INTERNATIONAL MASTER IN PEACE CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT

UNESCO
United Nations
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UNIVERSITAT JAUME·I

Bancaja
Fundación Caja Castellón

UNESCO Chair of Philosophy for Peace

MASTER'S DEGREE
FINAL DISSERTATION

"Interculinary" Dialogue:
The Kitchen as an "Unconditional Space"
For Intercultural Dialogue and Political Awareness

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Abstract

There are two things that are basic, inherent parts of human daily life, that are both commonly misunderstood—food and conflict. Food, one of the most important parts of human life is oftentimes seen as mundane and unimportant. And conflict is seen as something negative that must be avoided at all costs. Combining three disciplines in this master's dissertation, I have come to the conclusion that we should see these common perceptions in a different way. Conflict allows for the opportunity for change, transformation and growth, and an understanding of the importance of food to human identity makes way for the possibility to combine this room for change and the expression of identity through cuisine. In that way, I believe that using the exchange of cuisine from different cultures to create intercultural awareness can foster intercultural dialogue.

Keywords

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"What's That Smell in the Kitchen?"

(Marge Piercy, 1936)

All over America women are burning dinners.
It's lambchops in Peoria; it's haddock
in Providence; it's steak in Chicago;
tofu delight in Big Sur; red
rice and beans in Dallas.   5
All over America women are burning
food they're supposed to bring with calico
smile on platters glittering like wax.
Anger sputters in her brainpan, confined
but spewing out missiles of hot fat.   10
Carbonized despair presses like a clinker
from a barbecue against the back of her eyes.
If she wants to grill anything, it's
her husband spitted over a slow fire.
If she wants to serve him anything   15
it's a dead rat with a bomb in its belly
ticking like the heart of an insomniac.
Her life is cooked and digested,
nothing but leftovers in Tupperware.
Look, she says, once I was roast duck   20
on your platter with parsley but now I am Spam.
Burning dinner is not incompetence but war.

—1982

Introduction

Los científicos dicen que estamos hechos de átomos, pero a mí un pajarito me contó que estamos hechos de historias.

(Eduardo Galeano in *Mirrors* 2008)

Starting With My Own Story

My first word as a baby was "hot" because my mother used to sit me on the counter while she cooked so as precaution she would point to the stove and repeat it so I wouldn't burn myself. The kitchen, which I like to call a laboratory for culinary expression has been one of my places of passion since I sat in my high chair licking brownie batter from the mixing bowl. My favorite memories from childhood take place in the kitchen experimenting with different creations with my mother, my sisters and my grandmother. This emotional attachment that surrounds the kitchen has been something that has stuck with me—when I almost quit my undergraduate career in international relations at the University of San Francisco to study at Le Cordon Bleu[1], when teaching English in the North of Spain my one escape from hours of teaching (something I have never been very passionate about) was to bake and blog about it, when after these two years of peace studies fervently researching the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, what really calls my name is the kitchen.

Since I was a child I have seen a clear link between the expression of identity and cuisine. I grew up learning about my ancestors through the food that my grandparents taught me to cook—*lefse,* a crepe-like bread made from potato puree from my mother's

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[1] "Le Cordon Bleu is a world renowned network of educational institutions dedicated to providing the highest level of culinary and hospitality instruction through world class programs" (Cordonbleu.edu, 2015).

Norwegian side, egg noodles with cabbage and onion from my father's Hungarian part, *matzo* with cream cheese from my Jewish part. Like many European descendants in the United States, my heritage is a mixture of tiny pieces of so many places, languages, cultures, histories, and foods. And so the list goes on. My childhood was filled with so many rich cultures just because of the area in which I grew up. San Francisco, California is one of the country's most diverse cities—a place where you can eat out for every meal of the year and still have thousands of diverse cuisines from which to choose. I have to admit it was wonderful to grow up in a community where diversity is so much appreciated when it comes to cuisine. This exposure allowed me to view cooking as an expression of art, of identity, of culture, and so when travelling outside of my context it was surprising to see food in any other way. Food is what has always connected me to people on a community, or individual level. I must uphold that cultures tell their stories through the food they cook, and share with the world. My father was married after my mother to a Brazilian woman and after to a Japanese woman, and naturally it was a little bit difficult for me to get along with them right away. For me, the kitchen was always a safe, sacred place that allowed me to open up to new ways, new expressions of identity. Any personal conflicts I might have had with them, I was able to transform through a common interest in diverse cuisines and by cooking together. Now I would like to see how this laboratory of human expression, called the kitchen, could become an area to create peace, whether it is interpersonal, holistic, etc.

Along with this vision of the kitchen as a space to create peace, I must include as part of my perspective the underlying aspects that attribute to my identity. Being Jewish has always been a mysterious part of my identity, but still important.   Apart from

growing up in a society in which we are constantly made aware of the history of the Jews as victims of the Holocaust, and that I am conscious of the fact that some of my ancestors died in the concentration camps during World War Two, my experience in school and as a United States citizen conditioned me to see a clear victimization of the Jewish community, and to understand that my ancestors were part of that victimized group. Since I was in elementary school, my favorite book has always been *The Diary of a Young Girl* and my dream has always been to see Anne Frank's annex in Amsterdam— and so since I was a child, I was concerned with the suffering of oppressed groups (Frank et al., n.d). Since elementary school, as to be expected, my perspective changed a lot.

After leaving my country, it became obvious that what I learned in elementary school came with an agenda behind it. I learned to read between the lines and to comprehend the complex role that my country plays in the suffering of many people. After living outside of the United States for a few years, I went to Israel for the first time. The truth is that before starting this masters, I did not have a very strong opinion about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but nonetheless as a Jewish United States citizen, it is commonly assumed that this identity comes with some heavily charged stigmas and connotations. It would be simplistic to take for granted that because someone is Jewish and a United States citizen that they are in favor of Israel, but in the country in which I grew up, people would automatically jump to that conclusion. Being Jewish and opposed to Israel would be like eating a piece of *challah* (Jewish holy bread eaten during Sabbath) with pork (Kosher Jews do not eat pig meat). The dominant discourses of president

George W. Bush and his "axis of evil"[2] push people to perceive the world in dualisms: *us versus them* (Palmer, 2003). I grew up in the United States in a post 9-11 period in which there has always been a clearly marked enemy of state—*the victim and the perpetrator*. The security of the country and those in opposition to the dominant discourse have always been put into question and very much part of the conditioning as a citizen—something I did not come to terms with until I stepped outside the box, and left the country. Now, having lived six years outside of the United States, my view has changed. I always lived in a more "liberal" part of the country, in which cultural diversity is supposedly appreciated, but a diversity, which always goes hand in hand with conflict.

Us Versus Them

To grow up in a country with such a prevalent dualistic dominant discourse conditioned me to think in binary terms, and it has taken me time to step outside of that way of thinking. To arrive to a consciousness of that has created a lot of internal conflict for me in that I have become aware of many lies and of a certain level of brainwashing one goes through as a United States citizen. One of the main parts of having reached this awareness, I owe to my time in Israel. I have never been "pro-Israeli" or anything close, but Israel has always been a mystery for me because I knew very little and because the media, which is controlled by the government, had conditioned what I did know. I went in 2013, a few weeks before starting this masters program, and I must admit that I did not know much about the conflict. I studied international relations as an undergraduate student, and we didn't once talk about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This conflict,

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[2] The "Axis of Evil" is a term that former U.S. President George W. Bush used to describe countries he considered to be involved with terrorism or weapons of mass destruction. For more information see Palmer 2003 "Breaking the Real Axis of Evil".

which has a reputation for being long and complicated, was never discussed in class because the very act of putting oneself in an "anti-Israeli" position meant to be against the United States (since they support so much military aid to Israel). That is why when I went to Israel I was not sure what I would find.

I went with a program called Birthright, which sends Jewish United States youth to Israel to reconnect with their ancestors and to learn about Jewish history. I admit that I went to Israel because this trip was free of charge, and not as a way to connect with the "holy land," but it's true that it gave me a certain thrill to see from where my ancestors came. I spent ten days there getting to know the Jewish historical sites. The first day of this cultural and touristic voyage, we piled 35 Jewish youth into the tour bus and they drove us to Sderot—the closest city to the Gaza Strip. In those days of summer 2013 there was not an active military invasion in process, something that happens every few years and that the Israelis call "mowing the lawn"[3] (Chomsky, 2014).

Of course the majority of us had never been in a bunker town before in which all the buildings and structures—playgrounds, bus stops, apartments, schools, etc., were built to be able to withstand rockets launched by Hamas[4]. Understandably a sensation of fear came over us as we were told that we had fifteen seconds to arrive to a safe zone after hearing the signal before a bomb would explode. When we exited the bus, we were lead to a safe zone in which the rockets launched from across the strip were stored. We entered into the storage area, touched the rockets, some people took photos, and in that instant I was hit by an extreme uncertainty that left me reeling with doubt and sadness.

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[3] For more information see Chomsky 2014, "Noam Chomsky: the Real Reason Isreal 'Mows the Lawn' in Gaza".

[4] Hamas (*Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-ʾIslāmiyyah* Islamic Resistance Movement) is a Palestinian Islamic organization with an associated military wing. For more information see Chehab 2007, "Inside Hamas".

Poor Israelis having to put up with terrorist attacks every day. This was the first thing we were meant to think after leaving Sderot. When anyone would ask our tour guide about the occupied territories or about the conflict in general, the answer was always "it's complicated". Nobody wanted to touch the topic in depth because it would suppose and explanation that implied considering the other side's perspective.

After this trip, my interest in the so-called "Holy Land" began to grow—for one because I found it perturbing that a country that is seemingly so peaceful and innocent (from what we saw in the trip) could be the perpetuator of so much violence, and that my own country was at the root of that violence. Because of that first glimpse of Israel (and Gaza), and because of my Jewish United States identity, I continued to research this conflict in the context of the masters, in hopes of understanding or discovering what is behind all of this perpetuated violence. Within peace studies I have been able to deconstruct the dominant discourse and see further than the "complicated" explanation of the Israeli tour guide.

A year later, I returned to Israel because my sister did the same Birthright trip and I flew to meet her there from Spain. This time, instead of seeing a foreign land with a beautiful story, a saw a country in extreme worry for its security and willing to do anything to maintain it. I had studied for the first year of the master what went on behind the checkpoints and outside of the metropolitan bubble of Tel Aviv—I was disgusted and saddened by this violence (even genocide) that was being perpetuated by my own country for the extensive help they give to the Israeli Defense Forces[5].

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[5] The Israeli Defense Forces are the military forces of the State of Israel. They are considered controversial for the actions they commit in the invasions and control of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. For more information see Rapaport 2010, "The IDF and the Lessons in the Second Lebanon War".

Not in My Name

I left the country this second time frustrated and with a bad taste in my mouth, with the need to do something. This is why, the summer after visiting Israel for the second time, I worked for an organization in San Francisco that insists upon peace in those territories. Jewish Voice for Peace helped me to see the ability to see the humanity in the other before the essentialist identity. It is an organization made up of Jewish United States citizens that try to change the dominant discourse of the Jewish lobbies in the United States so that people see that in their name an entire innocent population is dying. We tried, in the middle of another military invasion in Gaza to change the political discourse by declaring: "not in my name". In other words, as Jews we do not support Israel as the perpetuator of violence against a population without resources or power. We manifested, trying with all we could against the politicians that, even though hundreds of innocent Palestinians were dying every day while our country sent military and monetary aid to Israel, continued to send it. This experience proved to be a transcendental one for me. I saw so many people put themselves in the place of "the other" and look beyond the years of conflict and see the humanity and tragedy that was taking place. I would like to use this example as a point in the circle of change of perspective and a way to show the hybrid nature of identity given the circumstances of conditioning in a dualist discourse of the United States.

Contextualizing Research

One might be wondering now what United States foreign policy has to do with peace studies or with culinary arts. The experience I come from has been always one of dualistic discourses. There has always been an enemy and a friend, a victim and a

perpetrator. This is the type of society in which I grew up—and I find it very important to clearly identify how I have been conditioned to see the world to be able to deconstruct that reality and find new areas to create dialogue and spaces of peace. I would like to, through this research process, find out where we can find common areas inside a conflicted and diverse world that is so stained with corrupt power dynamics.

Common Spaces

Where can we see the common spaces? It could be that it is so obvious and mundane, but I see food, which is something so intrinsic to the identity of each culture and individual, as a powerful tool to create intercultural dialogue and nurture empathy. In that way, how can we ignore the importance of food to represent and express culture and identity?

In the first intercultural seminar of the masters, the topic was food. It discussed the power we have in choosing what we decide to consume, particularly veganism in this case. It made me see that the ability we have and the difference our choices as eaters make. Because of time and space limitations, I will not be able to write in depth about the impacts of human diets on the environment, but I would like to mention here the connections I see between the voice of the environment and human expression of identity through consumption. I would like to be able to, along with trying to highlight the aspects of recognition of the identity through culinary traditions as a way to create intercultural dialogue, see how to link the power to create dialogue between two parts in a space like the kitchen with a more holistic side—the relationship with the environment and the silenced voice due to the ways in which humans consume and cultivate food.

To clarify, I am very much interested in the abuse of power of different agricultural producers and that impact on the environment, living beings and different cultures. How can we make clear the need to deconstruct the modern, dominant discourse that does not take into account the effects of an unsustainable food system on the environment? The aforementioned intercultural seminar made me question my carbon footprint and understand how it affects all the creatures of the world. Since then, that doubt has grown and made me think of how to promote a sustainable food system and in turn, a peaceful dialogue between the environment and other voices.

I believe that by creating a dialogue between different cultures by sharing food, we can also communicate with and recuperate forgotten knowledge that will allow us to better see the link between producer and consumer and in that way minimize the space between human beings and the environment—making obvious that one without the other does not make sense. I believe that the way in which we consume creates a distance between us, as humans, and the production of food, and in turn what is behind what we buy in the supermarket—the work involved, the impact on the planet, the people who produce it. If we could find a way to better communicate and to have a higher level of recognition of who are the producers and where our food come from, we would have a more complete experience and awareness of our place in the world. This goes not only for other cultures and individuals, but also for the voice of the environment not solely as something we have the obligation to protect, but another being that has its own voice and inherent rights. The idea of leaving out the environment as one major actor in the food system does not make sense to me, but due to limitations of time I will not go into depth in this particular study about the environment, but will allow space for it to be an area for

further research in the future. If, with this investigation, my intention is to illustrate how "unconditional spaces"—in this case, the kitchen—can generate dialogue, I consider that it is very important to take into account the voice of the environment since our way of consuming is to dialogue with it (Allestorfer, 2013).

Coming Full Circle

In this transcendental, political experience, when we passed in our bus by East Jerusalem, we gazed through the tinted windows at the Jewish settlements on the other side of the wall dividing Israel and the West Bank. All the Jewish homes were brand new, with enormous, glistening swimming pools and crisp, green lawns, while on the other side of the fence the land was dry and parched and the buildings seemed as though they would crash and fall like a house of cards with one gust of wind. The Israeli tour guide uttered with a proud expression on his face: "this is how we upkeep the land, and they (the Palestinians) leave it in ruins". Apart from the fact that I am well aware of the political reasons behind the inequality of natural resources in this case, I was reminded again of this familiar and shocking binary discourse of always dividing us versus them— they who abuse the Holy Land and we who have rescued it from them. It makes me think again how one could put in dialogue not just different cultures, but also the land that is shared between them. It is because of this that with the kitchen as an "unconditional space[6]," I would like to see how a dialogue can be created between different cultures so

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[6] When I refer to the idea of "unconditional spaces," it comes from a master's thesis of a student of the World Peace Academy in Basel, Switzerland. Her definition of "unconditional spaces" something that "offer[s] appreciating, non-judgmental and healing fields, where opposing parties are invited to lay down their arms for a moment in order to open up for peaceful realities" (Allerstorfer, 2013: 9).

that they can see the common areas, land, ground, and always keep in touch with the silenced voices—including that of the environment (Shiva, 2000).

Research Questions

With the intention of demonstrating that the kitchen as an unconditional space can be a space to create intercultural dialogue, my research questions will be two-fold:

1. How can intercultural dialogue be exhibited in cuisine?

2. How can the kitchen be used as an unconditional space for mutual recognition within multicultural societies?

Methodologies

The methodologies that have influenced me in this research process have been feminist (Ackerly and True, 2010). These theories, which support a commitment to always inquire about the inquired, force me to be aware at all times of my position within this research. I find it important to take into account this feminist ethic to be able to have the ability to critically analyze and be conscious of any possible biased or prejudice. Brook Ackerly and Jacqui True talk about four key elements that must always be present in political and social science investigation: "the power of knowledge; and more profoundly; of epistemology; boundaries, marginalization, silences, and intersections; relationships and their power differentials; and your own sociopolitical location (or 'situatedness')" (Ackerly and True, 2010: 22-23). Because this research will require my ability to locate my "situatedness" within the context of my study, I see fit to use these feminist methodologies to guide me (Ackerly and True, 2010).

As I will be intertwining three complex disciplines, I will be using food studies also as a methodological tool to understand identity. Annie Hauck-Lawson, author, nutritionist, and master composter, has defined the term "food voice" and has shown that food choices[7] can convey characteristics of a person's identity or emotion in a way that words alone cannot (Hauck-Lawson, 2006). Because my dissertation aims to prove the possibility of using cooking, and food, as a method to create dialogue (in this case intercultural, specifically), I will use my influence of main food studies authors such as Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik's work on food-centered life histories, along with Hauck-Lawson's "food voice" while researching specific cases in which dialogue has been created through the process of routine cooking, and the expression of identity through cuisine (Counihan and Van Esterik, 2007; Hauck-Lawson, 2006). I will touch more on different food studies research methods in the first chapter of this dissertation; the theoretical framework, and then continue to elaborate these theories in the second chapter when expanding upon the power of food to express identity and emotion, which I will then demonstrate in the third chapter with four main case studies of food projects that have fostered intercultural dialogue.

Situating Myself Within the Research

I grew up in a multicultural society, in which mixed ethnicities are the norm and pure races are basically non-existent. Within this type of society, there is a social ladder that defines us by our race, gender, economic class, sexual preference, religion, and political standing. So, I am a white, middle class, heterosexual United States citizen. I

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[7] "Food voice" refers to the human being capability to decide and choose what to eat or not eat (Hauck-Lawson, 2006).

am aware of the privilege that goes along with this type of identity. I'd like to believe that in the "land of the free and the home of the brave," where "all men are created equal" that these identity markers didn't have such an influence or create such disparity, but just as I left this country and came back with a different standpoint, I am very much enlightened to the reality of living in a bi-party democracy such as the United States.

As I mentioned in a previous section in this introduction, I am also a Jewish United States citizen opposed to the aid my country gives to the so-called Jewish state of Israel. I am aware of the social conditioning I have passed through, of the polarized view I have been subject to in the status-quo world of United States politics. But I am also aware that before race disconnected us, religion separated us, politics divided us and wealth classified us, we were all just humans, and that is why I hope something as basic as food, which connects us all, not just to each other, but to the environment and other species, could help us look past those dividers of identity. Identity, after all, is hybrid and ever changing; based almost entirely on the stories and relationships we build through experience, intercultural dialogue, etc. (Omar, 2008).

Where do I fit in this research study? John Paul Lederach believes that relationships form the context in which violence happens and also generate the energy that enables people to transcend violence (Lederach, 2005). As people acknowledge their relational interdependency and recognize themselves as part of the pattern, they may be able to envision a wider set of relationships and take personal responsibility for their own choices and behavior. He also says that peace-builders in particular must be able to recognize their interconnectedness and mutuality (Lederach, 2005). In my experience, cycles of violence are often catalyzed by polarizations. Within conflict management,

there is often a tendency to react in paradoxical terms: *you are either with us or against us*. This is the type of world in which I grew up. September 11th and the reaction of the United States in starting a War on Terror[8] are just a couple examples of the type of narrow-minded dichotomy my country thrives on (Clarke, 2004). If you were against the War on Terror, you were a terrorist. There's always a victim and a perpetrator. That's what I have been led to believe, and that's why I would like to deconstruct paradoxical reasoning and move beyond this way of thinking. I hope that we can learn to see the beauty in complex, diverse societies such as the one in which I grew up—in this case through eating delicious food. Lederach also speaks about this paradoxical curiosity, which I will elaborate on further along in this dissertation (Lederach, 2005). It is part of the road to moving beyond multicultural coexistence. Yes, we learned to put up with each other, we learned to pass legislature that made us all equal under the law, but the recent social uprisings in Ferguson[9], and in New York, among other places, have shown that law doesn't necessarily translate to empathy, recognition, intercultural awareness and dialogue (Buchanan, 2014).

There has to be more. We must move past simply tolerating one another. By respecting complexity, we can seek something beyond what is visible, and discover that opposed social energies can be held together (Muñoz, 2001). We must accept people at face value, but also go further—look beyond appearances and suspend judgment in order to discover untold new angles, opportunities, and unexpected potentialities. Francisco Muñoz and Beatriz Molina Rueda, from the University of Granada wrote about a "culture

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[8] For more information on the War on Terror, see Clarke 2004, *Against All Enemies*.
[9] For more information on Ferguson unrest, see Buchanan 2014, "What Happened in Ferguson?".

of peace" in which conflict and complexity are essential and eminent pillars to human evolution (Muñoz and Molina Rueda, 2010).

> *Efectivamente, la complejidad resultante de la transformación y evolución del universo, del planeta tierra, de la vida, deja un legado de elecciones en la gestión de la información o de la energía, de organización o formas de vida con las que cohabitan los humanos.* (Muñoz and Molina Rueda, 2010: 47)

The world is becoming smaller and smaller, and much more multicultural. It is normal that the complexity we live amongst creates certain disequilibrium. Human beings are dependent upon one another and upon the environment in which they live. As complex beings, in a composite world, we can have a higher understanding and fuller interpretation of conflictive behavior, and conflicts.

> *Nuestra propia condición humana, con una amplia gama de capacidades y desarrollo de potencialidades, un número elevado de entidades humanas implicadas, unos recursos limitados y la dependencia de la complejidad, abastece a esta conflictividad.* (Muñoz and Molina Rueda, 2010: 48)

Because, as Lederach says, cycles of violence are often driven by polarities, Muñoz's ideas about complexity and cultures of peace respond to these narrow-minded precursors to conflict (Lederach, 2005; Muñoz, 2001). If we react to conflict with only two possible answers (in order to solve said conflict), we risk the opportunity for prospective creative acts (Lederach, 2003). My view has come from the personal need to deconstruct the polarized country in which I grew up. And now, having returned after nearly six years outside that context, I have decided to dedicate this research to finding a space in which complexity can thrive. I see food as a way to bridge those barriers between paradoxical standpoints and revive the idea that humanity comes before wealth, politics, religion, etc.

I hope I can show areas that exhibit cultures of peace, and room for complexity and moral imagination (Lederach, 2005).

Reviewing the Literature

As my goal is to interweave three important disciplines, here I would like to mention the various areas of research that have been implemented in those fields and how I feel it would become useful to my dissertation. As I will include a theoretical framework chapter (the first chapter), I will just briefly touch on the literature that I will be using in that framework. I break up the theory by three disciplines that I find all can be interweaved to be able to create a theoretical interpretation of peace studies using the food studies lenses. To create a bridge between the two disciplines, which are both already trans-disciplinary as is, I talk about identity and how food can be an expression of identity and the symbolic nature it projects. I outline the theoretical framework chapter, titled "Three Disciplines in Dialogue" by first explaining my interpretation of peace studies by contextualizing it historically and theoretically. I also do this with food studies, which is relatively new field of research. Identity studies serves to be a stepping-stone from understanding the human-food experience by way of peace theory. I argue that because food has such a symbolic nature and because it has the power to express identity, as well as create a humanizing factor within a multicultural, polarized society such as the United States, it can be used a peace tool to foster intercultural dialogue and mutual recognition through political awareness. Each discipline has various authors that I identify with and which I will mention briefly here.

The Origins of Many Peaces

As part of my literature review, I will include the contextualization of peace studies as it fits into my theoretical framework. For this part I will be using author's Vicent Martínez Guzmán, Irene Comins Mingol, Sonia París Albert to explain the evolution of peace studies philosophically. Historically, peace studies, or peace research is a relatively new field, just like food studies. It began to take shape in the middle of the 20th century as a result of the reactions to the First and Second World Wars (Galtung, 1969). These wars produced a strong emotional and intellectual impact in academic groups in diverging natures. These reactions all had one thing in common: they agreed that there needed to be strong action taken to prevent the further occurrence of such barbaric events. This phenomenon pushed forward a peace research agenda that studied peace from looking first at violence—a so-called negative peace (Galtung, 1969). Topics such as war, development, poverty, social justice, gender, environment, education, democracy, international relations and human rights all began to become incorporated into peace research, and to this day are still firm pillars of peace studies (Galtung, 1969).

These areas of research have grown since World War Two (Galtung, 1969). I will be talking about this chronological evolution of peace research in my first chapter and expanding upon it using Vicent Martínez Guzmán, Irene Comins Mingol and Sonia París Albert's "La nueva agenda de la filosofía para el siglo XXI: los estudios para la paz" (Martínez Guzmán et al., 2009). Within this part I also will be referring to Martínez Guzmán's "epistemological turn" to explain the ideas leading up to positive peace, moral imagination and (intercultural) dialogue (Martínez Guzmán et al., 2009). Martínez Guzmán's "epistemological turn", which surpasses the rationality of having always one

right answer, and in the case of peace studies, one definition of peace, allows us to incorporate interdisciplinary and intercultural focuses that comprehend that there cannot be simply one culture or discipline that defines peace (Martínez Guzmán et al., 2009). From this we can realize that peace exists in infinite forms and that with the intermixing of these different forms of peaces (in plural but also in reciprocity), we can accept complexity and see conflict as something positive and transformable instead of negative and erasable (Martínez Guzmán et al., 2009).

A Transrational Approach

Within peace studies, the *transrational* interpretations of peace by Wolfgang Dietrich resonate with me because they go beyond the limits of postmodernism in that they accept the complexity of energetic fields (Dietrich, 2012). In Dietrich's explanation of transrational and transpersonal peace theory, he speaks of Indian political author, Sri Aurobindo, who tells of living in unity with all and accepting all things in order to transform them (Dietrich, 2012). In order to do so, he says, one would have to overcome one's egoistic instincts so that through transcendence one could recognize the familiarity in the actions of others and understand them from within (Dietrich, 2012). "Compassion would derive from therefrom, because she/he recognized a part of herself/himself in others" (Dietrich, 2012: 214). I believe that through accepting that there is a connection between all beings, that we all are part of one another, we will be much more able to show compassion and empathy, and accept complexity and conflict as positive parts of our society.

Transrational peaces understand "the connectivity and mutual interdependence of all phenomena out of which an ethics of peaces arises and on the other, the dynamic

nature of all relations, which determines the aesthetics of the peaces" (Dietrich, 2012: 259). Peaces can be understood the same way as they are in energetic or postmodern interpretations, but in transrational theory they also look at the rational aspect (Dietrich, 2012). This, for me opens the door to see peace theory as something that encompasses an importance in relations, but also on rational considerations—because this is how food studies also interacts with the human experience.

Birgit Allestorfer, supervised by Wolfgang Dietrich, writes about "Unconditional Spaces: A Healing Phenomenon in Peace Building" (Allestorfer, 2013). Influenced by transrational theory, Allestorfer conceptualizes "'unconditional spaces' as an 'open Gestalt' that strives for the completion in [] society and the field of peace building" (Allestorfer, 2013: 3). Drawing on a transrational understanding of peaces, she illustrates a multidimensional picture of unconditional instances that include a range of peak experiences, which elicit unconditional mindsets found in the field of humanistic psychology, and merges them with a holistic viewpoint (Allestorfer, 2013). Allestorfer refers here to the communication between the inner and outer world and demonstrates how "unconditional spaces" have the potential to create sanctuaries and facilitators of group and personal transformation (Allestorfer, 2013). In applying her theory of "unconditional spaces" to my research I hope to find that within culinary arts, seeing the kitchen as a safe haven for unconditionality, intercultural dialogue can thrive and promote cultures of peace (Muñoz and Molina Rueda, 2010; Allestorfer, 2013).

Dialogue

Martínez Guzmán says that in the Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflicts from the University of Granada, *dialogue* is defined as an action to communicate two or more

people asking and giving reasons for which they do, say or do not say, what they do, say or do not say (Martínez Guzmán, 2007). In other words, *dialogue* in this case counts as communication between two or more people but also the justification of that communication (Martínez Guzmán, 2007). Martínez Guzmán looks at dialogue as an instrument for making peaces. Within my dissertation I also see dialogue, in this case—intercultural dialogue—as necessary for the creation of peaces, which is why I will be using Martínez Guzmán's literature about dialogue. I will also be using Sonia París Albert and Vicent Martínez Guzman's "*Interculturalidad y Conflicto. Una Perspectiva Desde la Filosofía de la Paz*" to talk about *interculturality* as an answer to the contravention of *intersubjectivity*, which must be recognized as a mode in the construction of personal identity. Because I part from the notion that identity is constructed, malleable and ever-changing, I would like to use these pieces of literature to hold up my belief that dialogue, which relies on mutual recognition, would not be possible without *interculturality*. For this reason, my dissertation focuses on the understanding of the nature of hybrid identities within multicultural societies and the need to create areas for intercultural dialogue that can serve to deconstruct political dualisms and bipolarity. If discovering diversity creates fear, we must find a way to instead of feeling fear, feel interest—curiosity of the unknown, and developing the ability to dialogue with those who are not necessarily like us. Because my research identifies with a new agenda for peace studies—studying peace from peace and not from an absence of violence—my goal is to find areas of peace that already exist within multicultural societies and explain how they elicit conflict transformation through political awareness and intercultural dialogue.

Political Dualisms

      After pointing out the type of peace theory that I find appropriate for this dissertation, I would like to explain my understanding of "political dualisms" within multicultural societies (particularly the United States), as I touched on in the previous section. The author's I have chosen for this section are Gloria Anzaldúa, who speaks about her experience of being caught between conflicting identities, in two cultures; feeling like an alien in both Mexico and the United States, which is a common occurrence for many United States citizens—including myself (Anzaldúa, 1987). I have read through her book *Borderlands/LaFrontera: The New Mestiza*, which is a historical, poetic tale of different traces of migrations from the U.S. Southwest to central Mexico, and the hybrid identities, which have formed due to this type of migration (Anzaldúa, 1987). Of course, the United States is a melting pot of cultures from all over the world, but Anzaldúa speaks from the heart in telling her experiences of profoundly encountering that lack of sense of belonging (Anzaldúa, 1987). Her work resonates with me because I see it as a pathway to understanding the need for diverse cultures to be able to come together. As I mentioned earlier in this section, I will be using identity studies to create a bridge between peace studies and food studies—so Anzaldúa's work helps me in both creating a comprehension of the political dualisms of my own country, because she experienced them personally as a Mexican-American woman, but also creates a lens for approaching theories in hybrid identity because she came from a childhood that was on the border of both countries—both realities have been important in shaping her identity (Anzaldúa, 1987). Her work illustrates the necessity in understanding and accepting the

complexity of identities within multicultural societies in order to avoid polarization and the violence that comes out of it.

In my dissertation I talk about the kitchen as this space, allowing people to overcome their differences and open up to new realities, and side-stepping the danger that Chimamanda Adichie calls "The Danger of a Single Story,"[10] which in this case is what the mainstream news tells the United States citizens about their "enemies" (Ted Talks, 2009). My goal, by introducing the kitchen as an "unconditional space" for intercultural dialogue is to prove that in this area, binary discourse and political dualism can be broken down and deconstructed in a way that allows people to truly connect and overcome their differences. Anzaldúa and will be one author that I refer to when talking about binary discourse and political dualism, two ideas I find detrimental in the United States and key causers of cultural conflicts (Anzaldúa, 1987; Anzaldúa et al., 1996, 2002).

Mutual Recognition

Axel Honneth talks about the need to "explain processes of social change by referring to the normative demands that are, structurally speaking, internal to the relationship of mutual recognition" (Honneth, 1995: 92). It is my belief that social change cannot occur without mutual recognition. The philosophies on recognition of course are vast, but my main goal is to incorporate *recognition* in regards to its importance in relationship building and moral development. I will be using Honneth's works on Love, Rights and Solidarity to understand the need for mutual recognition to shape identity and relationships (Honneth, 1995). This is important to my research

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[10] See Ted Talks 2009, "The Danger of a Single Story" with Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (Ted Talks, 2009).

because without mutual recognition it is impossible to nurture meaningful instances of intercultural dialogue. I will also be using Charles Taylor's works on multiculturalism and recognition to gain a comprehensive lens of mutual recognition in multicultural societies. Taylor explains:

> …The demand for recognition…is given urgency by the supposed links between recognition and identity, where this latter term designated something like a person's understanding of who they are, of their fundamental defining characteristics as a human being. (Taylor, 1994: 444)

This interpretation is based on the idea that non-recognition or misrecognition can inflict harm and is considered a form of oppression due to its ability to impart a form of moral damage on one's identity, whether personal or collective. Because identity is in part formed by recognition, or in many cases, lack of recognition, people and groups endure moral damage due to the representation of a degrading or shameful picture of themselves (Taylor, 1994). Identity is constructed, yes—but it is also real. If by way of construction, people and groups define themselves based on recognition, or misrecognition, these terms are key elements to the ability to produce valuable dialogue between peoples of different cultures.

Moral Imagination

Within this realm of peace studies I will also be taking into account authors such as John Paul Lederach, whose idea of "moral imagination" will serve to hold up the idea of "unconditional spaces", which is used in the master's dissertation of peace student Birgit Allestorfer, whose idea I will be also translating to this dissertation (Lederach 2005; Allestorfer 2013). Lederach speaks of the "moral imagination" as the ability to imagine us in a web of relationships, one that includes even our enemies. It also requires

the ability to embrace complexity without getting caught up in social schism, and a commitment to the creative act. These acts suppose a certain level of risk that goes along with any attempt to transcend violence (Lederach, 2005). The "moral imagination" points toward an understanding of how and where creativity can be used as a tool to transcend violence; in the case of my dissertation, cultural violence would be transcended through the creativity of culinary arts.

Imperfect Peace

Finally, I will be using Francisco Muñoz's idea of *imperfect peace* to promote the case studies I have found that exhibit intercultural dialogue through culinary arts. Muñoz, who believed that we have an enormous potential for the construction of peace, defines *imperfect peace* as a response to an explanation of peace that is solely invented by human beings in a way that helps us recognize ourselves as human (Muñoz, 2001). *Imperfect peace,* a response to ontological, epistemological and practical debates about peace, encompasses the need to recognize, criticize, deconstruct, and construct autonomous theories of peace, which do not rely directly on violence, in order to approach structural violence through individual, social and public capacities for the transformation of reality towards cultures of peace (Muñoz, 2001). I like to think of the case studies, which I examine in my third chapter, and refer to as "interculinary cases", as examples of Muñoz's *imperfect peace* because they exhibit cultures of peace within a complex, conflictive, multicultural society.

