FOOD BETWEEN THE COUNTRY AND THE CITY

Ethnographies of a Changing Global Foodscape

Edited by
Nuno Domingos, José Manuel Sobral and Harry G. West

BLOOMSBURY

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BLOOMSBURY
LONDON • NEW DELHI • NEW YORK • SYDNEY

Bloomsbury Academic
An imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

50 Bedford Square
London
WC1B 3DP
UK

1385 Broadway
New York
NY 10018
USA

www.bloomsbury.com

Bloomsbury is a registered trade mark of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc

First published 2014

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN: HB: 978-0-85785-649-4
PB: 978-0-85785-538-1
ePDF: 978-0-85785-728-6
ePub: 978-0-85785-704-0

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

Typeset by Apex CoVantage, LLC
Printed and bound in India

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Introduction: Approaching Food and Foodways between the Country and the City through the Work of Raymond Williams

Nuno Domingos, José Manuel Sobral, and Harry G. West

"'Country' and 'city' are very powerful words, and this is not surprising when we remember how much they seem to stand for in the experience of human communities," Raymond Williams tells us in the opening lines of his classic work, *The Country and the City:*

> On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light. Powerful hostile associations have also developed: on the city as a place of noise, worldliness and ambition; on the country as a place of backwardness, ignorance, limitation. (Williams 1973: 1)

What Williams says of these two words in general is certainly true of their use in reference to food and foodways, both historically and in the present. The notion that the most refined foodways are to be found in the city, where wealth is concentrated and tastes are purportedly more sophisticated, is one with deep historical roots. Such was the idea, for example, in late-eighteenth-century France according to Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, who paraphrases urban ethnographer Louis-Sébastien Mercier's account that "'[a] hundred thousand men' scour the country to supply Parisian markets with the most succulent of fare, fish, and pheasant, even the exotic pineapple," before concluding that "this variety of foodstuffs signals the extraordinary abundance that made Paris a gourmand's paradise" (Ferguson 2004: 44). Depictions of the superiority of urban foodways have often entailed unfavorable comparison with rural foodways. Stephen Mennell reports such views, also from postrevolutionary France:

> The social role of the gastronome is essentially "urban" in character because it is at the opposite pole from the spirit of traditional rural self-sufficiency, eating the product of

> one's own land and taking it as it comes. More self-evidently, the gastronomic spirit is rare among those whose poverty allows them little choice. There must be food in abundance and variety, and of course variety and subtlety in cookery to permit gastronomes to select some things and reject others. (Mennell 1985: 273; see also Drouard 2007; Mintz 1996)

Condemnations of rural food and foodways have often been more scathing. Massimo Montanari reports that "in [Medieval European] literary representations, as well as in a certain type of scientific production [medical treatises], the peasant diet takes on coarse and wretched characteristics, on the edge of bestiality" (Montanari 2002: 111–12, our translation). A fourteenth-century song, described by Paul Freedman, mocks peasants involved in an insurrection in Flanders by disparaging their unrefined foodways: "Curdled milk, rye bread, porridge, and cheese are all they really need. Anything more refined would merely further dull their already insufficient wits" (Freedman 2008: 3–4).

But aspersions have long been cast on urban foodways as well. The eighteenth-century novelist Tobias Smollet described milk in London as "the produce of faded cabbage leaves and sour draff, lowered with hot water, frothed with bruised snails, carried through the streets in open pails, exposed to foul rinsings discharged from doors and windows, spittle, snot and tobacco quids from foot-passengers, overflowings from mud-carts... dirt and trash chucked into it by rogueish boys for the joke's sake... and finally, the vermin that drops from the rags of the nasty drab that vends this precious mixture, under the respectable denomination of maid-milk" (quoted in Steel 2013: 70). And accounts of the horrors of food and foodways in the city have often involved the celebration of the rural foods and foodways with which they have been compared. As Bee Wilson notes, Smollett "[compared] the foul and debased foods of London... to the bucolic simplicity of the country where the chickens are free, the game are fresh from the moors and the vegetables, herbs and salads are picked straight from the garden" (Wilson 2008: 5). Indeed, the notion that the countryside harbors the purest, most authentic foodstuffs also has deep roots. Igor De Garine asserts that "[p]raising Nature, natural people, natural food and advocating temperance occurred in all ancient civilizations," and he reminds us that Rousseau—writing just before the French Revolution—"contributed to rehabilitating the simple and wholesome foods obtained in the countryside" (De Garine 2001: 501; see also Drouard 2007: 268; Rauch 2008).

Much has changed in the country and in the city since these various passages were written. Whereas only 30 percent of the world population resided in cities as recently as 1950, in 2007, the global urban population eclipsed the rural, and forecasters predict that 60 percent of people worldwide will live in cites by 2030 (Department of Economic and Social Affairs—Population Division 2011: 4). At the same time, the global development of transportation infrastructure and media networks, as well as the neoliberal integration of the post-Cold War global economy, have not only

increased connectivity between urban and rural spaces, but also blurred the divide between them—with the countryside often becoming more developed and city-like, and the city sometimes becoming greener and more country-like—making it difficult even to define the country or the city today (Lehtola et al. 2009; Lynch 2004; Murdoch and Pratt 1993). These transformations have had significant effects on food and foodways around the world. The industrial intensification of farming has gone hand in hand with the modernization of diets, not only in the developed countries of the Global North, but also in the Global South—including, particularly, emergent economies such as China, India, and Brazil—as greater production is required to feed not only a growing human population, but also the growing numbers of livestock consumed in greater proportion in the global diet (Millstone and Lang 2003: 34–35). As growing towns and cities have displaced farmers from once-productive lands, intensive farming methods—exacerbated in many places by climate change—have also exhausted arable land, leading to the opening of new farmland in less-productive and/or more fragile ecosystems (Kimbrell 2002). The liberalization of global trade in agricultural commodities has rendered farmers, and the rural economies to which they are essential, increasingly vulnerable to forces beyond their horizons—forces generally perceived to be concentrated in capital cities and global financial centers such as New York, London, and Hong Kong (Madeley 2000; Rosset 2006). These factors, coupled with drought, the rising use of staple crops such as maize for the production of biofuels, and market speculation in food commodities (touched off by the global financial crisis beginning in 2007), have greatly increased food price volatility in recent years, sparking demonstrations and riots around the world, especially in cities where people lack direct access to the means to grow their own food (Clapp and Cohen 2009).

These developments have given rise to profound questions regarding food and foodways worldwide: How will an increasingly urban global population be fed, and what will people eat? Must the country feed the city, or might cities feed themselves? How will depopulating countrysides sustain themselves—by feeding cities or by other means—if at all? What will food cost in the future, and how will its cost be met? What will be the environmental implications of changing patterns of food production and consumption, and are these patterns sustainable? And what are the implications of urbanization, and the attendant transformations of the production and processing of foodstuffs, for the quality of food, including its safety for consumption, its nutritional value, and its organoleptic properties?

Notwithstanding such dramatic historical changes, the use of country and city as key tropes in the discussion of food-related issues persists, even if their respective constellations of meanings have partially shifted over time. For some, the countryside—including not only peasant farmers in the Global South, but also farmers using traditional methods (and their advocates) in the Global North—remains the locus of crude resistance to new technologies and to the rationalized use of ever-scarcer resources, as evidenced by enduring global poverty and recurrent famine (Schurman

and Munro 2010). Helena Norberg-Hodge and colleagues write: "The sense of despair in many rural communities is exacerbated by a barrage of media and advertising images emphasizing the glories of modern life and sending the message that rural ways have no place in a future that will be, above all else, thoroughly high-tech" (Norberg-Hodge et al. 2002: 82–83). Such images are often a preamble to calls for greater industrialization of agriculture and the food industries, as well as greater integration of the world's myriad countrysides into a global food system—mostly managed from urban centers—in order to feed a population projected to reach 9 billion by 2050 and to ensure accessibility everywhere to foods grown anywhere in the world (Paul and Steinbrecher 2003; Weis 2007). For others, cities—and more generally, urbanized, industrialized nations—are, in the wake of a "nutrition transition," the locus of unhealthy diets (including energy-rich, nutrient-poor processed foods), producing chronic diseases, whether among an overindulgent elite or among impoverished classes living in food deserts (Lang and Heasman 2004). What is more, such diets are symbolic of the consumption of the countryside and its resources by insatiable cities, jeopardizing the delicate ecological balance of the planet (Buckland 2004). Those painting such pictures often call for a delinking of the global food system and a reconfiguration of food sheds around countryside producers or urban gardeners, growing more traditional, more "authentic," and/or more sustainable foods (Cockrall-King 2012; Desmarais et al. 2011; Jarosz 2008; Kneafsey et al. 2008; Lyson 2004; Norberg-Hodge et al. 2002). David Bell and Gill Valentine observe: "The processes of urbanisation, which have impacted profoundly on culinary cultures, have created among many city populations a nostalgia for the countryside, and for the 'plain fare' associated with rural life," before noting, ironically, that "'country food' is provided for city folk, while those who produce it make do with urban-industrial staples" (Bell and Valentine 1997: 142–43). In any case, notwithstanding profound differences in these competing views, tropes identified by Williams—whether of urban enlightenment and rural ignorance or of rural idyll and urban malaise—are readily discerned in each of them.

Raymond Williams and the Critical Reading of Myths of the Country and the City

Raymond Williams, of course, warned his readers against taking such tropes at face value. The idea of metropolitan utopia may have emboldened rural reformers in the contexts that he studied, and the romanticizing of the rural may have served as a heuristic device in the critique of the city, but in Williams's view, such tropes were ultimately "myth[s] functioning as [memories]" (Williams 1973: 43).

Williams himself grew up betwixt and between the country and the city. He came of age in the Welsh village of Pandy just as the railroad linked this rural area to urban, industrial South Wales. Rural-urban connectivity defined his household: his father, the son of farmworkers, cultivated his own vegetable plot and kept bees but earned

his living as a railroad signalman. The dynamic interaction of country and city imprinted itself on Williams's psyche. He would later write: "The only landscape I ever see, in dreams, is the Black Mountain village in which I was born" (Williams 1973: 84).

