’s not delivering what food should deliver to the body. Mia, house cow owner

This need to know the source of our food is aligned with a desire to support a sustainable food source.

For some, it reflects more than an environmental awareness but rather demonstrates that a number of raw milk drinkers are taking an active stand in support of fresh food, sustainability and good health. Drinkers were searching for a product that travelled fewer miles, that had no packaging or, at least, was not packaged in plastic, but was available in reusable glass, and that passed through fewer people's hands before it was drunk.

Gaye (consumer) believed that we reduce harm to ourselves if we are closer to the means of production of food while Gabriele (consumer) thought that drinking raw milk '... it's just like a small, little bastion of defiance in this world of mass food adulteration'.

So I think it is healthier to eat things that are outside that [industrialised] system. ... It shortens that link between you and food. So it greatly reduces ... the number of potential problems that can come into your food. The fewer people who touch it before you get it, probably the better. Joseph, house cow owner

The desire to move towards a more sustainable system of food production was also linked to the need to by-pass the power of the Australian supermarket chain duopoly (see for example: Richards, Lawrence, Loong, & Burch, 2012) and the large multi-national dairy companies (see for example: Australian Dairy Industry, 2014, p. 16). As Mira said, 'I'm very much against the oligopoly'.

Hamish was an advocate for smaller farms with better links to the community, reducing middlemen, providing a more sustainable income to the farming community and the dairy community specifically. Working a bigger property, Jason was nonetheless vehement that he did not need to be contributing to the large multinational factories but saw his relative small production size as a factor that would keep him working smarter while providing jobs for people within his region.

Less processed food and fresher milk

For many, the desire to eat healthier food that was less processed and more natural was important. Zoë, (consumer) wants food that has been through the least amount of processing. A producer/cheesemaker spoke about the passion of the community:

... people from around here really love the thought of having food that isn't processed. And whether it's a health benefit, whether they've suffered from some sort of health scare like cancer, they feel that that's the benefit for them, ... they will get [raw] milk no matter what the cost or whether it's illegal Lily, producer

Today's milk is not simply a pasteurised version of raw milk. Because our supermarket milk is a standardised product and full cream milk must be 3.2% fat and 3.0% protein (Food Standards Australia New Zealand, 2013), the raw milk is processed to separate out the fats and the sugars and the proteins:

... by the time the milk gets to the supermarket, it's been stored on the farm for two days, it's probably in the factory for two days and in a warehouse for another day. So that's five days and it goes on the shelf. And it's been pumped, stored, pumped, bottled, moved Matthew, producer

It is processed to ensure consistency throughout the year, the differences between batches is diminished, and to keep the fat at 3.8% or 2% or whatever that particular product is advertising.

... I mean four percent fat has to be four percent fat year in, year out. Milk doesn't have four percent fat year in, year out so they pull it apart and put it back together ... that's just the function of the industrialisation of milk production. Silvio, scientist

For most of our supermarket milk, the cream's fats are squeezed through ultra-fine sieves to break up the long chain molecules into shorter chunks to enable them to remain suspended in the milk, rather than floating in a raft on top. This creates a homogenised product, with a solid white colour and longer shelf-life.

Hamish, a house cow owner, was passionate in his views on pasteurised milk, '... I certainly think the stuff you buy at the supermarket, which has been bashed to death and had all the good bits taken out of it, is not good for us'. I also spoke to some smaller, artisanal cheesemakers in the interview process. They were not making cheese from raw milk, but were pasteurising their milk prior to cheese making. Nonetheless, they valued raw milk, fresh, whole milk as, according to them, it makes the best cheese

with the best yield.

A move to a Post Pasteurian reality

From the drinkers, there was an overall concern about the harm that heating milk does to the goodness of milk, killing enzymes and destroying proteins. Raw milk, according to the drinkers, is full of nutrients, good bacteria and enzymes. Heather Paxson writes about the desire of some to live beyond the hyper hygienic Pasteurian world of today and to embrace a more natural food complete with its resident bacteria:

... post-Pasteurians want to invest in the potentialities of collaborative human and microbial cultural practices (Paxson, 2008, p. 17)

Although Paxson's focus is on raw milk cheeses, and those who seek out delicious cheeses made with the bacteria, the moulds and yeasts active in raw milk, the same desire for the swag of life forms available in raw milk drives the desire in consumers and producers to source raw milk to drink. This may be viewed as a personal philosophy by some of the interviewees, seeking a source of healthier foods, discovering a salve for the gut, creating whey from raw milk to help bolster the microbiology in the stomach and the gut, or, as was the case of a few, simply sourcing a food with its resident microbes and probiotics intact that would give their children a head start in life.

In this discussion on the gut came some interesting comments from scientists who talked about the growing interest in the microbiota of the body and the relationship between gut and brain. Although few of the scientist interviewees would consider permitting the legal sale of raw milk, one said that there was potential for raw milk microbial populations to provide immunity from autoimmune disorders such as eczema, asthma, and enabling the gut to be populated with a greater diversity of microbes.