Identity

Along with Peace Studies and Food Studies I will be discussing Identity Studies to create a missing link to those disciplines. For that section I will be using Charles Taylor's *Sources of the Self: the Making of Modern Identity* to talk about modern subjectivity and the definition of modern identity by describing its genesis (Taylor, 1989; Taylor et al., 1994). I will also refer to Sidi Omar's texts about hybrid identities, which will help me to address the notion of identity being ever changing and malleable; based upon experiences (Omar, 2008). Along with those ideas I will also talk about Amin Maalouf's *assassin identities* with regards to the violence perpetuated in the name of identity (Maalouf, 2001). Identity, for Maalouf, is the crucible out of which we come— our race, gender, religion, background, tribal affiliations—all go into our identity (Maalouf, 2001; Maalouf et al., 2008). This is constructed, but it also attributes to the reality of violent societies. Massive crimes and heated passions have been committed in the name of identity. Maalouf helps to nurture the idea that the future of society depends on accepting all identities, while at the same time recognizing individualism (Maalouf, 2001). I will also be referring to Manuel Castells' *The Power of Identity* to respond to my doubts about political dualisms and binary discourse (Castells, 1997). Castells talks about the importance of cultural, religious and national identity as sources of meaning for people, and the implications for social movement, which sheds light on the dynamics of global and local change (Castells, 1997). This will help to provide insight into the importance of each level of society at defining one's identity and how this can be transformed into a more peaceful, less essentialist reality.

Food Studies

When I reach the Food Studies section in the first chapter, I will mainly be talking about the anthropological nature of food and the food-human connection. As part of this literature review I will mention the main authors I find important to my dissertation in Food Studies. As I am mostly analyzing food studies from an anthropological standpoint, to prove that human identity can be partly identified by examining the symbolic nature of food, I will refer to authors such as Gillian Crowther, whose book *Eating Culture: An Anthropological Guide to Food* refers to the human appetite for food and anthropology. This piece of literature provides an overview of the important role that anthropology has played in the understanding of food (Crowther, 2013). Through her works I have gained a comprehensive understanding of the ever-changing human relationship with food.

I will also be referring to Jeff Miller and Jonathan Deutsch's *Food Studies: An Introduction to Research Methods* as a way to guide myself through the field of Food Studies methodologically (Miller and Deutsch, 2010). Like any discipline, Food Studies has a myriad of methodological questions and templates, and this handbook has helped me to see which work for combining Food Studies and Peace Studies. Along with looking at Food Studies from a methodological standpoint, I will also dissect it from a landscape of social meals. Alice P. Julier's book *Eating Together: Food, Friendship and Inequality* offers a glimpse into the ways in which Americans eat together and the meaning behind this social stratosphere (Julier, 2013). Her observations serve as a way to look at food as playing a central role in the social life of U.S. Americans (Julier, 2013). I have also found interesting information in the compilation of essays from the *New York Times' Eat, Memory*, which was edited by Amanda Hesser (2009). This collection talks

about the different memories people experience with food; that food has the power to evoke inspiring recollections (Hesser, 2009). Along with those memories I will also be using Barbara G. Shortridge and James R. Shortridge's textbook *The Taste of American Place: a Reader on Regional and Ethnic Foods*, which traces the intertwined roles of food, ethnicity and regionalism in the construction of American identity (Shortridge and Shortridge, 1999). For these authors, food plays a central role in human live and with that notion they analyze a range of disciplines including sociology, anthropology, history, folklore, geography and nutrition (Shortridge and Shortridge, 1999). This provides an example of using food as a window into a multicultural society such as The United States. I will also be looking at food from a political lens, which is why I've chosen James L. Watson and Melissa L. Caldwell's reader *The Cultural Politics of Food and Eating* to touch on the ethnographic perspective on the ways in which people use food to make sense of life in an increasingly interconnected world (Watson and Caldwell, 2005). This book, which includes studies from eleven countries across five continents, helps to explain food as a vehicle for addressing broad themes in social anthropology such as globalization, capitalism, market economies and consumption practices (Watson and Caldwell, 2005).

Structuring the Process

My intention with this dissertation will be to show how cuisine, as an inherent aspect of identity, and as a basic and important part of every day life—can be a way to foster intercultural dialogue and awareness. By using the kitchen as an unconditional space for mutual recognition and expression of identity, areas of peace can be fomented in multicultural societies. I will be using various case studies to demonstrate the ability

of cuisine to cultivate intercultural dialogue, most of which will be projects and specific restaurants that I find exhibit such qualities.

Within this dissertation, I will be talking about three major disciplines—peace studies, identity studies, and food studies, and will conduct a large part of my research within those fields, at all times explaining how they interact with one another. I will be analyzing these three disciplines using the idea of "unconditional spaces" from the Allestorfer's Masters dissertation (Allestorfer, 2013). This term, which she uses to talk about spaces that "offer appreciating, non-judgmental and healing fields, where opposing parties are invited to lay down their arms for a moment in order to open up for peaceful realities," will be a guiding concept throughout my research, as I try to find examples of "unconditional spaces" that can provide healing spaces for peace building (Allerstorfer, 2013: 3). I will be referring in my dissertation to the culinary field as an area of "unconditional spaces" in that they allow for people to move past differences on a level that is inherently human to everyone (Allestorfer, 2013). Everyone stops what they are doing various times throughout the day to enjoy food—and in that area of enjoyment I believe there is a certain "unconditional space" that allows people to open up to the differences that lead to conflict, and create intercultural dialogue while breaking bread (Allestorfer, 2013).

The three disciplines I am going to dissect are transrational in and of themselves, especially when combined. Interweaving peace studies, food studies and identity, my methodology uses transrational lenses to be able to understand both rational ideas as well as energetic, holistic perspectives. Within the food studies and cultural identity section of this thesis I will talk about different approaches to food studies, both within physical

sciences (biological) and social sciences (cultural). I will use Wolfgang Deitrich's transrational theories to able to interpret food studies from both scientific and cultural lenses (Dietrich, 2012). Within this section I will explain terms I have coined *interculinary dialogue* as well as *culinary intersubjectivity*, which refer to the combination of food studies with intercultural dialogue, as well as food studies with identity studies.

The first chapter of this dissertation serves as the theoretical backbone of the research. I discuss theories from the three different disciplines that I illustrated above, and interweave those theories as a way to provide a theoretical understanding of my claims. I claim that through an understanding of identity expression through food, areas of peace can be created in culinary settings. This statement, which I carry throughout the dissertation, is held up by various peace research concepts, identity studies, and food studies research. My research in this case is primarily theoretical, using authors from each field, which I explained in the previous section, to back up my claims.

The second chapter is one that delves deeper into the intermingling of identity theories and food studies—in this case on both a cultural and individual level. This chapter, which is also a theoretical backing, helps to bring up elements of identity that can be expressed or understood through a food studies lens—anthropologically, culturally, and even biologically. This chapter, which uses both scientific research and sociological theory, is a transrational chapter that aims to mix science and humanities in a way that allows the reader to understand the importance of incorporating a complex set of viewpoints into peace research (Dietrich, 2011; Dietrich et al., 1997, 2012). This study, which involves a physical science outlook on the human body and behavior, also tries to

lend a hand to understanding human behavior based on food. This chapter leads into the third chapter, which uses various case studies to uphold the main claims, and points out elements of peace, identity, and food studies in each case. To gain personal perspectives on each case study, I mainly looked for interviews and news articles that explained each study from as close as possible.

The first section of the second chapter, which refers to food studies and cultural identity, talks about food as an identity-shaping element. I cite author Claude Fischler, French social scientist, in this section, to refer to the importance of food as something symbolic and identity shaping (Fischler, 1988). From this point on I will keep interweaving food studies with cultural identity, which will lead into the next chapter about my case study, Conflict Kitchen, which serves as an *interculinary* project being brought to the table. From this case study I plan to prove that food can and is being used as a medium for intercultural dialogue and in turn as a way to bridge cultural conflicts in multicultural societies such as my own.

Within this dissertation I will use a main case study along with other smaller examples of how food can break down stereotypes and foster intercultural dialogue. My main example will be one of a project called Conflict Kitchen, which is a restaurant in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, that uses food as a way to break down barriers between the citizens of the United States and those of countries that the government has had or is currently in conflict (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). This restaurant cooks and serves food from countries with which the United States is in conflict in order to introduce United States citizens to those areas in a way that the media does not. In the United States, if people hear about Palestine, North Korea, Iran, Cuba, etc. it is most often from a biased

news source that glorifies the United States for calling that country its enemy and shuns that country for being different or for simply being the enemy. A project such as Conflict Kitchen, as well as other projects I will discuss in this dissertation, give people the opportunity to be part of discussions about and with people from the area of conflict, and to then be able to understand peoples from those areas of conflict in a different way than mainstream media would tell them (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015).

In my conclusion to this dissertation I will be discussing possible further research in the area of food studies and peace studies, because throughout my already conducted research I have found that this topic can be very broad and has much potential in the fields of peace, conflict, and development. Food touches every aspect of our lives in one way or another, and although I will not be able to discuss every facet, I would like to mention that I am aware of many limitations to this research that due to time and length I will not be able to touch upon, examples including gender roles in food studies, environmental perspectives, food insecurity, hunger, to mention a few.

Conclusion

To conclude this introduction to my master's dissertation, I refer back to the beginning and lead you into the start of my research with a clear understanding of my perspective and role within this topic. I grew up in a post-September 11th United States, in which political dualism and binary discourse were the only things I saw on television. If you weren't with us, you were against us. There was always an enemy of the state, and nobody tried to understand the other side of a United States conflict.

So, now my goal with this research is to show that there is a space within multicultural societies for those binary discourses to be deconstructed, and that place is in

the kitchen—Conflict Kitchen to be exact (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Aware of my limitations, I would like to mention here that I hope to continue with this research by either continuing on to do a PhD in Food Studies, or by creating my own culinary project here in California. Areas of interest in this field that could be elaborated include gender perspectives, food insecurity, environmental perspectives, as well as nutrition and public health, among many others. I have learned from my research that, just like peace research, Food Studies can be approached from hundreds of different perspectives and disciplines, and although I will not be able to expand on them all, I simply wish to mention that there is so much more that can be done in these fields, and I hope to be able to continue my research after this dissertation.

Chapter 1: Three Disciplines in Dialogue

It seems to me that the key to changing this thing is getting a small set of the right people involved at the right places.   What's missing is not the critical mass.   The missing ingredient is the critical yeast.

(John Paul Lederach in *The Moral Imagination* 2005)

Introduction

As previously mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, this is an interdisciplinary study following various interpretations in three fields: 1) Peace Studies, 2) Identity Studies, and 3) Food Studies or Foodways. Since throughout this process I have taken into account those three different areas, I find it relevant to now explain my interpretation of each of them and how I see them interacting with one another in a way that cultivates intercultural dialogue between peoples of different backgrounds. Within each field of study I will explain more profoundly the various aspects that I perceive as interchanging elements. Before delving into the diverging interpretations of these fields of study, I would like to situate myself within these three areas of research, which I will do in the following section of this chapter when I talk about peace studies and my interpretation of it through food studies lenses.

Peace Studies from a Food Studies Perspective

An Epistemological Turn to Positive Peace

Processes of Consciousness-Raising

As an aspiring peace worker, I'd like to think that it is my duty to create and reproduce processes of consciousness-raising, as proposed by Paulo Freire, that can open our eyes to the different types of domination, to create new forms of cultures of peace, to

enhance different ways of making peace (Freire, 1996). My introduction to peace studies began before I started this masters program, in the context of my undergraduate degree in International Studies in which we studied authors such as Samuel P. Huntington[11] (Huntington, 1996; North, 2014). In this beginning, we touched briefly on the importance of diplomacy, but in that way, peace always meant peace between nations, which of course ignores major levels of violence that occur not just at the state level. My comprehension of peace studies shifted when I began this masters program, and was introduced to Vicent Martínez Gúzman's *epistemological turn*, moving my attention to a new definition of peace as multiple and imperfect, and with a vast possibility to manifest in many forms (Martínez Gúzman, 2001). When peace studies began as a result of the barbaric consequences of World War Two, peace meant merely the absence of war—a so-called negative peace. With the creation of this new paradigm for peace studies, peace as the absence of war transformed into not just a utopian ideal, but something plausible and real, yet imperfect (Martínez Gúzman, 2009).

When the *Journal of Peace Research* was created in 1964, Johan Galtung's editorial piece, which founded the journal, was aimed at clarifying the philosophy of peace research, according to the Peace Research Institute, Oslo, which published the journal (Galtung, 1969). The history behind the division of positive and negative peace dates back to the 1950's when peace research was too much centered on direct violence. The Oslo Peace Research Institute and the *Journal of Peace Research* introduced an academic source of new perspectives of peace theory (Galtung, 1969). When in the

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[11] Samuel P. Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" describes the idea that claims that idealogical and cultural identity would be the main sources of conflict in the post-Cold War era (Huntington, 1996). It has served to be controversial in current-day affairs because it argued that Islam was a monolithic force, which was hostile toward the West because of wounded pride and feelings of inadequacy (North, 2014). For more information see Huntington 1996 and North 2014.

1960's Galtung further developed the concepts of peace and violence to take account of indirect and structural forms of violence, this served to confront the preexisting concepts regarding the nature of peace (Galtung, 1969). This multiplication of the definition of violence also resulted in an expansion in the different forms of peace. For Galtung, peace research analyzes the conditions for moving closer to peaceful realities, not reverting back into violence (Galtung, 1969). He defines negative peace as the "absence of violence, [and the] absence of war", and positive peace as "the integration of human society" (Galtung, 1969). At this point in time the definition we currently refer to as structural violence was talked about as "human integration" (Galtung, 1969). Galtung describes these two definitions of peace as interchangeable, able to exist one without the other (Galtung, 1969).

Within any given conflict, and in this world there are still many, there are peaceful realities—negative and positive peace—do coexist. In intending to understand the concept of positive peace (i.e. when does it exist?), peace research evolved to understand peace as not simply the absence of direct violence, but the absence of structural violence, or violence that stems from the structure of society. With the expansion of these concepts, Galtung was able to create a connection between peace, conflict and development studies, seeing as structural violence becomes relevant in conflict and development theory due to its implications of social justice (Galtung et al., 2000). Since, according to Galtung, it makes sense to focus on the amplitude of violence permeated by structural violence within societies, peace research has evolved to look for ways to create conditions for both positive and negative peace (Galtung et al., 2000).

Much of the old peace research paradigm was designed based on negative peace,

which is in concordance with the needs of power holders, which has still left a large part of society susceptible to structural violence (Galtung et al., 2000). Until more recently, positive peace has been bereft any tangible content. The central concern regarding peace researchers shifted from simply direct violence to the bigger picture, which on the grander scheme includes both direct and structural violence, both negative and positive forms of peace. Later on, Galtung introduced the concept of cultural violence, which can be described as those aspects of culture that can be used to justify and legitimize direct and cultural violence (Galtung, 1996). With this he adds to peace theory an understanding of the direct-structural and cultural violence and how the concept of power can be manifested in four dimensions including economic, cultural, political and military. A spiral of peace can confront this spiral of violence in the same way that cultural violence comes out in structurally violent societies leading to direct violence. Positive peace can come out of the flow from creating cultures of peace through structural peace and yielding direct peace (Galtung, 1996).

A Shift from Resolution to Transformation

Galtung's triangle of violence, as well as Martínez Gúzman's epistemological turn, has influenced my position in desiring to find spaces of peace to create a culture for peace (Galtung, 1996; Martínez Gúzman, 2001, 2007, 2009). Another seminal shift that has influenced my perspective on peace studies has been the philosophies of Wolfgang Dietrich (Dietrich, 1997, 2011; Dietrich et al., 2012). According to Dietrich, "today peace work is multilateral, multinational, multidimensional, and multicultural" (Dietrich, 1997). This transrational peace agenda, which relies on Lederach's seven points toward a constructivist definition of conflict looks at conflict as something that creates the

potential for transformation (Lederach, 2003, 2005). Conflict, seen as something natural to human interaction, is no longer resolved nor managed, but instead transformed (Lederach, 2003).

In that sense, conflict transformation means "to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real life problems in human relationships" (Lederach, 2003: 14). The modernist approach to what would be called conflict resolution is being deconstructed in postmodern approaches, but still is being used as a legitimate form of handling conflict. However, I do not wish to rely on this concept of modernist peace, but rather see that my idea is fitting with Dietrich's *elicitive conflict transformation* approach in that it "draws on the common knowledge, values, and communication techniques that exist in the individuals, groups, or communities concerned" (Dietrich, 2011: 23). My goal in inspecting the peacemaking potential within the community of my case study is to show that conflict transformation can take place by using the kitchen as a driving force. The kitchen is the space, the conflict is the violence created by binary discourse at the state level, and the method is elicitive and transrational.

Unconditional Spaces and the Question of Power

Allestorfer, who asserts that "living in a world of dualities, it is essential to be conscious of one's shadow aspects and transform them in order to become free for personal growth and peace," talks about the importance of *unconditionality*, which she claims lies at the heart of inner peace (Allestorfer, 2013: 5). In hopes of promoting safe spaces based on unconditionality, her thesis talks about how the exploration of

"unconditional spaces" can provide a mental framework on how to integrate healing fields in peace building initiatives (Allestorfer, 2013). I use an interpretation of Allestorfer's term to create an understanding of unconditionality within cases of intercultural dialogue (Allestorfer, 2013). My goal with this dissertation has been to prove that in "unconditional spaces" such as the kitchen in this case, there is room for the deconstruction of barriers created through binary discourse and political dualisms as a consequence of structural violence and translated into cultural violence (Allestorfer, 2013). I will later on demonstrate how various cases have exhibited this unconditional characteristic that has allowed for the transformation of conflict in grassroots formats.

However, within this idea of "unconditional spaces", I would like to enter into a critique of certain questions of power relations that must be considered as to not fall into a de-politicization of sometimes very political conflicts (Allestorfer, 2013). The conflicts that, for example, Conflict Kitchen[12] confronts in their culinary, political awareness projects are mostly considered to be political because of their involvement in an uneven distribution of power (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Politics are among the earliest, most persistent, and ensuing reasons for conflict since they establish how power is allocated among people, as well as over life and death, wealth and poverty, independence and obedience (Cloke, 2005). Conflicts that deal with these types of issues have shaped the ways we have interrelated as a species over the course of centuries. At their core, as Hannah Arendt discussed in her book *On Revolution*, is the conflict that, "from the beginning of our history has determined the very existence of politics: the cause of freedom versus tyranny" (Arendt, 1963: 1). The two conflicting pillars in political

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[12] See below.

conflicts—freedom and tyranny—are factors that occur not only between nation states and minorities, but also on interpersonal levels; in any situation where power is not equally distributed (Arendt, 1963). When we define political conflicts as ones that come out of confronting an uneven distribution of power, it is clear that we can see that even the personal is political. If this is indeed the case, then we can realize also that political conflicts affect us more on a personal basis as time goes on, and as the world shrinks due to globalization. Overseas conflicts affect everyone in some way or another because of incrementing globalization. It is because of this, precisely, that as the world becomes smaller and more intertwined, we must develop ways in which political conflicts can be transformed, knowing that they affect everyone globally (Cloke, 2005).

It is also important to recognize that political conflicts nowadays are not often constricted to those between nation states, and because of that they tend to affect everyone, everywhere.

> Even disputes between competing communities can rapidly escalate into world crises, triggering the slaughter of innocents, rape, ethnic cleansing, economic collapse, the ruin of eco-systems, and hatreds that cannot be dissipated, even in generations. Each of these acts *directly* affects the quality of our lives, no matter how far away we feel from the actual fighting. (Cloke, 2005)

In these situations, the reaction to the consequences of violent conflicts tends to be first to lend aid, but it is also necessary to remember the power dynamics that possibly lead to the conflict in the first place. To relate this back to the case of Conflict Kitchen, which as stated previously, intends to transform conflicts between countries that the United States (a nation state, of course) is in conflict with, it makes sense to point out that when I refer to Allestorfer's idea of "unconditional spaces", it is always necessary to keep in mind the nature of these conflicts, and where and how they began (Allestorfer, 2013;

Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Given their political nature, it would be counterproductive to insert an area of open dialogue, without keeping in mind the power dynamics involved in these very much political conflicts. As this dissertation progresses, and I dissect some of the countries and projects that Conflict Kitchen has worked with, I take into account the power relations between the United States and said countries in order to understand, and not jump to depoliticizing the conflict itself, because to do so would be to ignore the root cause. I aim to advocate a communal space to get these types of discussions going, and with food at the center of these dialogues, my hopes are that people will be able to break down the dehumanizing barriers put up by political conflict.

That said, within political conflicts, we must take into account the tendency to label the other side as the enemy, and as evil (Arendt, 1978). Why does this happen so naturally among political enemies? As Arendt wrote, "the sad truth of the matter is that most evil is done by people who never make up their minds to be or do either evil or good" (Arendt, 1978). Arendt's idea of "thoughtlessness," referring to the Eichmann trial,[13] proposed that "Eichmann's failure seems to be in some way related to the faculty of the imagination…Eichmann is unable to image the standpoint of someone else, unable to realize what he is doing or what is about to be done to him" (Kampowski, 2008: 85). Because, as Arendt claims, we do not use our imagination, we are unable to focus the attention of our mind on the fact of death—that his involvement in the planning of the

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[13] The Eichmann trial was the trial of Otto Adolf Eichmann, a German Nazi SS, and one of the major organizers of the Holocaust. He was captured in Argentina by Mossad, Israel's Intelligence Agency, in 1960, brought to trial, and hung June 1st, 1962. Arendt attended his trial and subsequently wrote *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, her book, which discusses her idea "the banality of evil," which explains the question of stupidity in relying on professional promotion and not ideology. Had Eichmann had the capacity to think for himself, and not simply follow orders, he might have realized that his actions were immoral, and motivated by a sort of stupidity, which was wholly unexceptional. For more information see Arendt 1963 "Eichmann in Jerusalem".

Holocaust caused millions of deaths (Arendt, 1978). This fact made it impossible for him to even understand that he was going to die as well, and what that meant. Arendt concluded about Eichmann's personality:

> Despite all the efforts of the prosecution, everybody could see that this man was not a "monster," but it was difficult indeed not to suspect that he was a clown. And since this suspicion would have been fatal to the entire enterprise [his trial], and was also rather hard to sustain in view of the sufferings he and his like had caused to millions of people, his worst clowneries were hardly noticed and almost never reported. (Arendt, 1963: 55)

During the trial, Eichmann showed neither guilt nor fear of his impending execution, which Arendt said owes to his "banality of evil"—a clichéd defense rather than thinking for himself (Arendt, 1963). She claims that his inability to think was the reason he was unable to act in opposition to his duty, or the law of the Nazi regime (Arendt, 1963). She argued, that although he was responsible for his actions, and that he was an anti-Semite, these characteristics were secondary to his stupidity and "thoughtlessness" (Arendt, 1963). This is what allowed for millions of Jews to die in the Holocaust—the inability to think of a few men, who unfortunately had the power to do an incredible amount of harm. Perhaps the most menacing part about this, is that this innocuous constriction of empathy and ease for labeling the other one the enemy, which leads to the inability to find oneself within the other, is what makes committing large scale, murderous acts possible. When we blame others for our suffering, this allows us to "externalize our fears, vent our outrage, and punish our enemies, or coerce them into doing what we want against their wishes" (Cloke, 2005). This happens when we separate ourselves from the other. It emphasizes our differences, and extends fear and hatred.

> At a more subtle level, identifying others as evil is simply a justification and catalyst for our own pernicious actions. By defining "them" as bad, we implicitly

define ourselves as good and give ourselves permission to act against them in ways that would appear evil to outside observers who were not aware of their prior evil acts. In this way, their evil mirrors our diminished capacity for empathy and compassion, and telegraphs our plans for their eventual punishment. The worse we plan to do to them, the worse we need them to appear, so as to avoid the impression that we are the aggressor. The ultimate purpose of every accusation of evil is thus to create the *self*-permission, win the approval of outsiders, and establish the moral logic required to justify committing evil oneself. (Cloke, 2005)

It is therefore easy to understand that contentions of evil can be directly linked with an uneven distribution of power. Allestorfer's concept regarding "unconditional spaces" is one that I aim to use as a possible answer to the existing power dynamics (Allestorfer, 2013). The area she speaks of is one that is "'in between' and 'beyond'," which provides a space for neither each party of the conflict, nor the mediator (Allestorfer, 2013: 6). This type of space, which is free of ownership and serves the whole, points toward a morally imagined, unknown sphere, that can exist in spite of the occurring conflict, or uneven distribution of power (Allestorfer, 2013; Lederach, 2005). Human interactions, which irrefutably function in power dynamics, are the actions that determine new realities, and so it is important to underline the roles of social, economic and political relationships, as they all inflect power plays (Allestorfer, 2013).

What happens when power relationships strictly dictate moral stances based on power? Does this effect levels and amounts of violence? As German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche wrote, the interpretations of good and evil came from social relationships of domination and dependency between unequal economic classes:

[T]he judgment *good* does not originate with those to whom the good has been done. Rather, it was the "good" themselves, that is to say the noble, mighty, highly placed, and high-minded who decreed themselves and their actions to be good, i.e., belonging to the highest rank, in contradistinction to all that was base,

low-minded and plebian.... [Thus, the] origin of the opposites *good* and *bad* is to be found in the pathos of nobility and distance, representing the dominant temper of a higher, ruling class in relation to a lower, dependent one. (Nietzsche, 1956: 160)

This goes to show that moral stances and value positions (between good and evil) are the products of power relationships. Morality, which is a human construction, is highly influenced by the central organizer of human interaction: power (Begley, 1999). As Nietzsche wrote, the perceptions of good and evil originated from social relationships of oppressor-oppressed dynamics and dependency between unequal economic classes. Contemporarily speaking, this use of power is something that those with more power justify by predisposing an intention to use that power for good. The world is extremely disparate in terms of resources, and the few that are in control of the majority of those resources justify this uneven distribution by indicating that they know how to do good with those resources.

But without empathy, compassion, and power sharing, this will inevitably evolve into a belief that whatever benefits us must benefit them also. This will lead us to regard their criticism of our self-interested benevolence as ill mannered and ungrateful, and their opposition to our power as support for evil. We will then interpret their desire for self-determination as rebellion and perhaps, as in Vietnam, seek to "kill them for their own good." (Cloke, 2005)

Empathy plays a very important role in the allocation of resources and sharing of power (Allestorfer, 2013). Those in power and those with less power should practice "divine energy" which occurs when "unconditional spaces" are allowed to thrive (Allestorfer, 2013: 9).

How can those in power justify this extreme use of morality over others? As a way of exerting power over others without feeling guilty, people are gradually more propelled to rip to shreds empathy and compassion to the point of no return—to a point at

which they can no longer see anything similar in their opponents. It is by undergoing this process of dehumanization that people feel able to brandish power thoughtlessly and act however they need to in order to keep that level of power. "It is at this point that simple, natural, innocent, self-interest begins its descent into evil. At every step, it is aided by anger, fear, jealousy, pain, guilt, grief, and shame and the suppression of empathy and compassion" (Cloke, 2005). These acts happen on many different levels, but all are used to justify the exploitation of others. Those in dominant positions of power fabricate excuses or false accusations of evil in order to vindicate the suppression of empathy and the selfish use of power, which forgoes ethical or moral principles. This type of progression is what leads nation states into acts of war and genocide, which give permission for individuals to act in violence and go against tendencies of appeasement in interpersonal conflicts. It is because of this that we must rethink these justifications of violence and power. There should never be an excuse to erase empathy or compassion— but too often there are occurrences of this, in national conflicts, but also personal ones (Begley, 1999). This is where the idea of "unconditional spaces" comes in handy (Allestorfer, 2013). This concept, which claims that "empathy implies emptying the mind and listening with our whole being," points out the crucial link between empathy and non-judgmental attitudes (Allestorfer, 2013: 9). Without empathy, it becomes impossible to "shed all preconceived ideas and judgments" (Koppensteiner in Allestorfer, 2013: 9). Power dynamics and already existent notions of power roles are key in creating an area where empathy can override judgment and prejudice.

Food Discourse and Foucault's Concept of Power Networks

Another way to address the issue of power is by looking at discourse. Foucault wrote that neither an individual nor a group beholds power. In other words, it is not something one can necessarily "have" (Vester, 2007). Power, instead, is interpreted as a network of discourses with not a single center (Vester, 2007). His concept sees individuals as being subjected to discourses, which includes instances of privilege—something that needs to be taken into account when considering the phenomenon of "unconditional spaces" (Allestorfer, 2013).

Bordo as well as Probyn have been pioneers in introducing Foucault's power concept to food studies, by rearticulating the subject as gendered and racialized (Vester, 2007). Since food studies is a relatively new field, its discourses and practices pertaining to the formation of subjectivity and the capacity for conflict within food studies have not been completely examined (Vester, 2007). Generally speaking, Foucault's concept considers scholarly discourses to be the main reason in producing a particular type of modern power—one that uses truth and knowledge to govern its subjects (Vester, 2007). The use of power in modern democracies fills society with gaps, missing elements, and violence (Allestorfer, 2013). "Unconditional spaces" inspire a strengthening of the understanding required in complex societies and push toward a holistic, energetic comprehension of each person's role within that society (Allestorfer, 2013). If each member is respected and considered equal, curiosity and playfulness allow for an empathetic relationship to form, and for unequal power dynamics to be deconstructed (Allestorfer, 2013).

> Discourses, bodies of knowledge that are organized around the concept of universal truth, serve the legitimization of power relations in an increasingly secular age, when the divine is no longer deemed satisfactory as a mode to explain the world. (Vester, 2007: 8)

Governments implement this specific form of modern power as a way to discipline its subjects by giving them the power to control one another. This method, which is put into effect through discourse and the legitimization of disciplinary mechanisms that reduce the need for force, results in a larger control over individual subjects by reassigning the task of control to the individuals (Vester, 2007). Examples of this control mechanism are: the school, the army, the factory, the police force, the prison, etc. All of these are ways in which individual subjects can control one another—this is the network of modern-day power dynamics.

Food discourses, which condition the way in which we relate to food, introduce us to a wealth of knowledge based on the concept of truth (Vester, 2007). In that sense, these discourses are what provide us with sustenance, meaning, order, and value in our lives (Mintz, 1996). Food and the practices involving food (including consumption, preparation, nutrition, production, etc.), play important roles in the construction of our identities as well as religious practices, and socialization (Mansfield, 2001). Just like the scholarly discourses Foucault analyzes, food discourses govern food practices and human behavior by playing authoritative, normalizing and disciplining roles in society (Vester, 2007). An interesting example of the importance of understanding food discourse is the development of the concept of a recipe. The word "recipe", which comes from the Latin *recipere*, which means receive, is a term that up until the mid-nineteenth century was called "receipt" (Vester, 2007).

What makes a recipe, a recipe? The concept does not become a recipe until it is

taken from someone, followed and used. The reader of the recipe is imperatively addressed so that they follow the rules of said recipe. In this case, "sometimes the authority of the author is implicitly questioned: since recipes are derived from oral tradition, they imply a concept of authorship distinct from written tradition" (Vester, 2007: 9). The construction of identity can be personified within a recipe due to the specific type of authorship involved; some recipes are named after their creators. Recipes have the power to keep traditions alive, overcome gaps of time, space, and differences between groups "…taking part in the invention of traditions that can help establish the story of the nation, the boundaries of the masculine community, the sisterhood of non-hegemonic sexualities" (Vester, 2007: 9). It is for this reason that food discourses are relevant markers of power relations, locations of dominance and resistance, and the setting up and operation of identities in routine life (Vester, 2007). When we consider culinary discourses to be areas that produce power-knowledge dynamics, while at the same time purveyors of expertise to marginalized groups, it is possible to modify Foucault's concept of power relations (Vester, 2007).

However, Foucault's theories provide an estimation of nationality, sexuality, and masculinity as disputed fields of knowledge and power for the very reason that they are ever-changing, and not just created through political, medical or scientific discourses, but from the bottom-up and in daily life. It is Foucault's concept regarding disputed, "low-ranking" knowledges, that sheds some light on the importance of understanding the networks of power (Vester, 2007).

> …I believe that by subjugated knowledges one should understand something else, something which in a sense is altogether different, namely, a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or

insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity. I also believe that it is through the re-emergence of these low-ranking knowledges, these unqualified, even directly disqualified knowledges (such as that of a psychiatric patient, of the ill person, of the nurse, of the doctor—parallel and marginal as they are to the knowledge of medicine—that of the delinquent etc.), and which involved what I would call popular knowledge (*le savoir des gens*) though it far from being a general commonsense knowledge, but is on the contrary a particular, local, regional knowledge, a differential knowledge incapable of unanimity and which owes its force only to the harshness with which it is opposed by everything surrounding it—that is through the re-appearance of this knowledge, of these local popular knowledges, these disqualified knowledges, that criticism performs its work. (Foucault et al., 1984: 82)

Foucault's understanding of knowledge and power offer interesting insights into food discourses in that they can be considered those types of discourses that come from below and in the everyday. As Foucault says, criticism performs properly when discovering the essential force in the relationship between forgotten (or disqualified) knowledges of scholarship and the knowledges that are not recognized by the hierarchy of knowledges and sciences (Foucault et al., 1984).

Norbert Elias explored the way that instructions involving food and consumption contribute to social impact (Vester, 2007). His concept made way for an understanding of the representations of food as discourses. He was able to show how table manners condition a particular social order, whether on a smaller scale like when "civilizing" a member of court, or a larger scale like constituting the dispersal of political power contained by the nation-state (Elias, 1978). By analyzing courtly etiquette guides, Elias exposes the political agendas hidden beneath the surface of advice literature and how they impact subjects and society (Vester, 2007). The notion of a courtly culture paved the way for the realization of stricter table manners, seeing as self-discipline became an

indicator of social merit and a mark of dedication to the royal family and the centralized

nation-state (Vester, 2007).

> Refined manners signified the individual's closeness to the center of power, the
> royal court. Constantly changing rules of etiquette demanded continuous self-
> improvement and distinguished those in the know from recent arrivals or
> occasional visitors. (Vester, 2007: 34)

Elias draws on an enhancing individualization and realization of hierarchy in the course

of action of cultivating disciplinary apparatuses. This example illustrates the utility in

analyzing even the most unimagined spaces to understand where power relations are

conveyed and assimilated (Vester, 2007). It is in these unimagined spaces, that exist

within violent societies as well, where moral imagination provides a stepping-stone to

imagining a peaceful reality (Lederach, 2005).

> If the moral imagination lies within us as a dormant seed of potential, and this
> seed holds the key of breaking cycles of destructive conflict, then our challenge is
> how to evoke the growth of this kind of imagination as an integral part of
> developing innovative professionals. (Lederach, 2005: 175)

One thing to consider, which is true in the case of Foucault as well—Elias does not take

into account gender or race in his inquiry, which is where food studies can lend a hand.

By examining food advice in the context of a democratic society, we can understand how

it becomes a "biopolitical"[14] tool that results in various, controversial agendas (Foucault

et al., 2008). When the pilgrims of Britain fled to the Americas in search of freedom

from religious persecution, they shifted from being subjects of the British Empire to

becoming independent citizens of a new republic, "food discourses were a key way that

the cross-cutting debates in the public sphere became intangibly linked to private

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[14] The Foucauldian term "biopolitics" refers to the regulation of populations through government
policy as well as more "intangible, yet deeply powerful, development of cultural practices and
media representations in everyday life" (Vester, 2007: 10). For more information see Foucault
and Senellart 2008 "The Birth of Biopolitics".

everyday practices, which allowed limited participation" to marginalized groups such as women, African Americans, and then immigrants who came later to help the construction of the new nation (Vester, 2007). The same way that Elias unveils political power in the form of courtly table manners, there have also been political conflicts in the elaboration of a republican cuisine "pitting New England's claim to hegemonic representation of the national culture against counter-narratives from the South; a democratic agrarian ideal concealing the defense of white middle-class privilege…" (Vester, 2007: 11). There were also elements including imperial expansion in the election of recipes and ingredients going in the opposite direction of isolationism that made up the acceptable "American" foods (Vester, 2007). Nevertheless, self-discipline and control of biological functions have always been essential to social responsibility and the construction of a prosperous nation (Vester, 2007).