In his published work, Williams explored and theorized this dynamic interaction. He wrote: "The division and opposition of city and country, industry and agriculture, in their modern forms, are the critical culmination of the division and specialization of labour which, though it did not begin with capitalism, was developed under it to an extraordinary and transforming degree" (Williams 1973: 304). By Williams's reading, the tropes of country and city endured on landscapes of profound social change associated with the development of capitalism and the attendant reorganization of relations between urban and rural spaces and social practices, including the large-scale displacement of rural people from their land and their migration into urban areas in search of work in growing industries, as well as the reorganization of social and economic hierarchies *within* urban and rural spaces and communities. Images of country and city therefore persisted, in his view, in the midst of dramatic transformations through which the country and the city actually coproduced and profoundly reshaped one another. Unsatisfied with the simple association of the country with the past and of the city with the future, which failed altogether to address a complex present that he and his natal community—at once rural and urban, at once traditional and modern—experienced with deep ambivalence (Williams 1988: 75), Williams sought to better understand the present in its own terms (Williams 1973: 297).

Even if the persistent tropes of country and city glossed more complex realities—in fact, precisely because they did so—Williams did not dismiss them but, instead, scrutinized them more closely. For him, understanding these tropes depended upon seeking to understand the sociohistorical contexts in which they were developed and deployed. At the same time, his critical analysis of these terms constituted an attempt to better understand the cultural, political, and economic processes in which their (re)production was embedded—processes that were not only reflected in them, but also partly (re)shaped by their usages.

If country and city could each carry a wide range of positive and negative connotations, the valence of particular usages depended, for Williams, upon the historical moments of their (re)production and the orientations of those who (re)produced them. Here, it is necessary to understand Williams's concept of "structures of feeling." Williams defined structures of feeling as "social experiences in solution," differentiating them from the more formal concepts of worldview and ideology. Through this concept, he sought to get at "meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt," or "thought as felt and feeling as thought" (Williams 1977: 133–34). He argued that the relationship between structures of feeling and social classes was complex and socially variable: "At times the emergence of a new structure of feeling is best related to the rise of a class…; at other times to contradiction, fracture, or mutation within a class…, when a formation appears to break away from its class

norms, though it retains its substantial affiliation, and the tension is at once lived and articulated in radically new semantic figures" (Williams 1977: 134–35). In any case, structures of feeling conveyed the conditions and experiences of particular groups of people in particular moments in time, and differing structures of feeling fostered differing usages of words such as country and city.

In Williams's view, the inflection of terms such as country and city inevitably involved processes of selection from among extant meanings—and often the (re)combination of elements of previous readings and/or the creation of new meanings. His discussion of the broader concept of tradition illuminates this dynamic: "From a whole possible area of past and present, in a particular culture, certain meanings and practices are selected for emphasis and certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded" (Williams 1977: 115).

What is more, for Williams, particular meanings and practices not only reflected the world they described, but also constituted an "actively shaping force" within it (Williams 1977: 115). How they did so varied. Through the selection of particular meanings and practices—for example, in the inflection of words such as country and city—people might reinforce extant forms of power. In Williams's view, imagining the nation (also denoted in English by the word country) often involved the imagination of a bucolic countryside by those living in cities and controlling the institutions of national power based within them—an imaginary that often obscured rural poverty and the expropriation of land and labor by urban compatriots and/or that justified the remaking of the countryside in the image of the city, to the benefit of those controlling this transformation. But in Williams's view, tropes could also be deployed to challenge extant social relations and hierarchies. In order to effectively bolster power, particular interpretations of words such as country and city had constantly to be reproduced and to circulate, not only among those who deployed them, but also within society more generally. This circulation afforded opportunities for particular meanings and practices to be accepted—or to be contested. Williams's understanding of the Gramscian notion of hegemony is crucial here. He wrote: "A lived hegemony is always a process.... [I]t does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not at all its own" (Williams 1977: 112). Accordingly, in the moments of their reproduction and circulation, the meanings of terms such as country and city were, for Williams, inherently unstable and vulnerable to transformation. What is more, their instability might not only reflect changing power dynamics, but also contribute to them.

Williams concluded: "The reality of any hegemony, in the extended political and cultural sense, is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive. At any time, forms of alternative or directly oppositional politics and culture exist as significant elements in the society." To this he added: '[A]lternative political and cultural emphases, and the many forms of opposition and struggle, are important not only in themselves but as indicative features of what the hegemonic process has in practice had to control" (Williams 1977: 113). It follows from this that a close reading of the ever-changing landscape of meanings associated with tropes such as country and city may reveal not only the dynamics of power in a particular social setting, but also the pressures on and limits to various forces, potentially contributing to the very forms of contestation that such a reading identifies. And this is precisely what Williams sought to achieve in *The Country and the City.*

Building upon Raymond Williams in the Ethnographic Exploration of Food and Foodways

In *The Country and the City,* Raymond Williams explored the use of these tropes in English literature dating as far back as the sixteenth century. Williams's work, however, transcends the genre of literary criticism, as well as the English context. Insofar as his approach uses the study of common tropes and the structures of feeling related to their variable usage as windows through which to analyze the complexity of social relations and the variability of social experience, it may be adapted to the study of other forms of expression in other places and times, not to mention the study of other human concerns.

This certainly includes the study of food and foodways. Consider, for example, Friedrich Engels's mid-nineteenth-century description of working-class food in Manchester: "The potatoes which the workers buy are usually poor, the vegetables wilted, the cheese old and of poor quality, the bacon rancid, the meat lean, tough, taken from old, often diseased cattle, or such as have died a natural death, and not fresh even then, often half decayed... but having bought it, they must use it" (quoted in Mennell 1985: 225). This passage not only contrasts with celebrations of cities as gastronomic centers, but it also calls attention—in the service of a particular political agenda—to the differential food-related experiences of social classes living within the same city (or the same countryside, for that matter). Engels tells us: "[T]he poor, the working-people, to whom a couple of farthings are important, who must buy many things with little money, who cannot afford to inquire too closely into the quality of their purchase, and cannot do so in any case because they have had no opportunity of cultivating their taste—to their share fall all the adulterated, poisoned provisions" (Mennell 1985: 225; see also Bourdieu 1984; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Goody 1982).

Diana Wylie's study of nutritional science and food policy in apartheid South Africa not only highlights how other social categories, such as race, may also give rise to differential experiences of shared places (whether rural or urban), but also shows how representations of the relationship between cultural identities and practices may either challenge or reinforce disparities between social groups and their foodways (Wylie 2001). Whereas apartheid scientists and policy makers intent upon improving—that is, "modernizing"—rural black South Africans' diets generally

blamed the defects of African culture for rural blacks' impoverished foodways while ignoring the causes and constraints of their poverty (Wylie 2001: 5), Ken Albala suggests that, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, European elites generally came to consider porridges such as barley, beans, and lentils as appropriate foods for the peasantry, veal as appropriate for those better-off, and game as appropriate for the aristocracy. Albala concludes: "[T]his idea of rustic simplicity and health appears akin to the pastoral genre that idealizes country life as a way of ignoring or rationalizing harsh reality" (Albala 2002: 184–98, 200; see also Montanari 2002).

These examples are suggestive of the possibilities—in fact, the necessity—of adapting Williams's approach to the study of food and foodways. Notwithstanding the dramatic contemporary transformations discussed above—urban sprawl, rural development, the emergence of a global food system—the terms country and city remain prominent in contemporary conceptions of food and foodways, whether as elements of policy discourse, as marketing devices, as descriptors in the media, or as folk categories in common parlance. As ethnographers, we follow Williams in our study of these terms by grounding our analysis in the empirical examination of cultural expressions of lived experience, including the language and the "key words" (to adapt Williams's term) used by those among whom we conduct research. Moving beyond debate over definitions of these terms, or over their analytical purchase in a rapidly changing world, we take these terms themselves as objects of study, seeking to discern the complex dynamics animating their variable and changing usages while asking what might be learned by an appreciation of the tensions, contradictions, paradoxes, and ironies of which such usages give evidence.

Such an approach is not only familiar to anthropologists and other social scientists using ethnographic or interpretative methods more generally, but has also been prominent in the study of food in particular, from Mary Douglas's study of Jewish ideas of the edible and inedible (Douglas 1966), to Elisa Sobo's analysis of the meaning of "fat" in Jamaica (Sobo 1994), to Eivind Jacobsen's examination of the tropes of nature, commodity, and culture in relation to food more broadly (Jacobsen 2004). To date, however, scarce attention has been paid to the usage of the tropes country and city in relation to food, despite the centrality of these terms to the lived experience of food, historically as well as today.

In addressing this lacuna, contributors to this volume show how the country/city dichotomy is entwined with other dichotomous pairs on the contemporary global foodscape. Their critical readings of these terms reveal that—whether categorized as rural or urban, as traditional or modern, as peasant/artisanal or industrial, as local or foreign/global, or simply as good or bad—food and foodways around the world today have all been shaped by, and have in turn shaped, historical processes through which the country, the city, and the relationship between them have been dramatically transformed. To this end, the authors ask how variable ideas about food and foodways in the country and the city, as well as other key concepts with which they are bound up, both conceal and reveal the very dynamics reproducing and reshaping

countrysides and cities, along with the food grown and eaten within them. Following Williams, they seek, through the analysis of these words and ideas, to get at the lived experiences that trouble conceptual divides not only between the country and the city, but also between, for example, sustenance and pleasure, production and consumption, earning a living and making a profit, migration and staying at home, authenticity and innovation, and social identity and national heritage.

The authors undertake this in reference to a wide range of contexts: from peasant homesteads in the Global South to family farms in the Global North; from community gardens, to small family-run businesses, to state food industries; from petty traders to transnational supermarkets; from local food festivals and urban planning offices to regional tourist boards and state ministries concerned with agriculture and food; and from North and South America, to Western and Eastern Europe, to Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. Their implicitly comparative approach—fundamental to anthropology for more than a century—allows them collectively to take measure of similarities and differences in the experience of food around the world at a time when globalization of the trade in food and of the transmission of food-related technologies and ideologies is said to be homogenizing food and foodways worldwide. Ultimately, the contributors show how foodways today continue to be shaped by relations of power, as the country and the city give way, or give birth, to new spatial configurations, new relationships of scale, and new hierarchies—in short, new centers and peripheries, whether literal or virtual.