Through sickness into health

From producers came stories about eczema. One farmer spoke of a young 7-year-old boy, brought to the dairy by his father. His body was covered in eczema, weeping sores on his elbows and knees. The boy was on every medication available and his father wanted to try giving the child raw milk to drink as a last resort. Three weeks later, the father brought the child back and, according to the farmer, the boy's eczema had cleared up and he was taking fewer drugs. Another farmer told a very similar story and said that a parent had come to the farm, looking for an alternative treatment to cortisone for her child. The mother wanted to try feeding the child raw milk, a solution that appeared to help the condition. From a producer living within a small community:

... we've had children with eczema whose eczema cleared up when they got onto raw milk and whose eczema started coming back again when they had to stop taking raw milk Blake, producer

Yet another farmer had been astonished to discover that a woman was buying his raw milk to bathe in, to help her skin.

In Europe, there have been 15 years of epidemiological studies examining the effect of farm environments (the PARSIFAL study) and raw milk consumption at an early age (the GABRIELA study). The results reveal that there is a link between those who drink raw milk from a young age and subsequently being less likely to develop asthma, hayfever or atopic diseases (Loss et al., 2011, 2015). These studies don't necessarily condone raw milk drinking but they are aimed at finding ways to help manage or to help prevent asthma. But the scientists I interviewed were sceptical about epidemiological studies saying they were subject to bias. Two farmers talked about their own raw milk and whey stories. One was using milk to lubricate the cow's teats to prevent sores and to lubricate his hands when milking by hand. Another told of using whey as a treatment on her skin over a period of several years. Her skin was soft, withstanding the frequent washing required when milking the several cows producing raw milk for drinking.

From external to internal

Of the consumers I interviewed, just less than half have never been able to drink pasteurised milk. They

talked of being intolerant to milk, some stating that they had been diagnosed with lactose intolerance. They reported that when they smell pasteurised milk they gag, or they feel ill. When they drink pasteurised milk, they suffer from stomach upsets, diarrhoea, bloating and cramps and pains. Some get sinusy and mucosy. For most, the solution lay in sourcing a supply of raw milk, milk that they appeared to not only tolerate, but to enjoy. A few of the interviewees discovered raw milk when they were young:

When I was a kid, my uncle and aunt owned a house cow and I used to drink raw milk at their property ... but when we came back to [the city], I would gag at the milk in the shops and I refused to drink it
Sophia, consumer

One woman reported that where she grew up, the tradition was for the raw milk to be boiled at home before drinking:

And, as a child, I developed ... some allergy. ... milk would make me blaaah, and I retch immediately.

So I would go after to my Grandma and she would give it to me straight from the cow. She milks it then she go, come, come, come quick! Before Mum sees it. Because at that time we still had... brucellosis
Amanda, consumer

Others have come to raw milk much later in life, by luck and happenstance and the proximity of a supplier. Gaye came across raw milk relatively recently, accessing milk from a friend with a house cow:

I've got a milk intolerance and so does my daughter ... which means that even if I only have a spot of milk in my tea or coffee I get a bit queasy ... I found with the raw milk but I can just drink a whole cup and not feel even a bit ... it's delicious Gaye, consumer

The published science says there is little evidence to support the notion that some people can be intolerant to pasteurised milk and yet can enjoy raw milk (Høst & Samuelsson, 1988). Yet the lived experience of those interviewed provide an alternate view, an experience where pasteurised is not the better option.

Raw milk is part of my culture, my history and my experience

For some people, raw milk is something they grew up with or became used to while living in another country. Raw milk was available because that was how milk was sold; in plastic bags at the supermarket (Mira) or from vendors on the outskirts of town (Amanda). Interviewees said they drank raw milk, growing up in Finland, while on exchange in France, or whilst working in Switzerland:

... we lived in Zurich and you could take a tram ... [and] there's this raw milk vending machine where you put the bottle in and ... the taste in summer was far superior to any of the other milk. Lucas, consumer

Or before moving to Australia:

... in Croatia, when I was little I drank raw milk when I was with my grandparents Mira, consumer

People talked about the specialty products that were part of the culture growing up with raw milk: *piimä* in Finland and a sour milk, *kiselo mlijeko* in Croatia, both of which use cultures to start the ferment. Others had a connection with a farm in their past which enabled them to drink raw milk as a normal part of the day, particularly for breakfast; Joseph grew up on a farm, Sophia's uncle owned a cow, Zoë spent her holidays on a farm. Joseph was responsible for locking up the calf at night, a job in which he took great pride, as failure to secure the calf meant no milk for the family the following day. For those people on dairy farms, there was a sense of tradition and of birthright. For farmers milking around a hundred cows or more the story was, I've done this all my life, or I'm a third, fourth, fifth generation dairy farmer.

Indeed, some of the scientists also grew up drinking raw milk. All had stories about their raw milk experiences – granny taking the milk jug out to the cow, the milk was always in a big cold jug, or memories of mum drinking whatever milk was in the dairy at the time. Whatever the experience, it was normal.