Another critical understanding of the significance of food in social order (power dynamics) has been explained by sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, whose work often emphasized the corporeal nature of social life and stressed the role of practice and embodiment in social dynamics (Bourdieu, 1999). His idea that social space is not solely determined by economic elements but also by "cultural capital" helps to identify with the type of symbolic capital that can become relevant in terms of knowledge (Vester, 2007). According to Bourdieu, cultural capital creates an unequal distribution that comes across as a so-called "habitus," which can be seen in values, beliefs, lifestyles that are held by social groups and established within individuals (Bordieu, 1999). Cultural capital manifests in the form of social and economic gain. Bourdieu's theories on social spheres provide an understanding of the individual

willingness to be part of "biopolitical" regimes and conform to the regulation of appetite through conditioned, learned behaviors. It's simple. Through this type of social capital they expect to gain social advantages. Culinary instruction allows its readers to experience a certain cultural capability (Bordieu, 1999). Bourdieu wrote in his book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1979) about a "cultural code" that discusses a framework of knowledge by which individuals can comprehend works of art and the full meaning of food (Bourdieu, 1979).

> Food instructions provide the knowledge or the code that allows individuals to accumulate culinary cultural capital (or "taste"). They educate their readers in the ability to transform raw ingredients into cooked foods for sustenance, with the promise of improving their social status. (Vester, 2007: 11)

Recipes or food instructions educate their readers in what is considered a transformation of raw ingredients into cooked ones that provide sustenance, and a promise to advance one's social standing. It is also interesting to point out that food choice requires a certain level of financial stability, but not necessarily to the extreme of travel, real estate or expensive jewelry (markers of wealth and social status) (Vester, 2007). For this reason, food choice can be seen as a mark of wealth primarily within middle-class cultural capital and habitus. A lot of social groups have acquired a particular food habitus[15] that has taken shape as a result of food instruction in the form of cookbooks and recipes (Vester, 2007). These types of culturally accepted food preparation methods can be seen as ways to shape society—and in this case the identity of the United States' middle class in particular (Vester, 2007).

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[15] "Food habitus" refers to "food instructions since the early nineteenth century [that] specifically targeted members of social groups that had some freedom in their food choices but insufficient resources to leave their kitchen to a highly trained chef, or have their tastes educated by frequent overseas travel and visits to fine restaurants" (Vester, 2007: 11). For more information see Vester 2007 "A Taste of Power".

> Together with recipes that befit the financial resources, studied taste, and knowledge base of a wide range of middle-class readers, texts provided values and instructions on proper embodiments (for instance in the form of table etiquette) that went far beyond nutritional advice. (Vester, 2007: 11)

Because these so-called cultural codes are never static, but rather are always changing and transforming, cultural capital tends to shift when it has been assimilated by too many—it is no longer considered special when everyone does or has it (Vester, 2007). "A taste widely shared quickly becomes the epitome of tastelessness. New instructions, reacting to the changed ideological context, are constantly in demand" (Vester, 2007: 11). Unlike France in the 1960s and 1970s, Bourdieu's concept of the cultural code cannot be flawlessly applied to the context of the United States, but it does shed some light as to the evolution of taste (Bordieu, 1979). Within the United States, middle-class authors of food instruction move away from European decadence and British imperialism to "embrace simplicity as a marker of genuine American taste" (Vester, 2007: 12).

> As the simplicity of republican cuisine was connoted with virtue, the endorsement of simple tastes became an argument for claiming cultural hegemony for the middle-class tastes. Similar strategic movements away from elite culture can be seen in other moments of American food culture: In the early twentieth century, middle-class authors borrowed from nostalgic imagery of the ways of life of the cowboy and the soldier to embrace campfire cooking and the simplest means as especially manly, after middle-class masculinity came under fire for being too soft and sedentary. In the 1960s, an African American middle class employed soul food, an idealized version of poor Southern foodways, as a political instrument. In these examples, taste is still used as a marker of distinction, but in ways the that transgress class hierarchies and the idea of upper-class ways as unquestionably the most desirable. (Vester, 2007: 12)

Whenever I travel abroad, I am always asked: "what is American food"? It seems that I am not the only one who has trouble answering that question. Food studies scholars have discussed at length the history and progression of what comprises "American food" and what excludes certain so-called "ethnic foods" as un-American. From the American

Revolution to the 1840s, American food became a result of nation building and the question of national character (Vester, 2007). Because very few American cookbooks had been published by that point and restaurant culture did not begin to flourish until the mid 1800s, the struggle to develop a national American cuisine took many routes, which ultimately left the country with various versions of "American cuisine" (Vester, 2007). Even at the time of the American Revolution, corn took the role of a political tool to counter British identity and provide a self-definition for American cuisine (Vester, 2007). In the early nineteenth century, the middle-class advocated a form of "settler cuisine" that would identify themselves as the founders of American taste—to be differentiated from European decadence and corruption (Vester, 2007). "Middle-class female authors used cookbooks to inscribe themselves into the nation-building project" (Vester, 2007: 13). With this culinary authority, middle-class women published political commentary, promoted women's education, and helped shape national character. By doing so, this culinary evolution spoke in favor of middle-class lifestyles over upper-class lifestyles as being truly American—erasing ethnic and regional divergences in order to promote a homogenous national image (Vester, 2007). This national identity, however, has been one to exclude the recognition and respect for other cultures. By meshing all ethnic cuisines into one national image, it risks the possibility that those "ethnic" cuisines will be overlooked.

Power, Knowledge, and Food Choice

One last critical analysis, which Foucault discussed—discourse, power and the subject—makes the point that the analysis of our understanding of food choice "should not begin with the minds of the discoverers or the inventors of nutritional wisdom" but

instead "we should rather examine the construction and fabrication of this entity, known as the modern subject of food choice" (Coveney, 2000: 1).

> …The science of food and eating serves as the basis for many judgments we make about ourselves and others as eaters. That is to say, the moral decisions we make of ourselves (as 'good' or 'bad') are directly related to the technical and rational knowledge of science. (Coveney, 2000: 1)

This critique, done so by human science lenses, sees the daily experience of obtaining food as a uniquely human experience in that involves choice, which can be seen as conscious or innate, about what foods we eat (Coveney, 2000). Different types of scientists, of course, would interpret food choice in diverging ways—whether anthropological, psychological, physiological, etc. The analysis I find relevant to human behavior and power discourse is again, one of Foucault. A perhaps useful understanding of food choice is the challenge of the perception of the world through 'prisms', which permit particular realities that change (Coveney, 2000). In much of the human sciences, concerns about the 'prism'—a paradigm or theory—has been able to put first and foremost the concept of an already-formed subject, which in other words can be seen as "the point from with the perceptual views of the world radiate" (Coveney, 2000: 2). Foucault, however, argues that the subject itself requires problematizing, which Armstrong does in the following analogy:

> A hundred years ago physicists debated the nature of the ether, the unknown substance, which exists throughout the universe between the planets. Einstein solved the problem by dismissing the question: because all planets were moving relative to one another there was no absolute point from which this unknown substance could be measured, the existence of nature of the ether becomes an unanswerable question according to the theory of relativity. (Armstrong, 1985 in Coveney, 2000: 2).

When referring back to the concept of food choice, Foucault's work lends a hand in an understanding of the view of subjects as "prior" to the food choices they make (Coveney,

2000). "…Foucauldian reading allows us to recognize that the modern subject and food choice are both targets and effects of the system of thought which informs these disciplines" (Coveney, 2000: 2). The knowledge we have about food choice aims to find an answer to questions of human "habits, desires, deficiencies, motives, bodily constituents and so on" (Coveney, 2000: 2). In turn, the subject can also be considered a consequence in that it is a result of such knowledge.

In Foucault's understanding of power-knowledge relations, he maintains that "power and knowledge directly imply one another; there is no power relationship without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute as the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1979 in Coveney, 2000: 8). Along with this correlation, Foucault contends: "power needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is to repress" (Foucault, 1980 in Coveney, 2000: 8). Foucault's concept of power operations in modern sciences, problematize food choice, as with nutrition.

> It might seem odd that a discipline, which purports to train people in 'correct ways' of eating, often by asking them to relinquish the pleasure and enjoyment of things they like to consume, is so popular. (Coveney, 2000: 8)

Nutrition, which is one form of food choice, in that it gives individuals the knowledge to eat "correctly" according to social norms, has become one popularized piece of evidence, which demonstrates that "people cannot wait to be told what they are doing wrong [because] they readily confess to their alimentary sins and they eagerly attempt to put things right" (Coveney, 2000: 9). The manner in which nutritional knowledge has been made available through cookbooks, recipes, instructions, medical expertise—by way of

surveys, examinations, comparisons and normalizations—also produces new knowledges, problems, and concerns (Coveney, 2000). The individual's attempt to better him or herself also incurs happiness, fulfillment, and pleasure. "It is, of course, our moral failings, our weaknesses and the ensuing guilt that provide us the anxiety of eating" (Coveney, 2000: 9).

> In short, nutrition knowledges, practices and techniques resonate with individual concerns about the transformation of *individual conduct.* To fully understand individual conduct we need to turn to Foucault's third mode of analysis, which is most explicit in his work on the 'technologies of the self'. The technologies of the self are those strategies by which one develops, as Foucault puts it, *rapports á soi* or 'ethics'. The notion of ethics here relates to our individual forms of conduct, especially in relation to moral imperatives, such as 'work ethic'. It is the production of 'the self by the self' that Foucault examines. (Coveney, 2000: 9)

Foucault examines the creation of the self by the self by analyzing self and sexuality, which "helps to understand better the pleasure and anxiety of eating because both sex and food have been part of a 'problem of pleasure' since antiquity" (Coveney, 2000: 9). By analyzing Greek culture in the fourth century, Foucault demonstrates that desire— especially natural desire for sex—was controlled by the early Greeks through a course of therapy called *dietetics* (Coveney, 2000: 9). The Greeks considered sex to be part of a set of natural energies, which include food anxiety, and also require moderation, and self-mastery, which was rewarded by their state with freedom and nobility in many cases (Coveney, 2000: 9). Through this case study, Foucault points out that some form of control is a natural component found in the ethical relationship one has with oneself (Coveney, 2000). This mode of control, or as the Greeks said, *dietetics*, made the management of pleasure possible.

Foucault speaks of genealogy in a 1971 article "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (Foucault, 1971). He illustrates genealogy as an evaluation of ancestral lineage, which

intrinsically becomes attached to the body, to the nervous system, temperament, digestive apparatus, faulty respiration, improper diets, and so on (Taylor, 2010). Arguing against a physiological standpoint, Foucault asserts that "the body is molded by a great many distinct regimes; it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest, and holiday; it is poisoned by food or values, through eating habits or moral laws; it constructs resistance" (Foucault, 1971: 87). In this line of thought, Foucault makes a case that genealogy shapes practices of diet (Taylor, 2010). In a 1983 interview, Foucault goes on to compare and contrast the ancient Greek concern for dietetics and the modern obsession with sex, to controlling diet (Taylor, 2010).

> [The Greeks] were not much interested in sex. [Sex] was not a great issue. Compare, for instance, what they say about the place of food and diet. I think it is very, very interesting to see the move, the very slow move, from the privileging of food, which was overwhelming in Greece, to interest in sex. Food was still much more important during the early Christian days than sex. For instance, in the rules for monks, the problem was food, food, food. Then you can see a very slow shift during the Middle Ages when they were in a kind of equilibrium and after the seventeenth century it was sex. (Foucault, 1983: 229)

Along with diet, these self-controlling techniques include such natural energies as meditation, sexual pleasure, practices of self-expression (writing, painting, art, etc.). Foucault's attention toward the example of diet control in ancient Greece was formed mostly because it illustrated the exigency of our own attentiveness to sex as a means of self-discovery (Foucault, 1983). This comparison demonstrates the interest in natural energies as a locus for self- discovery (Foucault, 1983).

> It is significant to Foucault that food was once the focus of a complex set of restrictions and inspired a greater discursive interest than did sexual activity since he thinks that this is in marked contrast to the modern West, in which sex rather than food became the privileged site of moral restriction, scientific inquiry and individuating reflexivity. (Taylor, 2010: 72)

Foucault speaks of "techniques of the self"[16] to create an understanding of the ethical relation to the self and an aesthetics of one's own life (Taylor, 2010). One's relationship with others is considered the field of power, whereas ethics can be seen as an area of how we relate to and transform ourselves (Taylor, 2010). Foucault claims: "to approach one's own life ethically through techniques of the self is…to see one's existence as an aesthetic project or work of art" (Taylor, 2010: 73). Foucault suggests that—because most of us no longer rely on ethics that are instituted in religion, nor do we aspire a legal system to intercede in our moral, private lives—modern-day liberation movements adopt the Greek model of ethics, in order to establish their politics in a self-transformative system (Taylor, 2010).

Intercultural Dialogue

Intercultural dialogue, defined by UNESCO as the "equitable exchange and dialogue among civilizations, cultures and peoples, based on mutual understanding and respect and the equal dignity of all cultures is the essential prerequisite for constructing social cohesion, reconciliation among peoples and peace among nations", requires common, "unconditional spaces" for the purpose of meaningful exchange (Unesco.org, 2015). Martínez Gúzman defines dialogue as the act of communicating two or more people and asking for reasoning behind what they do, say or do not say (Martínez Gúzman, 2004). The word dialogue comes from the Greek *diálogos*, which comes from the word *dialégomai*, which means to speak, say or converse. It is a compound word

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[16] Foucault wrote of "techniques of the self", or "the arts of existence" to describe "those reflective and voluntary practices by which men not only set themselves rules of conduct, but seek to transform themselves, to change themselves in their singular being, and to make of their life into an *oeuvre* that carries certain aesthetic values and meets certain stylistic criteria" (Foucault, 1985: 10). For more information see Foucault 1985, "The Use of Pleasure".

that's prefix *dia* means "through" and *logos* means word, reason, discourse (Martínez Gúzman, 2004). Therefore "dialogue" is something that two or more people do with words, using the reasons that we give one another, from the speech that we include, and with the silences we communicate (Martínez Gúzman, 2004).

> *Acción de comunicarse dos o más personas pidiéndose o dándose razones de por qué se hacen, dicen o callan, lo que se hacen, dicen o callan. Etimológicamente procede del griego diálogos que, a su vez, viene del verbo dialégomai que significa hablar, decir, conversar. Es una palabra compuesta de la preposición dia como prefijo que significa "a través de" y de logos que significa, palabra, razón, discurso [...] Así "diálogo" es algo que nos hacemos dos o más personas, a través de las palabras, de las razones que nos damos, de los discursos e, incluimos, de los silencios comunicativos.* (Martínez Guzmán, 2004: 302)

Dialogue, as such, defines the type of human relations we form. If we take another look at Martínez Gúzman's "epistemological turn", which gives us a shift in the way we understand the sciences and the knowledge we have as human beings, we would not necessarily be doing so from an objective standpoint void of values (Martínez Guzmán, 2004). We must be dedicated to treating dialogue as a tool to peacefully transform the suffering of oppressed human beings. We must do so with an interpersonal perspective, aware of the structures in which we are subjected. Dialogue should be used as a characteristic of human relations by which we recognize one another as human beings each with a voice that is capable and competent.

Since dialogue, which is the basic source of communication, is what humans rely on for interacting meaningfully, it is interesting to take into account the mode in which communication occurs. Allestorfer refers to Marshall B. Rosenberg's "non-violent communication" in her dissertation, as a pillar of "unconditional spaces" (Allestorfer, 2013). This type of communication, which Allestorfer sheds light on in her work as a way of proposing "unconditional spaces" with modes of communication that are both

inclusive of empathy and non-judgmental attitudes, "represents an unconditional affirmation of life – an approach that lies at the bottom of the creation of 'unconditional spaces'" (Allestorfer, 2013: 10). Non-violent communication, which "seeks for transcendence of moral duties" by way of human relation, should be considered a cornerstone for intercultural dialogue, as it allows for "unconditional acceptance and celebration of life" (Allestorfer, 2013: 9-10). Non-violent communication is a tactic, and philosophy, that should be incorporated when considering intercultural dialogue, as it attributes to the fostering of empathy and mutual recognition required for unconditional, intercultural interactions (Rosenberg, 2003).

Intercultural dialogue, which represents the key peace-building tool in this dissertation, is present in every aspect of this research. In peace studies, intercultural dialogue represents a necessary mode of communication between peoples of different backgrounds on the grounds that we are all human beings, and should respect and love one another. In identity studies, intercultural dialogue represents an answer to the various divisions that set us apart as individuals, but provides a way for us to interact without judgment or discrimination by way of empathy and mutual recognition. Within food studies, intercultural dialogue lends a hand to promoting artistic expression through culinary practice and food culture, which pushes forth an agenda for intercultural interaction based on sharing food. Dialogue, which was previously defined in this section, provides a path for creating cultures of peace that strive on the expression of identity in many forms—in this particular case, through food—and respects and recognizes each differing culture, identity, and mixture of such.

Intersubjectivity

By recognizing that identity cannot be constructed in an isolated fashion, we can realize that human beings need one another to define themselves. The very function of love, which is the maximum expression of *intersubjectivity* would be to see each other as part of one another. In other words, we can define ourselves as individuals based on others. Within multicultural societies, diversity is a natural component, but it is also conflictive. That which is different commonly instills us with fear. In the case of experiencing fear due to diversity, this occurrence leads to the intent to prevent an invasion of the unknown. This fear makes it easy to arrive to dehumanization and a swift shift to violence or even nullification of "the other".

This arrival to the destruction of the *intersubjective* by way of essentialist identification is what leads to assassin identities, which I will arrive to in the identity section of this chapter (Maalouf, 1999).

> *La extrañeza, en lugar de asumir la fragilidad y la vulnerabilidad, canalize el miedo ejerciendo la violencia, rompiendo la intersubjetividad originaria, y considerando al otro u otra como alius, ajeno, distante y a dominar y vencer.* (París Albert et al., 2004: 87)

These human capacities for fear, vulnerability, and violence, go hand in hand with characteristics of governability, justice, affection, and care for one another. If we find another way to react to the fear instilled by diversity, by recognizing that we are fragile, we can arrive to the recognition of *intersubjectivity* and *interculturality*. If we accept and realize the nature of human beings to clash and be conflictive, we can react instead of with violence, with the cultivation of relationships that move beyond the fear of diversity. "…*los conflictos se pueden transformar por medios pacíficos y la diversidad cultural se puede transformar en diálogo intercultural*" (París Albert et al., 2004: 89). When

different cultures can interact with one another by way of dialogue, empathy and mutual recognition, *interculturality* can flourish.

Political Dualisms and Binary Discourse/ Empathy and Rehumanization

"New Mestizaje"

In a 1995 interview Elle Hernández conducted with Gloria Anzaldúa, scholar of Chicana cultural theory, feminist theory, and queer theory, she was asked how "new *mestizaje*" cultural identity has been affected by borders (Anzaldúa et al., 1996). This is how she replied: "To live in the "borderlands" is very exciting; it is living in the midst of culture in the making. It is a very creative space to be in one where innovative art and theory on the cutting edge is being constructed" (Anzaldúa et al., 1996: 5). Art, theory, change all seem to come from creativity, from a clash of cultures, which is why Anzaldúa's experiences growing up on the borders between the United States and Mexico have allowed her to revolutionize the realization that now is the time for peoples of diverse cultures to come together. The world has been scrupulously divided into nations with strict lines and borders, but at the same time this world continues to become more mixed. This very thought puts into question the efficacy of national identities.

Binary Discourse

Within multicultural societies, which are built on immigration, political dualisms and binary discourse become blurry, impossible notions to fathom. The United States cultural production, though it attempts to redefine the growing consequences of globalization, cannot refuse the role that borders play in problematizing all concepts of identity. When we witness the rise in nationalistic discourse, like extreme anti-

immigration policy in the case of California and Proposition 187[17], we can see still that

the binary discourse of multicultural societies is prevalent. With that example we can see

that the metaphoric (and physical) "crossing over" that Anzaldúa refers to in her book

Borderlands we see that border discourse, which discusses the effects of borders on

peoples of mixed cultural identities, needs to be come a viable political discourse

(Anzaldúa, 1987).

Like most peoples in a multicultural society, it is normal to go through, like

Anzaldúa's definition of *la mestiza,* a struggle for identity (Anzaldúa, 1987). A so-called

inner war with two or more cultures is not unheard of in societies that are defined by a

mixture of cultures. This battle of identities is both beautiful, and conflictive. This

means a perception of a version of reality that the dominant culture projects. But because

this type of society is a mixture of many different cultures, and it is common to belong to

more than one, it is also not unheard of to receive multiple, often opposing messages

from those cultures which of which we pertain. While this type of dynamic is exquisite

in its richness and complexity, it is also the creator of incompatible frames of reference,

which lead to cultural collisions (Freedman, 2007).

A common human reaction to a clash of mixed messages from the various

identities which one could belong to, is an act of defense.

> It is not enough to stand on the opposite riverbank, shouting questions,
> challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counter stance locks one into a duel
> of oppressor and oppressed; locked in mortal combat, like the cop and the
> criminal, both are reduced to a common denominator of violence. The counter
> stance refutes the dominant culture's views and beliefs, and, for this, it is proudly
> defiant...But it is not a way of life. At some point on our way to a new

> consciousness, we will have to leave the opposite bank, the split between the two mortal combatants somehow healed so that we are on both shores at once and, at once, see through serpent and eagle eyes...The possibilities are numerous once we decide to act and not react. (Freedman, 2007: 387)

This means that identity cannot follow the laws of national borders and strict immigration policy. The normal reaction would be to rely on rigidity, to choose one all encompassing identity and commit to that. But this excludes, even though it is all encompassing, because national identities are not inclusive—they are binary and dualistic.

In the United States if you are not white, your identity is hyphenated with something else in order for people to understand where you came from. But this notion doesn't make any sense. Every white person who lives in the United States is not native to that land. Why aren't white U.S. Americans labeled Irish-American, English-American, German-American, etc. and still Mexican-American, Asian-American, and African-Americans are labeled by there "original" homeland? With the discovery that it makes no sense to hold concepts ideas, or identities in rigid boundaries, only by remaining flexible can people overcome the political dualisms that dictate identity. It is necessary to transfer rational thinking to divergent thinking in order to move away from set patterns and goals, "and toward a more whole perspective, one that includes rather than excludes" (Freedman, 2007: 388).

It has been my experience that to reduce the world to an oppressor-oppressed dynamic is a minute way of creating paradoxical assumptions about the society in which we live. However, because I have grown up in a multicultural democracy, one in which freedom and equality are supposedly upheld values, and at the same time economic disparity and racial discrimination still run rampant, I believe that people need to be given the chance and build the capacity for a certain consciousness. As Freire says,

"humans create their consciousness of struggle by transforming reality and liberating themselves from oppression that has been inserted by traditional pedagogy" (Freire, 1996: 15). Those who think and reflect go about creating themselves from the inside out. Freire has invoked that individuals must learn to fight for the end of oppression and for the constructive criticism of the status quo.

> Men rarely admit their fear of freedom openly, however, tending to camouflage it—sometimes unconsciously—by presenting themselves as defenders of freedom. They give their doubts and misgivings an air of profound sobriety, as befitting custodians of freedom. But they confuse freedom with the maintenance of the *status quo*; so that if conscientization threatens to place that *status quo* in question, it thereby seems to constitute a threat to freedom itself. (Freire, 1996: 16)

Within democracies such as the United States, the oppressor-oppressed dynamic is somewhat masked by ideals of freedom and equality, demonstrated in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. However, this is not always the case in real life. There are still the rich and the poor, the black and the white, and so much in between. But most importantly, too many people are still not conscious of this reality, of the reality in which they live and take part. Within my own country, there are whole states that would prefer to let hundreds of thousands of their own people die than to adopt a healthcare plan that would save them because it was put on the agenda by a black president (Tea Party, 2015). Is this an example of that fight for freedom? Or is this racism? I would call it ignorance. Lack of consciousness. Racism. I believe that this lack of awareness comes from a history of dehumanization, which needs to change, hopefully in creating "unconditional spaces" of intercultural dialogue. "Concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization, not only as an ontological possibility but as an historical reality. And as man perceives the extent of dehumanization, he asks himself if

humanization is a viable possibility. Within history, in concrete, objective contexts, both humanization and dehumanization are possibilities for man as an uncompleted being conscious of his incompleteness" (Freire, 1996: 20). Freire, a believer in the individual forming him or her self rather than being formed, proposes that educational topics or opportunities should be taken from the daily experiences of the individual (Freire, 1996).

Dehumanization and Re-Humanization

Dehumanization, which distorts the possibility of becoming more fully human, afflicts both those who have stolen and are being stolen their humanity. In the case of multicultural societies, this dehumanization happens often.

> Most work on social reconstruction focuses on the rule of law, state building, community development, and conflict resolution, with little literature beyond that dealing with forgiveness, psychosocial treatment, and community development on the critical dimension of what must happen between people to lead to genuine re-humanization. (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004: 6)

This raises the question of what is involved in re-humanizing the other? In order to address this question we must first look at dehumanization, a process that takes shape in subsumed social identity theory.

The need to belong is usually the reason to reject those who are different in order to feel a sense of belonging. In multicultural societies, where so many different cultures and mixes of identities live side by side, and inhabit a land entrenched in a history of slavery and dehumanization, but also in inclusion and liberty, freedom, etc. it becomes difficult to forget the past, to re-humanize. It is because of this history and the range of diversity that we so easily jump to the victim-perpetrator dynamic, more often in times of crisis like terrorist attacks or economic repression. If polarization and escalation occur,

groups tend to diverge, differences become magnified, situations of tension heighten, cultural violence runs rampant, the other is delegitimized in order to support violence.

> To be effective, reconciliation must arguably begin at the level of the individual—neighbor to neighbor, then house to house, and finally, community to community. Such reconciliation requires the re-humanization of the 'other,' and for that to occur the 'other' must be invested with qualities that are familiar and accepted. Finding commonality through identification with a former enemy is a first step. (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004: 8)

I've always asked myself, how is it that there are so many histories of peoples of different religions, ethnicities, cultural backgrounds living together side-by-side and then suddenly it becomes to easy to step into the pool of dehumanization that leads to violence and conflict and war? How does this happen so quickly among neighbors of multicultural societies? The answer lies in the difference between empathy and sympathy. Empathy provides an individual perspective of another, which makes generalizations and stereotypes impossible. Empathy overcomes dehumanization. Empathy also requires a genuine curiosity about the other culture. Empathy also involves emotional as well as cognitive openness, and acceptance of the uncertainty that might come up. It is much easier to dehumanize than to re-humanize because re-humanization requires an individual dedication to empathy. Although Halpern's study is of the rebuilding of relationship in the aftermath of genocide and ethnic cleansing in Rwanda, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Yugoslavia, empathy in my opinion is a key element necessary to move from multicultural to intercultural (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004). Dehumanization happens so easily and so quickly between those who coexist, but not between those who empathize with one another. These types of examples can be translated to multicultural societies such as the United States as proof that empathy needs to be part of the recipe toward intercultural dialogue. Without it, one is incapable of putting him or herself in the

shoes of the other, and therefore cannot be open to the "unconditionality" required in cultures of peace. Coexistence without empathy is artificial and delicate. It paves the road to doubt, anger, even hatred.

In Halpern's study, one Bosnian woman said in an interview, "We can live together, we just can't sleep" (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004: 11). When people simply coexist without empathy and intercultural dialogue, it is easy to pretend to be nice and love one another when right below the surface there is mistrust. This superficial coexistence is what often leads to ruptures of violence. If we pretend that we all get along, conflict breaks out easily and we don't often know how to react to it except with defensiveness, essentialism and violence. If we move past transparent coexistence, to true intercultural exchanges, we can have conflict, yes, but we can also be open to empathizing and re-humanizing the "other"[18].

When relating to one another, disagreement, or conflict is a normal human characteristic, by which tolerance and acceptance of differences is key in lasting relationships. "Models of cooperation and political or join action depend on the idea of respecting each other's distinct perspectives. Reconciliation does not occur merely in imagined solidarity, but rather shows itself in the degree to which people actually can act as distinct individuals with mutual regard in the real world" (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004: 16). Intercultural exchange in social spheres relies on a dedication to construct societal constitutions, a process that requires respect and fusion of differing standpoints.

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[18] When I refer to "the other" in the case of my dissertation, I mean to say he or she who is unlike myself, or who has been labeled an "enemy" by the United States government.

The Politics of Recognition

Recognition symbolizes a basic standpoint for social integration. It is what holds societies together by making identity formation and socialization possible. According to Charles Taylor:

> The thesis is that our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. Non-recognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being. (Taylor, 1994: 25)

A lack of recognition, or a false projection of inferior identity has been prevalent in histories of colonization since the beginning of human life. Women in patriarchal societies have internalized an inferior image of themselves, which has made it difficult for them to take advantage of new opportunities because of a society-inflicted pain of low self-esteem. This misrecognition, or non-recognition has caused the self-depreciation of many minority voices over time, making now multicultural societies more in need of recognition as a key pillar of social growth, and immersion (Taylor, 1994).

What is at the root of the need for recognition for social cohesion? With the collapse of social hierarchies, the basis for honor also was transformed. Honor in this sense was fundamentally associated with inequality. For some to have honor, it was necessary that others did not. Honor was the form of recognizing someone's worth, or preference in society, as superior to others. Now, instead of talking about honor, we refer to dignity, which relies on the assumption that all humans have dignity, something inherent to democratic societies. In that sense, recognition is necessary to democracy, which has brought about an equal recognition and the demand for equal status by differing cultures and genders (Taylor, 1994). The importance of recognition, however,

has transformed into a new comprehension of individual identity, which relies on the idea that human beings have been rewarded a particular moral sense. This morality is entrenched in the notion that each of us has a voice inside that tells us what is right or wrong, that all of our actions have consequences. In order to be in touch with this inner voice, we must listen to our feelings and emotions. This is what is supposed to make us true and full human beings. Before democracy, God, or—the *idea of good*—was something we needed to be in touch with to be considered full, moral beings (Taylor, 1994). But now, this sense of morality is supposed to exist within each of us.

This Cultural Revolution in modern multicultural societies lead individuals to adopt what Jean-Jacques Rousseau referred to as "*le sentiment de l'existence,*" which is meant to describe the intimate connection one has with oneself when they experience authentic moral contact (Rousseau, 1947). From this rationale, grew the perception that each individual has his or her own original, authentic way of being, remaining true to oneself (Taylor, 1994). With this outlook originates a principle of originality, and the need to recognize each voice as something different and unique, and valid. If identity is defined by one's relation to another, in dialogical experiences throughout our lives, "the development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition" (Taylor, 1994: 34). Identity relies on the interactions and dialogical relations we have with others. A need for recognition by society has always existed, but in modern times the conditions in which the attempt to be recognized can fail. According to Taylor, in the pre-modern-day societies, people did not speak of recognition or identity because they didn't have the moral option to look inside themselves for an individual

sense of authenticity (Taylor, 1994). Now, in modern societies, the importance of recognition has been acknowledged.

> On the social plane, the understanding that identities are formed in open dialogue, unshaped by a predefined social script, has make the politics of equal recognition more central and stressful. It has, in fact, considerably raised the stakes. Equal recognition is not just the appropriate mode for a healthy democratic society. Its refusal can inflict damage on those who are denied it…The projection of an inferior or demeaning image on another can actually distort and oppress, to the extend that the image is internalized (Taylor, 1994: 36).

The suppression of recognition is acknowledged within multicultural societies as a form of oppression. The modern-day understanding of identity as something authentic and unique to each individual has made recognition a legitimate concern and necessity for social integration (Taylor, 1994). While this development of the modern notion of identity, and the need to re-access recognition has made way for different types of identities to coexist in multicultural societies, it has also lead to the politics of difference. While there are basic rights and immunities that encompass all human beings universally, there also needs to be a certain agenda that pushes for the recognition of distinctness. This distinctness, with the hopes of recognizing everyone as equal, has been to some degree overlooked and integrated into a dominating, all-inclusive form of identity. This occurrence in turn problematizes the universal dignity required for all types of identities to gain recognition (Taylor, 1994).

Histories of discrimination and misrecognition toward minority groups have lead to politics of reverse discrimination that should somehow equalize society again by giving those who had undergone historical discrimination an advantage (Taylor, 1994). I agree with the goal to equalize society at a certain level, but this method runs the risk of an eventual blindness to difference. The goal was wrong from the start then. The

goal should not be to "bring us back to an eventual 'difference-blind'[19] social space but, on the contrary, to maintain and cherish distinctness. After all, if we're concerned with identity, then was is more legitimate than one's aspiration that it never be lost?" (Taylor, 1994: 36). Each individual should be given the right to pursue the search for his or her own definition of identity, and this should be recognized at all levels. Interesting new anthropological studies conducted by anthropologist Karel Arnaut suggest a type of perspective toward "super diversity" within the realm of discourse and as social practice (Arnaut, 2012). If this type of recognition occurs, it opens up to a space of dialogical encounters, which need to occur for *interculturality* to take place.

The normative idea that individuals or social groups have to gain recognition or respect of their distinctiveness has brought about notions regarding the moral quality of social relations. These connections cannot be determinant on the equal distribution of goods, but also on the mutual recognition of all subjects (Taylor, 1994). "Within the context of discourse ethics…'recognition' serves to designate the mutual respect for both the particularity and the equality of all other persons, whereby the discursive conduct of participants in argumentation presents the paradigmatic case of this form of respect" (Honneth, 1995: 4). Experiences of injury and disrespect both indicate the basic conditions for social integration are not satisfied, and point beyond the existing social order towards a more developed recognition order.

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[19] Must take into account the concept of "color blindness," which describes the ideology of overlooking skin color (Wingfield, 2015). "…Colorblindness comes at a cost. By claiming that they do not see race, they also can avert their eyes from the ways in which well-meaning people engage in practices that reproduce neighborhood and school segregation, rely on "soft skills" in ways that disadvantage racial minorities in the job market, and hoard opportunities in ways that reserve access to better jobs for white peers" (Wingfield, 2015).

Could, perhaps, the lack of recognition within modern societies be the missing element necessary to surpass multiculturalism and move toward *interculturalism* and super-diversity[20]? The struggle that people go through to become recognized in multicultural societies is vast, historical and rough (Taylor, 1994). "The breeding ground for these collective forms of resistance is prepared by subcultural semantics in which a shared language is found for feelings of having been unjustly treated, a language that points—however indirectly—to the possibilities for expanding relationships of recognition" (Honneth, 1996: 170). The events that have lead up to the politics of recognition have yielded much needed discourse regarding the formation of authentic, individual identity and the respect for difference. This, however, needs to be translated from a potential normative and social theory to a practical succession. I hope to see the ability in projects such as the ones I will dissect in Chapter 3 to create spaces for mutual recognition, which will leave room for respect of distinct identities.

Moral Imagination

After having twisted through a lot of different peace theories and ideas, at what I would like to arrive is a certain imaginative culture of peace[21] (Lederach, 2003, 2005). We know as human beings that we have the capacity for violence, but we also have a strong one for the creation of peace. Lederach speaks of something similar to the concept of "unconditional spaces," or at least the version I would like to refer to in this dissertation (Allestorfer, 2013). He defines the "moral imagination" as the capacity to recognize turning points and possibilities in order to venture down unknown paths and

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[20] Please see Arnaut 2013 "Super-diversity: elements of an emerging perspective" (Arnaut, 2013).
[21] Please see Muñoz 2001.

create what does not exist (Lederach, 2005). Lederach argues that there exist four central requirements for sustainable peace: "the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that include our enemies; the ability to sustain a paradoxical curiosity that embraces complexity without reliance on dualistic polarity; the fundamental belief in the pursuit of the creative act; and the acceptance of the inherent risk of stepping into the mystery of the unknown that lies beyond the far too familiar landscape of violence" (Lederach, 2005: 5). Peace processes commence when we enter in dialogue and imagine the possibility for change. This is why the moral imagination opens the door for the capacity of the mind to conceive and create, that which does not yet exist.