Common themes, and a range of revealing comparisons, emerge from these contributions. To begin with, associations of particular foods and/or foodways with the country or with the city are often intended as testaments to their superior quality. Tellingly, assertions that foods are better, or tastier, or cleaner, or purer, or more healthful are made by linking them to the country (often invoking simplicity, a more profound connection to nature, and/or honesty or integrity), but these assertions are also made by linking foods to the city (invoking superior technology, more stringent standards, and/or greater transparency). In other words, both country and city can be made to mean "good food." These apparently conflicting associations may even target the same audience—or be "bought by" the same consumers.

Similarly, the tropes of country and city may each be invoked in linking a food, or a method of food production, to better livelihoods, to healthier communities, and/or to greater environmental sustainability. Connecting peasant or artisan foodways to the countryside may associate them with cohesive family or village life and/or ecological stewardship, but such images vie with alternative conceptions of rural regional development, of the generation of skilled employment opportunities, and of scientifically- informed management of the environment associated with urban-led interventions in agriculture and the production of food. Once again, in practice, such apparently divergent associations may, in fact, coexist.

While the tropes of country and city are often deployed to suggest that a food or foodway is good for others, or contributes to the greater good, such associations generally work—or are, at least, intended to work—in the interests of those who make

them. Agents in the use of such tropes may be individuals (for example, producers or vendors of particular foods), but they may also be businesses (small or large), communities (of various sorts and sizes), or governments (at various levels). Any of these entities may deploy the tropes of country or city to make or capture profits—from peasant/artisan producers and market-stall vendors seeking to earn a living to transnational corporations hoping to increase sales, and from local governments to transnational bodies such as the European Union seeking to stimulate economic growth and increase tax revenues. Such tropes may also be used to produce or capture various forms of symbolic capital, such as the prestige associated with making a high-quality and/or authentic product or associated with having one's local, regional, or national culinary heritage recognized by an international body such as UNESCO. The brute exercise of power may also be at play in the deployment of such tropes, as actors seek to enter or consolidate markets, to secure access to scarce resources, or to exercise influence or control over people.

In practice, various interests and agendas may be interpolated with one another through the invocation of country or city in association with a particular food or foodway, as concrete social relations play out in the register of symbolic representations and transactions. As images of the country or the city are used to market commodities or assert ideologies, complex alliances may be formed between various cultural, political, and economic actors and entities—alliances that may be shaped by, as well as give shape to, such images. Through such social formations, the tropes of country and city may work to bind together people sharing a particular place or identity and/or people of disparate geographical or social origins. They may also consolidate or institutionalize the power of one or more actors over others, whether along lines of class, gender, race, ethnicity, region, or nationality.

Of course, not all invocations of the country or the city work. In some cases, their intended audience may simply ignore such associations or may disagree with but feel helpless to contest them. In other cases, such visions may be met with alternative invocations of country or city in relation to particular foods and/or foodways that not only signal conflicting views and interests, but also potentially serve as vehicles for the pursuit of alternative aims. In some cases, investment in such alternative associations of food and/or foodways with the country or the city may prove problematic for those making them, as, for example, in cases where a peasant identity may slot people into subordinate positions within extant hierarchies even as it affords them tangible benefits.

In any case, the contributors to this volume collectively show that in the selective association of food and foodways with the country or the city, and/or in response to such associations made by others, people generally reflect upon the cultural, political, and economic institutions mediating their relationship with the foods they produce and/or consume and ask themselves not only whether or not these are good, but also if they might be better. Through reflecting on the meanings of such key terms as country and city in relation to food and foodways, and on the values created and/or

captured through these associations, people generally seek to exercise or consolidate some form of autonomy, not only over the foods they grow and/or eat, but also, through this, over their bodies, their livelihoods, and their relationships with other people and/or the environments (both human-made and natural) in which they reside.

An Overview of the Volume

In Chapter 1, Nuno Domingos critically examines images of the countryside in the marketing materials of winemakers in the Alentejo region of Portugal, as well as in promotional campaigns supporting gastro-tourism in the region today. Drawing on Williams, Domingos suggests that, through the combined use of stylized images of modern technology and coats of arms evoking deep historical roots for vintners and their vineyards, these narratives express a structure of feeling celebrating Alentejo as a place of rugged natural beauty and harmonious social relations—and celebrating its winemakers as bearers of timeless traditions. But such idyllic images, Domingos argues, are part and parcel of dramatic transformations over recent decades, in which urban-based investors have acquired land and created a capital-intensive wine industry whose intended global consumers read the association of food or drink with a particular region and its traditions as a mark of superior quality justifying a higher price. Domingos then shows how the capture of profits from the making of "quality" wines, and from other forms of regional development, has fomented a counter-pastoral structure of feeling among remaining small-scale winemakers and other long-standing local residents, echoing the experiences of the forebears of today's economically marginalized, namely landless laborers living a life of misery and injustice on the *latifúndio* estates of prerevolutionary Alentejo. According to this view, Alentejo's new wine is different from its former wine not only because modern technologies yield a wine that no longer lingers in the mouth, but also because this new wine is produced not for consumption in local taverns, but instead for distant consumers—and to increase the wealth of an absentee elite. This counter-narrative, Domingos concludes, casts a troubling shadow over the new pastoral images produced by Alentejo's emerging gastro-elite.

In the following chapter, Emma-Jayne Abbots shows how, in the Ecuadorian province of Azuay, the countryside and its foods are celebrated through the folkloric figure of the *chola*—a mixed-race woman, wearing brightly colored *pollera* skirts and a Panama hat, often seen selling produce in the region's urban markets. For expatriates and for wealthier residents of the provincial capital, Cuenca, the *chola* represents an uncorrupted countryside. Her foods are seen as fresher, cleaner, and more local than those sold in urban supermarkets. But like Domingos, Abbots suggests that all is not as it seems. Following Williams, she reveals the multiple—at times, contradictory—meanings associated with the *chola* and the countryside from which she purportedly comes. The *chola,* she reminds us, is a product of colonialism—*polleras* reflecting

eighteenth-century Spanish influence and Panama hats being artifacts of a local industry intended to make peasants more productive—as well as of postcolonial Ecuadorian nationalism that has glossed racial hierarchy with a *mestizaje* narrative of social mixing and harmony. What is more, as rural residents derive ever more of their income through remittances from migrant kin, the region's rural women have become increasingly ambivalent about the *chola* identity. While the stereotypical *chola* has long been an entrepreneur—brokering the sale of countryside produce in the city—enterprising peasant women today are increasingly abandoning both the *chola* costume and the production of food and are seeking to incorporate desired elements of urban modernity into their own lives. Their changing practices give rise to ambivalence among modern, urban Cuencanas as well, reflected in government attempts to preserve the ideal *chola* by keeping her in her place—prescribing, or proscribing, her behavior in both urban and rural settings—ultimately, in order to keep country and city in their places. But ironically, Abbots concludes, aspirational peasant women themselves contribute to the reproduction of hierarchies they seek to overturn by distancing themselves from poorer peasant women and the *chola* identity.

The rural residents of KwaZulu-Natal among whom Elizabeth Hull has conducted fieldwork also struggle with negative stereotypes of themselves and the countryside in which they live. During apartheid, the region served as a labor pool, supplying workers for the mines and urban industries of South Africa. Only the young, the old, and the infirm remained in the region—long considered a site of reproduction rather than proper production and consumption. Economic stagnation continued in the region following apartheid, but a rising number of residents have become recipients of government welfare, including pensions for the elderly and grants for children and the disabled. Although the appearance of supermarkets and fast-food chains has allowed urban-centered consumer industries to begin to reshape this rural region in the image of the city, limited employment opportunities and uneven access to welfare has meant that consumption of modern goods remains uneven. While traditional foodways are still considered problematic by many—echoing apartheid-era scientists' and policy makers' descriptions of them as degenerate—the people Hull has worked with not only express desires for modern foods, but they also characterize Zulu food as more healthful than modern, processed foods and fast foods. Hull was told that "rich" kids, who ate modern foods, were picked last—if at all—to play football (soccer), because they grew tired more quickly than kids who ate traditional Zulu fare. Through such (re)conceptualizations of the foods of the country and the city, Hull argues, poorer residents have sought to reverse stereotypes (echoing the stereotypes studied by Williams) associating the countryside with the static reproduction of tradition and the city with the dynamism of production and consumption. In so doing, they have attempted to recast the countryside as a vibrant site of cultural creativity and inventiveness and to recast their foods as valued objects—whether for their own consumption or for sale to the growing number of tourists showing momentary interest in "authentic" Zulu customs.

The members of the cheesemaking family in the Auvergne region of France who are at the center of Harry G. West's chapter have resisted stereotypes casting them as bearers of a timeless tradition; they have, like Hull's KwaZulu-Natal residents, crafted an alternative image of, and for, themselves—in this case, as producers of an ever-changing living tradition. By contrast with the ex-*cholas* Abbots describes, West's cheesemakers have embraced a peasant identity, even as they have selectively adopted modern productive technologies and made of their farm and cheese room a museum to attract tourists, who then buy their cheeses on site. Whereas critics might describe this rural family's performance of tradition as a Disneyesque simulacrum—a portrayal of authentic rural life ironically displaced by the portrayal itself—West conceives of this family's re-creation of itself, its work, and its products as a creative response to the economic pressures created by the industrialization of agriculture in France following World War II and the subsequent collapse of rural communities, as residents moved into cities and industrial jobs. West asserts that this family has faced this historical transformation "in its own terms" (to use Williams's language), or rather, family members have faced it on *their* own terms, doing what they can to craft a new relationship between the countryside they continue to call home and the city folk they now welcome onto their farm—people with whom they often form lasting connections. By reconnecting, through innovative marketing strategies, with those who have moved from country to city—or with those in the city who feel themselves to be historically disconnected from the countryside—this family has been able to make a living of their living tradition, according to West, preserving the family farm along with "the countryside" and its foodways, even while reinventing each of these.