Good milk, good food, good stuff

The description of the taste, the texture is compelling. Hamish talked about the Australian diet creating milk with little or no fat and lamented the loss. Talking about milk from his own cows, he said:

... just the silkiness of it ... It's quite different in texture. But, once you get used to having a fat content in your milk again, well I think it's delightful Hamish, house cow owner

Mia talked about raw milk saying:

... the taste is much nicer, much, much nicer. I drink pasteurised milk now and it's just, eww, and it tastes a little bit off whereas I drink raw milk now and it's like a thin, vanilla milkshake to me. It's beautiful, just beautiful. Mia, house cow owner

Luke thought that raw milk tasted different, fresher:

There's a marked difference in taste. ... We milk a cow partly because we want really good, fresh, real tasting milk and we see no reason to pasteurise. Luke, house cow owner

As Rose said about raw milk:

... yes it was just so nice really ... it's so nice to have that like the cream on the top Rose, consumer

One farmer said that the first time he took his kids away for a holiday they had to buy milk from the shop. The kids were disgusted with the thin, sweet stuff that is supposed to be milk.

These are the views of a better world that raw milk can contribute to, a Utopia with raw milk as the conduit to a better life, better health, a better world. A land where we know our farmers and know where our food comes from; a place where eczema and gut disorders are less common, where food travels fewer miles, where we manage our own cow, where we eat food that is less processed, has less packaging.

It all sounds good and fair, so why the disconnect? What is it that makes the science and regulatory community so passionate about prohibition? What is the view of Utopia from the scientist's perspective?

Scientists and regulators talk raw milk

As the scientist who is contributing to the policy decision-making process, or as the regulator working hand-in-hand with the Health Department, an important aim is to achieve safe and sufficient food for all. To achieve this, industrial food production processes are viewed as critical to achieving nutritious food for everyone in the community. With industrial food systems comes the need for consistency, the need to maintain a reliable product. As one scientist said, the industrial process does not allow variation or risk – the bigger the amounts produced the more important the consistency and the reliability of the product.

The view of Utopia for this group is a community protected from risks caused by food, protecting the vulnerable from harm. Children are identified as a particularly vulnerable group when it comes to food risks, with some responsibility directed at parents. I questioned scientists and regulators about raw milk specifically and some of the comments illustrate the concern this group have for consumers. Nicholas, a scientist, was worried about parents making decisions on behalf of the children, because if there is a pathogen present in the raw milk, it will be the child who suffers. When asked about legalising raw milk, Sam, a regulator, believes that if legalisation leads to increased consumption then we would probably start to see the occasional death in unborn or very young children. Regulators working in the food space help manage public health with regards to food, from growing, harvesting, packaging, transporting, retailing. They monitor potential sites of contamination and possible harm, alerting retailers and the public in the event of a food recall. This following quote was posted on the Dairy Food Safe Victoria webpage at the time of writing. It is a quite measured and a reasonable explanation for the decisions surrounding raw milk taken by the state of Victoria:

The debate among food regulators is whether they are prepared to risk public health by allowing the sale

of a food which may be unsafe. Generally safety is given priority over freedom of choice. (Dairy Food Safety Victoria, n.d.)

What was certain from my interviews was that the scientists and regulators were all genuinely anxious about today's risks and dangers and the antibiotic-resistant bugs, and the pathogens that are new, more dangerous and still emerging. The risk to children's health comes up repeatedly, as does concern for the elderly:

... it can be more harmful to [children or elderly] and can cause death Arabella, scientist

There was concern over the severity of a particular pathogen that can appear in raw milk:

It can kill children. So they're the most vulnerable, are very young children. ... This is why you wouldn't necessarily permit it, because ... it just has to be there, in low numbers. And via a vulnerable person to result in haemolytic-uremic syndrome and so forth. Camilla, regulator

Prohibition versus legalisation

The scientists working in research areas were the vehement about maintaining the prohibition order for the sale of raw milk. However, some interviewees were even more concerned by the probability of forcing a raw milk black-market or underground trade, promoting careless processes and poor handling practices:

But I suppose it's like anything; you make it illegal, people will find ways around it. Silvio, scientist

So they're going to be buying off someone who's not as across everything ... they're desperate to buy the raw milk. ... They're just going to buy it from a dodgier source. Luke, house cow owner

With prohibition comes the inability to talk about risk factors, to discuss reasons for the vulnerability of the very young or to discuss reasonable hygiene measures that might mitigate risk factors. The logical conclusion to this behaviour is increased risk to all and the inability to trace the sources of outbreaks of disease:

... we know prohibition doesn't work in the US example with alcohol and that probably the UK approach [would be preferential] Nathan, regulator

Legalised raw goats' milk has no associated cases of illness or death in NSW, leading to suggest that a small legal raw milk industry has the capacity to provide a product with lower risk factor than a totally unregulated black-market trade:

To me banning [raw] milk is a nonsense. What I think they've got to do is what the Kiwis have done and legalise it. This is a slightly emotive comparison but it's like having a backyard abortionist and an abortion in a hospital. They are making backyard producers underground, sneaking around in the regulatory twilight instead of having this out in the open and doing it properly. Jenny, producer

Towards a common ground

The consumers have complex and deeply embedded reasons for seeking out raw milk that go beyond simply the desire for a nice tasting cup of tea. Producer interviewees and some regulator interviewees, support the belief that prohibition just does not work. To manage risk there needs to be a better communication plan to make everyone acknowledge the knowledge gaps and understanding that exist in all camps.