Because this dissertation is about food, and the power of food, I cannot resist the urge to include Lederach's famous "critical yeast" metaphor (Lederach, 2005). Yeast, which is the ingredient used to make bread rise, has the power to create growth, but not without first being mixed with a small amount of water. According to Lederach, five principles can be learned from baking bread. Firstly, the main ingredient in making bread is usually the flour, and the smallest ingredient is the yeast (Lederach, 2005). With this part of the process Lederach makes the analogy that a small number of strategically connected people have a greater potential for fostering social growth than a large number of people who think similarly (Lederach, 2005). When social change doesn't work, we must turn primarily to the nature of who was engaged and what gaps might exist in the relationships of different groups of people. Secondly, he uses yeast as a personification of a smaller group of people that must first be given the opportunity to undergo its own process before being dumped into the larger mass. Like when making bread, if the yeast is mixed directly in with the flour before being mixed with water, it dies and the bread

can no longer grow. Thirdly, when you mix yeast in water, normally a small amount of sugar is added before you leave the mixture in a warm place where it can grow larger and more resistant. This step mirrors the need for social change to pay close attention to the way in which people in their environment mix in relational spaces that provide a warm, although at first separated, and safe space to integrate what normally is not brought together. If sweetness is added to this process, the space allows for the growth of those who were placed together. Fourthly, the yeast must be scrupulously mixed into the larger mass. Authentic growth occurs when it finds a way to continue to rise even though there are factors that are making it difficult to do so. Fifthly, the oven must be preheated so that while one group of things is set in motion in one dimension, the relative and necessary platform for change is also ready for that conduct (Lederach, 2005).

Lederach's "critical yeast" analogy serves to illustrate that constructive social change involves a new, creative image of strategy (Lederach, 2005). In creating cultures of peace, it is pertinent to consider what creates life and what allows that life to thrive. In order to build peace strategically, we must create a type of social cohesion relying on the ingredients that already exist and have the potential to make sustainable, unconditional spaces for change (Lederach, 2005). "The place where the critical mass and the critical yeast meet in reference to social change is not in the number of people involved but rather in creating the quality of the platform that makes exponential growth strong and possible, and then in finding ways to sustain that platform" (Lederach, 2005: 110).

Imperfect Peaces

Cultures of peace are complex and conflictive. It is the way in which we choose to react to those potentially violent human behaviors that changes the dimension of

conflict or complexity. According to Muñoz, peace is a primal reality since the beginning of human evolution, as part of history and biology (Muñoz, 2001). Peace allows us to identify ourselves as human, and is intrinsically recognized as the invention of human beings, which is later on projected on other species, the environment, and the cosmos. Muñoz believes that, contrary to common rationale, peace is that which makes us fear, run away from, define and identify violence (Muñoz, 2001). This is where his idea of "imperfect peace" comes from. Peace has a reputation for bringing up ideas of utopia, perfection, and tranquility… Never has the word "imperfect" seemed to go alongside the word "peace" (Muñoz, 2001). However, Muñoz's definition is far from imperfect. He sees peace as an unfinished business. Anything that is finished, perfect, with the goal reached, all notions far from the condition of humanity, move us to feel immersed in doubt when we are affronted by complexity and conflict (Muñoz, 2001).

This shift in paradigm of seeing peace as something real, but imperfect, unfinished, human by nature, allows us to think and act realistically. With this perspective we can try to see the causes behind conflict, put into action the proposals of imperfect peace and we make explicit the consequences of conflict and we try to put into communication the frameworks of complexity, globalization and the future. Just as Galtung asserted that we have an enormous potential for the construction of peace, imperfect peace is an idea I would like to adopt in this dissertation to describe diverse experiences and cases of peace within a conflictive, multicultural society (Galtung, 1985). In the third chapter of this dissertation I refer to various "interculinary" cases of "imperfect peace" that exhibit spaces of peace created within the multicultural country in which I grew up, one that although it is democratic and upholds ideals of freedom and

liberty, is also a melting pot of conflictive, mixed cultures that need spaces of peace in order to dialogue and enter into empathy and mutual recognition.

Food Studies from a Peace Studies Perspective
Many Foods and Many Peaces

And now I would like to transition from my key influencers in the evolution of peace epistemology to my big question: what does peace studies have to do with food studies? Above we proved that over time, it has been difficult to see positive peace as something concrete and feasible, but although we cannot touch it, we know it exists. Just as Martínez Gúzman has aspired that with the recognition of the epistemological turn there will be the acceptance and the further creation of cultures of many types of peaces, Galtung's positive peace can be seen in many different shapes and sizes, in this case in the form of an "unconditional space" such as the kitchen (Galtung, 1996; Martínez Guzmán, 2001; Allestorfer, 2013). As I will be going further into depth about the ability of food to express identity in the next chapter, here I will mainly be trying to show the relation between food studies and peace studies, and how food can in turn be used as a dimension for peace-building.

Before going any further, I would like to reiterate that I will be discussing the missing link to my interweaving of three important disciplines, that of identity, but first here I would like to introduce food studies, oftentimes called foodways, and show how I see its importance in the interdisciplinary field of peace studies. I see peace studies as relevant in every facet of life, whether in the transformation of geopolitical conflicts or in the relationship a mother has with her children—peace philosophies can and should be applicable to the various dimensions of our lives. Food Studies is the same.

Gastronomica, The Journal of Food and Culture, a journal incepted in 2001 and now one of the current *go-tos* for debate and critical inquiry about food, posted in its inaugural issue the importance to "renew [the] connection between sensual and intellectual nourishment by bringing together many diverse voices in the broadest possible discourse on the uses, abuses, and meanings of food" (Goldstein, 2001). Just as peace studies can touch every level of human life, food studies also embraces the ability to foster an understanding of human behavior based on its interdisciplinary nature. The global food supply, which could be considered the most urgent issue of the twenty-first century, is just one example of the type of explanation that food studies can offer about the impacts of food on humanity, the planet, etc. Just as peace studies offers a complex understanding of human relations; food studies offers a similar, multidisciplinary comprehension of the importance in food-human relations.

Food studies, or foodways, is a newly emerging field and has only in the past decade begun to gain academic recognition, which is one of the key aspects of my interest in linking it to peace studies. Just as we study peace in multiples—"peaces" instead of peace as an ultimate, utopian dimension—food studies relies on the principle that there is no one "right" way to think about food. Melissa Caldwell, Editor of *Gastronomica* claims, "…much of the inherent pleasure associated with food comes from our curiosity in exploring the many different ways that people throughout the world think about, use, and value food" (Caldwell, 2015). This curiosity that she mentions is one of the human behaviors exhibited in intercultural dialogue as well, which is why I find curiosity a key component to understanding the complexity of human nature. Peace

studies offers us the ability to see conflict as an opportunity for change, whereas food studies offers us the ability to understand human behavior based on what we eat.

Food is important, interesting, exciting, and delicious. It entices and opens doors for cross-cultural communication. Conflict Kitchen, one of the case studies I will explain in the third chapter, uses food to create cross-cultural communication and political awareness (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Robert Sayre, culinary director of Conflict Kitchen, says that in his experience working for Conflict Kitchen, "food is one of the few ways that people feel comfortable approaching another culture" (Pittsburgh.cbslocal.com, 2015). It is human nature to interact with new cultures by curiosity of food. That is the "unconditional space", which I demonstrate can foster intercultural dialogue (Allestorfer, 2013). We all have to eat. In that, humans are all the same, and all share the same curiosity. If we can replace the common fear that humans experience by the unknown or the different with curiosity (the type of curiosity experienced when trying new food), then we can make space for mutual recognition and intercultural dialogue.

The Anthropological Nature of Food

A Long Term Relationship with Food

Food studies "aims to provide a guide to the world's rich diversity of eating culture, to help explore the similarities, understand the differences, and draw some general conclusions about our relationship with food" (Crowther, 2013: xvii). The necessity to reflect upon the significance of every day events becomes relevant in food studies because of the role it plays in making up real substance of the social fabric. Everyday realities, the so-called ordinary things in life are indeed important and worthy of study, which is why food has entered into the discipline of social anthropology as a

way to make the imponderable, ponderable. "The activities surrounding food acquisition, preparation, and consumption lend themselves to cross-cultural comparison, allowing us to conjure into existence others' lives through a shared everyday experience of eating" (Crowther, 2013: xix). An early, important anthropologist called Bronislaw Malinowski, revealed the relevance of food to anthropological studies in his research with Trobriand Islanders in the 1920's (Crowther, 2013). In realizing the prominence of taking into account the everyday realities of human life, of course food became significant. The ordinary things of life are necessary and worthy of study, which is why food has become a valuable marker of human behavior. In Malinowski's study, he found that "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* own vision of *his* world" (Crowther, 2013: xix) we remain open to shedding some light on our own. In other words, the understanding gained by looking at the relevance of everyday life of peoples of other cultures helps us to more fully understand our own cultures because they point out basic human similarities and confront cultural differences.

Along with the rise of postmodernism, many disciplines have gravitated towards an astoundingly creative period of research that is challenging old assumptions, sparking new questions and opening new methods of understanding social anthropology. Food studies has been an outcome of that revelation. As an example, let's look at a classic British dessert, and see what questions could be asked from an anthropological standpoint to gain a fuller understanding of British culture. The trifle, characterized by many layers of sponge cake, soaked in alcohol, and then covered with fruit, whipped cream and toasted nuts, can be examined and analyzed from various anthropological perspectives. While this traditional English dessert may be interpreted from scientific, social, dietary,

political, etc. points of view, my point here is that the role of anthropological theory in the understanding of food allows us to move forward into the comprehension of the important role food plays in human life (Crowther, 2013).

Food, which has a tendency to personify a taken-for-granted quality, has demonstrated to anthropologists its power to provide us with meaning and understanding of ourselves and of others. "The understanding of food often oscillates between the stomach and brain approaches—the 'good to eat' and 'good to think'—which actually do capture our basic choice of whether to eat or speak—since we can easily choke" (Crowther, 2013: xxx). While this dichotomy is problematic, it does not take into account the space that food occupies in our minds, while it also plays the important role of filling our stomachs. Humans have been shaped by their relationship to food both physically and socially in a way that has allowed us to assign meaning and value to food.

The Food-Human Connection

When using an evolutionary biology lens, it would be considered that "cooking can be regarded as a central cultural activity and part of our adaptive strategy, and it has been argued that it significantly shaped our psychological and social evolution" (Crowther, 2013: 7). Richard Wrangham, British primatologist has ascertained that humans, or as he defines us, "cookivores", "do not eat cooked food because we have the right kind of teeth or guts; rather, we have small teeth and short guts as a result of adapting to a cooked diet" (Wrangham, 2009: 89). If we look at the food-human connection from this perspective, it has been the discovery of fire and the evolution of cooking that has allowed modern-day humans to evolve to their current state, adding more calories to their diet to support the growth of larger brain and other characteristics

that define them as human apart from other species (Wrangham, 2009). In the next chapter I will be talking more about this biological evolution and the effects of cooking on human identity, as well as the omnivore's dilemma, which implies a characteristic of human beings that leave them open to choose between a variety of both plant, and animal ingredients for their survival (Wrangham, 2009).

Through the human desire to expand their alimentary life, there has been throughout history a growing evolution of the exchange of foods and knowledge of food production and preparation (Jones, 2005). This we can attribute to the globalization of foods, especially prevalent in the diversity of cuisine in multicultural societies. "Two complementary but contrasting ways in which people make contact with one another are thus expressed in the manner of sharing food and drink" (Jones, 2005: 225). The first way is through the creation of community, which brings together connections of friendship and ancestors, with the land. The food that a community shares connects them to one another and to the land. Secondly, a network is also necessary for members of a given community to meet and exchange different foods and ideas. This food network has continued to grow and include webs of various areas to expand the culinary make up of each community. Food, in this sense, has the ability to connect peoples of different communities through the exchange of goods and knowledge. The most common food found in many cultures is bread, which can also be recognized as a trace of European domination (Jones, 2005).

> The power of bread has taken many forms in many episodes of an originally east Mediterranean tradition that travelled with the Roman Empire, and then with Christianity across the world. The domination of bread wheat within our modern food chain as the major caloric source of our species has been driven by bread as an artefact, rich in meaning, as much as wheat as a source of nutrition, rich in calories. (Jones, 2005: 273)

Bread, which has been both a religious and culturally symbolic marker for Christians since the beginning of the use of wheat, is not only a source of nutrition. Rice in the East, Wheat in the West, and maize in the pre-Colombian Americas have become rich in symbolic meaning, and markers of cultural identity and religious practices (Jones, 2005).

Mary Frances Kennedy Fisher, a preeminent U.S. American food writer, whose books are a fusion of food literature, travel and memoir, believed that eating well was just one of the "arts of life" and wrote prose about the food-human connection (Fisher, 1990). This excerpt is one of hers that is in the foreword of *Food and Culture*, a reader edited by Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (Counihan and Van Esterik, 1997).

> People ask me: Why do you write about food, and eating and drinking? Why don't you write about the struggle for power and security, and about love, the way others do? They ask it accusingly, as if I were somehow gross, unfaithful to the honor of my craft. The easiest answer is to say that, like most humans, I am hungry. But there is more than that. It seems to me that our three basic needs, for food and security and love, are so mixed and mingled and entwined that we cannot straightly think of one without the others. So it happens that when I write of hunger, I am really writing about love and the hunger for it . . . and warmth and richness and fine reality of hunger satisfied . . . and it is all one. I tell about myself, and how I ate bread on a lasting hillside, or drank red wine in a room now blown to bits, and it happens without my willing it that I am telling too about the people with me then, and their other deeper needs for love and happiness. There is food in the bowl, and more often than not, because of what honesty I have, there is nourishment in the heart, to feed the wilder, more insistent hungers. We must eat. If, in the face of that dread fact, we can find other nourishment, and tolerance and compassion for it, we'll be no less full of human dignity. There is a communion of more than our bodies when bread is broken and wine is drunk. And that is my answer, when people ask me: Why do you write about hunger, and not wars or love? (Counihan and Van Esterik, 1997: xi)

Why is it important to research and reflect upon the human connection with food? Fisher used to say that with gastronomical growth, there could arise a knowledge and perception of hundreds of other things, but mostly of our human nature and us (Fisher, 1990). We

are eaters.   We are defined by what we eat, as omnivores, as living, breathing, eating human beings.

The Missing Link: Food, Peace, and Identity
The Power of Identity

Identity has been recognized as a defining principle of social organization and the analysis of the significance of cultural, religious, and national identities have become important sources of meaning for people, and the implications of these identities on social movements.   According to Manuel Castells, Identity is the people's source of meaning and experience (Castells, 1997).   Through this construction of identity, cultural attributes are often given priority over other fountains of meaning.   In multicultural societies especially, it is especially important to recognize that for any given individual, there is a plurality of identities that contribute to this social construction.   This noted and real plurality is often the source of conflict and contradiction because of the already set roles and identities within any given society.   If one's plurality of identities does not fit within that social stratosphere, there is confusion and conflict, which often leads to violence (Castells, 1997).

> We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made . . . Self-knowledge – always a construction no matter how much it feels like a discovery – is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others (Calhoun, 1994: 9).

It is easy to agree that all identities are socially constructed, however, this does not make it easier to understand how or why or from where these typological identities come. Identity can be constructed based on history, geography, biology, productive and

reproductive establishments, collective memory or personal power of invention, from power arrangements and religious exposures (Calhoun, 1994).

However, individuals define themselves by rearranging the meaning of the aforementioned elements to identity construction. Castells distinguishes between three differing types of identity construction including: legitimizing identity, which is introduced by dominant institutions of society as a way to make valid their domination of society, resistance identity, which are constructed based upon a resistance to a dominating power as a way to set apart aspects of one's self in order to survive inflicted inferiority, and project identity, which is the construction of a new identity that can transform society (example: to challenge patriarchy) (Castells, 1997).

The first form of identity is known to generate a type of civil society that rationalizes the forms of identity that dominate in any given society. The second form of identity is that which responds to this legitimization by rendering one's self, different and therefore out of reach of domination. This type of identity formation is what leads to the generation of communities and collective resistance against oppression (Castells, 1997). "For instance, ethnically based nationalism…often 'arises out of a sense of alienation, on the one hand, and resentment against unfair exclusion, whether political, economic, or social'" (Castells, 1997: 9). Any sort of religious fundamentalism, territorial community, or nationalist self-affirmation, is an expression of what Castells calls "the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded" (Castells, 1997: 9). This type of identity is based off of the defensiveness that arises to face dominating identities. It is a way to reverse the value judgment by shifting the meaning of the boundary placed by the oppressors. The third form of identity is one that is based upon an oppressed, collective identity. It is the type

of identity that is formed based on the need for social transformation to free the

oppressed from domination. In that sense, it is not a type of identity formation that

shapes individuals, but instead subjects (Castells, 1997).

> I name subject the desire of being an individual, of creating a personal history, of giving meaning to the whole realm of experiences of individual life . . . The transformation of individuals into subjects results from the necessary combination of two affirmations: that of individuals against communities, and that of individuals against the market. (Touraine in Castells, 1997: 29)

This type of identity construction has been a pillar of the age of modernity, shaping

people into subjects of social transformation, against oppression by communities or by

the capitalist system in which they live (Castells, 1997).

Our world and our lives are continually shaped based on the restructuring of the

capitalist system into what Castells calls a "network society" (Castells, 1997).

Globalization, which characterizes strategically decisive economic activity, has grown

within the networking form of organization, by the tractability and unsteadiness of

employment and the individualization and privatization of the labor force. This can also

be attributed to a culture of interconnectedness catalyzed by an expanded media system,

as well as the revolution of the material establishments of life, space and time, through

the organization of an area of currents and of timeless time, as manifestations of

dominant activities and commanding elites. This type of diffusing globality, which takes

shape in the form of industrial capitalism and industrial statism, has been "shaking

institutions, transforming cultures, creating wealth and inducing poverty, spurring greed,

innovation, and hope, while simultaneously imposing hardship and instilling despair…it

is indeed, brave or not, a new world" (Castells, 1997: 2). With the end to the age of

modernity, there has been a resistance to this form of growing globality by way of

expressions of collective identity against globalization and cosmopolitanism that fight for cultural singularity and individual control.

Within multicultural societies, this type of diverse social and political manifestation is necessary for social change. "…The process of techno-economic globalization shaping our world is being challenged, and will eventually be transformed, from a multiplicity of sources, according to different cultures, histories, and geographies" (Castells, 1997: 3). With the rise of globalization, societies are becoming more globally interconnected and culturally intertwined, and therefore the type of identity construction has shifted into one based on meaning, which is based upon the organization of a primary identity which is then also constructed based on its role within a network society. As mentioned above, identity can be constructed in many ways, and defined by many aspects of our lives, and in multicultural societies, the plentitude of identity markers creates conflict, but also beauty and complexity. In the next section I will discuss the hybrid nature of identity, talking specifically about the importance of recognizing the various elements that make up our self-defining identities within multicultural societies (Omar, 2008).

Hybrid Identities

Within multicultural societies especially, it is hard to find any individual that can say he or she is only one ethnicity, speaks one language, or has one single defining essence that circumscribes such an identity. Identity is hybrid, multiple, complicated, and constantly changing (Omar, 2008). We are living in a day and age in which the definition of identity is evolving, and the reasoning behind such a revelation could be due to globalization, among many other aspects. "Every individual is a meeting ground for

many complex allegiances, and sometimes these loyalties conflict with one another and confront the person who harbours them with difficult choices" (Maalouf, 2001: 4). Whether we like to admit it or not, although identity is constructed, it is still real and still affects one's place in society.

In the United States, one cannot know his or her place in society without looking at heritage. Am I African American, Asian American, Jewish, Irish, Polish, Hispanic, etc.? (Maalouf, 2001) The fault lines are multiple, and few and far between, and all set us apart when we tend toward the identification with one element of our complex make up. It should be deduced that within multicultural contexts, in which the laws are made to make every citizen equal, that conflict does not arise. This is false. Conflict is everywhere, and rampant in multicultural settings. Maalouf speaks of various examples of historically conflictive identities forming—a boy with a Jewish mother and an African father, a girl with a Bosnian mother and a Croatian father, etc. (Maalouf, 2001). These, he states, are special cases, and I agree. I also agree that these are the cases that need to become examples of "forging links, eliminating understandings, making some parties more reasonable and others less belligerent, smoothing out difficulties, seeking compromise" (Maalouf, 2001: 5).

Why should it be considered special, or peculiar to be affiliated with more than one, and oftentimes, conflicting elements of identity? It is strictly because we are part of a world in which the behaviors of thought and articulation, which are deeply engrained within us, make us narrow-minded, peripheral, dogmatic, and one-dimensional, etc. We condense identity to one, single affiliation. This is inherently wrong, and continues to marginalize and create violence and oppression. Fundamentalist, essentialist thought is

what reduces our capacity to understand hybrid identities. But it's hypocritical. We are all hybrid. We all define ourselves based on more than one component. And yes, those aspects that define us often do not coincide with one another, but the acceptance of complexity can override the exclusion and violence that follows.

Omar, who refers to Maalouf's ideas of *assassin identities*, also reaffirms a necessity to rethink the definition of identity. He asserts that by reconsidering culture, there becomes a need to readdress critically the concept of identity. As a way to problematize the hybrid nature of identity, he looks for new focal points to analyze traditional concepts of identity that will allow for a deeper understanding of ourselves and of the different ways in which we can relate to one another (Omar, 2008). I believe that by adopting this conceptualization of hybrid identities, I can better demonstrate the necessity to rethink the complexity of identity within multicultural societies, and to then be more able to empathize and engage in mutual recognition with others that may not be similar, or may even be from cultures of historical conflict with our own.

Conclusion

To conclude this first, theoretical chapter of my dissertation, I would like to reiterate the importance of the three disciplines I have explored and outlined. Each one is complex, and multidisciplinary, and for that reason I feel that they interweave in a way that allows for conflict, but also looks for a way to transform it into something positive. Within the world in which we live, we are conflictive, complex, multiple, hybrid, and yet we still tend to think in dualities, binary discourses. This is not only violent and marginalizing but also dangerous and detrimental to our own understanding of one another and stifling for any type of growth.

How do we go about changing or transforming this narrow-minded behavior that is so deeply rooted within us? My thoughts are that we must start with the basics. We must go back to what has made us human to begin with, and work from there. Without cooking, we would not have gained the evolutionary capacity we have. Our brains would still be minute and incapable of the intelligence that has pushed us toward the complex, global, interconnected world in which we live. If by reaching an understanding that this complexity is what allows us to grow, to thrive, and to feel empathy toward one another, then we must struggle to find unconditional spaces (that may already exist) that allow us to highlight and foster a deeper comprehension of one another. We all come from diverse, multifaceted backgrounds, so it is imperative that to live together in harmony, we not only tolerate, but also mutually recognize one another's humanity. How can this be done? I have researched, theoretically, but also practically how we can use creative spaces, a *moral imagination* to implement peace building.

In the next chapter, I talk more in depth about how food can be used as an identity-shaping element to help give a fuller understanding of how the way in which we eat, cook, consume, makes us all human. As Fisher says, "I think that when two people are able to weave that kind of invisible thread of understanding and sympathy between each other, that delicate web, they should not risk tearing it. It is too rare, and it lasts too short a time at best...." (Fisher, 1990). Our lives are intertwined in this world, and food helps to make an understanding of one another's culture, if at least it is just a glimpse of familiarity. The projects that I will discuss in the third chapter of this dissertation will paint a picture of how food can bring people's of historically conflicted backgrounds

together, and hopefully promote ongoing unconditional spaces of intercultural dialogue, empathy, and mutual recognition…perhaps this is my definition of peace.

Chapter 2: Food Studies and Cultural Identity

Food, together with air and water, is the stuff of life, and it is the basic foundation of culture and society.

(Gillian Crowther in *Eating Culture* 2013)

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw an overview of a combination of peace theory, food studies, and identity theory. It was a bridge between the ideas of peace theory, which in this dissertation highlight intercultural dialogue, empathy, mutual recognition, power and knowledge, political dualisms, imperfect peace, unconditional spaces, and moral imagination, and those of a mostly anthropological and social view of food studies and of course, identity. In the last chapter, I discussed the power of identity, according to Manuel Castells, and the hybrid nature of identity, according to Sidi Omar and Amin Maalouf. All of these theories are ones which I believe lead us to understand the dimension of identity that can be expressed through food. To be more specific, this second chapter speaks in particular about food studies and cultural identity—from various literary standpoints. Food, which I ascertain as an identity-shaping element, unites us as a human species, but it also allows us to define ourselves by a cultural marker. The important thing to point out in this study is that, while each culture does have a self-defining cuisine, identity is still fluid, malleable and constantly transforming. I find it relevant to keep in mind throughout this chapter in particular the ability of food to self-define, but also to create dialogues between different cultures, which I will demonstrate in the next chapter with the case studies I chose as points of analysis.

I start out this chapter with a biological analysis of culinary symbolism, which describes the human connection to food as multidimensional and representative of human behavior. I then go on to explain food studies as a marker of cultural and personal identity, and continue in the following section with an anthropological standpoint on evolutionary biology—helping to understand the trend toward crash diets and nutrition frenzies. The following sections include a brief analysis of the effects of the food system on the planet and the people, as well as food, identity and the immigrant experience, and finally alimentary identities and the ethics of food. All of these topics lend a hand to the understanding of the anthropology of food studies and the importance of understanding human behavior through the human connection to food in many facets of life. Within this chapter I hope we will learn comprehend the different elements involved in food and identity, culinary symbolism and the combination of physical sciences and social sciences as a transrational approach to food studies.

Food as an Identity-Shaping Element

Culinary Symbolism

Claude Fischler asserts that since the beginning of their existence, human beings have been one of the only species on this planet that relate to food as a form of nourishment but also as something symbolic, and identity-shaping (Fischler, 1988). In that regard, humans are conscious beings that are aware that what they consume is not just a biological necessity, but also as a cultural component that signifies something inherent to their identity (Fischler, 1988). Humans indeed are biological organisms, which are constructed by social forces. And so, Fischler proposes a very interesting question in the framework of food, identity and culture: "How do organisms and

representations, biological individuals and their culture, interact with each other and with their environment?" (Fischler, 1988) This fundamental question that looks into the construction of one's identity based on what one eats taps also into the norms and representations that, due to their socially-constructed nature, become internalized into our taste buds, metabolisms, emotions, etc. It is irrefutable that the human connection to food is multi-dimensional in character since one could look at this relationship as something representative of human behavior, psychology, culture, individuality or collectivity.

The Omnivore's Paradox

The fact that humans choose with care what they decide to eat each and every day, and this occupies an important pillar in their daily routine, and that they are one of the only species that has the liberty to survive on various types of nutrients—both animal and vegetable—requires them to incorporate a certain level of nutrient variety into their diet. This necessity for variety goes hand in hand with diversification, innovation, exploration and change but also requires a certain awareness of the dangers of unknown elements that could be detrimental to human health. This paradox, often referred to as "the omnivore's paradox," upholds the argument that the liberty (and necessity) to choose between many varieties of food to survive creates a world for humans that is both *neophobic*—creating a fear of the unknown, and *neophilic*—creating a need for change and variety (Fischler, 1988). Humans, due to their omnivorous character, are constantly in a state of indecision between dichotomies of: the recognizable versus the undiscovered, the dependable versus the irregular. The biological need to question new foods because they may be dangerous to one's health creates a tension between the beauty of choice and the safety in indecision (Fischler, 1988). In other words, the human

diet is intrinsically a purveyor of cultural identity because, for fear of oversimplifying, "we are what we eat" (Fischler, 1988). This common proverb, simple as it may seem, beholds a lot of truth about humans and cultural identity. Because indeed we do become what we eat, food in and of itself must be considered the biological make up of our identity.

Food, however, is not only biologically transferred to our identity, but also analogically—red meat signifies strength, turnips mean spinelessness (Fisher, 1990). And since what passes through our mouths and travels into our digestive system supposes a certain control over what we let enter our systems, it cannot be refuted that humans have a say in the formation of their identity through what they choose to eat. Among many examples, humans often choose to eat certain elements to control their health, metabolism, weight, or for political or religious reasons (Fischler, 1988). Oftentimes a basis of collective identity is based upon what we consider "pure" enough to incorporate into our diets. "Human beings mark their membership of a culture of a group by asserting the specificity of what they eat, or more precisely—but it amounts to the same thing—by defining the otherness, the difference of others" (Fischler, 1988: 5). Since the beginning of human existence on this planet, we have been divided into hunters, gatherers, then soon after by nationality, religion, culture by what we eat. And so, these human classifications then translate from those of practices, rules, representations and norms to and from the cuisine each group of humans eats, and identifies with.

"Food makes the eater. It is therefore natural that the eater should try to make himself by eating" (Fischler, 1988: 6). The vital necessity to identify and classify food has a literal and figurative sense. If indeed we are what we eat, how are we supposed to

know what we are if we do not know what we eat? Following this line of thought, it can be asserted that there is a complex biological and psychological process in integrating nutritional matter into the self. From an ethological lens, the eater scrutinizes food that is proposed for incorporation from many angles, smells, tests of texture, etc. The term referred to earlier in this text as *neophobia* is an excellent example of this incorporative inspection (Fischler, 1988).

For example, a young child's tendency to accept only a limited range of familiar foods and refuse certain foods in general until the child is influenced by outside social factors such as in the education setting or by peers could be explained as a human reaction to unfamiliarity (Hughes, 1977). Unknown foods tend to trigger a "disgust" stimulae within us, allowing us to perceive a nauseating smell. Oftentimes, this "biological resistance," can be understood also as a revulsion provoked by a cultural phenomenon. The cultural difficulty in identifying and classifying food can sometimes include the division of foods into "impure" or "taboo". Various cultural conditions can stimulate "primitive" behaviors or psychobiological responses due to these cultural classifications. And so, the intertwined nature of psychological and biological groupings or exclusions of foods can be personified in many other facets of human cultures. Needless to say, the makeup of cuisines of varied cultures throughout the world are and have been subject to biological as well as psychological processes, all of which attribute to one's identity (Julier, 2013).

Good to Eat, Good to Think

Consequently, humans undergo a complex cognitive process in selectively deciding what will become part of their diet, and their identity. "Food must not only be

good to eat, but also good to think" (Fischler, 1988: 7). In order to identify a food, one must recognize its place in the world and therefore through this comprehension, can understand the world. The culinary system typically provides criteria that can be used in the mental operations to classify and identify food. To delve deeper into this analysis of culinary systems, it seems pertinent to explore the definition of the word "cooking". Fischler defines it as "transferring nutritional raw materials from the state of nature to the state of culture" (Fischler, 1988: 8). When something is cooked, in many ways, it can be interpreted as the taming of something wild. There is a particular art, or even magic involved in the process of creating a cuisine with wild, raw ingredients, provided to us by nature. This act of creating something palatable or something good enough to make you think about what went into its creation is what divides the world into what is food and what is not. This is also where food taboos come from, as well as the propriety and context of timetables. Many variables attribute to what and when we eat, some of which are age, sex, rank, status, and social role, among others (Julier, 2013). "A society's cookery is a language into which it translates its structure, unless it reluctantly and no less unwittingly reveals there its contradictions" (Fischler, 1988: 9). Individuals and groups identify themselves with their tastes and distastes, in the shape of dividing lines laid down by a culture. Societies tend to divide between children and adult appropriate food, men and women's food, etc. These dividers create lines between genres or artistic styles of eating, or cooking.

The so-called culinary act—or cooking—is something that aims to resolve the aforementioned "omnivore's paradox" (Pollan, 2006). Once food is cooked, it is marked with a stamp, and understood and can then be incorporated. Raw food, for example, can

be considered "untamed" and "dangerous," in spite of the current urban diet fads of raw food to lose weight or become more "pure" (Pollan, 2006). Cuisine allows for a *neophile* innovation to be reconciled with *neophobic* conservatism and distrust. "Novelty, the unknown, can be steeped in the sauce of tradition; originality is tempered by familiarity and monotony relieved by variety" (Fischler, 1988: 9). To return to the previous argument, and put these ideas in context with the idea of food as a purveyor of identity—it can be reiterated that the biological makeup of human beings is one of a contradiction between the need for variety and the tendency toward distrust of unknown elements. Humans, to survive, must be careful of what they incorporate into their diets, but also must include a diverse range of nutrients to survive. This oxymoron could serve as a metaphor for human identity, generally speaking. Human beings are creative by nature, but also are educated to divide themselves into different groups based on their identities—in this case I choose to use food as an example, and hopefully as a tool to purvey identity, and create a humanizing factor (Pollan, 1991, 2006, 2008).

Culinary Hybridity

Identity, which can be a controversial concept in sociological studies, is defined in a myriad of ways; and so, just as humans need biological diversity in the classification of the food they eat, they also need a wide-ranging lens when it comes to the identification of other humans (Taylor et al., 1994). In the same way in which humans incorporate different nutrients into their diet, the same understanding of the concept of identity can be applied to this analysis. As Omar claims in his works about hybridity, the deconstruction and rethinking of the idea of identity would allow for humans to relate better with themselves, each other and the environment (Omar, 2008). I would like to deconstruct

human identity using as an example the human relation with food, the food system, and the environment—in the hopes of concluding that this biological, psychological, and cultural relationship, which oftentimes creates a dichotomy, can have the power, or potential to become a humanizing factor. Just as human identity can be described as something fluid and malleable, our relationship with food is also comprised of a complexity of different inter-relations, and so the inability to recognize this can lead to a lack of solidarity, empathy, and responsibility. Maalouf states:

> *La que reduce la identidad a la pertenencia a una sola cosa, instala a los hombres en una actitud parcial, sectaria, intolerante, dominadora, a veces suicida, y los transforma a menudo en gentes que matan o en partidarios de los que lo hacen. Su vision del mundo está por ello sesgada, distorsionada.* (Maalouf, 2001: 38)

Something that reduces identity into one essentialist element is often what leads to division, intolerance, racism etc. In a similar way, like the varying nature found in the characteristics of human identity, cuisine can be also quite variable; contrasting nationally, regionally, locally, domestically, individually, making it difficult to connect unity and discontinuity, culinary "dialects" and "idiolects" (Julier, 2013). Just as hybrid identities exist as something based on human interaction and dialogue, as Omar calls a "field of energy," the culinary world cannot be generalized or essentialized as a simple, authentic version of one typology (Omar, 2008). By the same token that hybrid identities are a synthesis of various experiences and dialogues with other identities, the mixture of cuisines in heterogeneous societies creates a fusion that can be mirrored in the idea of polymorphic cultural realities being welded together within a "third space" (Omar, 2008). Hybridity, like the fusion of different cuisines, is fruit of the divergent elements meeting and transforming various ties and connections and in turn, creating an affirmation of links

between cultures and peoples (Omar, 2008). For that reason, when one considers the differences of another being, instead of firstly seeing something unfamiliar or dangerous because of its distinct nature, one could see a space of exchange, inclusion and potential growth. In this way, just as cuisine has the ability to transform various elements of different cultures into a third dimension, hybrid identities allow for a way to confront dichotomies and propagate diversity (Omar, 2008).