Although many commentators see the countryside as an enduring locus of better food and foodways, as increasing urban migration has occurred, some commentators have begun to celebrate the relocation of the countryside itself into the city. Through reflexive criticism of a project that she has co-organized, Laura B. DeLind challenges, in the first chapter in Section II, the romanticizing, among contemporary food activists, of the greening of the city through urban agriculture. Proponents see urban agriculture as a means of solving many of the problems plaguing cities today. Replacement of vacant lots with productive gardens is said to improve neighborhood aesthetics while generating income for underemployed people, increasing access to affordable, nutritious food for residents of urban food deserts, and allowing young people to see how food is grown. DeLind sees a more complex reality within such win-win scenarios, however. The farm she writes about is located on a floodplain in Lansing, Michigan, and local government has sought to protect residents—or to decrease public liability—by limiting investment and government support for improvements in existing residents' homes, by demolishing foreclosed properties in poor condition, by prohibiting new building, and by granting urban agriculture projects such as DeLind's easy access to unused land. While residents are rarely involved in decisions about their neighborhood, government policies often exacerbate poverty and isolation among intended beneficiaries, DeLind suggests, by reducing access

to affordable housing while driving down the value of existing residents' homes, as well as by eliminating empty spaces in which children play and that harbor cherished memories for many residents. Rather than condemning urban agriculture altogether, DeLind concludes (as Williams himself might have) that better understanding of the dynamics underlying both urban decay and the subsequent greening of cities should lead us to acknowledge the struggles of urban residents for self-determination and to recognize and facilitate their wishes in the making of their places—whether through growing food in their neighborhoods or not.

In Chapter 6, Johan Pottier informs us that international institutions such as the World Bank, as well as other nongovernmental organizations of varying types and sizes, have begun to celebrate urban agriculture in Africa as a means of shortening food chains while shoring up food security and reducing the cost of food for urban residents in the face of a volatile global food supply. Pottier argues that such visions, in fact, contradict growing calls by analysts to conceive of food systems as operating along continua between rural and urban areas, which (in harmony with Williams's idea that the country and the city coproduce one another) is precisely how Pottier sees contemporary Malawi. While migration from rural Malawi to the capital city of Lilongwe was held in check until 1994 under President Hastings Kamuzu Banda, his successor, Elson Bakili Muluzi, allowed urban migration. Early migrants often planted maize in the spaces between residential areas, but land is now scarce in the city. Therefore, migrants have continued, over the years, to maintain ties with their villages of origin. Many return home during peak agricultural seasons, investing labor (and money) in growing food to supplement insufficient urban resources. Over time, migrants may lose claims to land in the village, Pottier tells us, but most continue to invest in the agricultural production of village kin—and sometimes employ rural relatives to work for them in the city outside of peak farming season, effectively subsidizing their rural family's food consumption as well. While urban Malawians continue to engage with the countryside, however, few romanticize it. According to Pottier, with the passage of time and with the birth of new generations in the city, the idea of returning home becomes increasingly unimaginable to migrants, for whom rural life (especially since the dismantling of state agricultural subsidies) is even less secure than urban life (following the dismantling of state food subsidies), albeit a necessary complement.

Next, Maria Abranches asks what happens when international migration stretches the distance between new urban homes and rural origins; she examines the multiple meanings of the country and its foods for migrants from Guinea-Bissau to the Portuguese capital, Lisbon. According to Abranches, lines between country and city have long been blurred for Bissau-Guineans, despite Portuguese colonial attempts to police a divide between the traditional, indigenous, nonmonetized countryside, and modern, "civilized," monetized cities. Whereas during the late colonial period, agricultural goods crossed borders between the rural and the urban—as well as between Guinea-Bissau and its neighbors—postcolonial economic liberalization (without much corresponding investment in the countryside) and, subsequently, civil war led

to large-scale outmigration from rural areas into the nation's cities and beyond. With the dramatic expansion of agriculture on the periphery of the capital city, Bissau, the countryside has increasingly been woven into a ruralized city. This has also made possible the daily shipment of produce from Bissau to markets serving overseas migrants. For Bissau-Guineans in Lisbon, fresh produce from one's region of origin may be difficult to obtain due to poor roadways connecting Bissau to its hinterlands. But according to Abranches, migrants nonetheless long for foods from their country of origin—from their nation, even if from the city rather than the countryside—not only because these foods, or their vendors, are familiar, but also because these foods come from "the same land" as they do and are, therefore, "better" for them, both corporally and cosmologically. Migrants also consider these foods more natural—grown without chemicals and/or less processed—than Portuguese foods. Abranches points out, however, that those remaining in Guinea-Bissau, who toil for smaller rewards than their migrant compatriots, are often less enamored of the traditional methods by which they continue to grow food today and, as Williams would suggest, of the social hierarchies holding country and city together.

To begin Section III, José Manuel Sobral situates present-day celebrations of country food and foodways in broader geographical and historical perspectives. He observes that initiatives to recognize and preserve local, traditional foodways are commonplace today—from local food festivals, to governmental promotion of gastro-tourism, to trade agreements protecting appellations and other indications of origin. While such initiatives may respond to the global expansion of American-style fast food and the corresponding threat of culinary homogenization, Sobral informs us—using Portugal as his example—that they, and the concerns that motivate them, are not without precedents. From the mid-nineteenth-century, Portuguese writers—including authors of genres as diverse as cookbooks, novels, and ethnographies—have defended Portuguese culinary traditions, thereby inventing and re-creating vernacular cuisine. Prior to World War II, Sobral tells us, the celebration of Portuguese foodways addressed itself to another gastro-hegemon, namely French cuisine, which predominated in restaurants and on banquet tables in Portugal (as in much of Europe). Ironically, the elite status of French cuisine was itself consolidated and (re)produced through the concerted defense of French food and agriculture by French food industries and the French government, in the face of the threat posed by more industrial food and agriculture sectors emerging in the New World. Thus, Portuguese gastro-nationalism imitated French gastro-nationalism even while challenging it. Through a detailed account of the history of Portuguese interest in regional and national culinary traditions, Sobral builds on Williams to remind us that celebration of the foods of any country is shaped not only by the city it challenges (in the case of Paris, "city" connoting another nation, or another "country"), but also by the cities in which, and through which, this challenge is expressed (in this case, Lisbon and smaller regional Portuguese cities) and by the (relatively) powerful voices emanating from within these cities in defense of urban, albeit provincial, interests.

In Chapter 9, Sami Zubaida concurs that, historically, most images of the countryside have been produced by urban literati. While he traces the romanticizing, in Europe, of rurality and the natural simplicity of peasant foodways to the writings of eighteenth-century Physiocrats, he also identifies contrasting perspectives, such as the work of Karl Marx, who cast the peasantry as living a life of rural idiocy. Zubaida compares the former to contemporary, nationalist celebrations of peasant foodways in the Middle East, but the latter to the writings of Yusuf Al-Shirbini, a seventeenth-century religious scholar from Dimyat, in the Nile Delta of Egypt, who studied in Cairo. Zubaida analyzes Al-Shirbini's book, entitled in translation *Brains Confounded by the Ode of Abu Shaduf Expounded*—a satire describing the impoverished foodways of peasants along the small tributaries and marshes of the Nile hinterlands, written in the voice of a wretched peasant hungering for the foods of Cairo that the book describes in comparison. In contrast to works analyzed by Sobral, Al-Shirbini ridicules the peasantry's unrefined and disgusting foods—punctuating accounts of rural foodways with praise to God for sparing city dwellers such horrors—even though, as Zubaida points out, the principal differences between rural and urban foods were the animal proteins, fats, and spices that city folk could afford and country folk could not. Notwithstanding its acerbic tone, Al-Shirbini's portrait of the countryside, produced in the city, fostered a shared sense of identity among readers—mostly the Ottoman Empire's Turkish elite—just as Portuguese authors' more celebratory accounts of nineteenth-century rural foodways consolidated a sense of shared identity among a readership only marginally more inclusive. Echoing Williams, Zubaida concludes that, however rural people—especially the poor—have been depicted, they have not themselves generally painted these portraits, nor determined their tone.

Following this, Maria Yotova examines the dynamic interplay of pastoral images, on the one hand, and the transformative technologies of the city and the state, on the other, in the historical development of yogurt as a Bulgarian national food. She recounts how the Socialist state built upon the ideas of Russian Nobel laureate Elie Metchnikoff—who attributed Bulgarian peasants' good health and longevity to the lactobacilli in their yogurt—in making yogurt a working-class staple through distribution in factory canteens, schools, and hospitals. While celebrating peasant yogurt-making traditions, however, the Socialist regime also heralded the role of the state dairy industry in developing pure starter cultures that rendered yogurt safe for urban consumers. Ironically, while state-led industrialization undermined peasant yogurt making, state dairies depended upon peasant producers to (re)produce a diversity of robust starters that could be adapted to industrial use in order to make yogurt from a poor-quality national milk supply. Furthermore, the industry's largest export market, Japan, embraced Bulgarian yogurt in response to branding emphasizing the Bulgarian rural idyll rather than superior Bulgarian technology. Yotova argues that the dynamic between these two discourses affords insights into the socioeconomic tensions defining Bulgaria to this day, as the nation seeks legitimacy in the European Union through both viable industries (including yogurt production) and

expressions of distinctive cultural identity (including peasant foodways). Although the use of peasant imagery (even by the largest industrial producers) in representations of yogurt as essential to Bulgarian national identity casts a dark shadow over an ever-more-marginalized peasantry, Yotova tells us, rural Bulgarians themselves participate in such mythmaking (to use Williams's terminology)—grandmothers sell their homemade products in earthenware pots at regional yogurt festivals—as this affords them scarce opportunities to bolster self-esteem and to themselves inflect, albeit in small measure, a national identity to which they purportedly remain central.