I asked all interviewees what they would want to see happen if Australia were to accept a legalised raw milk market. There was a commonality of ideas and views. This was the place where people started to agree.

Some of the ideas and thoughts that came through from all the interviewees included:

Clear regulations

I mean sure, things could go wrong but why don't we have some regulations? Agneta, consumer

It should be allowed and it needs to be regulated. Mira, consumer

I think it should be regulated because as I say, if you ran a big commercialised dairy and sold that as raw milk, yes, that would be dangerous Sophia, consumer

I think with regulation to ensure that it's safe without going so overboard that it makes it an unrealistic business venture for people. Because if you do that, it's still going to go underground. Mia, house cow owner

Strict standards are fine ... because that's everything and you need to know that there's not just some little hillbilly who's not looking after the milk, not keeping it chilled, all those sorts of things. Alexa, consumer

Better managed cold chain (handling, transport, retailing)

Cold chain is important and that is where these milk vending machines [help] Nathan, regulator

Definitely cold chain ... Silvio, scientist

I think storage time, temperature exposure, hygiene would all need to be monitored more tightly and transport... I think that's a key factor, the time it takes, the distance travelled. Arabella, scientist

Sales enabled close to the farm gate, distribution of milk vending machines

But if you go to the dairy ... with your clean vessel and put it in your fridge, then that should be fine. Lily, producer

I believe it should only be direct distribution or farmer's markets. So where you can guarantee and prove the supply chain Jason, producer

... we had a holiday in New Zealand. And visited four or five of the vending machines that farmers are allowed to have at their farm gate. So inspiring and so sensible ... Hamish, producer

So I think that for the sake of a more healthy population we need to get back to smaller farming and food production enterprises and that needs to be local. The biggest risk that I see with raw milk is the transportation of it. Mia, house cow owner

Effective hygiene in and around the dairy and the cow sheds

The whole cleanness conditions at the time needs to be really at very high level. It's much more demanding to produce [raw milk] and it's much harder than to produce something that's going to be pasteurised anyway. Mira, consumer

Hell of a lot safer in Germany where it's regulated ... they need to meet certain cleanliness standards ... which is what you want. Lucas, consumer

I think it's all about hygiene. ... If you've got good milking sheds, farmers are prepared to take that extra step and keep the environment clean, I think we can get around the issues... Silvio, scientist

Healthy cattle carrying a health passport just like those applied to raw milk cows in France

So they'd done a lot about looking at Europe and saying each cow ... is supposed to have a passport. ... it's not just like a herd of cows and some milk, it's like this animal and it's tested and is healthy. And if it carries listeria, it's dead. Luke, house cow owner

In France you have registered farms that every animal [has a] history... You know, veterinary checked routinely. ... If the animal ever gets mastitis, it's not allow to ever produce milk for raw milk cheese. Silvio, scientist

They [in France] test the milk for listeria and if they get a positive for listeria they go straight back to that farm and they check every sheep and if a sheep gets a positive for listeria, that sheep's passport is cancelled and it is a dead sheep Nathan, regulator

Smaller farms only licensed for raw milk production

You know, you can't do a big-scale raw milk production because it's not that kind of product. It needs to be small-scale. Mira, consumer

... regulated from licensed dairies Blake, producer

It may be things like it's only to be sold within a certain radius. Gabriele, consumer

Regular external audits, good record-keeping, clear purpose-written standards similar to those used in the UK and NZ

... you'd look at what they've done in the UK and probably do something like that. ... if a farm is going to go back to supplying raw milk we'd probably have our staff there ... six monthly until that farm had earned an A rating and we had the confidence to leave them alone for twelve months at a time. Sam, regulator

So putting protocols on farms and ... the UK system because there is much stronger oversight of those raw milk designated properties. Nathan, regulator

With some management systems around it, why not? Gabriele, consumer

The farmer's got to sell it to you [in New Zealand]. The farmer's got to keep records of who you are ... So it's the traceability element. ... Because it's a high risk product, we got to know who you are, how I can contact you, yes. Camilla, regulator

Education of the consumer

And education. Silvio, scientist

I had to really educate the people I was sharing milk with to say, no, no, no, I'm happy for you to bring a plastic container but it needs to be clean and it needs to be sterilised ... And I'd really prefer that you either use stainless steel or glass. Mia, house cow owner

Because you can't, on a large scale supply raw milk to a community that is not educated. Arabella, scientist

Talking and listening will not provide a quick fix and particularly not after the recent sad events in Victoria. But perhaps if we could listen to the reasons for choosing raw milk, the history, culture, philosophy and beliefs, and if we could share the passion and fear that raw milk drinking inspires, we could begin to discover a common theme for our discussions. People will continue to search out sources of raw milk and as the coroner reviewing the child's death in Victoria writes:

If members of our community choose to drink farm-gate unpasteurised milk, that is their choice. However, they should do it in the knowledge that it may contain harmful bacteria. (Jamieson, 2016, p. 26)

Or as one regulator put it:

... if you really want to have raw milk, you know... Become friends with a cow Camilla, regulator

An open conversation and more knowledge all around may contribute to a safer raw milk product and a Utopia for all.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Penny Wilson is a PhD student at the ANU researching the Australian story of raw milk. She is looking at raw milk from a science communication perspective with a focus on risk and the stories that contribute to the desire to drink raw milk. Her thesis is entitled “Not for Human Consumption”: the risky business of raw milk reflecting with the warning printed on bottles of bath milk, a not uncommon sight in Victorian markets and health food shops until the beginning of 2016. She has been interviewing consumers, producers and scientists/regulators in an attempt to piece together a more nuanced story

PAPER CO-WRITTEN WITH RICHARD MITCHELL, SEE ABOVE.

Adrian Woodhouse is the academic leader for the Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme at the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic, New Zealand. He is a double award winning national tertiary teaching award winner and current member of the Ako Aotearoa Executive committee. As a qualified chef and tertiary teacher, Adrian's research focuses on the critical examination of culinary arts culinary arts pedagogy. This work has seen him present at numerous conferences and symposiums both nationally and internationally on the power relationships in culinary education.

Adrian Woodhouse

Creating Utopian Culinary Identities

An examination of French colonial culinary structures and their impact on culinary cultural identity formation

ABSTRACT

Western culinary arts and its accompanying pedagogy have their roots deeply embedded in the European master craftsmen of the Middle Ages. With master-apprentice hierarchical structures and a firmly entrenched classical curriculum, culinary arts education provides the ideal environment for perpetuating the “truths” of culinary knowledge and dominant Francophile cultural culinary identities. Currently there is an emerging academic voice which calls for a transformation of hospitality and culinary education which prepares students beyond the narrow focus of the industry to one which prepares students be reflective practioners who are future focused global citizens.

This critical turn in culinary education raises pedagogical and philosophical issues as to *what* knowledge is valued in culinary education and *how* knowledge is constructed by the learner. This address explores the social, cultural and symbolic power relations that create inertia within the formal and informal culinary education systems.

At the Food Design Institute, Otago Polytechnic, New Zealand a new utopian culinary pedagogy is being delivered. A learning framework in which traditional power structures are over turned and alternative culinary identities are explored and celebrated, creating in turn, new ways of knowing and seeing the culinary worlds that we operate within.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Adrian Woodhouse is the academic leader for the Bachelor of Culinary Arts programme at the Food Design Institute at Otago Polytechnic, New Zealand. He is a double award winning national tertiary teaching award winner and current member of the Ako Aotearoa Executive committee. As a qualified chef and tertiary teacher, Adrian’s research focuses on the critical examination of culinary arts culinary arts pedagogy. This work has seen him present at numerous conferences and symposiums both nationally and internationally on the power relationships in culinary education.

Thei Zervaki

The poetry of food: A culinary utopia or a mundane cooking task?

Poetry and food or rather food in poetry is not something new. The poet as a gourmand exists in Homer's *Odyssey*, Virgil's *The Salad*, Lord Byron's *Don Juan*, Baudelaire's *The Soul of The Wine* and in the famous Pablo Neruda's *Odes*. Poems are also found in the *Culinary Arts Institute Encyclopedic Cookbook* with rhymes as mnemonics for the inexperienced housewife. In other words, food and poems have happily coexisted for a very long time.

Kevin Young in his *Hungry Ear* introduction says:

I have put together this anthology to honor food's unique yet multifaceted pleasures. Nothing is as necessary yet as taken for granted these days as food –except maybe poetry. Both are bread and honey, water and wine, mother's milk and manna; and if ignored or never used, both wither. Poetry keeps body and soul together and remarks upon what makes the human animal both one with and apart from the world.

Neruda, the Nobel awarded poet, describes better than anyone else the correlation between food and poetry: On our earth, before writing was invented, before the printing press was invented, poetry flourished. That is why we know poetry is like bread; it should be shared by all, by scholars and by peasants, by all our vast, incredible, extraordinary family of humanity.

I discovered food poetry by accident in a local Seattle cookbook store while looking for other food related books. The poetic collection *Tasted* grabbed my interest. I bought the book and then new books came on my way. What fascinates me is the uncommon but perfect pairing of something so necessary and mundane like food. As a daily necessity it is something that is made and consumed fast and is temporary while poetry is the most distinguished form of writing, the language within the language. But if food sustains the body and poetry the soul, food poetry manages to do both in an entertaining, fun and tasty way. While reading a food poem, you get inspired to create a new recipe, try a new dish or experiment with harvesting and planting.