Incorporation and Food Identity

Within food studies, as touched on previously, theorists often refer to the "omnivore's paradox" as one that cannot be resolved simply by basic elements or complexes, or by the so-called "flavor principles," which aim to develop a culinary language by which various foods and nutrients interact (Pollan, 2006). Although a classification or culinary taxonomy tends to occur within any given culture, like the concept of identity, one cannot generalize certain dishes because each household has its own, unique way to elaborate them and to make one's self stand alone, and be special, or different (Fischler, 1988). For that reason, when one refers to a certain authentic, ethnic, cuisine it is an essentialist description that serves to purify the nature of a particular culinary tradition. The culinary language I wish to create within this dissertation should serve as a contributor to the construction of familiarity and acceptability between different cultures, peoples, nations, etc. A potential problem of that, however, could be that of classification. Humans are subject to both behavioral and biological barriers to incorporation, which are raised by cognitive and sensory factors, and then triggered by *neophobic* responses (Fischler, 1988). It is important to understand the nature and function of cultural norms and the classifications that shape human eating habits. It is

appropriate, also, to note that the cultural identification of a food—and that it can fit harmoniously into one's culinary classification—can help to relieve the anxiety associated with the "omnivore's paradox" (Pollan, 2006).

The question of identity tends to come about when that identity is being disturbed or threatened. Food identity, for that reason, can be considered problematic because of the effects of the power dynamics involved in food production, as well as the consequences of The Green Revolution[22], which was supposed to increase agricultural production, but instead squandered biodiversity (Shiva, 1991). In that regard, the modern-day "eater" has become purely a consumer, and with the industrial revolution and the commercialization and globalization of the food market, humans have slowly but surely lost contact and relation with the food they consume. The preparation and concoction of food is increasingly done so outside of the home, and so the socio-cultural cuisine frameworks are being corroded by economic and technical lifestyle changes. Modern food is less and less identifiable by its consistency, flavor, smell or texture because it is processed and packaged. Food technology has become a mask of the identity of the food we are eating, and so I must return to the previous question: how do we know who we are if we don't know what we are eating? The "unidentifiable, edible objects" are liable to cause us to lose sight of ourselves as "eaters" and become simply "consumers" (Fischler, 1988). In a food, and cultural system that is in the process of being de-structured and/or restructured, how do we situate ourselves in relation to the

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[22] The Green Revolution began in the 1940s when scientist Norman Borlaug developed a strain of wheat that could resist diseases, and produce large seed heads and high yields. "The Green Revolution was a period when the productivity of global agriculture increased drastically as a result of new advances. During this time period, new chemical fertilizers and synthetic herbicides and pesticides were created" (Study.com, 2015). It is well known for creating high yields of crops and because of this, negatively effecting smaller agriculture. Also see Shiva 1991, "The Violence of the Green Revolution".

universe and the cosmos? The growing demand for a "re-identification" of foods at the hands of heads of state (the necessity to label foods by what they contain or do not contain), and the human need to regimen in one's eating habits is resulting in fad diets, vegetarianism, veganism, raw or paleo, etc. (Fischler, 1988). The constant change in trending diets—the gluten-free, the no carb, the no sugar, the paleo, the raw, the calorie-counters—can be seen as a cry from society to come closer again to food. When we know what we eat, without having to be told by the nutrition facts label, we can connect on a deeper level with the incorporation of the food we eat (Coveney, 2000).

Food and Identity: Food Studies, Cultural and Personal Identity
The Creative Act of Eating

"A food studies mindset allows researchers across disciplines to debunk food-related stereotypes and promote acceptance across individuals and groups" (Almerico, 2014: 1). Humans must be forced to answer questions regarding what the food on one's plate signifies, how food practices contribute to one's personal identity, and how food habits contribute to the development and transmission of culture. Food studies, which combines agricultural science, nutrition, culinary arts and gastronomy among other disciplines, helps to reveal the human experience with food and a person or group's beliefs, passions, background knowledge, assumptions, and even personalities. In that sense, when I refer to one's "food voice," like the culinary language mentioned before in this chapter, I mean to capture the fundamental nature of the fact that what one eats or does not eat communicates aspects of their identity and emotions. "Food choices tell stories of families, migrations, assimilations, resistance, changes over time, personal and group identity" (Almerico, 2014: 3). Food studies can help us to look deeper into a

common, daily occurrence and understand each other and ourselves better. The fact that human beings eat and do not feed illustrates the consumption for pleasure and not just for nutritional or survival reasons. The human trait to share food, and for social life to revolve around food is exclusive to our specie. As described by Kittler, Sucher and Nelms, "food habits," or food culture and "food ways" is the manner in which humans use food—how it is acquired, distributed, who prepares it, serves and eats it, etc. (Kittler et al., 2012).

The question then evolves in that line of thought: why do humans spend so much time, energy, money, and creativity on the act of eating? Revisiting the effects of psychological and social factors on food choices could help to explain the answer to that question (Kittler et al., 2012). Food stereotypes and taboos such as the good versus bad eaters, the vegetarians, health food eaters, fast food eaters, etc. are all consequences of the food industry and the aforementioned social factors involved in the food system. Apart from these social factors, there also exists a certain symbolism of food that subconsciously affects our dietary habits (Kittler et al., 2012). Breaking bread is not just sitting down and eating together; the type of bread symbolizes social standing as well as "the crust of life" (Almerico, 2014). Bread, as we know, has many symbolic connotations apart from being a staple in many diets. For Christians, bread is the body of Christ, bread means security, godliness, nobility, etc. (Julier, 2013). Culture, which is not something inherited, but something inherently learned, shows us that the act of "eating is a daily reaffirmation of one's cultural identity" (Almerico, 2014: 5). The act of choosing and being conditioned to incorporate certain foods into one's diet are all parts of the

identity we form through emotional connections, sense of belonging, ethnic pride, etc. (Almerico, 2014).

Anthropology and Evolutionary Biology

"I Cook, Therefore I Am"

I would like to start this section by questioning the idea of cooking. Why, in comparison to all other living creatures, are humans the only ones that cook their food? As mentioned in the previous segment, the way in which we choose what we eat and incorporate into our diets has a lot to do with our identities (Fischler, 1988). And so, in the same way we deliberate what ends up on our plates, and what passes through our mouths into our digestive system, the way in which we cook—the very fact that we do indeed heat up our food—also shapes our identity (Julier, 2013). As Dr. Richard Wrangham states in his works on anthropology and evolutionary biology, "I cook, therefore I am" (Wrangham, 2013). Here, I would like to analyze the origin of humans—their identity in particular—from the perspective of diet, looking at cooking in particular. Charles Darwin, one of the founders of modern evolutionary biology, explored the notion of the effect of being able to control fire on human identity (Darwin, 1965). Before discovering how to make fire, humans were unable to cook their foods. It may seem obvious that in figuring out how to make and manage fire, humans soon after learned to cook (Wrangham, 2013). It is not so simple, however.

There are many reasons why humans heat their food before they consume it. Some would say that cooking came out of evolution for nutritional benefits, others for symbolic reasons (Wrangham, 2013). I think it must be a combination of biology and psychology. Indeed, one of the main things that set humans apart from fellow mammals

is the fact that they cook their food. In that line of thought, taking into account the more recent dietary trends, one that comes to mind is the raw craze, which delimits people to eating all raw ingredients. The raw diet gives "your oven a rest on this diet… raw fruits, vegetables, and grains [and] the premise is that heating food destroys its nutrients and natural enzymes, which is bad because enzymes boost digestion and fight chronic disease. In short: When you cook it, you kill it" (Suzanne, 2012). Some raw food dieters believe that cooking makes food toxic. They claim that a raw food diet can clear up headaches and allergies, boost immunity and memory, and improve arthritis and diabetes (Suzanne, 2012) So even after 1.9 million years since humans first used fire to cook— people are recently beginning to question the effect of heat on their food (Suzanne, 2012).

Another attempt to take control of their identity by deciding what and how the food they eat is being incorporated. Seems symbolic to me. Of course there are multitudes of studies about the drawbacks and benefits of raw versus cooked foods—the point I am trying to make here is that cooking or not cooking food (and having the choice and capacity to decide that method) is very much innate to human identity (Suzanne, 2012). The common conception that one will lose weight on a raw food diet brings me to my next point. In societies like the United States, where crash diets run rampant and the next super food is around every corner—we are increasingly walking on a longer path toward a complete disconnect with the food we eat. Most people don't check the labels of the boxed, processed foods they buy nor do they know or care where their produce or meat comes from—as long as it is a reasonable price and resembles something edible, it fits the qualifications for incorporation (Fuhrman, 2014). This is the problem. This is what contributes to ever-increasing levels of diabetes, obesity, heart disease, etc. We no

longer connect with what we eat. And if we indeed *are* what we eat, the fact that we no longer know *what* we eat is in fact the reason that we don't know *who* we are (Fuhrman, 2014). If we don't know who we are, it becomes difficult to connect with one another and with our environment. There needs to be a smaller bridge between eater and producer. A way to make that gap smaller is to become more aware and more critical about what we eat, knowing whom and how it is produced and what effect it has on our health and the health of our planet.

Humans are not the only species that suffer from weight control. Our pets, street rats, and even groundhogs are gaining weight because they feed off the processed trash we leave in the dumpsters—both cooked and processed (Wrangham, 2013). Returning to the very idea of cooking—we must recognize the simple fact that cooking food increases one's body weight, which is why people revert to not heating up their food so they can try to lose weight, even if that may or may not be healthier. Starch, for example, is very difficult to digest if it is not "gelatinized" (opened up with enzymes to digestive enzymes). If it is eaten raw, the caloric intake is lower because one's body cannot digest it properly. Other nutrients are difficult to digest when eaten raw, including protein, which until becoming cooked is almost inaccessible to digestion. When raw proteins are introduced into the body, they go through a bacterial fermentation within the large intestine, called *ileal* digestibility (Wrangham, 2013). When these proteins are digested in that way, they are of essentially no benefit to us. Cooking, however, opens up proteins to amino acids so they are more easily digested. Dr. Wrangham discusses in his works the idea of "soft food," which refers to foods that, although the calories remain the same when heated, are softened and therefore take less energy for digestion (Wrangham,

2013). The metabolic rate heightens when we eat, so when we eat hard versus soft foods, we absorb far less calories because we burn calories during the digestion process when we eat harder foods. Therefore, in the same line of thought, processed foods take less energy to digest, meaning that the society in which we live—which thrives on an ever-growing market of processed foods—the people are suffering from metabolic disorders all over the place, unbeknownst that the reasons are because they are consuming more calories in processed food than if they were to consume non-processed food with the same calorie level because although the number is the same, the energy it takes to process is different (Fuhrman, 2014). The notion of cooking for humans is simply a permanent search for energy, for survival and ultimately for procreation. Cooking increases the amount of energy we receive from foods because it becomes a soft food, which takes less burnt calories to digest. When we lose sight of the reasons behind why we cook, or why we eat certain foods raw and others not, we develop trends such as urban raw food diets, which have been proven to cause sterility and obstruction of the menstrual cycle. Humans have adapted to eating certain foods cooked (Wrangham, 2013). They have a very small gut in relation to their body mass, small chewing teeth adapted for soft foods, so they are biologically adapted to cooked food. Homo erectus is very different in those regards to the previous *Australopithecus*, which had larger teeth and a bigger gut. Since this evolutionary shift, 1.9 million years ago, humans have been cooking food—so to suddenly revert back to a raw food diet does not make sense for humans biologically (Wrangham, 2013).

The Costs of Digestion

Why does cooking really matter? Well, among many reasons, the simplest answer is that it gives humans better access to the caloric values of food. The Atwater convention, which assesses the caloric value of foods, ignores the effect of processing foods. The costs of digestion are obviously higher when food is not processed, but the "official calorie counters" do not put that on the label. Food processing is not included in those statistics (Wrangham, 2013). Needless to say, highly processed foods are easier to digest because fewer calories are needed to digest them. Today, due to technological advances, humans tend to use much less energy in there daily lives, so although cooking food was meant to allow humans to digest foods easily and not "waste" energy in digestion, times have changed, and humans need to be aware of the fact that the caloric activity it takes to digest processed foods is not the same as when digesting "real" food. The nutrient intake is also different for that reason. Cooking also enables human babies to wean and adapt to solid foods more easily, making family sizes increase. Softer foods take less time to chew, which allowed in human evolution, people to spend more time producing food and hunting (Fuhrman, 2014). Our brain size is dependent upon more than 1/5 of the food we eat since it is used as glucose for the brain. And so, smaller guts equal bigger brains. Since we use less energy to maintain the gut, our brain sizes have progressively increased.

Virginia Woolf said that without cooking we would still be apes (Woolf, 1915). We are indeed apes that learned to cook, which in turn allowed us to digest more easily, produce more food, spend more time hunting and less chewing, and gave us bigger brains to then produce technology that allows us to no longer garden, hunt, gather, etc. Cooking

gave us the capacity to create the society in which we live now, but it also lead to a growing gap between the connection of humans and food. Some might say, what about the places where it's always been too cold to cook, or the cultures such as the Inuit that are known for their raw consumption, and their 99% mammal or fish diets (Wrangham, 2013). These are oftentimes misconceptions that turn into rumors. The reputation that the Inuit have for eating only raw food is false. In fact, the men hunt all day long, and during that time, the women prepare the large evening meal, which takes hours to cook due to the cold. They do eat raw food during the day, but the women spend all afternoon burning animal fat to cook for the evening meal, which is where they get most of their nutrition (Wrangham, 2013). Life, if one ponders, is a search for energy. Cooking has had major evolutionary advantages, but like all technological advances (we can call cooking a technological advance of some kind), there are also dangers. The fact that it allowed us to grow our brains to a size that allows us to create systems that produce food for us in massive quantities is also detrimental (Fuhrman, 2014). The discrepancy between the massive amounts of food produced and consumed in countries like the United States, whose number one cause of death is heart disease and almost 70% of all adults are considered overweight or obese, and the 21,000 people that die every year of hunger-related causes just doesn't make sense (Wrangham, 2013). The gap between consumer and producer needs to shrink, so that people can become more in tune with the reality of what they eat, how it effect their health, and how its origin effects so many people in the world and the planet (Wrangham, 2013).

Effects of The Food System on The Planet and The People

Seeds of Crime

Commonly when we talk about "growth" in this day and age, we are referring to capital. The Gross Domestic Product, which measures the monetary value of all finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period, fails to include the fact that this so-called "growth" means stealing from nature and people. This "growth" robs forests of biodiversity and their capacity to conserve oil and water (Shiva, 2000). The corporate myth, which states that industrial agriculture is necessary to grow more food and reduce hunger, evades the fact that "…in agriculture as much as forestry, the growth illusion hides theft from nature and the poor, masking the creation of scarcity as growth" (Shiva, 2000: 1). This alludes to the disparity of severe hunger and eating disorders. How can it be possible that thousands are dying every day from hunger in underdeveloped nations, while in the richer countries obesity runs rampant?

Covered up time and time again by so-called "natural disasters," the hunger "crisis" is not exactly a natural phenomenon free of human meddling (Shiva, 2000).

> Corporations that have made governments their puppets and that have created instruments and institutions like the WTO for their own protection are now being held accountable to ordinary people. (Shiva, 2000: 2)

Seed patent laws are being forced upon countries under the rules of the World Trade Organization, which has made the conservation and saving of seeds a crime. Food that has been free from genetic engineering is not exactly a luxury for rich consumers.

> The women's movement and farmer's movement's resisted the imports of subsidized soybean oil to ensure that their livelihoods and their traditional food cultures were not destroyed. In doing so, they demonstrated that food free from genetic engineering is not a luxury for rich consumers. It's a basic element of the right to safe, accessible, and culturally appropriate food. (Shiva, 2000: 3)

Since agriculture, everywhere, but specifically in the United States plays such a prominent role in the global food market, I think it is important to understand why and how this contributes to the larger picture of food ethics and how the climate, and our home for future generations is at risk of no longer being able to provide food or a healthy environment because of human actions. Food security is at risk because of the way in which we produce and consume food (Shiva, 2000).

Food Production and Climate Change

According the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), climate change adds further pressure to food security because "food production is critically dependent on local temperature and precipitation conditions" so any changes demand that farmers adapt their practices to climate change (ifpri.org, 2015). Their analysis suggests that until 2050, the challenges from climate change are "manageable," in the sense that possible investments in land and water productivity enhancements may partly, or even substantially, mitigate the negative effects from climate change (ifpri.org, 2015). But the challenges of dealing with the effects between 2050 and 2080 are likely to be much greater, and possibly unmanageable (Klein, 2007). Starting the process of slowing emissions growth today is critical to avoiding a calamitous post-2050 future (Klein, 2007).

A common, and alarming opinion about climate change is that it affects the agriculture industry, and not the other way around. To the contrary, the general trend towards more intensive and industrialized agriculture has a profound impact on the environment, including emissions to air and water, quality and quantity of surface water and groundwater, soil erosion, pollution due to large-scale use of pesticides, and loss of

biodiversity and habitats. In the near future, agriculture may also gain a significant role in the production of biofuels and renewable energy (Klein, 2007). The potential shift in the production from food to biomass production for biofuels and energy raises many open questions regarding the sustainability and cost-efficiency of the biofuel production. It isn't enough to say that simply put, the agriculture industry has had severe impacts on the environment (Klein, 2007). Evidence shows that about 7,000 plant species have been cultivated and collected for human consumption since the idea of agriculture began more than 12,000 years ago (Pollan, 2006). Nonetheless, today, only about 15 plant species and 8 animal species supply 90% of the global demand for food (Pollan, 2006). A combination of a hastily increasing global human population and changing consumption patterns have caused for the evolution of agriculture from traditional to modern, intensive systems. Nearly one third of the world's land area is used for food production, making agriculture the largest single cause of habitat conversion on a global basis (Pollan, 2006).

> Food is a universal requirement, the production of which affects and is affected by the environment in which we all live. These stark facts imply that in addressing ethical aspects of food biotechnology it is the social dimension, which is of paramount importance. Some may consider such questions are political rather than ethical, but 'Ethical issues transcend the different levels of human organization and, therefore, political systems embody ethical systems. (Gottwald et al., 2010)

Since we can ascertain that climate change is in fact a man made disaster, industrial agricultural practices and their effects on climate change are both aspects of food production that should be taken into account (Gottwald et al., 2010).

In my research I have come across various projects and techniques that have been implemented worldwide in the hopes of stifling the effects of climate change. In Malawi, for example, permaculture projects are being built to develop sustainable food systems.

Forests normalize water movement and safeguard topsoil (Jacke et al., 2011). If the forests are repaired, flooding can be prevented (Jacke et al., 2011). If the forests are designed following holistic permaculture guidelines, much more can be achieved including water harvesting, fuel wood, high-quality timber, indigenous forest restoration and very diverse food production (Jacke et al., 2011). In a country where nearly half the populations children are malnourished, and it is common to suffer from chronic hunger, any complete solution must take into consideration food sustainability (Toensmeier and Bates, 2013). The solution being put into effect in Malawi territory is one of forest gardening, which is an approach to food production based on the fact that forests are resilient and highly productive systems that have existed for thousands of years (Chirwa et al., 2013). Forests do not require pesticides or chemicals because they survive with a constant flow of production and recycling. Permaculture techniques have adopted the concept to create something called food forests, which are systems designed to simulate natural forests but with an objective to yield multipurpose plants and animals that directly benefit humans (Toensmeier and Bates, 2013).

So what makes a food forest different from a farm? A natural forest, for example, is comprised of about seven different layers: the rhizosphere, ground covers, herbaceous layer, shrub layer, climbers, lower canopy and climax layer (Jacke et al., 2011). In a natural forest these layers are not of direct use to humans, but in a so-called food forest they would be. In a food forest, a similar concept would exist, but the layers would be comprised of fruit trees (Jacke et al., 2011).

> Imagine a dense forest of mango trees, acacias, citrus trees, coconut palms, guavas, moringas, towering tamarinds and mahoganies. Climbing up many of these trees are passion fruit, air potato, loofa and shushu. Pigeon pea, cassava, the purple flowering tephrosia, hibiscus, amaranth and the big yellow flowers of

cassia alata, occupy the shrub and herbaceous layers. Turmeric, arrowroot and ginger grow in abundance. Aloe vera grows here and there and cow pea, sweet potato and watermelon crawl along the forest floor or edge. The ground is strewn with a thick layer of decomposing leaves, which serve to build rich, healthy soils and maintain the link with microorganisms. A mass of flowering species create excellent environments for bees and other beneficial insects. The system is self-replicating, has great commercial value and is highly beneficial to the health of all creatures that interact with it. (Moorsom, 2015)

Permaculture is not primarily a moneymaking venture and does not appeal to any self-serving agenda (Bane, 2012). It is based on ethics of sharing, caring for one another and cherishing our environment. These are excellent values to form the basis of any society but have often led to permaculture being dismissed as a marginal hippy movement, rather than a serious approach to development (Bane, 2012). In Malawi in particular, due to the type of climate it is disposed to, this type of permaculture project would and is beginning to flourish (Chirwa et al., 2013). It is a clear example of the way in which biodiversity and the natural quality of food forests guarantees good health and promotes environmental protection and agricultural sustainability (Chirwa et al., 2013).

There are many reasons, primarily economical that the idea of food forests, and permaculture at large are not accepted in the mainstream, and that conventional forms of agriculture are still widely used and accepted even though they have been proven to be unsustainable (Bane, 2012). The main reason is that a capitalist society simply does not allow for such innovations that take the control out of the hands of very few people and give power to communities to sustain themselves. If small communities (particularly in the African context) no longer relied on foreign aid to survive (in the case of Malawi more than 40% of the economy relies on foreign aid), then they would not be useful to the Western power holders (Chirwa et al., 2013).   In that way—food, agriculture, sustainability, and climate change are political. The apple you buy from the supermarket,

the soil you use to hold your potted flowers, the tomato sauce you pour on pasta for dinner—is political and all has an impact on so many levels of society. It is indeed difficult to imagine a world in which we survive entirely off of one local food forest, but it sure sounds like a magical, almost fictitious place. Below is illustrated a Food Forests' Living Web, including all things that are commonly part of a natural forest—but that are in this case directly useful for human consumption (Food Forests, Permaculture, And The Future Of School Gardens, 2015).

Food Forests' Living Web
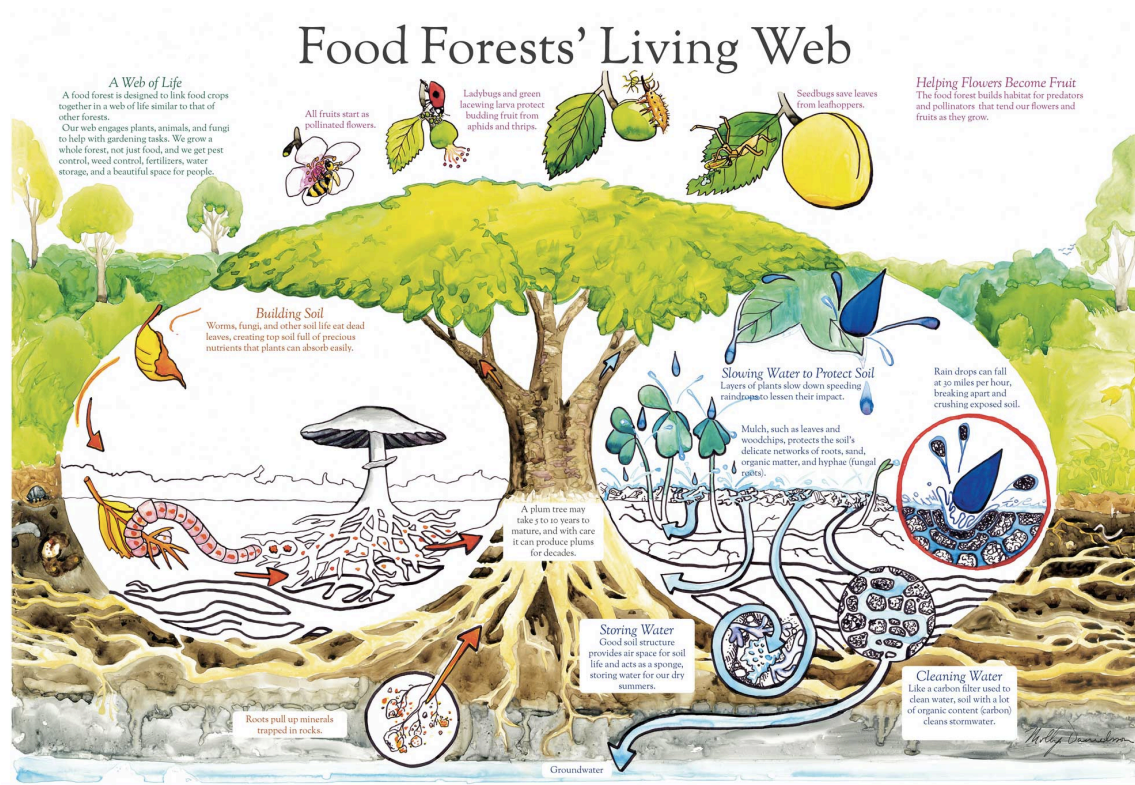
(Food Forests, Permaculture, And The Future Of School Gardens, 2015).

To delve a little deeper and try to connect the dots with sustainable agriculture and human consumption of various foods, I would like to discuss the issue of the meat industry more in detail, touching on the various ways our diet is related to the well being and future of sustainable agriculture. We, as human beings, and as consumers of the

agriculture sector, are faced with a challenge. We have the ability to choose what and how much we consume, at least in the context in which we live. With this power to choose, comes a big responsibility. Does it really matter what we put on our plates? Yes, it does. The amount of animal products we consume contributes directly to the meat industry, which has been proven to contribute the second most contributors of green house gases to the atmosphere (Andersen, 2014). Methane from the husbandry industry is corroding the environment at a catastrophic level, and we, human beings, are the ones supporting this. We often look to more obvious pollutants than cow farts, but they are right up there with fuel exhaust, and just as Toyota and Honda came out with hybrid cars to try to cut down on fuel emissions, we should come up with more hybrid diets to try to make our fossil fuel footprint a bit smaller (Gottwald et al., 2010).

According to the Worldwatch Institute, "livestock and their byproducts account for at least 32,000 million tons of carbon dioxide per year, or 51% of all worldwide greenhouse gas emissions" (Worldwatch Institute, 2015). When we take into consideration that methane has a global warming power 86 times that of carbon dioxide, and that it is 25-100 times more destructive, it is easy to understand why emissions for agriculture are projected to increase 80% by 2050 (Worldwatch Institute, 2015). Animal agriculture contributes to species extinction in many ways. Animal agriculture contributes to species extinction in many ways. In addition to the monumental habitat destruction caused by clearing forests and converting land to grow feed crops and for animal grazing, predators and "competition" species are frequently targeted and hunted because of a perceived threat to livestock profits (Wildhorsepreservation.org, 2015). The widespread use of pesticides, herbicides and chemical fertilizers used in the production of

feed crops often interferes with the reproductive systems of animals and poison waterways (Worldwatch Institute, 2015). The overexploitation of wild species through commercial fishing, bush meat trade as well as animal agricultures' impact on climate change, all contribute to global depletion of species and resources (Epa.gov, 2015. Even the Environmental Protection Agency says:

> Although a strong livestock industry is essential to [our] nation's economic stability, the viability of many rural communities, and a healthy and high-quality food supply . . . the growing scale and concentration of AFOs has contributed to negative environmental and human health impacts. Pollution associated with AFOs degrades the quality of waters, threatens drinking water sources, and may harm air quality. (Epa.gov, 2015)

Conventional cattle farms in the United States produce large amounts of often mismanaged waste in confined areas, which have negative impacts on the environment and add to further catalyzing climate change.

> Animal agriculture contributes to species extinction in many ways. In addition to the monumental habitat destruction caused by clearing forests and converting land to grow feed crops and for animal grazing, predators and "competition" species are frequently targeted and hunted because of a perceived threat to livestock profits. The widespread use of pesticides, herbicides and chemical fertilizers used in the production of feed crops often interferes with the reproductive systems of animals and poison waterways. The overexploitation of wild species through commercial fishing, bush meat trade as well as animal agricultures' impact on climate change, all contribute to global depletion of species and resources (Andersen, 2014).

As human beings, our ecological footprint is larger than ever, and continues to grow in size, despite the glaring evidence that we must change our behaviors and habits. It seems so basic that we need to cut back on meat, stop tearing down forests and protect our endangered biodiversity (Andersen, 2014).

Alimentary Identities and the Ethics of Eating

Studies conducted by anthropologists and sociologists have demonstrated that, "in every culture food is a crucial manner of self-constitution and alimentary choices are a means of expressing adherence to a social group" (Taylor, 2010: 73). In food discourses such as "you are what you eat" or "tell me what you eat: I will tell you what you are", anthropologists ascertain an identity study based on expression of identity through alimentary habits (Probyn, 2000). Eating has been studied as a mode of expression societally and individually (Manton, 1999). In North America, the fact that "Canadian cuisine" and "American cuisine" connote unhealthy, unsophisticated eating habits, "diverse culinary counter-cultures have arisen to dissociate individual consumers from the undesirable cuisine or non-cuisine of their nation, resulting in a plethora of gastronomically-bound identities" (Taylor, 2010: 74).

Carol Adams explores the manner in which nineteenth-century feminists identified with the abuses of non-human animals as similar to the oppression of women (Adams, 1990). Adams goes on to problematize the ethical feminist attitude towards animals by pointing out that vegetarianism tends to identify feminists from white, middle-class realms of society (Adams, 1994). Manton writes:

> These food preferences at the end of the century…differentiate upscale eaters from members of lower classes who persist in eating the same meat-and-fat-saturated diet that their parents ate a generation before. (Manton, 1999: 77)

Feminist vegetarians, while trying to associate a higher number of vegetarians with women to a historical attribution with non-human animals and the ethical superiority of women—taking care of animals and not consuming them can be considered a theory within the feminist tradition of care ethics (Donovan et al., 1996). However, these ideas

become controversial when we point out that the choice of vegetarianism in the Occidental world has only been available to a small group of middle-class white people (Donovan et al., 1996). "African Americans also have a long history of being 'animalized' within racist discourses and practices and this has not given rise to a particularly animal friendly African American cuisine" (Hughes, 1977: 272). Another way in which the abstinence of eating other animals resonates with feminist theory is that it denies human superiority over other species (Taylor, 2010). For other feminists, however, this privilege to choose to indulge in eating animals or not is the true proof of humanity (Taylor, 2010). For them, vegetarianism is seen as the humane, moral option—contrasting with the meat-eaters who do not reflect upon their actions, and are therefore considered savages (Taylor, 2010).

> Vegetarianism, for some, demonstrates that we, unlike tigers, are moral agents who can choose what we eat, regardless of instinct or what may or may nor be 'natural'. Vegetarianism, like meat-eating, may therefore be understood as proof of human superiority. (Taylor, 2010: 75)

This understanding of ethical vegetarianism can be seen as a recognition of the idea of "common animality" or, on the other hand, a way of rising above common animality through human superiority (Taylor, 2010). Either way, both perspectives comprise a feminist vegetarian identity. Hand in hand with pillars of ecofeminism, vegetarians also refrain from a meat-based diet because it leads to environmental pollution and global warming, as discussed in the previous section (Taylor, 2010).

Vegetarians also consider citizens of developing countries who are forced to grow cash crops to feed first world cattle rather than subsistence crops (Taylor, 2010). "…A vegetarian diet functions as a counter-cuisine, indicating identification with an ethico-political counterculture, a desire to tread lightly on the earth and to not inflict needless

suffering" (Taylor, 2010: 75). Manton also argues: "individuals who eat only organic natural food acquire the moral superiority already attributed to that category of food" (Manton, 1999: 8). Certain types of food habits can be symbolically identified with ethnicity, gender, class, race, which although they are conditioned categories, they are real societal markers. This indicates: "an ethical diet can also work as a political and aesthetic practice of counter-disciplinary self-constitution" (Taylor, 2010: 75). The choices we make surrounding food reflect not only our identities as "products of unchosen disciplinary practices that precede us" but also can actively and consciously transform us as human beings (Taylor, 2010). Specifically in the North American context, in which gastronomic identities, or "alimentary subjectivities"[23] prosper in a way that is quite possibly incomparable in other contexts, food, which can be a "marker for gender, race, ethnicity, class and politics, is a significant expression of each of these sites of identification, and thus functions as an important means of self-constitution" (Taylor, 2010: 75). According to Probyn, "we need to pay attention to how food and eating have now become a central site of intensity for public and popular questions about who we are" (Probyn, 1999: 422).

Probyn also argues: "bodies that eat connect us more explicitly with limits of class, gender and ethnicity than do the copulating bodies so prominently displayed in popular culture" (Probyn, 1999: 422). She suggests that gastronomy and eroticism have become intertwined (Taylor, 2010). Many authors have analyzed the correlations between eating meat and social constructions of heterosexuality (Taylor, 2010). Adams and other feminist scholars have come up with comprehensive examples of non-human

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[23] The term "alimentary subjectivities" refers to a construct of an ethical subjectivity connected to body's fear and anxiety around food choice. For more information see Probyn 2000 "Carnal Appetites".

animal bodies presented in ways that self-consciously transmit heterosexual pornographic representations of women (Adams, 2003). "Such images and the captions that go with them are to be found in mundane venue ranging from advertisements to food magazines to cookbooks" (Taylor, 2010: 76). Along with these representations, women have also been portrayed as pieces of meat; more specifically the example of "meat shots" in heterosexual pornography or the typical jokes talking about whether a man prefers legs or breasts (referring to chicken meat) (Taylor, 2010). The outcome of this discourse is that women and non-human animal bodies are often (subconsciously) apprehended as objects of heterosexual male consumption (Taylor, 2010). The contrary to this perception is that men who are vegetarians are commonly considered womanly, strange and homosexual (Taylor, 2010). This example demonstrates yet another manner in which food choices—in this case the choice of meat consumption or not—are intertwined with identity-formation (Taylor, 2010). I'd like to point out here that although these identities tend to be bound up in stigmas and stereotypes—assuming that because a man is vegetarian he is homosexual, or that because a woman is a vegetarian she is automatically a feminist is dangerous and subjective. This example is merely one to demonstrate the symbolic nature of food choices, because although these stereotypes and stigmas are oftentimes false and are based off of certain discourses and conditionings, they are also valid because they come from historical and cultural instances.

Sexual Identities and "Immoral" Food Choice

Adams' exploration of images of meat in conjunction to heterosexual pornography utilized by men (in the previous example), can also be paralleled to other studies of food representing somewhat pornographic agents for women (Taylor, 2010).

According to a study conducted by author and environmental activist Margaret Atwood, "one man's cookbook is another woman's soft porn" (Atwood, 1987: 1). She speaks of the content in certain cookbooks as "sort of like sex" (Atwood, 1987). British journalist and academic Rosalind Coward argues that gourmet parts of women's magazines have been examples of "food porn", which "seduce women in the same way that conventional pornography tempts men" (Coward, 1985: 76). Gina Mallet, journalist and restaurant critic, speaks of her experience with Elizabeth David's[24] Mediterranean cookbook in postwar London as one of sexual allure (Mallet, 2004).

> The fact that you couldn't by olive oil easily, if at all, only made Elizabeth David's book more alluring. It was…erotic, like Charles Ryder's dinner in Paris in *Brideshead Revisited*[25]. Evelyn Waugh's description of the food made the deprived eater lust for blinis[26] dripping with globules of butter, sour and frothy sorrel soup, the sound of duck juices being pressed from the carcass… A Dionysian strain and an enticing sensuality runs through [David's] book. (Mallet, 2004: 107).