The volume concludes with Monica Truninger and Dulce Freire's examination of representations of rural Mediterranean society and foodways in debates, over recent decades, about the Mediterranean diet. Advanced by nutritionists from the mid-1940s as a remedy for chronic illnesses associated with Northern European and North American diets, the Mediterranean diet—by definition composed largely of grains, fresh fruits and vegetables, olive oil, small portions of fish and meat, and wine and associated with convivial consumption—was inscribed by UNESCO in 2010 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. While the Mediterranean diet celebrates the foodways of relatively more rural Southern European, Middle Eastern, and North African countries often otherwise negatively compared with more productive, more prosperous, more urban neighbors to the north—and has consequently been embraced by some whose foodways it purportedly describes—the authors argue that the Mediterranean diet is mostly the discursive production of those beyond the region now seeking to appropriate it. Furthermore, Truninger and Freire tell us, whereas many in the Mediterranean countryside historically struggled to eat together regularly, owing to the demands of earning a living, and suffered from hunger and malnutrition, the industrialization of Mediterranean agriculture in recent years to meet the fast-growing global demand for healthful Mediterranean foods poses new challenges to the countryside, concentrating wealth and undermining social systems and ecosystems in which the Mediterranean diet is ostensibly embedded. At the same time, the Mediterranean diet imposes a new homogeneity on urban consumers far and wide. Truninger and Freire's account thus draws the volume's key themes together not only by showing how images of the country and its relationship to cities, nations, regions, and the broader world are the product of interrelationships between these sites and scales (including those who broker and contest these), but also by highlighting (as Williams's work encourages us to do) the roles these images potentially play in reshaping all of these sites—depending upon one's perspective, either for good or for ill.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Catherine Peters for her assistance with bibliographic research for this introduction, as well as Elizabeth Hull and Emma-Jayne Abbots for their commentaries on an earlier draft.

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The Country, the Nation, and the Region in Representations of Portuguese Food and Cuisine

José Manuel Sobral

Food and Cuisine in Contemporary Portugal: Between Cosmopolitanism and the Regional and Local

Just as in many affluent countries, today's culinary selection in Portugal is characterized by great pluralism. Although this is a generalization, culinary choices can be considered as being distributed between two poles. The first is dominated by cosmopolitanism. The opposite pole is represented by a territorialized regional and national cuisine. Between the poles, there is also hybridity and fusion between the supposedly Portuguese and the foreign. We are simplifying and talking about the culinary selection people find when eating out. Also, the culinary selection we are portraying is distributed in the territory in a very uneven way.

The assertion of a Portuguese cuisine is part of a more general process that is already documented in places as distinct as Great Britain and Finland, which saw a growing demand for so-called traditional food at the end of the twentieth century (Warde 1997: 58–67). The same trend has occurred, among other places, in countries such as France (Poulain 2002) and Italy (Montanari 2010: 83). This is all part of a larger protest against fast food and criticism of the dominant agro-food industry around the world. One of its main sources is the counterculture movement (Bellasco 2007), which became influential in the late 1960s. In counter-cuisine, we find intertwined themes such as the avoidance of "chemicalized" food, an appreciation of craftsmanship and tradition, and an "organic motif" concerned with the impact of consumption on the planet and "with the integration of self, nature and community" (Bellasco 2007: 220).

We cannot offer here more than a hint as to why counterculture is associated with the celebration of food and cuisine defined as traditional. If we are to understand this whole movement, we must bear in mind that it combines various dynamics linked to the effects of contemporary globalization epitomized by the universal spread of fast food. This is rejected, by invoking "authentic" culinary traditions—local, regional, and national. The Slow Food movement is the most notorious of these reactions

across various continents. Originating from the Italian left and linked to the defense of popular cultural traditions, it appeared in the 1980s in response to what was seen as the threat of homogenization. It strived to defend the features of regional and local traditions in food—and its producers—and in cuisine. Other facets of the movement include the defense of sustainable, localized production, organic food, and biodiversity. It specifically defined itself as being against the whole lifestyle symbolized by fast food, advocating the "slow life" (in opposition to the "fast life"), a concept that is linked to extolling the enjoyment of food (Andrews 2008).[1]

Aware of the criticisms and market trends, at least some fast-food chains have chosen to respond by including local ingredients and dishes on their menus. In Portugal, for example, vegetable soups identified with traditional cooking and, more recently, the McBifana—a typical Portuguese sandwich with fried pork—and local varieties of apples and pears have appeared on the menus of the McDonald's chain. These adaptations indicate another dimension of globalization linked to the proliferation of culinary diversity and pluralism; this is found both in the mix of culinary traditions and in the praise for local cuisine seen as an expression of the territory and culture, as well as in the canonization of the cuisine deemed traditional as heritage (James 1994: 39–56; Montanari 2010: 83; Poulain 2002: 19–34; Wilk 2006: 195–201).

The Council of Europe recently published a work attuned to these culinary trends, celebrating the culinary diversity on the continent (Goldstein and Merkle 2005); each country contributed with a sample of its supposedly traditional national cuisine. The role played by food as a marker of national identity was, hence, officially enshrined.

These dynamics have not been restricted to the sphere of cuisine, but have also included its raw materials, namely the ingredients used to make it and ensure its specificity. This was the kind of process that stimulated initiatives defending local produce—for example, those linked to the 1992 reform of the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy and to the EU's LEADER local development program (Araújo 2011). It also stimulated the EU's creation of Protected Designation of Origin (PDO), Protected Geographical Indication (PGI), and Traditional Specialty Guaranteed (TSG) product designations. In 2008, Portugal was one of the European countries with the most PDO and TSG products, along with Italy, France, and Spain, among others (Fonte 2010: 155; De Soucey 2010: 439).

The interest in regional and local cuisine implies an appreciation of the produce as well as the cuisine, bringing added economic and symbolic (and, hence, political) value to both. This is often linked to a more comprehensive appreciation of rural life, seen as a more authentic and community-based world than the city, which is frequently represented as having the opposite values.

We do not think of this kind of discourse as absolutely new. We believe, instead, that there are strong affinities between defending today's local and regional food and the apology for a Portuguese national cuisine in the late nineteenth century. In short, current discourses have their predecessors there. Moreover, linked to the defense of cuisine, we find a certain praise for the countryside.

Food, the City, and the Country

In his novel *A Cidade e as Serras* (The City and the Mountains), published in 1901, the Portuguese writer José Maria Eça de Queirós (1845–1900) draws a deep contrast between urban life in Paris and life in the Portuguese countryside. Jacinto, a wealthy Portuguese born in Paris, lives on the Champs Elysées and socializes with the French élite. Although he praises the triumphs of civilization—electricity, the phonograph, information, culture, and fine cuisine—he is bored to death with his life. Influenced by a friend who was visiting Paris, he makes the decision to travel with him by train to the north of Portugal, to visit his estates in the Douro region.

After some adventures, including losing the huge amount of baggage that he had packed in an attempt to survive barbaric country living, Jacinto adapts to the place and abandons Paris and city life forever. If the city signified civilization—and Paris was the epitome of the city, the "capital of the nineteenth-century" (Benjamin 1939)—it was also a place of vice and hypocrisy. As Jacinto led a bachelor life, that would mean the end of his lineage. In the countryside, he marries and has children, sets down roots, and dedicates himself to life as a landowner.

Irony plays an important role here, as in other novels by Eça de Queirós. The image of the countryside, mainly depicted in pastoral tones, also reveals the poverty of the rural proletariat that the reforming and paternalistic resolve of the landowner tries to mitigate. Notwithstanding this irony, a largely positive picture is painted of the country, which we quickly see through the beauty of the landscape and the closeness and solidarity of social relations.

Eça de Queirós was the best-known Portuguese writer of his era; he was also a cosmopolitan diplomat who lived in Paris. Food—including French haute cuisine—plays a very important role in his works. However, here it acquires an exceptionally rich meaning, as he links it with dichotomous images of the city and the countryside. Parisian cuisine is portrayed as the height of sophistication, with luxurious products such as foie gras, lobster, and exotic foods, as well as vanguard recipes such as oranges in ether to brighten up the fruit's "soul." Only the best wines are served: bordeaux, burgundies, champagne. There are even various kinds of water. However, despite this diversity, the hero has no appetite. The opposite happens in the countryside. Although initially reluctant to indulge, he is quickly won over by dishes prepared by local cooks, as well as by the local wine quite unlike the refined ones he was used to drinking. The water he enjoys mostly comes from the local springs. The contrast between the city and the country is also the contrast between France (the foreign) and Portugal (the national). The cuisine that is ultimately praised is precisely that of the "vernacular delicacies of old Portugal" (Eça de Queirós 2009: 108).

This kind of defense of Portuguese cuisine was visible even before Eça de Queirós's novel. It appears, for example, in Júlio Dinis's 1869 novel *As Pupilas do Senhor Reitor* (The Wards of the Rector), which provided one of the most influential depictions of Portuguese rural society as a harmonious community; it defended

Portuguese cuisine—and the use of local produce—as opposed to the then-already-fashionable French cuisine.

A writer from a later generation, José Valentim Fialho de Almeida (1857–1911), unrelentingly defended Portuguese cuisine to the point of declaring that culinary denationalization was a clear sign of "ethnic decadence" (Fialho de Almeida 1992). His words do not need to be taken literally to give sense to the discourse. Historically, the times of both Eça de Queirós and Fialho de Almeida saw the proliferation of nationalism and imperialism (Hayes 1963: 196–285), and Portugal was seen by the intellectual elite as being in decay. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that in the fiction of both Eça de Queirós and Fialho de Almeida, the city is portrayed as an environment dominated by conventions, a lack of character, and vice.

In his work *The Country and the City,* Raymond Williams refers to the importance of the images of the city and the country in literature, and he highlights their interrelationship. In his view, the country is associated with positive ideas of a natural way of life and community, as well as negative connotations of backwardness and ignorance; the city, conversely, is associated with positive ideas of learning and communication, as well as negative connotations of ambition and worldliness (Williams 1973: 3). He also notes that we can appreciate the full meaning of images of the country and the city only if we understand their association with underlying economic and social processes, such as those related to the development of capitalism. Otherwise, we would reduce them to recurrent "symbols or archetypes," "giving them a primarily psychological and metaphysical status," and would not be able to see how they were responses to historical and cultural changes. Also, we need to take into account both persistence and change in these ideas (Williams 1973: 289–91).