The purpose of this paper is to answer the following question: ***The Poetry of Food: A culinary utopia or a mundane cooking task?***

What is Utopia? According to Webster's, Utopia is an imaginary and indefinitely remote place; a place of ideal perfection especially in laws, government, and social conditions

Socrates in Plato's *Republic* musing over Utopia, he outlined the perfect food habits. People should eat *sitos* (bread) and feast on *gruels* but his friend *Glaukon* interrupted him saying that people should eat also *opsos* (fish, meat, oil etc). Socrates replied to *Glaukon* that his thinking that Utopia is a luxurious society was wrong. To him it was a place where everyone had enough to eat but that did not mean it was a place to celebrate and enjoy food, only that you would not starve or go hungry.

Modern society however has redefined the meaning of Utopia, we take it to be a place of perfection which in a food sense means a world of the best there is. The question that is then to be answered is the following: Can food poetry take us to that place? Can the food poet take us or show the way to Utopia?

Methodology

For the purpose of this paper, most of my research is focused on food poems written in English (USA, UK). However, it includes food poems found in poetic collections from other countries, written in a foreign language and being translated in English. My research brought some interesting findings. There are culinary poetry anthologies like the *Eat, Drink and Be Merry* and the *Hungry Ear*. I found cookbooks that are inspired by poets and their favorite recipes like *The Poet's Cuisine of Chile*, a bilingual edition in English and Spanish. Other books have as their goal to pair food poetry and recipes like the recent *Cooking with the Muse*. But food poems can be found in each poet's book collection as most of the poets have written one time or another a poem or two talking about and describing

food. Finally, I identified food poetry books with culinary titles like the Tasted, a rather random word selection.

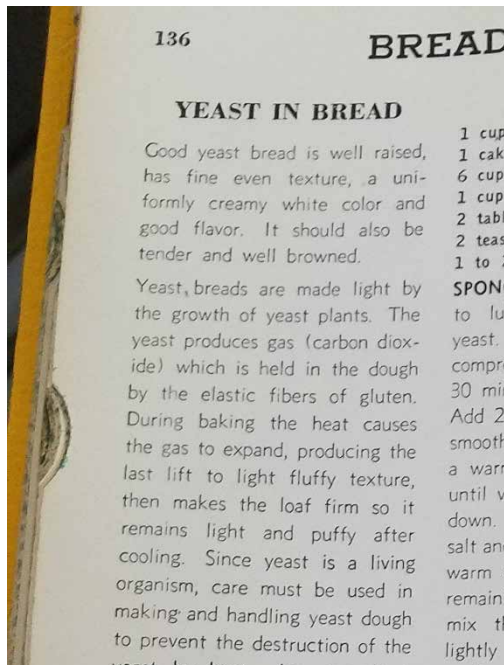
Consequently, collecting food poems from around the world is a daunting task but all the same fun and appetizing. At the time of this writing, I am not sure where this pleasant exploration will take me nor how many countries and poems will help me identify. I want to emphasize that this paper is a first step to tracking down and researching food poetry in a more focused and organized way than before but by no means is an extensive academic paper.

An interesting beginning

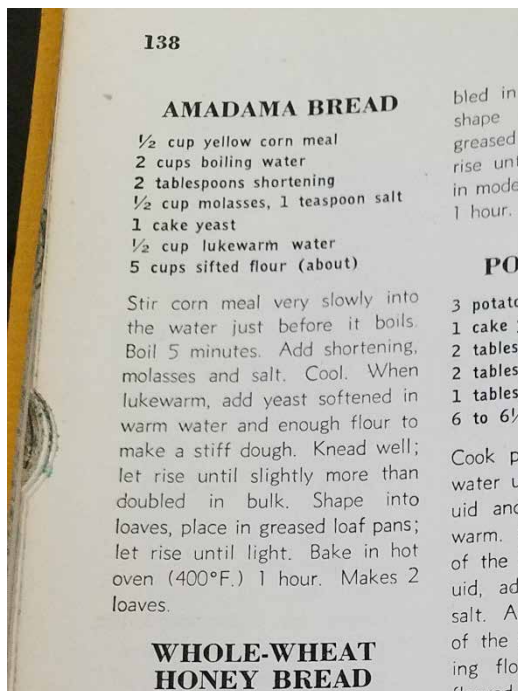
The Encyclopedic Cookbook features an impressive number of recipes (thousands), food facts, ideas, tips, pictures and cooking helpful advice in 966 pages plus a 58-page index. The book is unique from a food poetry point of view because it often uses rhymes as mnemonics for the inexperienced housewife; they accompany the recipe, placed next to the image of the finished dish.