Probyn speaks about male chefs on cooking shows primarily in British and Australian culture, describing them as a type of porn star in many manifestations of "gastroporn" (Probyn, 1999: 424). Many television chefs have been portrayed as sex symbols in North American, British and Australian popular culture (Probyn, 1999). One example is Ricardo, a young media chef from Québec who appeared on a television talk show in

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[24] Elizabeth David was a British cookery writer who, in the mid-20th century, powerfully impelled the regeneration of the art of home cookery with articles and books about European gastronomies and time-honored British cuisine. For more info please see David 2002, "A Book of Mediterranean Food".

[25] *Brideshead Revisited, The Sacred & Profane Memories of Captain Charles Ryder* is a novel written by English writer Evelyn Waugh. Waugh wrote that the novel "deals with what is theologically termed 'the operation of Grace', that is to say, the unmerited an unilateral act of love by which God continually calls souls to Himself" (Waugh, 2004). For more information see Waugh 1945, "Brideshead Revisited".

[26] A "blini" (plural form "blinis") is a type of thin pancake, which typically lacks a leavening agent; they are comparable to French crepes and commonly made with buckwheat flour (Collinsdictionary.com, 2015).

which he instructed men to shave their pubic hair—apparently his kitchen skills gave him the qualifications to advise on sexual lifestyle (Taylor, 2010). "Ricardo's website lauds his 'quasi-visceral passion' for cooking and temporarily featured a photo of a chef sitting on a counter, gripping a glass bowl between his thighs while breaking eggs with one hand" (Taylor, 2010: 77).

Many famous male chefs also host their cooking shows from their family kitchens as a way of setting themselves up as paradigms of family values as well as gastroporn icons and sexual régime specialists (Taylor, 2010). Georg Iggers, one of the most important critical authors of historism, writes: "Food has become eroticized, politicized, fetishized, …invested with symbolism and moral power as never before seen in North American society" (Iggers, 2008: 83). Arguably, food has become as important as sex in expressing identity; and if this is indeed the case, the moral markers that are present in sexual symbolism, can also be seen in food choice.

> If it is remarkable how riddled with guilt our relationship with food has become, it is even more noteworthy how much our morality has become centered on food. At heart this new food guilt is a migration of both our eroticism and our moral focus from our groins to our guts. (Iggers, 2008: 82)

Sexual desire and food choice are both modes in which we express identity, and as such, can be given similar moral associations (Taylor, 2010). Fat and unhealthy eating habits, for instance, have been known to connote immoral behavior warranting guilt (Taylor, 2010). Even vegan dessert cookbooks can be deemed sinful (Taylor, 2010). Even though unhealthy eating habits can produce guilt and shame, eating "sexy" foods such as chocolate, has been depicted as an "exquisite, transgressive and quasi-erotic pleasure, frequently described as orgasmic" (Taylor, 2010: 78). This goes to show the shift from

sexual self-definition—or strict moral assignation as a result of sexual preference— toward a heavily charged expression of identity through food choice (Taylor, 2010).

Food Choice and Alimentary Self-Transformation

Many authors and thinkers speak of the bound up, morally charged aspect of food choice—the lists of dos and don'ts: "don't eat fat, don't over-eat, don't eat sugar, don't eat carbs, don't eat meat, eat local, eat health foods, eat seasonal, eat organic, eat in moderation…" (Taylor, 2010: 78). It is also worthy of note to recognize that, as Foucault found in his case study of ancient Greece, diet can also serve as a care of the self and self-transformative activity, and not singularly as penalizing and ethical (Taylor, 2010). Food choice can be considered morally binding when we feel the need to oversimplify alimentary norms, as the disobedience of these rules produces guilt (Taylor, 2010). Food choice only disciplines us when "we are inculcated with specific eating habits or are corporeally constituted to eat in certain ways that are highly difficult to get away from because they have become our habitual means of relating to our bodies, emotions, and selves" (Taylor, 2010: 78).

The multifaceted ways in which food is interconnected with affect, and can along these lines be irrational and ostensibly uncontrollable, is exhibited in research on binge eating, bulimia, and anorexia (Bartky, 1990). Compulsively eating to make up for absence or deficiency of love, and to muddle through stress, is also a common trend (Bartky, 1990). As Valentin Louis Georges Eugène Marcel Proust[27] connected the delicate, French madeleine cookie with a poignant unlocked memory, Gina Mallet

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[27] Proust, French novelist, critic and essayist, is known for his novel *In Search of Lost Time*, in which he describes how eating a madeleine cookie unlocks a poignant memory. For more information see Proust and Treharne 2003 "In Search of Lost Time".

brilliantly depicts taste as recollection, writing sentimentally of the egg, dairy, and meat-based diet of her upbringing while bewailing the ways in which modern food science has instilled anxiety and reticence to this demonstrative fusion (Mallet, 2004). Dietary regimens, like sexual behaviors, are emotional, as well as crucial components of our unconscious bodily makeup. Nonetheless, food choice, like sexual habits, can also be a self-defined and self-transforming skill (Taylor, 2010).

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have illustrated a myriad of ways in which food expressed identity. It has been relevant to demonstrate this claim as a way of comprehending the power food has to culturally, sexually, individually, biologically, anthropologically, evolutionarily, and so on; define us and the way in which we interact with one-another. By understanding the role food and food choice plays in human behavior and transformation, this will aid in the defense of the argument that areas in which food is used as a vehicle for cultural exchange, can promote mutual recognition and intercultural dialogue.

To summarize, in this past chapter I have drawn on examples in which food has been seen as an identity-shaping element, both culturally and at an individual level. I have also touched on the importance of understanding food studies as a relatively new discipline, which aids in illuminating the significance of the human relation with food. I have also discussed this human relationship with food from an anthropological and biological standpoint as a way of better comprehending the current trends of fad diets and the prevalence of evolutionary biology in cooking as a basic term. I then went on to analyze the effects of the food system on the planet and the people of developing

countries with a case study on food forests in Malawi as well as excerpts from Indian, environmental activist Vandana Shiva's works. Finally I completed the chapter with sections debriefing alimentary identities and the ethics of eating, and delving deeper, with food choice and alimentary self-transformation. We come to the conclusion that food, and food choice go hand in hand with notions of hybrid identities, in that cuisine is constantly mixing and transforming, and though food choice inevitably plays a role in defining us, it can also become a self-defining, self-transforming skill that helps us better understand ourselves and others.

Chapter 3: Interculinary Case Studies

Because of the media hype and woefully inadequate information, too many people nowadays are deathly afraid of their food, and what does fear of food do to the digestive system? I am sure that an unhappy or suspicious stomach, constricted and uneasy with worry, cannot digest properly. And if digestion is poor, the whole body politic suffers.

(Julia Child in *My Life in France* 2006)

Introduction

Cases of Imperfect Peaces

This third and final chapter is a key component in demonstrating the power food has in creating areas of unconditionality conducive to intercultural dialogue and mutual recognition. To begin, I refer to the following four case studies as cases of imperfect peaces because they exemplify areas of peace in conflictive societies (all conflictive in different measures and natures, as will be explained in detail in each section). My interpretation of peace as something imperfect, as described by Muñoz, "*nos insta a que construyamos la paz día a día y que seamos capaces de reconocer, para luego cultivar, todos los momentos de paz imperfect que inundan la existencia cotidiana*" (Muñoz et al., 2001: 321). In my opinion, the following case studies exhibit elements of peace building that already exist within everyday, contemporary life. As explained in the previous chapter, food encompasses properties of identity expression—whether on cultural or individual levels. Because of this expressive component, the following projects, which also familiarize us with culture through cuisine, provide areas of imperfect peace within ordinary life (Muñoz et al., 2001). The following two points can describe the characteristics that define the concept of imperfect peace. Firstly, it is the recognition of peaceful experiences in social realities and the realization of their enhancement as guides

and inspiration for peace building (Muñoz et al., 2001). Secondly, it is related to an understanding of peace as an unfinished process, which is constantly changing and growing (Muñoz et al., 2001). The notion of imperfect peace obliges us to recognize the many experiences of peace that already exist in social realities (Muñoz et al., 2001). After many years of investigating the causes of one war after another, counting casualties, and anticipating the next nuclear war, it can be said that peace research has been conducted through an understanding of violence, and not peace (Muñoz et al., 2001). Paradoxically, however, by way of putting so much importance on violence, peace had been somewhat abandoned conceptually and epistemologically (Muñoz et al., 2001). As a way of steering away from the hundreds of studies done and textbooks written about violence and war, notions of imperfect peace hope to shed light on and indicate ways in which we can create cultures of peace (Muñoz et al., 2001).

In the introduction to this dissertation, I propose two fundamental questions. How can intercultural dialogue be exhibited in cuisine? How can the kitchen be used as an unconditional space for mutual recognition within multicultural societies? In the first chapter I outlined theoretically the concepts of peace theory, food studies theory, and identity theory that support an understanding of cuisine as an expressive component of identity, and that hold up the idea that spaces (restaurants, kitchens, places where food is shared) that provide us with the ability to exchange culture through cuisine are areas where peace can be cultivated. In the second chapter I went into more depth about food studies and the importance of visualizing food's importance to identity (both individual and cultural) so that we could be equipped to appreciate the case studies I am about to present, as vehicles for mutual recognition and intercultural dialogue.

I will first talk about Conflict Kitchen, an example that provides proof of a space within a social reality that shows evidence of intercultural dialogue. It is also a step toward mutual recognition through political awareness of conflicts that have been publicized in mainstream United States media as binary and uncomplicated, when there is indeed so much beneath the surface that U.S. citizens are unaware of because of the media. The second case study is called Enemy Kitchen, which is a food truck that began as an art project and turned into a travelling consciousness raiser. This truck travels across the United States serving Iraqi food and educating its customers about the reality on the ground in Iraq from a first hand perspective. This study shows how food can humanize an issue that has been dehumanized, again, mainly by binary political discourse in mainstream media.

The third case study is a project about North Korean cuisine created by twenty-three year old North Korean defector Joo Yang. At a South Korean inspired gastro-pub in Manhattan's flat iron district, called Barn Joo, Joo Yang prepared North Korean food as a demonstration of challenging perceptions of the country, and drawing attention to the 25 million human beings "still tethered to its soil" (Dorof, 2014). This example provides a platform for debate and intercultural dialogue and awareness of an issue that has dehumanized millions of people because of their geopolitical location within a conflict. The fourth case study is called Recipes for Peace, and it takes place in Turkey and provides culinary spaces of exchange to create relationships between peoples of Turkish and Armenian backgrounds. Recipes for Peace's "aim is to challenge negative narratives about Turkish-Armenian relations by exploring the emotional and cultural experience of preparing and sharing food…" (Caucasusbusiness.net, 2015). This example shows how

sharing food can push through and break down stereotypes and dispute negative discourses by creating communication through the basis of food preparation and consumption. It is my hope that with these examples of imperfect peace within social realities, that food can continue to be acknowledged as an identity shaping factor that provides spaces of intercultural dialogue and mutual recognition.

As this is the third and final chapter of this dissertation, I would like to take the opportunity to refer back to the beginning of my research, at the point in which I characterized the methodological standpoint with which I identify. Influenced by three disciplines—peace studies, food studies, and identity studies—my methodology has been inspired by the feminist research ethic of Ackerly and True (Ackerly and True, 2010). My goal with this study has been one that commits to "…exploring absence, silence, difference, oppression, and the power of epistemology" in that it proposes an element of social reality as a way of listening to silences and absences in research processes (Ackerly and True, 2010: 23). This study, which is theoretical, but that is also based on projects that have been implemented in social realities, observes and open the door to research that has not yet been thoroughly explored. With the case studies I am about to present, I hope to open pathways to new research involving the utility of a food studies perspective in peace building, and research. Another component, identity, which I have interweaved as an important element in understanding human behavior and connection to food, is usually present in feminist scholarship (Ackerly and True, 2010).

> Much feminist scholarship has been about identity politics, generally focusing on political identity as a locus for politics (as in, people who share a particular identity share a particular politics). On this view political recognition relies on people sharing a political identity. This is a problematic basis for politics, feminist researchers want to attend to the varieties of ways in which gender dynamics reflect race, class, sexuality, immigration status, etc. and the ways in

which difference is used to divide people politically. (Ackerly and True, 2010: 24)

Given that this is a study of political and social phenomena—the investigation of areas within social realities that can challenge binary political conflicts and identities through grassroots human connection (which foments intercultural dialogue and mutual recognition)—feminist research ethic has made me constantly situate myself as the researcher within my "own basket of privileges and experiences [that] condition [my] knowledge and research" (Ackerly and True, 2010). It has been because of this ethical sensitivity that I have been able to lend attentiveness to "the power of epistemology, boundaries, relationships, and the 'situatedness' of the researcher" (Ackerly and True, 2010).

> By requiring the practice of this reflection, a feminist research ethic guides the asking of important questions about context, change, interrelatedness, relationships of power, boundaries, and embedded epistemology in ways that empower the researcher to break new ground. (Ackerly and True, 2010: 25)

Along with the pillars of feminist research ethics that uphold constant reconsideration and confrontation of conceptions of what are considered suitable and reliable ways of understanding and valuing the world—in particular by contemplating the various ways they take shape from the standpoints of different individuals and social groups—my research methodology has required the flexibility to attend to the power of knowledge with open ears and acceptance of what may come (Ackerly and True, 2010).

I have confronted my *situatedness* in this research process, in admitting that I do not claim to know the answer to every question within my dissertation, and have presented this investigation as a way to propose ideas and tools for peace-building, which as Muñoz wrote in his suggestion of viewing peace as imperfect is a way to "*aporta[r]*

optimismo e indicadores para la acción…" and, that *"nos insta a reconocer las múltiples experiencias de paz que existen en todas las realidades sociales"* (Muñoz et al, 2001: 321-322). I hope that the following case studies will shed light on the theories I have discussed in the previous chapters, and can prove to be pragmatic examples of intercultural dialogue, empathy, and mutual recognition, which is harbored in areas in which the expression of identity through cuisine can promote peace-building.

Conflict Kitchen

This premier and perhaps most influential case study is called Conflict Kitchen, which is "a restaurant that serves cuisine with which the United States is in conflict" (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Before explaining more in depth the movements and projects this restaurant implements, I find it imperative to outline the context in which this restaurant operates, to gain a better understanding of its goals, and the roots of its mission to "expand the engagement the public has with the culture, politics, and the issues as stake…" (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Conflict Kitchen, which is located in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, on the East Coast of the United States, has grown out of a confrontation of a narrow United States mass media narrative on foreign policy, and polarization of U.S. politics, commonly showing one-sided arguments, which tend to victimize the U.S. and demonize the "foreign conflict country". The next section illustrates the history of U.S. foreign policy, which is imperative in understanding the context of the political landscape in the U.S.—and adds to the comprehension of the mission of projects like Conflict Kitchen, which aim to project more complex, dynamic perspectives about U.S. foreign policy, and the countries that with which the U.S. has been at odds.

A Shift in United States Foreign Policy

It is interesting to point out that during the first fifty years of the nation (United States), diplomats were guided by the idea that "the United States should observe political isolation from European powers during peacetime and maintain strict neutrality during periods of war" (History.state.gov, 2015). Years earlier, Benjamin Franklin, one of the founding fathers of the United States wrote: "A virgin state should preserve its virgin character and not go suitoring for alliances, but wait with decent dignity for the application of others" (Franklin in History.state.gov, 2015). U.S. foreign policy was built on foundations of honest friendship and little entanglement (Herring, 2008). In President George Washington's 1796 Farewell Address, he argued: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is to have with them as little political [as distinct from commercial] connection as possible" (President Washington in History.state.gov, 2015). This notion of isolation and self-sustenance carried the U.S. to begin its nationhood in separating itself from any political connection or interference. Washington also claimed in his Farewell Address that the U.S. should not get swept up in the private interests of Europe, which allegedly had nothing to do with those of the U.S. (History.state.gov, 2015).

> Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rival-ship, interest, humor, or caprice? …It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are at liberty to do it. (President Washington in History.state.gov, 2015)

Thomas Jefferson also concurred the belief that "isolation and neutrality were the most beneficial course for the United States" when he spoke of "peace, commerce and honest

friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none" (President Jefferson in History.state.gov, 2015).

However, this isolationist philosophy took a turn toward expansionism with the beginning of westward expansion in the early 19th century (Herring, 2008). The Department of State, which played a key role in U.S. westward expansion, saw to the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, which "brought a vast chunk of the continent between Canada and Mexico under United States control" (History.state.gov, 2015). President James Monroe's Administration organized the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, as well as the Convention of 1818, which straightened out disagreements with Great Britain over the ownership of the Great Lakes and the border with Canada along the 49th parallel to the Rocky Mountains, and the Transcontinental Treaty with Spain in 1819, which made Florida part of the U.S. and settled the boundary with Mexico on gainful terms (History.state.gov, 2015).

> The Monroe Doctrine "closed" the Western Hemisphere to further colonization, announced that the United States would refrain from interference in European affairs, and warned the Europeans to stay out of the domestic affairs of any of the new American Republics. As President Monroe's message stated: "We could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing [the nations of Latin America], or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States". (History.state.gov, 2015)

Even though the early U.S. was not strong enough to carry out the Monroe Doctrine, when it was first presented in 1823, it was a well-defined "indication that the United States saw itself as the most senior of the republics and the leader of the free nations of the Western Hemisphere" (History.state.gov, 2015).

After more expansion and years of war in Europe, which the U.S. intervened in after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, the definition of

U.S. foreign policy shifted from one of isolationism, to expansionism, to one characterized by taking advantage of new opportunities (Herring, 2008). The Department of State also began the implementation of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which after some development throughout the subsequent decade became a somewhat democratized team of Foreign Service agents, serving the foreign affairs interests of the U.S. (Herring, 2008). After years of development of the U.S. foreign policy—one categorized by events including: the foundations of foreign affairs (1775-1823), the expansionist years (1823-1867), the rise to world power (1867-1913), the challenge of global conflict (1913-1945), containment and the Cold War (1945-1961), a collision of superpowers (1961-1981), the end of the Cold War (1981-1992), followed by: the world in 1981, the President and Secretary Haig, President Reagan's foreign policy, Secretary Shultz taking charge, the U.S. involvement in European affairs, Gorbachev and Perestroika, failures in management, politicized department appointments, changes in foreign service, President Bush and Secretary Baker, Bush's foreign policy, the fall of the Berlin Wall, the new global emergence of problems, and the First Gulf War, among others—the U.S. is now very much caught up in the affairs of other countries, and has created various "enemies" (Herring, 2008). All of the aforementioned history, which has been catalyzed in a constantly more globalized world, has helped to shape the political climate of the U.S. and should lend a hand in the understanding of the polarized nature of U.S. relations with so-called "enemy" states.

The U.S., because of many motives, has been in conflict, and is currently in conflict (even if not directly) with various nations, and the reason behind the consciousness raising that Conflict Kitchen does through cuisine, is due to a binary

portrayal of common U.S. political discourse pinning *them against us*. This oversimplified picture, that mainstream media tends to paint of the conflicts that the U.S. has with other nations, is dangerous because it simplifies to the extent that it justifies the dehumanization of an entire nation of human beings, making the support for war much easier to ascertain. Because of this, Conflict Kitchen chooses countries that the U.S. is in/or has been in conflict with and represents them in a new light—which most U.S. citizens have not seen in their social realities. The next section will go further into depth about particular conflict countries that Conflict Kitchen has unveiled through cooking food from their homelands and raising political and social awareness through first the familiarization of the food experience.

A Taste of Humanity

Conflict Kitchen, which is a self-defined "take-out restaurant that only serves cuisine from countries with which the United States is in conflict" was established in 2010 by artist and Carnegie Mellon University professor Jon Rubin and artist Dawn Weleski in the "off-the-beaten-path neighborhood of East Liberty" (Conflictkitchen.org 2015; Rubin, 2015). Conflict Kitchen, which "by 2013 (with the support of local foundations such at Sprout Fund and the Heinz Endowments)…moved to bustling Schenley Plaza", was founded as a culinary art project that aims (Rubin, 2015):

> [To] reformat the preexisting social relations of food and economic exchange to engage the general public in discussions about countries, cultures, and people that they might know little about outside of the polarizing rhetoric of U.S. politics and the narrow lens of media headlines. (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015)

This culinary art project, which operates seven days a week, has served food from Afghanistan, North Korea, Palestine, Iran, Venezuela, and Cuba—alternating their menu

and country every six months to highlight another country (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015).

"The restaurant creates a constantly changing site for ethnic diversity in the post industrial city of Pittsburgh, as it has presented the only Iranian, Afghan, Venezuelan, Cuban restaurants the city has ever seen" (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Each of these "conflict" countries has been presented in U.S. mainstream media as enemies to the state—abiding by polarizing rhetoric, and narrow lenses, which only tend to show them in a negative light. This "enemy identity" created at the hands of the U.S. political rhetoric, is what casts an *essentializing*, assassin identity outlook on, in reality, very complex, intricate identities, leading to fundamentalism and violence (Maalouf, 2001). Part of being able to see oneself in the "other" is accepting the complex, hybrid nature of identity, which provides a platform for mutual recognition and understanding (Omar, 2008). Conflict Kitchen does exactly this—they provide a space for familiarization with the complexity and intricacy of the identity of the people from a certain, sometimes, different, culture.

The restaurant offers a basic menu of traditional meals from one "conflict" country every six months or so (Rubin, 2015). "Kubideh from Iran, bolani from Afghanistan, arepas from Venezuela, and bibimbop from North Korea. Not your typical rust belt cuisine" (Rubin, 2015).

> The food they serve is conveniently wrapped in paper packaging printed with statements on topics ranging from food to religion, work, and politics—all by people located in the "conflict country" as well as in the diaspora in Pittsburgh. It was an artistic experiment that quickly became a burgeoning business…Conflict Kitchen's customer base has steadily grown by those equally impressed by its open-minded politics as the comestible diversity that makes it stand out in Pittsburgh's culinary landscape. (Rubin, 2015)

Some of the projects, however, have proved to be more controversial than others, as in the case of the Palestinian version. The way in which Conflict Kitchen provides political awareness and fresh perspectives to the U.S. general public through culinary curiosity is fascinating, but they also promote a cultural exchange component within the "conflict country". In the next section, I will begin delving deeper into each Conflict Kitchen version while pointing out the practical manifestation of the theoretical elements discussed in the past two chapters—ones of peace theory, identity, and food studies—so that it can be made clear how these case studies provide a space for unconditionality, intercultural dialogue, mutual recognition, and empathy, by challenging political power dynamics and narrow mass media narratives.

I would like to go on to explain more in depth the activities that the Conflict Kitchen project implements, with the goal of initiating and debating diverse viewpoints about countries that the U.S. general public tends to see as demonized (by mass media and polarized U.S. political discourse). These fresh perspectives "reflect a nuanced range of thought within each country and serve to instigate questioning, conversation, and debate with…customers" (Rubin, 2015). I will touch on each version of Conflict Kitchen, hoping to demonstrate that this type of culinary open space, which generates political and social awareness, and debate through cultural exchange, can and does promote peace building through mutual recognition, intercultural dialogue and moral imagination.

Transforming Polarized U.S. Political Discourse

In an interview conducted by journalist Chelsea Haines of Guernica Magazine[28] January 2015, co-founder of Conflict Kitchen, Jon Rubin, speaks about the "surprisingly controversial politics of serving Palestinian food in Pittsburgh" (Rubin, 2015). Ordinarily, the goals of Conflict Kitchen, which are characterized by the "project's transparent premise of cultural exchange and free expression," have been easily executed and well received by members of the Pittsburgh community (Rubin, 2015). The project has hit some bumps along the road, however, which I choose to mention here because of the particularly controversial nature of this version, entailing the power dynamics behind U.S. political narratives.

Grassroots projects like Conflict Kitchen, which strive for a more "sophisticated engagement between local social dynamics and global discourse" are challenged by having to confront quotidian, narrow-minded political narratives. One, which I became more familiar with in my research over the past two years in this masters program, and have been exposed to as a U.S. citizen, is the strong U.S. bond with Israel. This topic, which I consider to be one of the most polemic political debates regarding military aid in the U.S. (because of the nature of the undisputable use of that aid in the occupied Palestinian territories), has been one that Conflict Kitchen has tried to unveil by sharing perspectives—Jewish, Israeli, and Palestinian—that the general U.S. public has not had the opportunity to see. Unfortunately, the restaurant was met head-on with much scrutiny

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[28] Guernica Magazine is an art and politics magazine, specializing in poetry, fiction, art, special issues, features, and interviews with artists. This magazine interviewed artist, professor and founder of Conflict Kitchen about the restaurant's controversial experience when serving Palestinian food and representing the country. For more information see 2015, "Jon Rubin: Conflict Kitchen" (Rubin, 2015).

by conservative Jewish organizations in Pittsburgh claiming that Conflict Kitchen had launched an anti-Israeli smear campaign, and even was sent an anonymous death threat, forcing them to close their doors temporarily (Rubin, 2015). Ultimately Fox News pronounced that Secretary of State John Kerry, whose wife Teresa Heinz Kerry was providing funding to Conflict Kitchen through Heinz Endowments, was sponsoring an anti-Israeli, anti-Semitic project (Rubin, 2015). "This conspiratorial pronouncement would have been laughable—Rubin himself is Jewish—if the Heinz Endowments did not send out a knee-jerk denouncement of the project" (Rubin, 2015).

When asked what the criteria is in defining "conflict" when choosing which countries to represent in their project versions, Rubin stated: "we've always defined conflict fairly broadly from ideological conflict to troops on the ground" (Rubin, 2015). He went on to say that Palestine, though it did not become a project until last fall, was on the Conflict Kitchen agenda for some time (Rubin, 2015). Though he admits that they received quite a bit of criticism around their reasoning for adding Palestine to the list of countries that the U.S. is in conflict with, Rubin upheld that because Israel is in conflict with Palestine, and because Israel receives the most international support from the U.S.— financially, militarily, and in the denial of Palestine as a state in the United Nations—the U.S. is irrefutably in conflict with Palestine (Rubin, 2015). After being asked about the particular nature of conflict in Palestine, Rubin strongly stated in the interview with Haines:

> The criticisms that are often presented to us by some in the conservative Jewish community about our Palestinian version are: first, that the U.S. is not in conflict with "Palestine" (quotes are theirs) and second, that Conflict Kitchen should counter the Palestinian viewpoints it presents with pro-Israeli viewpoints, otherwise we are spreading dangerous propaganda. The contradiction here is fairly obvious; if we are not in conflict with Palestine than why are they so afraid

of us presenting Palestinian voices? Of course the answer is obvious, and we see it throughout the U.S. and the world, controlling the master narrative of Israel means vigilantly controlling the narrative about Palestine. (Rubin, 2015)

Conflict Kitchen struggles to combat polarized political narratives, which lead to dehumanization, and violence by making different, fresh perspectives available on controversial political debates (Rubin, 2015). They also strive for intercultural exchange and dialogue by traveling to the countries that they represent in their Pittsburgh restaurant (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). Research is usually conducted by the co-founder Rubin, the restaurant chef Robert Sayre, and assistant chef John Shaver, by traveling to those countries and moving from kitchen to kitchen, home to home, delving into the culture. When asked to explain the research done in the West Bank the summer before the Palestine version was implemented in Pittsburgh, Rubin explained:

> When we travel for research our strategy is to simply move from kitchen to kitchen. It's truly a wonderful way to travel—food shopping, cooking and eating in one home for lunch and then another for dinner. The process of cooking takes us immediately into the rituals and rhythms of daily life and also places us firmly in the position of learners. We were met with incredible generosity by all of the families we ate with. The trip was also eye-opening, as it is for anyone who travels into the West Bank, because nearly every aspect of daily life is effected by the occupation—from check points and travel restrictions to growing settlements and economic roadblocks. (Rubin, 2015)

Not only does this project create the opportunity for U.S. citizens to experience life in the shoes of their "enemy countries", which by Rubin's description serves to be a humbling, life-changing experience, but the way in which they then hold on to those connections made and bring back those experiences from the "conflict country" to the U.S. is when moral imagination can take place. In bringing back knowledge and perspectives from places and people that are commonly labeled enemies to the U.S., Conflict Kitchen serves as a stepping-stone to create social change by bridging connections through culinary

experiences. Lederach's peace-building concept of fostering moral imagination through the capacity to imagine oneself in a web of relationships, which even include our enemies, can be exhibited in the actions of Conflict Kitchen (Lederach, 2005).

When in Palestine, Rubin and his crew were guided by an East Jerusalem local called Mohammed Barakat (Rubin, 2015). They have continued to work with him by creating an event available to the general public in Pittsburgh in which he enjoys a virtual lunch with the customers through the body of a local Pittsburgher who functions as Barakat's real time physical avatar (Rubin, 2015). Rubin says, "it's one of the ways we try to collapse and confuse the space between what is familiar and foreign in the project" (Rubin, 2015). By virtually creating a space embodied by this project they call the Foreigner, in which Pittsburgh locals can dine with a Palestinian man, and ask him questions regarding life on the ground in Palestine, Conflict Kitchen demonstrates peace building components through using an already existing social reality to create intercultural dialogue (Muñoz, 2001). All four components addressed in Lederach's explanation of his idea of moral imagination, including the centrality of relationships, the practice of paradoxical curiosity, the space provided for the creative act, and the willingness to risk, are evident in the Conflict Kitchen project (Lederach, 2005).

By traveling to Palestine to gather research material and immerse himself and his crew in the life of an everyday Palestinian, Rubin brings an aspect of fostering a web of relationships with people that are considered by the U.S. polarized political discourse, and the mass media narrative, as enemies. When then bringing back his experience in Palestine back to Pittsburgh to share with the U.S. general public, both through culinary arts and through implementing projects such as the Foreigner, he creates a space in which

they can forge relationships in a context in which violence happens, but also generates the energy that enables people to transcend violence (Lederach, 2005; Rubin 2015).

> As people acknowledge their relational interdependency and recognize themselves as part of a pattern, they may be able to envision a wider set of relationships and take personal responsibility for their own choices and behavior. It short, peace-building requires that people be able to envision their interconnectedness and mutuality. (Lederach, 2005)

According to Lederach's principles of moral imagination, peace building requires a concentration on building a web of relationships, which includes our enemies, so that we can then embrace complexity without getting caught up in social schism (Lederach, 2005). Conflict Kitchen aims to do so through creating webs of relationships by way of learning to cook and understand the daily rhythms of life of the "enemy country" so that it can be then exposed to the U.S. general public so they may be able to transcend violence created by polarized U.S. political discourse and narrow-lensed mass media (Conflictkichen.org, 2015). Pittsburgh citizens are even given the opportunity to interact with citizens of the countries that their government has labeled enemies so that they can "rise above [] divisions and reach beyond accepted meanings" through Lederach's practice of paradoxical curiosity (Lederach, 2005). Lederach argues that cycles of violence are often driven by polarities, and that choices about how to respond to conflict are often forced into either-or categories in which you are either with us or against us (Lederach, 2005).

Unveiling Silenced Voices and Bridging Intercultural Connections

Moral imagination, which comprises an element of what Lederach calls "paradoxical curiosity", requires respect for complexity, and the search for something beyond what is visible, so that one can discover what holds seemingly opposed social

energies together, and accepting people at face value while also looking past appearances and withholding judgment in order to come across untold angles, opportunities, and unexpected potentialities (Lederach, 2005). Conflict Kitchen comprises this element of paradoxical curiosity in that it challenges the mainstream, visible political discourse by telling sides to the story that have not been heard or discovered in U.S. social realities. The U.S. context is swarming with cycles of violence that are driven by polarities, in Muslim shaming, in the racial profiling, in the every day life in which the U.S. general public is fed mind-numbing single story political narratives, which dehumanize and fuel the flames of violence toward peoples of "conflict countries". Of course, the U.S. is not the only place in which this happens, but Conflict Kitchen's goal is to problematize the "us versus them" narrative of U.S. politics by creating a space available for the creative act, and the willingness to risk and see past narrow-minded narratives (Lederach, 2005).

Apart from working with peoples living within the "conflict country", Conflict Kitchen also bridges connections to local diasporic communities from each country selected (Conflictkitchen.org, 2015). When asked how the Pittsburgh Palestinian population responded to their Palestine version, he answered by saying:

> One of the great things about the project is that it becomes a beacon for the local community that we're focusing on. I met a lot of local Palestinians in Pittsburgh leading up to the opening. It is a small population of about 300 people. Often they are afraid to self-identify as Palestinians because they fear people will see them in a negative light or even because some Pittsburghers don't know there is such a place as Palestine. A lot of Palestinians here simply say they're from the Middle East. (Rubin, 2015)

In the case of the Pittsburgh Palestinian community, the majority of the small population helped in celebrating the re-opening of the Palestine project after the death threat, with a Palestinian potluck at a local church (Rubin, 2015). About 200 people participated and

brought a homemade Palestinian dish (Rubin, 2015). Rubin says that he had the opportunity to meet people at the event that had not been to the restaurant because they don't publicly identify as Palestinian for fear of discrimination (Rubin, 2015). Another aspect of the Conflict Kitchen project that creates intercultural dialogue not just between U.S. citizens and citizens of the "conflict countries" that typically occurs is that "the communities [they've] worked with [there] locally overlap and support each other through years of the project" (Rubin, 2015). Rubin states that they have had many Iranians, Afghans, and Venezuelans show up for their Palestinian events, which has fostered intercultural relationships between diasporic communities in Pittsburgh (Rubin, 2015).

The project, which has received overwhelming public support, has engaged and implanted curiosity about unfamiliar cultures through attracting them with food (Conflictkichen.org, 2015). Rubin has said that Conflict Kitchen's customers are a diverse group, and incredibly friendly and open (Rubin, 2015). The importance for Conflict Kitchen to become part of the larger fabric of Pittsburgh is definitely evident in the sophisticated engagement between local social dynamics and global discourse, which is reflected in the relationships the Conflict Kitchen crew has developed with its customers (Rubin, 2015). Rubin says that for some of his customers, they consider it to be a political act to eat from their restaurant three days a week because they "recognize that they are financially supporting the premise of the project each time they come" and that "95% of [their] annual revenue is purely from the public via food sales" (Rubin, 2015). When Conflict Kitchen received a death threat and was forced to shut down last summer, the Pittsburgh community showed support by implementing rallies in which

they expressed support for the project and for the value of Palestinian voices in the community. So, even though the project was forced to close down briefly, "the crisis afforded a moment for a constituent body to vocalize itself and add more breadth to the conversation around Palestine than was occurring up until that point" (Rubin, 2015). The fact that the Palestine project attracted so much controversy and attempts to sweep their advocacy for Palestinian voices under the rug went to show the charged level of secrecy behind that conflict, which people did not want to be heard by the general public.

It is also important to comment on the level of scrutiny received by Conflict Kitchen with regards to accusations of anti-Semitic, anti-Israeli sentiment in their project. Rubin explained that for years Conflict Kitchen has hosted biweekly lunch hours in which expats and experts are invited to take part in an informal discussion with the public around food (Rubin, 2015). During the last two years, the University of Pittsburgh Honors College had co-sponsored those discussion-based events, that is, until Conflict Kitchen deiced to co-host an event a week before the opening of the Palestine version with a young Palestinian doctor, Nael Althweib, and Jewish professor Ken Boas of the University of Pittsburgh (Rubin, 2015).