This paper, which purports to offer an interpretation of the role of the images of the countryside in the making and dissemination of Portuguese cuisine, takes some of its inspiration from Williams's ideas but also, in what concerns nationalism, from other contributions that, for example, point to the central role of the countryside in the artistic imagination of homeland that saw in it the location of the authentic nature of the nation. As Anthony D. Smith states, artists' images "of the countryside and its inhabitants helped to popularize and give concrete sociological expression to the idea of a national community rooted in its own distinctive homeland" (Anthony D. Smith 2013: 106). The construction of a Portuguese cuisine is seen as part of a nationalist enterprise, important not only politically, but also in cultural terms. You can find the effects of nationalism in literature, in the arts, and in various fields of knowledge—the last decades of the nineteenth and the first ones of the twentieth century were a golden age for ethnography, mainly dedicated to the study of rural and peasant culture, the essence of a distinctive nationality (Leal 2000; Sobral 2012). The nationalist enterprise is also related to social and economic dynamics. The development of capitalism and the urbanization of Portuguese society, which began to gather pace in the nineteenth century and intensified in the early 1960s and which

emptied the countryside, are a background to this process of cultural (and political) nationalization.

I aim to show how, in general terms, the countryside has been conceived for a long time as a place where authentic Portuguese cuisine can be found—and how this remains true today. Although the urban elite plays a major role in the process—and the city clearly contributes to the making of Portuguese cuisine—it is the country that is most closely tied to this cuisine. Besides continuity in the images of the country, there is also change; hence, there is no lineal continuity between the past and the present. Attention will be drawn to some of the main actors and agents involved, without overlooking the economic, social, political, and cultural processes underlying the production and consumption of Portuguese cuisine.

The Construction of a National (and Regional) Cuisine in Portugal

At the time of *A Cidade e as Serras,* French haute cuisine—the international cuisine of grand hotels and restaurants (Mennell 1996: 215)—was dominant in Portugal, as in other countries around the world. To be more precise, it was the cuisine favored by the upper classes (Ferguson 2004), constituting a powerful means of social distinction (Bourdieu 1979). It was certainly what these classes consumed on more formal occasions, although on others they would have eaten more common food (Sobral 2008).

At this same time, however, we can also detect a great change in the attitudes toward food in Portugal in cookbooks. Whereas books published during the nineteenth century revealed the strong influence of international cuisine (and of French cuisine in particular), Portuguese dishes began to gain ground in the early twentieth century. In a 1905 new edition of what is perhaps the most influential cookbook of the second half of the nineteenth century—*O Cozinheiro dos Cozinheiros* (The Cooks' Cook) by Paulo Plantier, an example of the hegemony of international haute cuisine—we find, in contrast to what came before, not only Portuguese dishes, but also a reference to "Portuguese culinary traditions" (Plantier 1905). In another contemporary but much-less-famous book (Carneiro 1901), we find popular ingredients such as sardines and cod, as well as recipes belonging to vernacular Portuguese cuisine. An explicit claim of the connection between cuisine and national identity appears in a book published anonymously in 1902 and entitled *Cozinha Portuguesa ou Arte Culinária Nacional* (Portuguese Cuisine or the National Culinary Art). In it, Portuguese cuisine is defined as "that of our grandparents"—"simple, substantial and good"—and it is considered a sign of patriotism to defend it (Anonymous 1902).

Cookbooks were to play a fundamental role in the creation of a Portuguese cuisine. There were certainly vernacular foods in Portugal, some of them documented since the Middle Ages (Arnaut 2000). They were common to or linked to other cuisines, especially (though not exclusively) Iberian ones. Benedict Anderson

pointed to the role of books and print capitalism in the building of nations he called "imagined communities" (Anderson 1983). Cookbooks perform nationalization in what concerns food and cuisine through selection, establishing boundaries and identifying certain dishes and recipes as national; hence, they are a powerful instrument for the reification of national cuisines.

For Sidney Mintz, national cuisines are constructions, a "holistic artifice" based on food found within the scope of a political system; he claims that: "there can be regional cuisines, but not national cuisines." According to Mintz, cuisine, "more exactly defined, has to do with the ongoing foodways of a region, within which active discourse about food sustains both common understandings and reliable production of the foods in question" (Mintz 1996: 104). While agreeing with his views on national cuisines—they are the product of nation-states, drawing boundaries that separate them from others and making a whole of what is internally differentiated—we do not share his concept of regional cuisines, as he underplays the role of agents and policies in constructing them. Our assertion here is that regional cuisine is not a direct reflection of local practices; although based on these, it is constructed by restaurants, authorities, writers, compilers of cookbooks and recipes, and the like. They tend to ignore or downplay the realities of daily home cooking, and they do not refer to the foods of the poor in times of scarcity. There is plenty of bibliographical evidence for hunger and undernourishment both in the country and in the main cities during the period in question. Bread, potatoes, and vegetables, along with some sardines, cod, and bacon, were the main staples of the poor; the price of bread was an object of open political dispute and social unrest in the first decades of the twentieth century.[2] Also, regional cookbooks have an overabundance of dishes for festive occasions, food eaten on special days such as Christmas or Easter, family rites of passage such as baptisms and weddings, and special events like the slaughter of the pig (Mennell 1996: 217–20).

We must stress the purpose of using cookbooks as a source. As Ken Albala recently stated, "cookbooks are rarely if ever accurate descriptions of what people actually ate at any given time and place" (Albala 2012: 229). However, their interest lies in the fact that they reveal *food ideologies,* by which the same author meant "a way of thinking about the world that is part of a larger esthetic, political, or social mindset" (Albala 2012: 231).

The authors and readers of these first cookbooks should be viewed as actors in what Priscilla P. Ferguson, following Pierre Bourdieu, aptly named the "gastronomic field" (Ferguson 2004: 84–109). These people were members of the upper-middle and upper classes, in general with high levels of economic, social, cultural, and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1979: 128–38). Not only would they have the economic capacity to buy the products (Guy 2012: 194) and sample the foods that allowed them to discriminate, but they would also claim to define legitimate taste. Furthermore, such writers and gourmets lived in the "big city," where the markets offered

a much wider range and variety of products than those in rural areas, where self-sufficiency predominated (Mennell 1996: 73).

We now turn to two of these books, which were among the most influential in the early twentieth century.

In 1904, Carlos Bento da Maia published his important *Tratado Completo de Cozinha e de Copa* (Complete Treatise of Cuisine and Pantry). Bento da Maia is the pseudonym of a Lisbon army officer and industrialist. His book is full of advice on how to manage the kitchen and prepare food, and it boasts a large collection of recipes. It clearly targeted a middle-class audience—and women—who could not obtain the more inaccessible products of cosmopolitan cuisine and had limited budgets. The book was not a compendium of Portuguese cuisine; nor did it reveal explicit nationalist concerns. What makes it an innovative work is the fact that some recipes are identified with localities and regions; they accompany the majority with no identification and others with a national identification, such as Portuguese or French.

António de Oliveira Bello's work *Culinária Portuguesa* (Portuguese Cookery) was published some decades later, in 1936. Bello was a member of the upper bourgeoisie, one of the main industrialists of his time, and he was familiar with French haute cuisine and with the world of the elite who traveled abroad.

His book marked a significant change in attitudes toward Portuguese cuisine, which he commended. First, his was the first book seeking to codify its essential features; second, it identified their place of origin in a systematic way. Together with dishes for which no origin is given—they are implicitly defined as Portuguese—there are others whose origin (region or place) is specified. For the first time, we also find recipes from the colonial empire being defined as Portuguese.

Portuguese cuisine is thus defined as embracing the empire, as well as the various regions of Portugal. Moreover, at the same time, the Portuguese Gastronomy Society, over which Bello presided, aimed to defend "*national cuisine* and top quality *Portuguese food produce*" and "raise the level of the *local cuisine* in each *region*" (Bello 1936: 8–9; emphasis added).

Bello identified himself with the Estado Novo program of dictator António de Oliveira Salazar's authoritarian, nationalist, and antidemocratic regime, inspired by fascism and Catholic conservatism. The Estado Novo was in place between 1933 and 1974; besides celebrating the empire, it promoted the image of an essentially rural Portugal. Agriculture, though in relative decline, was extolled, as was the peasant world from which its leader, Salazar, had emerged. The rural population was stereotypically praised for its supposed frugality—a transformation of necessity into virtue—and absence of luxuries, its attachment to land and place, and its imputed traditionalism and conservatism demonstrated by an at-least-apparent support of the hierarchies represented by landownership, Catholicism, and the patriarchal family. In fact, the regime constructed this image of the countryside in opposition to the "big

city," mainly Lisbon. The city, and its industrialized outskirts that had grown in the first decades of the century, had become the focus of support of republicanism, trade unionism, socialism, and anarchism. Hence, the city conjured up ideas of radicalism, class struggle, and dissent—all anathema to Catholic conservatives.

It was this image of the rural world that the nationalism of the Estado Novo, like other nationalisms, promoted (Anthony D. Smith 2013: 78–107; Roshwald 2006: 68–73). This was what lay behind some of the importance given to ethnography and folklore at the time: these dealt with the "popular," while overlooking the harsh and miserable condition of rural people. Moreover, it was a cuisine with roots in the regions of an essentially rural country that was served in the network of government-run hotels (*Pousadas de Portugal,* or Inns of Portugal), designed to promote tourism and dispersed throughout the country (Melo 2001: 250–58).

The Portuguese Situation from a Comparative Perspective

These processes of constructing a national and regional cuisine are not specifically Portuguese. On the contrary, what was happening in Portugal echoed what was happening elsewhere, such as in England (Mennell 1996: 221) and Italy. In the latter, the first codification of a national cuisine was part of the effort to construct the post-Risorgimento nation, and it was accompanied by praise for diversity and regionalism in the "popular-national rhetoric" of fascism, leading to the creation of an Italian gastronomic-cultural charter (Montanari 2010: 78–79).