Here are some examples with their corresponding images and recipes:

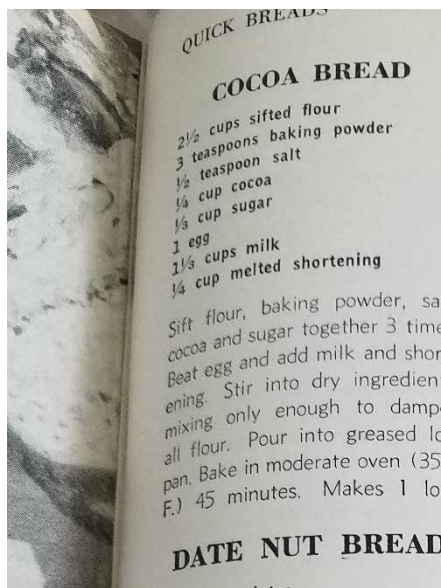
*This is a well-made bread
about which we've all read;
it's so easy to make so
come on, let's bake
p. 136*



*If the oven's too slow
the crust will be pale,
the texture'll be porous;
it's sure to fail
p. 138*



*Surprise the folks with date
nut bread and serve with
a variety of mild Cheese
spread
p. 143*



The Culinary Poet

The culinary poet seems to be inspired by every single aspect of gastronomy and therefore has different roles. One is when the poet is a recipe writer and creates poems that are indeed recipes. Other times he is a “foodie” with a deep knowledge of food ingredients and baking techniques. Then there is the poet as an activist, taking position about food in society or politics. In addition, there is the poet expressing gratitude for food on the table. Finally, the poet remembers scenes from the past days when food played an important role as a substance or as a childhood memory.

Let's look into these roles with some representing poems.

The Poet as a recipe writer

One of the most amazing representation of food poetry is when it features a recipe itself. I haven't located many poems describing an entire recipe; in fact, I found only a handful. The following comes from British Reverend Sydney Smith and is called Recipe for Salads written as a letter to his daughter in 1839. Although the funny rhyming recipe is easy to follow, it created some confusion regarding its measurements and was open to all sorts of interpretations about the size of potatoes, the number of onions etc. Eliza Leslie, the author of *The Lady's Receipt-book: A useful Companion for large or small families* said of the recipe: "If exactly followed, it will be found very fine on trial; no peculiar flavour predominating, but excellent as a whole." And continues:

"In preparing this, or any other salad-dressing, take care not to use that excessively pungent and deleterious combination of drugs which is now so frequently imposed upon the public, as the best white wine vinegar. In reality, it has no vinous material about it, and it may be known by its violent and disagreeable sharpness, which overpowers and destroys the taste (and also the substance) of whatever it is mixed with. And it is also very unwholesome. Its colour is always very pale, and it is nearly as clear as water. No one should buy or use it. The first quality of real cider vinegar is good for all purposes.

The above receipt may be tried for lobster-dressing."

Reverend Smith's recipe for salads

*To make this condiment your poet begs
The pounded yellow of two hard-boil'd eggs;
Two boiled potatoes, passed through kitchen sieve,
Smoothness and softness to the salad give.
Let onion atoms lurk within the bowl,
And, half-suspected, animate the whole.
Of mordant mustard add but a single spoon,
Distrust the condiment that bites too soon;
But deem it not, thou man of herbs, a fault
To add a double quantity of salt;
Four times the spoon with oil of Lucca crown,
And twice with vinegar procur'd from town;
Lastly o'er the flavour'd compound toss
A magic soupçon of anchovy sauce.
Oh, green and glorious! Oh, herbaceous treat!
'Twould tempt the dying anchorite to eat;
Back to the world he'd turn his fleeting soul,
And plunge his fingers in the salad-bowl!
Serenely full, the epicure would say,
Fate cannot harm me, I have dined today.*

The Poet as a "foodie"

Donald Hall is fierce as a poet of appetite with plenty of food poems written. In this poem, he proves that he is a cheese connoisseur by mastering cheese names and varieties while being almost a hedonist and using a playful and amusing language.

"O Cheese" by Donald Hall

*In the pantry the dear dense cheeses, Cheddars and harsh
Lancashires; Gorgonzola with its magnanimous manner;
the clipped speech of Roquefort; and a head of Stilton
that speaks in a sensuous riddling tongue like Druids.

O cheeses of gravity, cheeses of wistfulness, cheeses*

*that weep continually because they know they will die.
O cheeses of victory, cheeses wise in defeat, cheeses
fat as a cushion, lolling in bed until noon.*

*Liederkrantz ebullient, jumping like a small dog, noisy;
Pont l'Évêque intellectual, and quite well informed; Emmentaler
decent and loyal, a little deaf in the right ear;
and Brie the revealing experience, instantaneous and profound.*

*O cheeses that dance in the moonlight, cheeses
that mingle with sausages, cheeses of Stonehenge.
O cheeses that are shy, that linger in the doorway,
eyes looking down, cheeses spectacular as fireworks.*

*Reblochon openly sexual; Caerphilly like pine trees, small
at the timberline; Port du Salut in love; Caprice des Dieux
eloquent, tactful, like a thousand-year-old hostess;
and Dolcelatte, always generous to a fault.*

*O village of cheeses, I make you this poem of cheeses,
O family of cheeses, living together in pantries,
O cheeses that keep to your own nature, like a lucky couple,
this solitude, this energy, these bodies slowly dying.*

With a childish tone and a cute voice the poem conveys the simplest of the taste, that of chocolate milk. Repetition –chocolate milk is used three times - reiterates the nearly everyday habit of drinking a rather simple drink.