Shortly after the event was announced, a representative of the Jewish Federation of Pittsburgh informed the Honors College dean that he was going to be co-sponsoring an anti-Semitic hate speech event (Rubin, 2015). The Jewish Federation threatened that if Conflict Kitchen did not add the Jewish Federation to the event or if the university did not back out on their sponsorship, they would tell their board of trustees to force their Jewish members to cut their support for the university (Rubin, 2015). Rubin went to speak to the dean to tell him that the claims of the Jewish Federation were unfounded and

that taking away sponsorship from an event where a professor from his own university was speaking was a breach of academic freedom (Rubin, 2015). Subsequently, the dean agreed to move forward with the event (Rubin, 2015). Rubin explained that he later discovered that after the event the Jewish Federation had gone to the provost and chancellor of the university and made the same threats (Rubin, 2015). He regarded this as all acts to "silence free speech about and by Palestinians" (Rubin, 2015). The opening event was very successful; 60 members participated including the dean and members of the Jewish Federation (Rubin, 2015).

Afterward, however, the Jewish Federation as well as a few pro-Israeli students claimed that the event was "rampant with anti-Semitism and they felt unsafe" (Rubin, 2015). Rubin continues to explain that the Jewish Federation and some pro-Israeli students started tweeting and blogging for Israeli newspapers, "spreading a highly inflammatory narrative that Conflict Kitchen was spreading anti-Israeli propaganda, hate filled literature, and even promoting death to Israelis and Jews" (Rubin, 2015). This was then picked up by mass media newspapers and Fox News, claiming that Secretary of State "John Kerry's Wife Funds Radical Anti-U.S., Anti-Israel Eatery" (Rubin, 2015). The events subsequently continued to worsen, as Conflict Kitchen lost their sponsorship from not only the university but also the Heinz Endowments due to the pro-Israeli slur campaigns (Rubin, 2015). The Heinz Endowments gave a statement of disavowal to B'nai B'rith, a worldwide Jewish community service organization saying:

> [The Endowments] want to be especially clear that [Conflict Kitchen's] current program on Palestine was not funded by the endowments and [they] would not fund such a program, precisely because it appears to be terribly at odds with the mission of promoting understanding…the [Endowments] emphatically does not agree with or support either the anti-Israel sentiments quoted on Conflict

Kitchen's food wrappers or the program's refusal to incorporate Israeli or Jewish voices in its material. (Rubin, 2015)

Rubin refuted this statement by arguing that Heinz essentially disregarded the foundation of Conflict Kitchen's project, especially alluring to the viewpoints of Palestinians as inevitably anti-Israeli, which is exactly the type of flagrant over-simplification Conflict Kitchen's mission is trying to break down (Rubin, 2015). "Such statements negate the complexity of Palestinian history and culture and perpetuate the most dehumanizing reading of their lives and the silencing of their voices" (Rubin, 2015). When Rubin met with the president of the Heinz Endowments the day after their statement, he pointed out that the actual language of the grant funding was intended for "future programming", which included the Palestine version (Rubin, 2015). He also argued that their argument that Conflict Kitchen was "at odds with the mission of promoting understanding" was outlandish (Rubin, 2015).

> What it implies is that if you present the viewpoints of North Koreans, Cubans, Afghans or Venezuelans you might be promoting understanding, but if you focus on Palestine you're doing the opposite. What does this statement says to our local Palestinian community? Sorry, you hold no power in this city, thus your culture and opinions have no inherent value. Their other claim, that we refuse to publish Israeli viewpoints or include Jewish voices, is just false. Many of the interviews we did during our research trip were with Israeli Arabs and the first event we organized included a Jewish voice—not to mention the obvious fact that I am also Jewish. Of course, these are not the Israeli or Jewish voices some people are interested in hearing. (Rubin, 2015)

Rubin pointed out that the views that were expressed by Palestinians were automatically assumed to be anti-Israeli, which is something that Conflict Kitchen aims to confront. These widely made accusations and essentialist assumptions are what lead us to see each other as enemies, and to think in binary constructs. The response to the Palestinian version of Conflict Kitchen was proof that these gross simplifications are extremely

dangerous, and need to be addressed—which is why Conflict Kitchen reopened their Palestine version in later months, again trying to combat stereotypes that lead to generalizations and violence (Rubin, 2015). Rubin upholds that the Palestine project:

> …Is not anti-Israel propaganda; this is one Palestinian's stark and sober assessment of the byproduct of systemic oppression on the people of Gaza. And frankly, this is not a story that a lot of people want to hear. (Rubin, 2015)

When Rubin and his crew traveled to the West Bank, they collected statements from interviews about Palestinian culture, including politics, food, social relations, and a range of viewpoints and experiences discussed, which they then put on the wrappers of the food they serve at Conflict Kitchen (Rubin, 2015). "One of the things we feel the restaurant has done fairly well is use food as a way of bypassing people's defenses in order to pull them into narratives that are sometimes foreign and not always comfortable" (Rubin, 2015). In doing so, they have represented opinions from Palestinians that have never been heard in U.S. social realities. One man, whose interview in the West Bank they put on a wrapper for the Palestine project, gave them his opinion about resistance in Gaza:

> You're punishing the Gazans who have been under siege for eight years already. You're attacking, arresting, and killing guilty and innocent people alike. You have 1.8 million people in an area half the size of New York City, but without proper housing, water or infrastructure, and no way to make a living. They are banned from dealing with anyone outside Gaza. You are pushing them to the absolute extreme. So what do you expect? Palestinians are not going to just let you in and drop their arms. No, they are going to kill and they are going to die. Not because of religion. It doesn't have anything to do with religion. It has to do with the way they are living and coming of age under this oppression. We are creating and perpetuating a culture of death. (Rubin, 2015)

These types of opinions, which are not always easy to digest, provide a clear and close example of how it is to live in Gaza, something with which most U.S. citizens are not familiar. This unique and creative tool for raising awareness is what allows Conflict Kitchen to reach people in hopes that their interests will be piqued and they will want to

know more or even act upon the atrocities being committed by the aid of their own government. This opinion is one of many including those surrounding food, marriage, governance, and more (Rubin, 2015). Rubin, who plans to use the recently awarded 15,000 dollars to the project to implement another version of the Palestine project, has gone on to explain the dire need to bridge the dissociation many academic discourses and artistic productions has from the general public (Rubin, 2015). After admitting that Conflict Kitchen could be more rigorous as well, he upheld that "one of the things [he likes] is how [they] occupy a place on the street, seven days a week, a daily reminder that a conversation about Palestinian culture needs to be part of our city's culture" (Rubin, 2015).

I have chosen Conflict Kitchen as a case study that exhibits the use of food as a vehicle for creating a space for intercultural dialogue—in this case, particularly between the diasporic communities of Pittsburgh and the general U.S. public, as well as between so-called "conflict countries" and the U.S. public. In doing so, this project gives a voice to silenced voices, and combats political dualisms by way of fostering a space for moral imagination, mutual recognition, empathy, expression of identity, and intercultural dialogue and awareness. Conflict Kitchen serves food from countries with which the U.S. is in conflict as a way of showing various angles to a story that the mass media and polarized political discourse has over-simplified. I commented in detail on the example of the Palestine project as a way of showing the need for a place such as Conflict Kitchen in social realities so that the general public has the opportunity to interact with and see fresh perspectives they would not have seen in other spaces. This consciousness-raising, and nurturing of meaningful intercultural relationships through the sharing of food from

the culture of the "conflict country" has proved to provide a space for peace building. The next section will cover a similar project, but in the shape of an Iraqi food truck that travels across the U.S. as a way of spreading awareness about Iraqi culture through the interaction with traditional Iraqi food.

Enemy Kitchen

Enemy Kitchen, which opened in April 2012 in Chicago, Illinois, is a food truck that is part of an ongoing creative work by artist Michael Rakowitz (Swong, 2012). This project utilizes "the cultural lens of Iraqi food and recipes to initiate conversation about Iraq and the war in Iraq and its aftermaths with communities" (Swong, 2012). Every day, the food truck invites different Iraqi chefs to prepare dishes from various regions of the Iraq. Rakowitz also includes a component in which he involves U.S. veterans of the Iraq War to help out as servers or sous-chefs so that they can interact with Iraqi citizens on a level they had not been able to when at war (Swong, 2012). This dynamic, which provides the space for former enemies to transform their relationships, and to see the hybrid nature of identity as it transcends allegedly engraved notions of victim-perpetrator, is one of the aspects of enemy kitchen that allows for the expression of identity to transform conflict (Omar, 2010).

Before entering into more detail about this edible art project, I would like to first outline the political climate that led to the Iraq War, as it will aid in an understanding of the purpose behind the emergence of this project, and will hopefully contextualize the social reality that Enemy Kitchen functions within. This project, which aims to raise social awareness of the Iraq War, provides a space accessible to the general public for intercultural dialogue, mutual recognition, and moral imagination through the expression

of Iraqi identity through cuisine—all premises that I will outline further in the following sections.

"Weapons of Mass Destruction?"

Before focusing in on the Enemy Kitchen project, I will first briefly contextualize the political climate in which it operates so that hopefully we will gain a more comprehensive understanding of what led to the development of such a project, in such a context. In order to do so, I believe it is necessary to understand the basic elements of the Iraq War, so that we can then see how political and social awareness becomes necessary in the U.S. context. The U.S. President at the time of the Iraq War, President George W. Bush, controlled his administration in a way that I do not agree with, because of many reasons, but nonetheless his term was the one in which the war began. He addressed the nation soon after the bombing of Baghdad had begun on March 19th, 2003 (Singal et al., 2010).

> The people of the United States and our friends and allies will not live at the mercy of an outlaw regime that threatens the peace with weapons of mass murder. We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities. (Bush in Singal et al., 2010)

This is the address to the nation that led the U.S. into war with Iraq in 2003 (Singal et al., 2010). The following evening, after demanding that Saddam Hussein and his sons Uday and Qusay surrender and leave Iraq within 48 hours, the U.S.-led coalition began bombing Baghdad (Singal et al., 2010). President Bush's purpose for invading Iraq was allegedly "to disarm Iraq, to free its people, and to defend the world from grave danger" (Bush in Singal et al., 2010). Days later, the first skirmish between U.S. and Iraqi forces took place, and at least seven raids on Baghdad shortly followed (Singal et al., 2010).

After having not found any weapons, the US did not get involved in Iraq again until March 2003 "under a cloud of political controversy about the legality of military action" (Singal et al., 2010). In October 2001, a month after the attacks of September 11th, the U.S. invaded Afghanistan, marking the beginning of the "Global War on Terrorism" (Jakobsen, 2012). The following year, Congress and the Senate passed a law authorizing the use of armed force against Iraq, enabling President Bush to declare war without acquiring U.N. Security Council consent (Jakobsen, 2012). By 2002, with the expansionist defeat by the Republican Party of more traditional realists in U.S. foreign policy—following the wake of the events of September 11th, 2001—President Bush essentially had complete reign of the situation in Iraq (Jakobsen, 2012). And so, by January 2003, the U.S. Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, had signed deployment orders for 62,000 U.S. troops to the region, in addition to the 43,000 already in place (Jakobsen, 2012). The beginning half of 2003 saw the start to "Operation Iraqi Freedom", in which the U.S. invaded Iraq in hopes of allegedly securing the physical well being of the American people after the events of September 11th (Jakobsen, 2012). The U.S. had been involved in Iraq for twelve years before changing from being *soft* to becoming *hard line* with their foreign policy due to the events of September 11th (Jakobsen, 2012).

The Iraq War and its aftermath have raised compelling questions about the capacity of the U.S. Executive Branch to elicit public consent for the use of military force and the role the media plays in this process (Kull et al., 2003). From the beginning, the Bush Administration was confronted with unique challenges in its effort to legitimize the decision to enter into war (Kull et al., 2003).

> Because the war was not prompted by an overt act against the United States or its interests, and was not approved by the UN Security Council, the Bush Administration argued that the war was necessary on the basis of a potential threat. Because the evidence for this threat was not fully manifest, the Bush Administration led the public to believe that Iraq was developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and proving substantial support to the al Qaeda terrorist group. The challenge for the administration was later intensified when the United States occupied Iraq and was unable to find the expected corroborating evidence. (Kull et al., 2003: 569)

Before the war, the U.S. public was sympathetic to the notion of removing Saddam Hussein from Iraq, but only a small minority of U.S. citizens was willing to support going to war with Iraq without UN Security Council approval (Kull et al., 2003). The majority, however, was persuaded that Iraq was harboring weapons of mass destruction and was also supporting al Qaeda (Kull et al., 2003).

Today, decades after the beginning of U.S. involvement in Iraq, the country is in shambles, and arguably much worse than before U.S. intervention in 1991 (Jarrar, 2014). In an interview with Joshua Holland, Iraqi local Raed Jarrar speaks about his experience living under Saddam Hussein's regime and the after effects of U.S. intervention in Baghdad (Jarrar, 2014). As previously stated, the U.S. intervention in Iraq officially started in 1991, and in many ways it has not yet been halted. When asked is a line can be drawn from the Bush Administration's decision to completely dismantle the Iraqi government of Sadam Hussein to the current chaos, Jarrar responded saying:

> This included a couple of wars, 13 years of really harsh economic sanctions, and as we all know, eight years of military occupation followed by a continuous intervention in Iraq's domestic politics. Contrary to what many people here think, while the US ended its military occupation at the end of 2011, it never stopped interfering in Iraq's business. The US continues to sell the Iraqi government billions of dollars worth of weapons, we have training programs for Iraqis, and of course we're picking and choosing who to train and who to arm in a situation that's extremely complicated. (Jarrar, 2014)

The complicated nature of U.S. involvement in Iraq, under the pretense of weapons of mass destruction, and the need to ensure U.S. security after the attacks on U.S. soil on September 11th, make the U.S. public opinion about the Iraq War confusing and often misled by mainstream media, which was interested in supporting a war in Iraq. Many U.S. citizens, for example, are quick to jump to the conclusion that the Sunni and Shia hate each other because of an ancient blood hatred, with which the U.S. has had no concern (Jarrar, 2014).

When asked about this U.S. public opinion, Jarrar responded by pointing out the political dimension to these seemingly historical differences (Jarrar, 2014). He admitted that though there are obvious theological differences, as well as political and social, the Iraqi Sunnis and Shiites lived in harmony for a long time before the U.S. got involved (Jarrar, 2014). Jarrar, a half Sunni and half Shiite Iraqi, explained that he was born in Iraq, and never in his life had been asked whether he was Sunni or Shiite (Jarrar, 2014). Before the U.S. intervention, it was uncommon to even be aware of sectarian backgrounds, because it just wasn't an issue (Jarrar, 2014). Jarrar goes on to say:

> The US destroyed that Iraqi national identity and replaced it with sectarian and ethnic identities after 2003. I don't think this is something that many Iraqis argue about, because you can trace the beginning of this sectarian strife that is destroying the country, and it clearly began with the US invasion and occupation. That's not to say that Iraqis don't have agency over their own country and lives – they could and should have worked on bridging the gaps. But it's not easy to fix these huge political and religious differences when the situation is as complicated as Iraq — and when the US is funding and training one side of this conflict with tens of billions of dollars, it's not easy to reach a point of national healing, where Iraqis work together and live in peace. (Jarrar, 2014)

The sectarian animosity, which began right after the fall of Baghdad, with the U.S. creation of the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC), was fueled by the selection of people based on their sectarian and ethnic identity within the IGC entity (Jarrar, 2014). "It had

never before been the case that people were selected to serve because they were Sunni or Shiite or Kurdish. That brought it up to the surface" (Jarrar, 2014). The IGC began a quota system for political affiliations, which the ruling parties started using to create further divisions (Jarrar, 2014). Before people began seeing physical changes in their neighborhoods with the divisions of regions by sect, they started seeing shifts in political rhetoric in the media, adding to the change in their own perception of themselves (Jarrar, 2014).

With the lack of security because of the U.S. intervention, which shut down the Iraqi government as well as its security, Iraq underwent one of the leading ethnic and sectarian cleansing campaigns in the territory's history (Jarrar, 2014). Roughly one-sixth of the country's population was displaced from their homes (Jarrar, 2014). The extent of the division and intense ethnic cleansing created a new reality for Iraqis—one in which demographic partitioning is the norm along with "destruction and death and displacement and ethnic cleansing" (Jarrar, 2014). Finally, when asked if he thought that Iraq was a better place to live before the U.S. invasion, he responded saying:

> So the short answer to your question is that before 2003, Iraq was not a very happy place to live, but it was home for millions of people. They went to work, and they had their basic needs satisfied. They could not express themselves politically. But after 2003, people still could not – and cannot – express themselves politically and they also lost all of the security that they used to have and all of the basic services. So I don't think many Iraqis actually would disagree that the US occupation and invasion and everything that happened after it made the country much worse. (Jarrar, 2014)

The U.S. invasion in Iraq, which quite arguably led to more destruction than peace, has been reflective of U.S. public opinion on Iraqi citizens due to that involvement, and due to the skewed perception shown in mass media of the Iraqi social reality. Iraq has been

painted as a place in which people divide and kill one another, when in reality much of this destruction has been perpetuated by the U.S. government.

In hopes of gaining sympathy and covering up the U.S.-caused massacre in Iraq, the U.S. mainstream media began broadcasting the atrocities committed against U.S. soldiers in Iraq, and vice versa (Peschek, 2006). On the one-year anniversary of President Bush's declaration of "major combat operations" ending, ABC's *Nightline* posted a "Mission Accomplished" poster, along with 721 photos of U.S. soldiers who had perished in Iraq (Peschek, 2006). To complicate even further the U.S. perception of the Iraq War, pictures were released of Iraqi prisoners being tortured and humiliated by U.S. soldiers in Saddam Hussein's famous military fortress Abu Ghraib (Peschek, 2006). The whole world was appalled at such displays of U.S. behavior, and what little legitimacy the U.S. occupying forces held onto was undermined, leading to massive public relations problems for the Bush Administration and the Pentagon (Peschek, 2006).

> Evoking universal disgust and repugnance, the images of young American soldiers humiliating Iraqis circulated with satellite-driven speed through broadcasting channels, the Internet, and print media and may stand as some of the most viewed and influential images of all time (Peschek, 2006: 167).

The role of media images, in both unveiling gruesome imagery of U.S. torture of Iraqis, and vice versa, served as an distorted tool of war that either side could use to manipulate public opinion and to expose the dreadful horrors of war (Peschek, 2006). It also became clear that President Bush's Iraq War was nothing but a horror show of continuous shock and awe (Peschek, 2006).

> Deeply rooted racism stands behind and fuels the Iraqi prisoner abuse as soldiers and US public have widely viewed Iraqis and Arabs as less than human since the Gulf war of 1991. Arabs and Iraqis have been villains of countless Hollywood films and US TV shows, while racism toward all Arabs and Moslems intensified after the 9/11 attacks. (Peschek, 2006: 168)

The Iraqi War contributed to racist and dehumanizing perceptions of Iraqi citizens, which enabled the reduction of Iraqi prisoners to animals and "less-than-human brutes as when the now notorious woman MP Lyndee English tied a leash around a naked Iraqi prisoner as if he was a dog" (Peschek, 2006: 168). Such derogatory terminology as "rats nests" of Iraqi troops, or taking out "vermin", and referring to the invasion as "draining the swamps" in "uncivilized parts of the world" has flooded U.S. public opinion, and catalyzed the deep seated racist mentality toward Iraqis and Arabs in the U.S. (Peschek, 2006). U.S. soldiers even were seen assembling heaps of naked Iraqi bodies into sexual positions, humiliating them as if they were a multitude of animals (Peschek, 2006). Other shocking images of a hooded Iraqi prisoner placed on top of a box with his arms stretched out, and wires connected to his fingers was supposed to be a grotesque portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan and their notorious lynching, while the Iraqi with his arms spread out was supposed to be Christ on a cross (Peschek, 2006). "Only a deeply racist mentality could imagine and engage in such systematic brutality that put on display an unmastered racist pathology that wars seem to unleash" (Peschek, 2006: 168). These media campaigns, which can be attributed to the advancement of the digital age meshing with modern warfare, have played an impactful role in the U.S. public opinion of Iraqi people.

The distorted reasoning behind having entered into war in Iraq in the first place led to common misunderstandings of the Iraqi role in the War on Terrorism. It cannot be refuted that there is to this day much confusion about what is and has gone on in Iraq, and this political quandary needs to be addressed at a social level. That is where projects such as Enemy Kitchen come in. In the next section I will talk about the important role

Enemy Kitchen plays in raising political and social awareness about Iraqi people that has

not been seen in the media, and has been misinterpreted by many.

Food Invites Conversation

Enemy Kitchen, which has been an ongoing art project in collaboration with

Michael Rakowitz and his Iraqi-Jewish mother, compiles Baghdadi recipes, and teaches

them to various public audiences, while also acting as a local, traveling food truck that

prepares and serves Iraqi food to the general U.S. public (Creative-capital.org, 2008).

Rakowitz, who is a Chicago-based installation and public artist, has had his work appear

in venues worldwide including P.S. 1, MoMa, MassMOCA, Castello di Rivoli, Sharjah

Biennial 8, Tirana Biennale, National Design Trienniel at the Cooper-Hewitt, and

Transmediale 05 in Berlin (Creative-capital.org, 2008). He has won various awards for

his political and social art projects, and is currently an Associate Professor in Art Theory

and Practice at Northwestern University (Creative-capital.org, 2008). Rakowitz has used

his artistic skills in this case to create an edible, and political art project that he has been

able to share with the U.S. general public and through demonstrating cooking lessons

with groups of local middle school and high school students in various communities

(Creative-capital.org, 2008). The latter project:

> …Functioned as a social sculpture: while cooking and eating, the students
> engaged each other on the topic of the war and drew parallels with their own
> lives, at times making comparisons with bullies in relation to how they perceive
> the conflict. (Creative-capital.org, 2008)

Enemy Kitchen is one part of Rakowitz's thematic art project, aimed at including aspects

of political awareness, activism, cultural history, food culture, and social justice

(Creative-capital.org, 2008). He also plans to pilot an Enemy Kitchen cooking show,

which would feature Rakowitz and his students from the Hudson Guild Community Center in Chelsea, New York, as a series of courses for New York City public school cafeteria chefs, to aid in teaching them to prepare Iraqi food, which would then be included as part of their everyday cafeteria menus (Creative-capital.org, 2008). By creating a public art platform, Rakowitz's project provides a space for freedom of expression, particularly about war and Iraqi culture, which is virtually invisible in mainstream media. Rakowitz explains that in one cooking lesson with the Hudson Guild Community Center students:

> On one occasion, a student walked in and said, "Why are we making this nasty food? They (the Iraqis) blow up our soldiers every day and they knocked down the Twin Towers." One student corrected her and said, "The Iraqis didn't destroy the Twin Towers, bin Laden did." Another said, "It wasn't bin Laden, it was our government." In this way, the project provided a space where the opinions, myths and facts that are perpetuated in a country during wartime could be communicated and discussed. (Rakowitz, 2015)

In this way, Enemy Kitchen proves to be a case study in which the kitchen has been used as an unconditional space for peace building (Allestorfer, 2013). In the case of Enemy Kitchen, the kitchen, which provides a space to become acquainted with Iraqi culture through learning to cook its cuisine, acts as "a meeting point and space of unity where new realities can be born and grow in a safe surrounding" (Allestorfer, 2013: 6). I offer spaces such as Enemy Kitchen, that operate in social realities, as examples of imperfect peace, as questions to the answer of Allestorfer's question regarding realistic unconditional spaces (Muñoz 2001; Allestorfer, 2013). She states in her dissertation:

> I am looking for spaces that protect the seeds until they are able to live and survive in a hostile environment of conflict. I am looking for spaces that are non-judgmental, open and impartial, positive and encouraging and unconditional in all respects. So parties could be willing to lay down their arms for a moment, open their protection for a glimpse of time, to listen to the other side maybe for the first time. I am looking for these "unconditional spaces" on the level of personal,

interpersonal, group, community, and national interaction. At the moment, these spaces are still a construction of the mind but as all reality starts in the mind, we might well encounter them in some near future. (Allestorfer, 2013: 6-7)

I reply to this search for "unconditional spaces" in the physical sense by proposing Enemy Kitchen—as well as projects like Enemy Kitchen (such as Conflict Kitchen and the next few case studies I write about)—as areas in which the unconditionality of cooking and sharing food in a space such as a kitchen, can contribute to building peace. Enemy Kitchen, and similar projects create an open, discussion-based, dynamic space for debate free from judgment, which does not often occur in general social settings (Rakowitz, 2015). The explosion of fundamentalism, that exploded both in the West and in the Eastern countries as a result of Al Qaeda, has expressed an essentialist identity, or stereotype of that extremist identity, which exists now in U.S. society (Castells, 1997). Identity, however, can be expressed in many ways, which is what Enemy Kitchen leaves room for—the expression of identity through the deconstruction of essentialized, perhaps, assassin identities, through bridging connections through food (Maalouf, 2001).

The project, which mixes discussions on Iraqi culture and cuisine, was presented to creative writing students at Saratoga High School in California (Winn, 2007). The students, who were taught to prepare Iraqi food alongside Rakowitz, were opened up to a space to debate and create a dialogue about the Iraq War (Winn, 2007). A student, Connie Sheng, while dicing an onion, admitted, "I feel a lot less proud to be an American…It seems like we've lost our purpose" (Winn, 2007). With the space for expression Iraqi identity through preparing and sharing Iraqi food, U.S. students were let in on a different side of Iraqi culture—one that added a "rehumanizing" factor, that allowed them to question deeply the purpose of war in Iraq, and understand the horrific ramifications of dehumanizing an entire nationality (Winn, 2007). Sheng's classmate

Niahm McGinley, declared while learning to prepare traditional Iraqi *amba*, "most of us were too young to realize why we got into Iraq…the idea of spreading democracy is all well and nice, but…" (Winn, 2007). Another classmate Vivian Hsiao chimed in, while learning to cook *kubba bamia*, traditional rice-flour dumplings, saying "this war has made me wonder what it would be like to love my country" (Winn, 2007). Rakowitz's project will continue and has been able to "open new channels of ideas and feelings about the Iraq War and its underlying issues" (Winn, 2007). He believes that food can create a "leveling social platform and circumstance that can stimulate what he calls a 'cultural puncture' among separate geographical, political and psychological realms" (Winn, 2007). He also claims that cooking and eating with people "is a public act that enlists an audience as vital collaborators in the production of meaning," which by conducting this project in the U.S. with Iraqi recipes incites "the poetry inscribed in the notion of consuming the enemy" (Winn, 2007).

Enemy Kitchen, which began in 2006 as an ongoing cooking workshop, and later was transformed into a traveling food truck, is a clear-cut example of intercultural dialogue being executed through the experience of sharing food. Rakowitz has explained his project and the elements involved in its mobility as follows:

> With the help of my Iraqi-Jewish mother, I have compiled Baghdadi recipes to teach to different public audiences, including middle and high school students. Preparing and then consuming this food opens up a new route through which Iraq can be discussed—in this case, through that most familiar of cultural staples: nourishment. Iraqi culture is virtually invisible in the US, beyond the daily news, and *Enemy Kitchen* seizes the possibility of cultural visibility to produce an alternative discourse. Future plans include a public access cooking show and the inclusion of Iraqi dishes on New York public school cafeteria menus. (Rakowitz, 2015)

As Rakowitz describes, his goal has been to open up a unique way in which Iraq can be discoursed that has not been done so far (Rakowitz, 2015). As mentioned in the previous section, the political narratives in the U.S. around Iraq mostly revolve around one main discourse: that of war and terror. Rakowitz, by recognizing the social necessity to transform this one-sided story, which has regrettably contributed to the dehumanization of the Iraqi people, into something that can produce empathy, mutual recognition, and intercultural dialogue. He has chosen to use what he refers to as familiar cultural staples—food and nourishment—to push beyond the mainstream U.S. news' polarized narrative, and to display Iraqi culture in a way that has been essentially invisible to the U.S. general public (Rakowitz, 2015).

Enemy Kitchen, which is the first Iraqi restaurant in Chicago to publicly declare itself as such, operates with a staff that is comprised of Iraqi refugees and U.S. veterans of the Iraq War (Rakowitz, 2015). This interaction, which creates a web of relationships between peoples who are historically enemies, characterizes elements of Lederach's moral imagination in that it capacitates a network of relationships—even between former enemies—and embraces complexity while transforming the social schism dividing U.S. general opinion and Iraqi culture (Lederach, 2005). It also challenges the cycles of violence created by the Iraq War, which were driven by polarizing political rhetoric, while implementing creative human action through aspects of everyday life (in this case Iraqi food), and finally, accepting the risk of the unknown to create genuine social change (Lederach, 2005).

(The Enemy Kitchen Staff in Rakowitz, 2015)

Since the beginning of the Iraq War, Iraqi U.S. citizens, and Iraqi peoples in general have been depicted in a negative light in U.S. social realities (Rakowitz, 2015). It is a major feat that Enemy Kitchen is the first Iraqi-declared restaurant in a large, culturally diverse city such as Chicago. Rakowitz's project has confronted jingoistic attacks fueled by binary discourse and dehumanizing political narratives by familiarizing the public with Iraqi culture through food (Rakowitz, 2015). Anzaldúa, who is also a U.S. citizen from a mixed background tainted with discrimination due to binary discourse, wrote:

> The struggle is inner: Chicano, indio, American Indian, mojado, mexicano, immigrant Latino, Anglo in power, working class Anglo, Black, Asian--our psyches resemble the bordertowns and are populated by the same people. The struggle has always been inner, and is played out in outer terrains. Awareness of our situation must come before inner changes, which in turn come before changes in society. Nothing happens in the "real" world unless it first happens in the images in our heads. (Anzaldúa et al., 2002: 12)

Like Anzaldúa, who argued that the struggle for non-Anglo peoples in the U.S. is based on an inner struggle perpetuated by lack of awareness of the social and political marginalization underwent, Rakowitz's project is an answer to the same dehumanizing marginalization of the Iraqi people in U.S. social spheres, propagated by the one-sided

portrayal of the Iraqi War in mainstream media and polarized political discourses (Rakowitz, 2015).

Rakowitz has chosen food as a tool to create a conversation about the Iraq War and to show another perspective of Iraqi culture (Swong, 2012). Enemy Kitchen has undoubtedly piqued the interest of the U.S. general public about Iraqi culture by instilling curiosity through serving Iraqi food, a cuisine that has not been generally offered in U.S. society (Swong, 2012). Although ethnic cuisine has a current socio-economic niche in U.S. culture, it is important to recognize that "the success of [ethnic] cuisine in another land…will depend upon the mainstream society's presumption of palatability, and it can be tainted by negative assumptions about the people" (Crowther, 2013: 197). Rakowitz's goal has been to reverse negative assumptions about the Iraqi people by familiarizing their culture to the U.S. general public through sharing Iraqi food in public settings such as the Enemy Kitchen food truck, and through cooking shows and lessons held by Rakowitz at local U.S. community centers (Rakowitz, 2015).

Enemy Kitchen, which has been known for raising social awareness of the Iraq War, also has a version of its restaurant at the Smart Museum in Chicago, where they serve typical Iraqi cuisine on replications of Saddam Hussein's china (Swong, 2012). Enemy Kitchen, which is a form of edible political art, exhibits elements of protest, critique, and revolution, but is also accessible, open, and delicious (Swong, 2012).

> What's more welcoming than food? Food is uniquely extensive as an expression of a culture, since it plays a role in everything from everyday nourishment to religious celebrations. More than any other art form, food may be the most inclusive, since you literally ingest another's creation. It involves all the senses — *Enemy Kitchen* features Chicago's flag in the colors of the Iraqi flag and provides rose water to recreate the aromatic experience of Iraqi cuisine — and embraces the visitor with an entire culture. As a symbol of hospitality across all cultures, food invites conversation. (Swong, 2012)

Enemy Kitchen, whose agenda is simply to create discussion surrounding the Iraq War in hopes of drumming up new perspectives on Iraqi culture, tends to position itself in neighborhoods with art institutions and high levels of military recruitment—areas in which interesting conversation can flourish (Swong, 2012). "Enemy Kitchen balances art's purposes of cultural description and social commentary on the importance of inclusive political conversation" (Swong, 2012).

Re-Humanizing North Korea

Joo Yang, a North Korean defector, escaped in 2010 and was reunited with her family in South Korea in 2011 (Yang, 2014). Her parents and two younger siblings first defected to South Korea in 2008 when Yang was still a teenager, but they maintained in contact and sent her money and other resources for support (Yang, 2014). She also survived through a private business of selling gloves, socks, and cigarettes to warehouse workers and "partially off the illegal alcohol trade, procuring the strictly contraband machinery needed to produce homebrew soju[29], and making an acorn moonshine in her otherwise empty home" (Dorof, 2014; Yang 2014). Since her return to South Korea, she has appeared on a popular television program called "Now on My Way to Meet You," featuring female North Korean defectors (Yang, 2014). She has also become active in the United States, joining Sokeel Park, Director of Research and Strategy for Liberty in North Korea, in his research (Yang, 2014). She spoke with him at Summit, which is a two-day event hosted by Liberty in North Korea to "unite, educate, and activate [their]

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[29] Soju is a typical liquor of both North and South Korea. "It is distilled, vodka-like, rice liquor with high potency and often flavored similarly. It is smooth and clean in taste, which makes it easy to drink in combination with various Korean dishes" (Trifood.com, 2015).

generation to take on one of the greatest challenges facing humanity today" (Yang,

2014). Liberty in North Korea (LiNK) is an international NGO, which is dedicated to

supporting the North Korean people (Yang, 2014).

> LiNK brings North Korean refugees through a 3,000-mile, modern-day
> 'underground railroad' to freedom and safety, and provides assistance to help
> resettled refugees fulfill their potential. LiNK also works to change the narrative
> on North Korea by producing documentaries, running tours and events, and
> engaging with the international media to bring more focus to the North Korean
> people and the bottom-up changes they are driving in their country. (Yang, 2014)

North Korea has been defined by mainstream media based on the "crazy Kims and

nuclear weapons, which has created a barrier preventing ordinary people around the

world from getting involved" (Liberty in North Korea, 2015). This NGO, which Yang

has worked with since her defection, aims to change the mainstream, negative narrative

about North Korea by choosing to promote people over politics (Liberty in North Korea,

2015). The way, in which North Korea is portrayed in mainstream media, as with many

other conflictive countries, unfortunately determines how the world responds to it

(Liberty in North Korea, 2015). Liberty in North Korea works to change the way the

world sees North Korea, so that its citizens get the international support they deserve

(Liberty in North Korea, 2015).

> For decades, mainstream media has focused on the 'crazy Kims' and nuclear
> weapons, treating the country as part threat, part joke, and part hopeless tragedy.
> Twenty-four million people–ordinary people like you and me–face the world's
> most repressive government, but they have been lost in this definition of North
> Korea. This politicized and securitized narrative has created a barrier of apathy,
> preventing global citizens from engaging with this issue, causing a huge deficit in
> support for the North Korean people. (Yang, 2014)

How does this portrayal of the North Korean people in mainstream affect the opinions

and political awareness of them in the U.S. general public? In public opinion polls

conducted by LiNK, 70% of U.S. citizens had never heard of the North Korean famine,

and 59% had never heard of North Korea's political prison camps, which are said to be comparable to Holocaust concentration camps (Yang, 2014).