It is entirely plausible that people in Portugal knew what was happening in Italy, given the well-known influence of the policies of Italian fascism on the Portuguese Estado Novo. However, in light of the Portuguese elite's old relationship with France, it is here we should turn our attention to first. In France, wine and food, which revealed the rich regional diversity of the French nation, had been extolled, particularly since the nineteenth century (Guy 2002: 34–45; Csergo 1996). This has been explained by a very complex set of factors, including, for example, the development of communications and, with them, the automobile and tourism, meaning that places became more accessible. Along with this, we find the celebration of a national territory formed by multiple and diverse *terroirs*; this was the key to the excellence and specificity of the products, starting with the wine for which the French designation of origin system was enshrined in the nineteenth century (Guy 2001; 2002).

None of this happened by chance. According to Stephen Mennell, unlike in England, where the rural population quickly became part of the rural and industrial proletariat, in France the peasantry, in its various levels, continued to be of great economic and political importance, while urban development was much slower. This difference is reflected in the greater continuity of rural culinary traditions in France (Mennell 1996: 215–29). It is also a key factor because of the growing global competition in the food trade at the time (Mintz 2008: 23). The connection between

food, wine, and territories, through designations of origin, not only provided French products with internal niches in the market, but it also protected them from international competition as they claimed their own unique characters. The very first step in the certification process, as we know it today, took place at a conference in Madrid in 1890–1891 (Guy 2012). As Kolleen M. Guy states: "The emerging body of law on collective trademarks and protection of food appellations, in this way, was an expression to a set of cultural beliefs about the imaginary, but for that very reason all the more important historic and geographic relationship between the nation and food" (Guy 2012: 193). Note that this takes place in a setting marked by economic protectionism and an acute nationalist rivalry, expressed by the fight for geopolitical hegemony and the building of colonial empires (Hayes 1963: 216-41).

Hence, the development of "national culinary consciousness" in France "not only accepted but actively promoted regional difference on the assumption that all were subsumed in the greater whole" (Ferguson 2004: 129). The new appreciation for regional cooking in Portugal—as a constitutive part of the national one—was also influenced by what was happening there. The direct impact of the French contribution is also demonstrated by Bello himself, who was perfectly aware of the trends in France.

The investment in regional cuisine in France was also tied to the development of railway and road networks, as well as the circulation of cars and tourism that was promoted by the famous Michelin Guide beginning in 1900 (Rauch 2008: 22). Bello not only belonged to the car-owner class in Portugal, but he was also an important figure in the development of tourism, as a member of the Sociedade de Propaganda de Portugal (Portuguese Propaganda Society), founded in 1906 and also known as the Touring Club of Portugal (Matos et al. 2009; Cunha 2010). Indeed, the Touring Club of France had dominated the promotion of French regional cuisine—as had the Touring Club of Italy in that country (Montanari 2010: 79). In France, the cuisine-appreciation movement was accompanied by a deep nostalgia for the rural world—a world from whose images farm workers had been excluded (Rauch 2008: 32). In Portugal, as in France, it was ultimately members of the urban elite who first defined regional food, using the countryside and the rural world as a reference. (Rauch 2008: 32).

Contemporary National, Regional, and Local Celebrations

Let us now return to the contemporary Portuguese scene, where, as said before, promoting Portuguese cuisine has a prominent place; the references are mostly to rural areas—coastal places are in the minority—with praise for their diversity.[3] Among the many forms this promotion takes, of particular note are two major national shows: the *Festival Nacional de Gastronomia* (National Gastronomy Festival) and the *Feira Nacional da Agricultura* (National Agricultural Fair).[4] Both take place in Santarém,

a small town in the center of Portugal, which is the hub of Portugal's most important agricultural region, the Ribatejo (Gaspar 1993: 125).

Both events celebrate food, albeit in different ways. The festival, with its restaurants and taverns, concentrates on cuisine, with a small market where pork sausages, hams, cheeses, regional sweets, olive oil, and a few drinks are sold. The fair's protagonists are food producers and retailers and government agencies involved in agriculture, along with some cattle ranchers and makers of agricultural machinery. What the two events have in common is that they both extol a national image emphasizing regional diversity.

Identity marks are visible not only on the food products, but also on the actual décor, which feature photographs evoking spaces of provenance and artifacts—such as agricultural implements or costumes—that everyone identifies with specific places. These are items referenced in ethnography over the past century. Music and dance groups identified with regions and villages also play a part.

An examination of the actors, discourses, and images of these events is enlightening. At the 2012 National Agricultural Fair, for example, which featured the theme "the pleasure of tasting" in one of its main pavilions, in addition to people who produce and sell food and large retail chains, official agencies—city councils, the Ministry of Agriculture, European Union programs related to regional development and agriculture (such as LEADER and ProDeR), farmers' associations, and companies involved in rural tourism were also present.[5] Thus, we can see concerted action by several economic and political actors with vested interests in the production and retailing of food, from supranational actors to national and local ones.

In any case, the appeal of rurality and tradition in both events refers to the past—a past that was the subject of ethnographic research in the nineteenth century and was "objectified" (Handler 1988) as part of the official image of the countryside in the twentieth century under the Estado Novo. The exhibitions of farm work at the 2012 fair showed the Ribatejo region's iconic tasks—such as the herding of bulls used in bullfighting, which became a national image of the countryside in Portugal in the Salazar era. Not only is bullfighting popular here, but this was the region of the *campino,* a herdsman on horseback, whose image was popularized as one of national masculinity during the Estado Novo.

Also at the 2012 fair, there were competitions for horse-drawn vehicles—although it has been decades since they disappeared from the countryside—handicraft displays, and folk dancing by groups in traditional dress; this was in line with the Estado Novo concept of "popular." It should be emphasized, however, that the types of events and displays at the 2012 fair were not strictly in line with what was going at these fairs until recently. For example, although heritage has been asserted in the past, nothing compares to the "heritage crusade" (Lowenthal 1998) going on nowadays, with the support of global agencies such as UNESCO; in addition, rural tourism is something new. Both were conceived by European agencies and the Portuguese government as weapons against desertification and abandonment of the countryside.

Other more recent issues, such as environmental concerns, sustainability, and the use of renewable energy, were thus connected with archaic representations of the countryside. Note that a poster for one rural development association supported by the European Union's LEADER program advertised its work under four headings—rurality/history/culture/nature—which seemed to sum up both the old and the new themes that were present.[6]

The past recalled combined references to both the world of landowners (riding their horses) and that of workers (singing, dancing, and making handicraft items). There were popular events that bridged class divisions, such as bullfighting and *fado* concerts—*fado* being originally a type of urban popular song, which was enshrined as a symbol of Portuguese national identity during the Estado Novo. However, this is a sanitized view, of course, which reminds us of the pastoral representations of the countryside deconstructed by Raymond Williams. Exploitation and poverty that bred social unrest and came to the surface with land occupations in southern Portugal after the democratic revolution of 1974 are excluded from the picture.

The written discourse and images both explicitly emphasized products' authenticity and their roots in the local landscape. In 2012, a few well-known proponents of standardized food and the industrial production chain staked their claim to a link with Portuguese production. The McDonald's stand advertised the company's link to rural Portugal, identifying the producers—photographed in a rural setting—who supplied McDonald's restaurants. Two major Portuguese supermarket chains—Pingo Doce and Continente—highlighted their connection with national production. In their marketing and advertising, all these corporations are playing to nationalist rhetoric, which apparently resonates with consumers. As in other places, McDonald's went through a process of "localization" or "indigenization" in Portugal (Tierney and Ohnuki-Tierney 2012).

However, the fair itself showed that the promotion of the regional and the local is an economic strategy that goes beyond the nation-state. Indeed, the government is on site and supports the fair, but the huge stand of the LEADER program in a prominent place in the main pavilion serves as an example of the supra-local, European character that governs these regional and national representations.

The Testimony of More Recent Cookbooks

These representations of cooking and food are echoed in more recent cookbooks. We will address only two of the most important, which are dedicated exclusively to food represented as Portuguese. Originally published in 1981, *Cozinha Tradicional Portuguesa* (Traditional Portuguese Cooking) is undoubtedly one of the most influential recent cookbooks. Written by the most popular Portuguese-cooking author and the first host of TV cooking shows, Maria de Lurdes Modesto, it has been reprinted many times. Regional and local recipes considered traditional are presented in the

context of the actual regions where they were collected. Furthermore, the author claims she is committed to fighting "for the revival of the Portuguese culinary heritage to counter a certain monotonous international cuisine that threatens to invade our homes." In short, the intention was for readers to see the book as a "gastronomic image of the old nation that we are." Two criteria governed the choice of dishes: "representativeness" and "authenticity" (Modesto 1999: 5–6).

Later, in 1999, Modesto and two coauthors published *Festas e Comeres do Povo Português* (Feasts and Foods of the Portuguese People). Most of the recipes collected in this work come from the countryside—including small regional capitals—which had been losing population for decades. However, what makes this book different is that its spatial references are enhanced by the connection between food and the festive calendar, marked by Christian celebrations (such as Christmas and Easter) or secular festivities (such as Carnival or the slaughter of the pig). This vision is based on Portuguese ethnography, a discipline in which rural life has been the main subject of study.

Rich, festive food is overrepresented. Therefore, these and other books should in no way be expected to provide a realistic portrayal of what was eaten in Portugal in a rural past. Nevertheless, they are important as ideal representations of the cuisine.

It is worth mentioning here that recent political change in Portugal seems to be somehow reflected in matters of food and cuisine. In 1974, a dictatorship was replaced by a democratic government, bringing a rhetorical emphasis on people's sovereignty and the celebration of popular culture, in Portugal identified with rural folk (Sobral 2007). We believe that the subsequent proliferation and success of cookbooks such as Modesto's is tied to this ideological and cultural process; this proliferation includes an increasing number of books on Portuguese regions. However, we must be aware that this is part of a rediscovery of the rural, the traditional, the vernacular, and the local, which, as we have already noted, is in no way specific to Portugal.