Chocolate milk by Ron Padgett

*Oh God! It's great!
to have someone fix you
chocolate milk
and to appreciate their doing it!
Even as they stir it
in the kitchen
your mouth is going crazy
for the chocolate milk!
The wonderful chocolate milk!*

The poet as an activist

The irony is obvious in this short poem where the poet criticizes abruptly mass consumption and corporate eating. The title is irrelevant; the disgusting description of the sandwiches takes four lines and the contrast between the first and last lines refers to an indifferent humanity than the sandwich itself.

Woe by Campbell McGrath

*Consider the human capacity for suffering,
Our insatiable appetite for woe.
I do not say this lightly
But the sandwiches at Subway
suck. Foaming lettuce,
mayo like rancid bear grease,
meat the color of a dead dog's tongue.
Yet they are consumed
by the millions
and by the tens of millions.
So much for the food. The rest*

I must pass over in silence.

The Poet expresses gratitude

In this Ode, Neruda makes references to the history of the element, the salt, but also illuminates its simplicity by using a unique language technique, the alliteration - is the repeated beginning sound in words. "It sings/salt sings, the skin/of the salt mines/sings" and "I shivered in those/solitudes." The repeated "s" sound highlights the same sound in the word "salt" creates musicality and an easy, simple tone.

Ode To Salt by Pablo Neruda

Translated by Philip Levine

*This salt
in the saltcellar
I once saw in the salt mines.
I know
you won't
believe me,
but
it sings,
salt sings, the skin
of the salt mines
sings
with a mouth smothered
by the earth.
I shivered in those solitudes
when I heard
the voice of
the salt
in the desert.
Near Antofagasta
the nitrous
pampa
resounds:
a broken
voice,
a mournful
song.
In its caves
the salt moans, mountain
of buried light,
translucent cathedral,
crystal of the sea, oblivion
of the waves.
And then on every table
in the world,
salt,
we see your piquant
powder
sprinkling
vital light
upon
our food. Preserver
of the ancient
holds of ships,*

discoverer
 on
 the high seas,
 earliest
 sailor
 of the unknown, shifting
 byways of the foam.
 Dust of the sea, in you
 the tongue receives a kiss
 from ocean night:
 taste imparts to every seasoned
 dish your ocean essence;
 the smallest,
 miniature
 wave from the saltcellar
 reveals to us
 more than domestic whiteness;
 in it, we taste infinitude.

The Poet remembers

Nguyen Phan Que Mai describes better than anyone else how and why she wrote the following poem:

The poem is about childhood memory, but also the sacrifice my mother made for us - her children. We were poor but she nurtured me with her love. I used rice as the image for this poem as rice is very important for Vietnamese. For example, when we ask someone “have you eaten”?, we say “an com chua”? This means “have you eaten rice”?

My mother’s rice by Nguyen Phan Que Mai

Translated by Bruce Weigl

Through the eyes of my childhood I watch my mother,
 who labored in the kitchen built from straw and mud.
 She lifted a pair of chopsticks and twirled sunlight into a pot of
 boiling rice,
 the perfume of a new harvest
 soaked her worn shirt as she bent and fed rice straws to the
 hungry flames.

I wanted to come and help, but the child in me
 pulled myself into a dark corner
 where I could watch my mother’s face
 teach beauty how to glow in hardship,
 and how to sing the rice to cook with her sunbaked hands
 That day in our kitchen,
 I saw how perfection was arranged
 by soot-blackened pans and pots,
 and by the bent back of my mother, so thin
 she would disappear if I wept, or cried out.

Conclusion

Academics have criticized culinary poetry as not intellectual enough or even uneducated. I disagree. To me, culinary poetry provides a unique way to introduce readers unrelated to poetry to this fascinating world. Furthermore, to explore complex relations between people, cooking, food and senses. The poet, as the observer, gets involved in the process or carries memories from the past. And if everybody likes to eat, many would also argue that food makes a simpler, easier to follow and a fun read.

Answering the question The Poetry of Food: A culinary utopia or a mundane cooking task?

It is not easy to answer a complex question within a short period of time and only after studying very few poems. Food poetry describes the daily and the necessary but also has wonderful adventures, fascinating findings and expresses gratitude for everything that it is here and now. It seems that most food poetry is not looking for an ultra utopia, but rather a grounding place where the kitchen table is celebrated every day in mundane but also unexpected ways.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Thei Zervaki is a food writer and regular contributor to Southern Hospitality Traveler Magazine, CNN Travel, Harbors Magazine, Consumer Search, Gluten Free & More, Golden Crescent, Kimkim.com, Urban Adventures and Roads & Kingdoms. She is a radio contributor for the Menu and one of the contributors of the *Savoring Gotham* book. Thei blogs at the Huffingtonpost.com and at Edibly.com and collects food poems. She has recently spoken about food, food trends and food poetry at the Gastronomy, Culture and the Arts: A Scholarly Exchange of Epic Portions in Toronto, Farm to Table Conference in New Orleans, Symposia of Greek Gastronomy in Crete, and at the American Translators Association Annual Conference in Chicago. Thei holds a BA in French and Masters in Linguistics and Translation Studies. She was a judge at the San Francisco Good Food Awards in 2013 and at the Seattle Chocolate Salon Awards in 2013 and 2014.

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