Changing the Narrative

How does such a massacre go unnoticed? The media has been obsessed with security issues and the potential for conflict with North Korea, and this has depicted it as a bomb-harboring country that wishes to wipe out the world (Yang, 2014). The images of the Korean people often shown in U.S. mainstream media paint a picture of fanatical loyalists, militant soldiers, which is all part of the propaganda the Kim family puts out to international media (Yang, 2014). "These images dehumanize the North Korean people and make it very hard for us to empathize with them" (Yang, 2014). Transforming this polarized narrative, which focuses on the politics of the North Korean regime, and not the North Korean people, is crucial for accelerating progress in North Korea (Yang, 2014). Beneath the international politics impasse, the North Korean people are surfacing as key agents of transformation on this problem (Yang, 2014). Although they are confronted with arguably the most radical structure of oppression in the world, "they are driving significant, bottom-up economic, information, and social changes that we believe will lead to them achieving their liberty in our lifetime" (Yang, 2014). Part of the aforementioned social changes are being implemented by defectors such as Yang, who has, as a way of refocusing the narrative from the North Korean regime to the North Korean people, cooked North Korean food for the U.S. general public as a way of revealing the individuality and personality of the people while actively deconstructing "simplistic portrayals of 'brainwashed automatons'" (Yang, 2014; Liberty in North Korea, 2015). The focus needs to shift from listing North Korea as one of the countries

on President Bush's "axis of evil," illustrating the North Korean people as either fanatic

followers of a bomb-hungry regime or victims of indoctrination, to one of change, which

has started with the North Korean people (Pbs.org, 2003; Liberty in North Korea, 2015).

Along with the media, it definitely did not help North Korea's image that President

Bush's words, pointing fingers at North Korea for building weapons of mass destruction,

reverberated across the globe.

> North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens…the United States will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us. (Pbs.org, 2003)

Not to much surprise, North Korea did not just stand there idly while the U.S. labeled it

an oppressive regime, and so they accused the U.S. of "war mongering" and "moral

leprosy," which defensively only pushed the U.S. mainstream media to promote

suspicion and harsher rhetoric (Pbs.org, 2003). It is because of this polarized political

rhetoric that the North Korean people have been dehumanized, and cast as either victims

or brainwashed militant supporters. But, as Muñoz expresses, it is by focusing on the

small areas of imperfect peace within a conflict, and enhancing their success, that allows

for transformation (Muñoz, 2001).

> We should focus on the changes happening in North Korea. The North Korean people are driving significant grassroots changes inside their country, which are transforming North Korean society from the bottom up. These changes are challenging the regime's control and discrediting the current system's legitimacy. Therefore, the people should be portrayed as active agents of change, not passive victims of indoctrination. (Liberty in North Korea, 2015)

How has the narrative been changing for the North Korean people? At a grassroots level,

organizations such as LiNK, which Yang has been working with, provides opportunities

for ordinary people to get involved to support the people of North Korea (Liberty in

North Korea, 2015). By providing space for creative acts and initiatives, LiNK helps

bring forward change—of the narrative and of the reality in North Korea (Lederach, 2005; Liberty in North Korea, 2015). Along with intricate media campaigns, including the production of documentaries, short videos, presentations, online contents, campaigns and other creative communication materials, LiNK spreads political awareness of the North Korean situation, engaging people with tangible opportunities to help bring forth change (Liberty in North Korea, 2015). They also lead national tours, in which they reach people in public areas such as schools, places of worship, community centers, homes, and even coffee shops (Liberty in North Korea, 2015).

An aspect of the creative, grassroots campaign that LiNK has implemented, which aims to change the mainstream narrative about the North Korean people, is the involvement of North Korean food (Dorof, 2014). Food, which "is a topic that is deeply intertwined in daily lives," and "yet the ordinary people who provide us our daily bread have often not had their story told to the world at large…provides an excellent forum for these stories to be told" (Miller and Deutsch, 2010: 169). This is how, with the support of LiNK's method for grassroots, creative campaigning to deconstruct the dehumanizing narrative portrayed in mass media, Yang has created a space for intercultural dialogue through sharing the food of her country to the general public (Dorof, 2014). On one occasion, Yang helped executive chef David Lee of South Korean-inspired gastro-pub, Barn Joo, to introduce his once-in-a-lifetime take on North Korean cuisine (Dorof, 2014). Lee, who was born in South Korea, was estranged from the culinary traditions of his countrymen in the North, and so, with Yang's experience, he hosted a dinner at his restaurant to raise money for LiNK (Dorof, 2014). The menu that Lee and Yang tailored for the event, was speculated to be "the first meal of its kind in North America" to

include authentic North Korean dishes (Dorof, 2014). LiNK's Sarah Lee admitted that this culinary project was their most creative so far, using the introduction of North Korean food as a way to bridge connections between North Korean people and the international community in a way that rehumanizes them through empathy and mutual recognition (Dorof, 2014).

Each "defected" food of the night, contained distinct cultural information, that was shared with the general public by Yang (Dorof, 2014). She had actually lifted the food from North Korea, to share with people, which evoked a certain irony due to the fact that it came from a country that hasn't had enough to eat in two decades (Dorof, 2014). However, this fact only makes it more necessary to raise awareness of the situation in North Korea, so that the international community will feel obliged to get involved (Dorof, 2014). Apart from this event, 27,000 North Korean refugees now living in South Korea have created a large market for authentic northern flavors, even though South Korea's food has often been considered a more nutritious version of North Korean food (Dorof, 2014). Yang explained at this event, that to "circumvent the upper-class cost of pork in North Korea, there is injokogi, an oil-sapped compression of soybeans that creates a flattened protein substitute quite similar in taste and texture to tempeh" (Dorof, 2014). The irony, again, is that the people being presented this meatless alternative to pork (the U.S. general public), which came out of sheer, starving necessity, grew up in a context in which multi-billion dollar industries are built around moral convictions and dietary guilt (Dorof, 2014). In many ways, this concept makes that pill hard to swallow, but it is also interesting to make those comparisons and to try to connect peoples from such different social, cultural, and economic backgrounds through food. Yang, who

experienced the Arduous March's famine of 1994[30], mostly led a lean life based on foraging in the mountains for roots and "other digestible miscellany" (French, 2005; Dorof, 2014). Part of the food she shares is interwoven with this history of alimentary strife tainted by political corruption, and so it serves to be a personal, powerful tool in raising political awareness (Dorof, 2014). Yang explained, "throughout the remainder of the decade, it was common for people to die in the streets or their sleep" (Dorof, 2014). All of these experiences, which attribute Yang's identity, are expressed later on through her sharing of the food of her nation—one that has been demonized. Identity is hybrid and definitely not static, so the experiences Yang has carried with her from her home country to her new one, all help her to see and understand the complexities and intricacies that each individual carries with them (Omar, 2008). Food expresses identity, and helps break down barriers created by stereotypes.

One ingredient that Yang introduced at Lee's restaurant was corn, which she illuminated serves the role as a cheaper, more nutritional rice substitute in North Korea (Dorof, 2014). Corn was resourcefully used to create rice-free rice cakes, and summer corn soup (Dorof, 2014). Many of the typical dishes of North Korea are inspired by economic despair (French, 2005). Earning money for food was a difficult task for Yang's family, so one day her parents pulled together a bunch of tools and things that they tried to sell to buy a government cow, but after paying for it, the government wandered away with it (French, 2005). After 15 days of walking, trying to recover the cow, they

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[30] The Arduous March famine of 1994 refers to the "march of misery" in which North Korea's economy steadily declined in a process of "riches to rags"—characterized by economic collapse, persistent shortages and knowledge of the recent famine reaching the outside world; the collapse of Kim Dae-jung's "Sunshine Policy" or rapprochement; the "growing problem of defectors crossing the border to China, highlighting conditions inside the DPRK, and overwhelming embassy compounds in Beijing; and George W. Bush's 'Axis of Evil' speech, which ratcheted up the rhetoric between the US and DPRK" (French, 2005: 115).

returned, successful, with white rice, which was an especially rare commodity during the famine (French, 2005). Yang explained that her parent's homecoming that year coincided with Seollal, the Korean New Year, in which traditional celebratory rice cakes—sweet *ddeok*—are enjoyed (French, 2005). Everyone in Yang's family neighborhood was starving that year, so her father used all the rice to cook *ddeok* and shared it with the people of the neighborhood (French, 2005). Yang introduced this traditional holiday recipe to the people of the fundraiser at Lee's restaurant (French, 2005). During this LiNK event, while sharing her homeland's food with the U.S. general public, Yang spoke of her experiences living alone for three years in North Korea, surviving on lies and illegal business (French, 2005).

> As she concludes, Joo Yang urges us to support the North Korean public in any way we can, emphasizing her deep faith in their potential as a people. Perhaps well convinced by all that she has just shared—perhaps for shame of the sweet flavors still settled on our lips—everyone seems to know what she means. (French, 2005)

Although the public to which Yang was communicating at this LiNK sponsored project had come from a context in which North Koreans are painted as indoctrinated extremists, or victims of a corrupt regime, she was able to connect with them by sharing the food from her home and opening up a space for intercultural dialogue, that hopefully would shift the mainstream narrative that most U.S. citizens know so well (French, 2005). By deconstructing and transforming this polarized political narrative, Yang's collaboration with LiNK in this food-based event, transcribes a re-humanizing image of the North Korean people, as ordinary, active, empathetic people who are merely trying to survive a deep struggle (French, 2005). It is culinary-inspired projects like this one that have the

potential to aid in creating unconditional spaces, for intercultural dialogue, and mutual recognition.

Wrapping It Up

This conclusive and final section of the case studies chapter will serve to bring in three more, smaller case studies involving food, peace, and intercultural communication, and hopefully tie up lose ends regarding the peace, food, and identity theories mentioned in the first two chapters. Each sub-section goes into detail about a different food-inspired peace-building project. The first sub-section refers to "Recipes for Peace," which is a new initiative that challenges negative narratives about Turkish-Armenian relations "by exploring the emotional and cultural experience of preparing and sharing food" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015).   The second project, which is a project called "PlateCulture," is spread across two continents—Lithuania in Europe and Malaysia in Asia (Croucher, 2013).   This venture, which was founded by Reda Stare and Audra Pakalnyte, combines backgrounds in finance and product development, and diverse experience in community management, social media and human resources (Croucher, 2013). These women "love to think of the world as their playground and discover it through different kitchens" (Croucher, 2013). The third sub-section is about a Germany-based project called Überdentellerrand, which conducts and films intercultural cooking classes while intermixing a relaxing dinner with "diverse cultures and stories from distant countries" (Pflüger, 2015). German co-hosts of this intercultural cooking show invite refugees or asylum seekers from around the world to teach them how to cook an authentic menu from their home country, "accompanied by personal pictures and insights into their culture" (Pflüger, 2015). In the following sections, I hope to demonstrate how

each of these case studies exhibit the use of food as a peace-building tool through fostering intercultural dialogue, mutual recognition, and empathy.

> Civic organizations wishing to create greater harmony in their communities are often unable or reluctant to venture beyond sponsoring an international food festival. But experience teaches us that increasing familiarity with another culture's food is only one of many important steps that can be taken to increase intercultural understanding. (Dlugos, 2015)

Food, which is a necessary component to every society, every culture, and to the basic sustenance of the human body, is used in many settings as a way to promote intercultural awareness—in the shape of food festivals, and projects like the case studies already mentioned, and the ones I speak about in the next three sub-sections (Dlugos, 2015). I hope these examples aid in understanding the practicality in using food as an intercultural, peace-building tool.

Recipes for Peace

The International Alert and Caucasus Business and Development Network partners, Gyumri Development Foundation and Kars Urban and Culture Research Association have launched this new initiative they call "Recipes for Peace" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). This project, which aims to challenge negative narratives surrounding Turkish-Armenian relations, does so by getting into touch with the expressive and cultural experience of cooking and sharing food, and by "identifying the traditions, practices and stories associated with cuisine, which are common to both cultures" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). This experience combines the culinary expertise of chefs from both sides of the Armenian-Turkish border to cook and experiment with the different traditional cuisines cooked in each village, visiting the

homes in which they are cooked, and listening to the stories told behind the recipes (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015).

> Much of the burgeoning literature on food in anthropology and related fields implicitly engages with issues of memory...many [disciplines] engage with its varying forms and manifestations, such as in a diverse range of studies in which food becomes a significant site implicated in social change…relating food to ethnic or other forms of identity, and invented food traditions in nationalism and consumer capitalism. Such studies are of interest not only because of what they may tell us about food, but moreover because particular facets of food and food-centered memory offer more general insights into the phenomenon of memory and approaches to its study in anthropology and related fields. (Holtzman, 2006: 361)

Recipes for Peace also uses food as a way to recover memory, and to create an unconditional space in which historical enemies can share meaningful dialogue through preparing and sharing food. The first culinary field trip that Recipes for Peace organized was in October 2014, to the Shirak region of Armenia (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). CBDN representatives along with Turkish and Armenian culinary experts visited the homes of ten different Armenian hosts as a way of communicating with local chefs about their project, tasting their traditional recipes and listening to their stories (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). The representatives interviewed the chefs, who were happy to share their experiences and reveal what cooking means to them and how it is an important symbol of heritage since the recipes they cook are passed down from generation to generation (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). One of the Armenian chefs highlighted: "food encapsulates not only nourishment but also an entire culture and history of its own, and triggers nostalgia for bygone days" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015).

A few months later, they conducted a second field trip to Kars, Turkey. This particular program was designed to "capture the multicultural setting of the Kars region"

(Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). In their visit, they incorporated stops to see the different ethnic groups who reside in Kars, including the Azeris, Kurds, Terekeme, and Yerlis (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). Like the previous project, they visited ten kitchens, integrating a variety of diverse contexts, which was reflected in the "diverse range of dishes cooked, just a few of which included *lahana sarmasi* (stuffed cabbage, pictured below), *pishi* (fried dough), *evelik corbaci* (sorrel soup), and *et kavurmasi* (chopped roast beef)" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015).

(*Lahana sarmasi* in Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015)

When visiting these small, Turkish villages, the CBDN representatives also engaged in dialogues with a mixture of diverse peoples, concentrating primarily on the issues surrounding border towns, because they tend to be the most conflictive (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). From this trip, the Recipes for Peace team ascertained in their research that "food can demonstrate a common language that brings people together" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015).

Their next creative act is to produce an innovative documentary film, which they plan to circulate within the wider Turkish and Armenian areas, in hopes of sending a peace-building message about this "cross-conflict culinary initiative" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). This initiative, which is being financed by the European

Union, the Embassy of the United States in Ankara, and the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation, aims to open people's minds to envisioning the potential for "peaceful collaboration and positive relations between Armenian and Turkish people, based on shared understanding and common values, contrasting with the atmosphere of tension felt between the societies" (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). This case study, which provides a practical example of the utility of food as a peace-building tool, because it encourages elements of cross-cultural understanding, and uncovers forgotten knowledge and history and memory because of the emotional component attached to culinary heritage, emulates a culture of positive peace (Martínez Gúzman, 2001). Martínez Gúzman, who proposed that dialogue, understood as a basic form of expression between human beings, and when performed with the competence and capacity we have to interact, *se realiza desde la asunción de nuestra fragilidad que transforma las nociones de política y poder*" (Martínez Gúzman, 2007: 144). When, through sharing culinary heritage, as in the case of Recipes for Peace, we establish a dialogue between one another, we must take into account our human fragility, which is capable of transforming notions of politics and power (Caucaususbusiness.net, 2015). It is through the creative act of taking the risk to see and imagine a peaceful existence—that does not yet exist necessarily—that we build peace, and this case study is an example of one of those creative acts (Lederach, 2005).

Plate Culture

In an interview conducted by Rachel Croucher of *The Lithuania Tribune* and the founders of Plate Culture, Reda Stare and Audra Pakalnyte, they were asked what inspired the phenomenon of the so-called "living room restaurant" they built (Croucher, 2013). Stare and Pakalnyte, who have "always been passionate about food and

travelling…identified that the most memorable experiences [they] have is when [they] go off the beaten tourist track and head to the city suburbs, meet local people…" (Croucher, 2013). Their initiative aims to break down culinary stereotypes, including various definitions of cuisine through dining at the homes of locals, and engaging in "fantastic conversations that…added to the overall experience" (Croucher, 2013). They thought: "Isn't this brilliant – the breakdown of cultural barriers through an authentic culinary experience and meaningful conversations?" (Croucher, 2013). Plate Culture, defined by Stare as a platform for confluence for people, aims to enhance life experiences through food (Croucher, 2013). More specifically, Plate Culture provides a space for people to offer to be hosts to incoming tourists or locals, so that they may share their cuisine and establish a space for meaningful, often intercultural dialogue (Croucher, 2013).

When Croucher asked Stare and Pakalnyte how their Lithuanian heritage might have influenced their driving philosophy—fostering intercultural communication through food—they replied saying that as Lithuanians, they consider themselves to be quite hospitable people (Croucher, 2013). They both grew up in a small community, in which sharing food and hospitality are staples, and so when traveling abroad, they both became eager ambassadors of Lithuanian cuisine, and enjoyed inviting friends from the international community to experience Lithuanian food (Croucher, 2013).

> It was all about sharing something intimate and close to our hearts with these curious people whose reactions at the first bite of the Lithuanian food were pretty exciting! In that respect, the culture at home that we have had growing up in Lithuania drives one of the reasons how *PlateCulture* came into being. (Croucher, 2013)

This project, which involves the joining of host chefs and savours, organizes the facilitation of introducing host chefs to their guests (which are often tourists), and

creating a safe space for the interchanging of culinary heritage, and intercultural dialogue (Croucher, 2013). PlateCulture is an innovative, entrepreneurial venture, that provides a space for hosts and tourists to meet in the setting of sharing cuisine and conversation, and because of its dynamic, provides an example of intercultural dialogue through food.

Cooking Outside the Box

This final case study, which is a part of the German organization "Überdentellerrand," implements a project called "Cooking Outside the Box," which focuses on using cooking lessons conducted by refugees or asylum seekers to introduce a new culture and "start thinking outside the box" (Pflüger, 2015). In the setting of a relaxed dinner, which includes exceptional delicacies from around the globe, these cooking events merge diverse cultures and their stories from faraway countries (Pflüger, 2015). With the current, sudden influx of refugees traveling from mainly Syria to European countries in search of a new life, there have been a myriad of responses from European locals regarding their plight (Marks, 2015). This response, which Cooking Outside the Box has taken as a way to welcome, and help immerse refugees and asylum seekers into European (in this case German) society, uses food as a way to connect different cultures (Pflüger, 2015). The cooks, who are filmed giving cooking classes to German show host representatives from Überdentellerrand, teach how to cook authentic dishes from their home country (Pflüger, 2015). These cooking lessons are "accompanied by personal pictures and insights into their culture" (Pflüger, 2015).

Every two weeks or so, Cooking Outside the Box organizes these intercultural cooking lessons, and invites the public to join (Pflüger, 2015). One example lesson, which will take place on October 25th, 2015, invites Ahmed, from Egypt to share with the

general (German) public his experience moving from Egypt to Berlin, while teaching them how to cook a traditional Egyptian menu. He has said that he is "a passionate cook and [he] thinks it's one of many important ways for cultural exchange among people" (Ahmed in Pflüger, 2015).

Conclusion

Each of these projects mention in this case study chapter have been carefully chosen as representatives of the use of food to create a space for the promotion of intercultural dialogue, political awareness, mutual recognition, and empathy. It has been my goal throughout this dissertation to discover whether or not food has the power to create a space for intercultural dialogue and political awareness, and with these case studies, which could have been more numerous, but which I limited because of the extent limits of this dissertation, I believe that there has been a demonstration of this. Food, which connects us in so many ways, has proven to have the power to connect us interculturally, and to provide a space for dialogue, mutual recognition, and the cultivation of empathy through an expression of identity through food.

Conclusions

It is easy to think of potatoes, and fortunately for men who have not much money it is easy to think of them with a certain safety. Potatoes are one of the last things to disappear, in times of war, which is probably why they should not be forgotten in times of peace.

(M.F.K. Fisher in *How to Cook a Wolf* 1988)

Tell me what you eat, and I'll tell you who you are.

(Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin in *The Physiology of Taste* 1949)

This study was set out to explore the concept of unconditional spaces and has identified the nature and form of culinary identities within multicultural societies, the use and practicality in connecting food studies theories with peace research, and highlighted the role of food as a tool to foster intercultural dialogue and political awareness. This research process has also sought to provide a stepping-stone to connect peace studies with food studies, which is a newly emerging field. In this conclusion, I hope to further synthesize the theoretical understanding of the practical case studies I illustrated in chapter three in relation to the theoretical framework, and to provide a pathway for future research. I will also point out the limitations I have encountered in my research, and provide suggestions for lines of investigation that can also be conducted with regard to using food studies as a lens within the interdisciplinary field of peace studies.

This journey, which has proven to be a transformational one, to a certain degree also for myself, will hopefully provide a destination for food studies within the field of peace studies. Not only have I wished to tie two disciplines together, but I have also intended to enlist food, and the culinary world in general, as a tool to create intercultural dialogue, and to raise political awareness. My study sought to answer the two following questions:

1) How can intercultural dialogue be exhibited in cuisine?

2) How can the kitchen be used as an unconditional space for mutual recognition within multicultural societies?

I recognize that these two questions are quite ample, and that I included an aspect in this dissertation about political awareness, which is not specified in these questions. This is because, throughout the research process, I found that the case studies I used also raise political awareness because of the debate and dialogue they generate, and so, although my two main research questions do not reflect this particular inquiry, I include this element in my research. I also chose to include a section on power and knowledge in the theoretical framework as a way of contextualizing the relationship between the knowledge raised through political awareness in these political culinary projects, and the power dynamics within social settings.

Due to my experience growing up in a rather culturally mixed society in San Francisco, California, I chose to focus my study on areas in which conflict tends to occur because of their heterogeneity—contexts such as the United States, which is an ethnically diverse country, and Germany, which is quickly becoming home to thousands of refugees every day, and Turkey, which is a demographically (especially religiously) divided country (Jerreat, 2013). It has also been my objective to demonstrate the use of cuisine as a tool to deconstruct polarized political narratives, and create spaces for political awareness because food expresses identity. My interest in this topic began with a passion for cooking, a curiosity for diverse cultures, and for creating a dialogue between cultures through their cuisine. From this stemmed a passion in seeing how food can bridge certain divisions because of its capacity to express emotion, identity, and culture. In order to

comprehend what I call "culinary identities,"[31] first I needed to understand food studies

as rapidly growing area of scholarly interest, but also as a new movement that has the

"means to change society" (Nestle et al., 2010).

In my research, I chose to first outline the three disciplines I selected as building

blocks to the theoretical structure, and interweave them, illustrating the importance of

appreciating the theories from each discipline, in order to capture the meaning of how

food can transform social settings and create cultures of peace by fostering intercultural

communication, and mutual recognition. Methodologically, I relied on feminist lenses to

provide a perspective that allowed me to recognize my own place within my research. As

a researcher in this process, it has been necessary to understand and be weary of my role

in the projection of power through knowledge claims, which is why it has been important

to be guided by feminist research ethics in order to study power and identify ways to

mitigate its abuse in the real world (Ackerly and True, 2008). The research ethic I have

sought to adopt in this process has been one associated with a critical feminist theory that

is reflective "of the normative concerns of constructivist, critical, post-modern, and post-

colonial theories" (Ackerly and True, 2008: 693). At all times throughout my research I

have striven to always question the power-knowledge relations regarding food studies,

peace studies, and identity theory, and because of that I hope that my empirical findings

would not contribute to power through knowledge claims.

I hope that my conclusions will merely provide a pathway for new research

looking at food studies as an important factor in peace research—and providing a

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[31] "Culinary Identities" refers to the understanding of the multiple and hybrid aspects that make up identity through exploring what people eat. In French gourmand Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin's *The Physiology of Taste,* he says: "tell me what you eat and I'll tell you who you are", which begs the question of understanding identity by food incorporation, not just as something cultural, but also on the individual level (Brillat-Savarin et al., 1949).

landscape for social change through food. My case studies, which are the practical findings in this investigation, are examples of grassroots projects, started by activists and artists in hopes of creating a unique culinary platform for social and political awareness through sharing food with the general public. In the next section I will explain how these findings have enriched my theoretical research regarding peace building, intercultural dialogue, and the importance of food in the expression of identity.

Synthesis and Findings

The main empirical findings in my dissertation are chapter specific and were summarized within the respective empirical chapters: "Chapter 2: Food Studies and Cultural Identity," and "Chapter 3: Interculinary Case Studies". This section will synthesize the empirical findings to answer the study's two research questions.

1) How can intercultural dialogue be exhibited in cuisine?

  a. *Cuisine can be an identity-shaping element:* human beings are one of the only species that connect with food on a symbolic level and not just as a form of sustenance, and because of this, food plays an important role in construction of identity—socially and individually (Fischler, 1988). Because humans are biological organisms who are constructed by social forces, alimentary identity plays a role in understanding human behavior (Fischler, 1988). The biological and psychological processes involved in human behavior contribute to one's identity. Identity is hybrid and ever changing, and so are the alimentary choices humans make based on that transformation. The deconstruction and reconceptualization of identity provides a landscape for better human connection (Omar, 2008). The human relationship with food is also complex and dynamic,

so an understanding of identity as hybrid, aids in comprehending the use of food as an identity-shaping element that can bridge human connections.

b. *Food studies helps to understand cultural and personal identity:* as Almerico states, a food studies lens provides researchers with the ability to lay bare and go beyond food-related taboos, and promote mutual understanding and recognition (Almerico, 2014). One's "food voice" captures the aspects of identity and emotion that goes into choosing what to incorporate into one's diet—this helps to understand human identity (Almerico, 2014). Food preparation is a creative act, and has effects on human psychological and biological identity (Kittler et al., 2012).

c. *Anthropology and evolutionary biology can aid in explaining the importance of cooking to human identity and biological make up:* the very notion of cooking, which has been a key factor in evolutionary biology, sheds light on the importance of understanding human relations with food to comprehend identity (Wrangham, 2013). Cooking has shifted human brain capacity and made humans into the intelligent, emotional, creative beings that they are today (Wrangham, 2013). This idea provides an analysis of human identity based on the way we cook, prepare, and connect with food as the stuff of life—the search for energy (Wrangham, 2013).

d. *The global food system has clear effects on the environment, and on the people and should be considered as a factor in intercultural communication and understanding:* the food system has direct effects on the environment and mainly negative consequences for the food producers in undeveloped countries (Klein,

2007). Food security is thus at risk because of the way in which humans produce and consume food (Shiva, 2000). This section, and eco-feminist approach, helps to provide an understanding of the role that human connection with food plays in the well being of the planet, and of the future of the human race. By creating a dialogue with the planet and with the people's negatively affected by the food industry, we can provide a space for mutual recognition and hopefully find a way to protect our home and the people in it. I consider the environment to be a silenced voice, which needs to be incorporated into the global food production system—because one without the other cannot exist.

2) How can the kitchen be used as an unconditional space for mutual recognition within multicultural societies?

    a. *Our food choices affect our sexual and moral capacities and can be transformed through alimentary self-transformation:* the choices we make as food consumers play a role in our moral capacity, and as such, have the power to transform us (Taylor, 2010). Diet, as Foucault found in his case study on ancient Greece, serves as a self-transformative activity (Taylor, 2010).

    b. *The food studies movement can be seen as a case of imperfect peace:* the case studies included in the third chapter of this dissertation are examples of peace building initiatives that use food to create intercultural dialogue and political awareness. Peace is imperfect, and is something that guides us in the creation of cultures of peace in every day life (Muñoz et al., 2001). The properties that food embodies to express identity, which has the power to create intercultural dialogue through practical examples of imperfect peace, which is what the case studies I explain are (Muñoz et al., 2001). The acknowledgement and empowerment of

areas of peace within social realities, such as these culinary peace-building projects, grants areas for the use of food in creating intercultural dialogue and political awareness.

c. *Food has the power to transform polarized political rhetoric and bridge intercultural connections:* recognizing the power dynamics behind political narratives is a way to deconstruct polarized rhetoric and concentrate on the human component that is often hidden behind the geopolitical conflict (Rubin, 2015). Culinary-based projects provide unconditional spaces for cultural exchange and freedom of expression (Allestorfer, 2013). The kitchen offers a space for the creative act, which concentrates on building a web of relationships between people including their enemies (Lederach, 2005).

d. *Food initiates conversation and debate, which leads to mutual recognition:* food projects function as open spaces for expression, debate, and the creation of social awareness (Rakowitz, 2015). The kitchen acts as a space for intercultural communication within conflictive social realities (Allestorfer, 2013). Sharing food from different cultures creates a platform for open discussion, and mutual recognition (Winn, 2007). Introducing the public with food from a country they have only seen as a war-torn, dehumanized place, can generate discussions that will transform that negative narrative (Rakowitz, 2015).

This section has provided an outlined summary and synthesis of the main empirical findings in this dissertation. Primarily, my findings, both theoretical, and practical, have served as exemplifiers of the use of food as a component in understanding human identity, and from that comprehension, building spaces of intercultural communication,

and mutual recognition.   Sharing food from different cultures breaks down barriers created by mainstream, polarized political rhetoric.

Theoretical Implications

The theoretical cases for this dissertation need to be revisited in order to further understand the practical utility of the culinary expression of identity as a tool for building cultures of peace through intercultural dialogue, mutual recognition, and political and social awareness.   Having intended to interweave three main disciplines—peace studies, food studies, and identity—I chose to rely on several key theories to uphold the main claims of this dissertation, which aimed to answer the main research questions:

1. How can intercultural dialogue be exhibited in cuisine?

2. How can the kitchen be used as an unconditional space for mutual recognition within multicultural societies?

In the process of answering these two central questions, I came to the conclusion that without at least touching on identity theory, it would be impossible to understand the peace concepts of intercultural dialogue and mutual recognition, because both require an understanding of how identity is constructed.   It has been my belief that in order to deconstruct polarized, and essentialist attitudes toward "the other," identity, and the expression of identity must be seen as something hybrid, and constantly changing (Omar, 2008).   This hybrid notion of identity, which Omar, as well as Maalouf, uphold, provides a theoretical framework to perceive identity as a mixture of many complex components, that do not define us solely by ethnicity, gender, sexual preference, economic status, and so on (Maalouf, 2001; Omar, 2008).   With this theoretical stance on identity, I was able to endorse the use of food as an expresser of identity, both culturally and individually,

which can be illuminated by the concepts of food choice, and food voice, which illustrate the importance of food as an element in identity-construction (Coveney, 2000; Taylor, 2010). These two basic ideas, that explain that food does express identity, have helped me in arguing that food can be used to create intercultural dialogue, and mutual recognition (Mankekar, 2002).

Coming to an understanding of peace as multiple, and as existent in many facets of life in the form of cultures of peace, I have been able to analyze areas of peace that exist already in social settings—in the form of culinary peace building initiatives (Martínez Gúzman, 2009). In acknowledging that peace work today is multi-faceted, I was able to find case studies that exemplify cultures of peace within multicultural societies (Dietrich, 2013). The next step was to understand these spaces as thriving to become "unconditional," in that they are open, free, and innovative in spirit—accepting social change and transformation as a place of growth and healing (Allestorfer, 2013). This concept of "unconditional spaces" is one that I adopted as part of my theoretical framework for this dissertation, but is also one that I have deconstructed in inquiring about fundamental questions of power, and risks of de-politicization (Arendt, 1963). In recognizing the political conflicts that exist not only at the nation state level, I have been able to focus primarily on conflicts within multicultural societies, that occur in part due to polarized, dehumanizing political narratives (Cloke, 2005).

Policy Implications

Throughout my research, I used theories of peace research—imperfect peace, moral imagination, mutual recognition, re-humanization, hybrid identity—to highlight areas in social realities that exhibit the possibility to confront binary, paradoxical

standpoints and rhetoric with peace building, intercultural dialogue, and empathy.   In synthesizing these theoretical standpoints with the practical findings (the case studies), this dissertation provides a contribution to existing peace, identity, and food studies theories, by intending to provide a lens by which those three interdisciplinary fields interact, and work toward cultures of peace.   I have found, that my stance, while looking at food studies from a peace studies perspective, using a feminist research ethic, has sought to look at social realities in practical terms, understanding conflicts with irrefutable power dynamics.   I have been concerned with how these power-knowledge statements affect social realities, and would like to see this theoretical research touch base with the practical initiatives, that are already being implemented, but that could rely more on peace research as a way to transform social realities that are naturally conflictive.

Dialogue, which I defined, based on the value it adds to the Martínez Guzmán's "epistemological turn", is an imperative aspect of my research.   It is the building blocks to creating mutual recognition and empathy, and deconstructing polarized political rhetoric, and for that reason, I have included it in my theoretical research as a key component in intercultural awareness and peace building (Martínez Guzmán, 2004).   In that regard, however, I may have failed to mention that I consider dialogue as a mode of communication that can be executed in many different ways, depending on cultural norms, and personal traits.   I have learned, in my intercultural communication within this masters program, and in other contexts, that dialogue can mean so many different things, and so I feel it's important to recognize the various ways of communicating.   I hope that food, and cooking, which is something inherent to all cultures, has proven to exhibit elements of promoting intercultural dialogue and awareness.   This is what the theoretical

framework has helped me to demonstrate in the case studies I chose to analyze. Dialogue, which essentially is a tool for expressing modes of communication, can capture the expression of identity and communication through the act of cooking and sharing food—and culture through food.

Recommendations for Future Research

The food studies discipline, which is a relatively new field, which in that way, parallels the field of new agenda of peace studies, has a large potential to open up new lines of research within the peace studies discipline. Both fields, as mentioned previously, are interdisciplinary, and focus on human behavior—peace studies focuses on the realization of promoting healthy, peaceful societies that protect human rights, while food studies focuses on the human relation to food (Mintz, 1996; Galtung, 2000). Together with a peace studies perspective, food studies has the potential to propose many central, and relevant research questions in the field of peace studies. Areas, which I had to limit due to the parameters of this research process, can be fleshed out much more in future investigations, which I plan to pursue.

An example of the type of research lines that can be drawn out have to do with the environment, and well-being of the planet in relation to food production and consumption. This area might fit in better with the development line of peace research, because it would focus primarily on deconstructing the development plans and methods involved in food production.

Some questions that could be asked, and some that I came close to in this dissertation, might be:

1) What impact does food have on the environment?

2) How does food contribute to systems of oppression?

3) How are foods symbolic markers of identity?

Food studies has the potential to open up lines of investigation that correspond to peace research, and ascertain important information regarding oppressed voices, identity, the voice of the environment, and scientific, economic, and philosophical issues surrounding them. Much academic advancement has been made in the past twenty years, especially in the United States, with regards to food studies research, and higher education. It is my hope that food studies continues to grow and to shed light on human behavior and identity, and thus, provide landscapes for social change and cultures of peace.

Limitations

Mainly due to time and length, I faced a few limitations in this research process. I would have liked to involve more the role of the environment in this dissertation, but due to the parameters of the research questions, it was not possible to do such profound research in that section. I hope to further my studies in that area. I also would have liked to include the aspect of nutrition, and well being, because food plays such an important role in both physical and mental health. It would be interesting to open up new research in that regard, and I plan to do so here in the San Francisco Bay Area. I also planned from the beginning to conduct interviews involving various cultural perspectives, but was not able to do so. If I continue this research, I would like to interact with peoples of various cultures, and get a grasp on their perspectives on the importance of food to cultural awareness. I now live in an area where the Hispanic population continues to grow, and where immigrants face cultural discrimination and difficulty every day. Since I have worked with Hispanic immigrants here in the past, I would like to continue my

research by involving them in my studies—inquiring about the role of food in their integration into a new society. I see this dissertation as just the beginning of a journey that hopefully allows me to integrate food and social justice. I plan to continue my research, and to find a meaningful career that will fulfill my interests in food studies and peace-building.

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