This (re)discovery of food originating from the countryside also took place in Portugal in a context of radical change in both the countryside and agriculture. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Portugal was a rural country, and agriculture was the largest sector of the Portuguese economy; Portugal was still essentially a rural country in the 1950s, although agriculture's importance to the economy and employment was in sharp decline (Rolo 2000). The workings of capitalism, both internally and internationally, underpin the dramatic changes in the relationship between the rural and the urban. In this respect, the greatest transformation stemmed from a large-scale migration, intensifying from the start of the 1960s, from the Portuguese countryside to the prosperous core of the European Union or to metropolitan areas of Portugal's main cities, Lisbon and Porto (Ferrão 2000). Hence, rural revivalism coincided with a crucial change, which was an emptying of the countryside. Even so, although the consumers of the cuisine—and the produce—of Portugal's rural regions are mainly city dwellers, they retain strong ties with the countryside

they recently left behind and with which they still have some kind of link: a house, some property, family networks, friends, or memories.

The Appeal of the Regional and the Rural in a Context of Change

There is continuity and novelty in the links between past and present attitudes toward food and cuisine. The role placed on food and cooking as part of an effort to promote the revitalization of the countryside is a novelty, as are concerns with the environment. Among the continuities between past and present, we can discern the localization of products and culinary practices, clearly linked to current certification processes or linked to tourism, as we found earlier. Even so, these are trends of a magnitude previously unknown. The localization of products, certification, and agro-tourism—which did not exist before the 1980s, tourism in the rural space being limited to the few often-luxurious government-run inns—are now widespread. The very defense of heritage, based on valuing cultural elements already appreciated in the past, has now increased and is sanctioned by the work of transnational agencies such as the European Union (De Soucey 2010) and UNESCO; at the agricultural fair, an application was unveiled for preserving a local fishing community as "national UNESCO heritage." We fully agree with Richard Wilk, for whom the emphasis on culture and the celebration of differences are now a part of contemporary globalization: "Culture has become a key commodity in the world economy, and a basic tool of government" (Wilk 2006: 198).

The use of food and cuisine as markers of national and regional identities is one of the main links between past and present. As we have seen, the national-cuisine movement began as a reaction against international haute cuisine and established itself in the 1930s. The movement continues even today. Nationalism remains present in both cuisine and the identity of products. As proof of this, take the example of a resolution adopted by the Portuguese government's Council of Ministers in 2000, which defined Portuguese traditional cookery as a part of the "Portuguese cultural heritage."[7] The same government resolution underscored Portuguese traditional cuisine or cookery, defining it as "Portuguese traditional recipes" using foodstuff produced in Portugal. National authenticity is also asserted in the marketing of products. At the 2012 agricultural fair, for example, a variety of rice grown in Portugal was advertised as "genuine Portuguese rice"—the only "certified" rice in Europe because of its quality and "food safety."

Hence, claims of genuineness—or authenticity—accompany the selection of foodstuffs and dishes. Several studies have highlighted the connection between claims to authenticity tied to cuisine and food consumption (Lindholm 2008; Truninger and Sobral 2011). A recent study on the sociology of food consumption distinguished various aspects of authenticity, such as "geographic specificity," "simplicity," "history

and tradition," and "ethnic connection" (Johnston and Baumann 2010). All these are present in one way or another in the materials we gathered here celebrating Portuguese cuisine and produce, from the writings of Eça de Queirós, Júlio Dinis, or Fialho de Almeida and the content of cookbooks to government policy and the food festivals and agricultural fairs we just mentioned.

However, as previously stated, it is city people who formulate these discourses and representations—and the public policies that support them. Regional food is the product of an invention or re-creation of tradition because, as it has been argued, it never existed in the forms in which it is defined today. Moreover, cooking practices in the past were never homogeneous, but included those of distinct classes and lifestyles.

This invention or re-creation of tradition, supported by political power, operates through a selective codification that transforms culinary practices transmitted by observation, practice, and word of mouth into a "frozen" corpus of written recipes; this corpus can then be reproduced, which helps objectify the systematization. Although this process praises the countryside as a place with a more authentic and genuine cuisine, and as a repository of disappearing traditions, it is the city that drives the process, as this is where we find the culinary intellectuals and journalists who promote it, as well as the political institutions who support the appreciation of regional food and culinary heritage. Many of the restaurants that offer regional cuisine and many of its consumers are found in the city. Furthermore, while the most influential agents in the re-creation of regional cuisines are in large cities, such as the Portuguese capital of Lisbon, the role played by those in the smaller towns and regional or local centers, as well as the efforts of local authorities, should not be forgotten.

In recent decades, these more-local agents have promoted events designed to market and sell produce and prepared foods, uniting the claim to identity with initiatives for revitalizing local economic activity. The local authorities in Alpalhão—a village in the Alentejo region of southern Portugal—organized a gastronomic festival in March 2013. There were some three hundred people there who, for five euros each, could eat a dish called *arroz de cachola*—rice with pig's blood and offal—and drink a glass of wine. This was popular, inexpensive food and wine. National-government agencies and major retailers were absent, and attendees were mostly small farmers, rural and industrial workers, and retired people. Nowadays, this type of event is being replicated everywhere: national initiatives are echoed in local ones.

As already pointed out, Raymond Williams noted that the city, the country, and their images are interrelated. It is from this perspective that we should analyze what is happening to food and cuisine. Simply put, why is the promotion and consumption of local and regional national cuisine represented as coming essentially from rural roots? There are multiple reasons for this, in no way specific to Portugal.

The consumption and supply of the products involved invoke specificities of taste and pleasure—local roots attached to the place of production and the *terroir*

(Aurier et al. 2005; Schnell 2013)—as well as health, safety (Menasche 2010), sustainability, and nationality. A recent book by two Portuguese nutritionists and academics, with the evocative title of *50 Super Alimentos Portugueses* (50 Portuguese Super Foods), maintains that people can benefit their health by "consuming what is ours" (Teixeira and Carvalho 2012). We must not forget that cooking and food laden with such symbolic value thus acquires added economic value. Underlying these representations, there is a global reaction to making culinary styles standardized and uniform, associated by many with fast food. Even so, as we saw at the outset, fast food is just a symptom of a more global phenomenon: the organization of the modern world and its pace, already described as the "McDonaldization" of society (Ritzer 2000). The reaction to globalization takes the form of the protection of diversity, the search for roots even if they are unknown or mythical, and the revivalism of local and national cuisines (Flandrin 1996: 722).

Homogenizing trends, the product of globalism, breed gastronationalism (De Soucey 2010: 433; Montanari 2009: 208–9; Alison K. Smith 2012: 445). Fast food triggered the revival of the "local" or "traditional," a revival that "played the local/authentic against the global/industrial" (Penfold 2012: 294). Therefore, instead of seeing globalization—or the spread of global capitalism—as something separate from localization, we should view the two, as underscored by Wilk (2006: 195), as two faces of the same historical phenomenon.

In this process, the countryside—and agriculture—are invoked as referring to a simpler life, one that is more real, one that has a greater sense of community and is closer to nature compared to city life.

Why is it that people value food advertised and perceived as traditional and authentic (that is, what they believe to be the national and regional food we have described)? We do not claim to fully explain the processes involved in the consumption of such food—and therefore the representations linked to their marketing and sale. What follows is simply an attempt to give some final possible explanations.

One explanation lies simply in culinary pleasures linked to sensory memory (Sutton 2005), part of social recall, an emotive memory (Lupton 2005) evoking the past and its social relations through nostalgia (Swislocki 2009). Note that Portuguese food in general and, for many, regional food linked to the rural world represent the food with which most of the Portuguese population was socialized. Many who live in large cities came from the countryside. Moreover, local people can regain a renewed sense of esteem, and of commonality, from being identified with products and food seen as cultural items. Cuisine as culture sells well nowadays. There are symbolic benefits, and some economic profit, to be gained from food sales or culinary tourism entailing not only gourmets or high-paying customers, but also local consumers, as in Alpalhão (Long 2012: 401–402).

The attachment to food considered traditional has been seen precisely as a response to changes in lifestyles brought on by modernity. This food's appeal presumably

relates to a "widespread feeling of insecurity or uncertainty induced by declining normative regulation or social belonging" (Warde 1997: 64). The attachment to traditional food provides a sense of belonging to a community (De Soucey 2010: 449), whether local, regional, or national, "that most potent of modern secular religions" (Lindholm 2008: 67). Furthermore, attachments to the "homeland" merge with the image of the countryside, at the same time a symbol of the imagined community and of better food, as opposed to the city.

Acknowledgments

This chapter is based on research funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia of the Portuguese Ministry for Education and Science (PTDC/CS-ANT/115978/2009).

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Hazz al-Quhuf: An Urban Satire on Peasant Life and Food from Seventeenth-century Egypt

Sami Zubaida

Conceptions and representations of the countryside and its peasant inhabitants are predominantly urban creations. They are products of literate observers and ideologues, litterateurs, politicians, economists, and social theorists, as well as pictorial representations in high art. The rural world's own self-representations, such as folklore, songs, and pictures, themselves become objects of study and classification by urban savants. Rural life as an issue of policy and reform, as well as concern for the conditions of peasant life, are features of political and ideational modernity, as are conceptions of society and politics as objects of study, with regularities, patterns, and fluctuations that follow principles and laws. Premodern attitudes assumed social arrangements and differentiations to be given and immutable. In politics, you could envisage or urge the change of a ruler or prince, but with little idea of a system that is subject to evolution or revolution.[1] As such, the condition of the rural world and its inhabitants would be seen as given and immutable, and the hardships and catastrophes of that life seen as part of God-given nature and fate. The work to be discussed in this paper is an example of such an outlook. The debased condition of peasants, including their food, is wittily ridiculed by an urban scholar, ostensibly commenting on an ode supposedly uttered by a poor peasant, lamenting the hardships and misfortunes of his life and fantasizing about the foods that would give him solace and gratify his perpetual hunger. Highlighting the supposed stupidity and crudeness of the peasant is an example of a more general phenomenon of the superior classes—their contempt and ridicule of their inferiors. We see this in Great Britain, with the old stereotypes of the working classes and particularly of the Irish. We also see it in the American supremacist stereotyping of blacks, and in the general characterization by colonial powers of native peoples as naive. In Egypt, the term *fellah,* peasant, continues to be used, to the present day, to indicate inferiority and incompetence, though, of course, it is not politically correct.

The work to be discussed here is Yusuf Al-Shirbini's *Hazz al-Quhuf.*[2] Little is known about Al-Shirbini. He lived and worked in the middle and later decades of the