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Guest editorial

Introduction: Why food? Why pedagogy? Why adult education?

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We convened this special issue on *Food pedagogies* to start to address what we saw as lacunae in both research on adult education and food studies. Thus, in spite of the expanding body of work on informal learning and pedagogies amongst adult educators, food as an object, site, target and 'technology' of education and learning has been relatively neglected (see Cook 2009, Jubas 2011 and Sumner 2011, for exceptions). This is somewhat surprising as many food studies academics argue: the growing, buying, preparing, provisioning, cooking, tasting, eating and disposing of food have become the target of intensified pedagogical activity across a range of domains (Kimura 2011; Short 2006; Coveney 2006). Hence, many different 'pedagogues' – policy makers, churches, activists, health educators, schools, tourist agencies, celebrities, chefs – think we don't know enough about food and what to do with it. 'Technologies'

of learning and teaching about food range from cookbooks, to life-style and cooking programmes, health promotion projects, recipe cards in supermarkets, food labelling, grower's markets, nutrition guides and community gardens. This means that we could argue that adult educators can include: retailers, farmers, chefs, people who cook at home, public health practitioners, advertisers, food writers and 'foodies'. Some of the groups involved in food pedagogies are powerful actors with clear educational aims and intents and they include the food industry, health authorities, nutritionists, research scientists, advertisers and media chefs.

In the interdisciplinary field of food studies - which includes geography, anthropology, history, and sociology - terms such as pedagogy and learning have been invoked to denote proliferations and intensifications of, and shifts in, expertise and knowledge about food. There has also been discussion on the politics of these new sites and formats of education but with relatively little focused theoretical or empirical exploration on the nature of the pedagogies themselves (see also Noble 2004). In contrast, there is a growing literature on 'public pedagogy' which seeks to examine education and learning outside of the classroom as performed through institutions, signs and media which, we argue, can help us typologise and classify contemporary processes of teaching people about food. This literature can help us prise open the pedagogical aims, content, mechanism, effects and relations of different food teaching, education and learning. Thus, we can start to analyse:

- the specificities of 'technologies' of teaching about food: from cooking programs, food labelling, grower's markets, and nutrition guides;
- the pedagogues who claim to 'educate' us about food, which now includes a growing litany of cultural intermediaries / occupational groups such as farmers, chefs, food writers, food bloggers, health practitioners and advertisers;

- government and corporate organisations such as local councils, health agencies, food advocacy groups, and supermarkets;
- media such as women's magazines, internet sites, online short films, recipe repositories, activist newsletters and food labels; and
- policy instruments such as national food plans, labelling guidelines, and nutrition edicts.

Hence, we can now argue that the food 'classroom' can be the farm, TV, garden, and online short films. Our bodies, senses, mouths, eyes, tongues, stomachs, noses and hands, have all become the targets of teaching, and even teachers in their own right, across diverse food curricula. Drawing on a range of political and theoretical perspectives, the collection of papers in this special issue seeks to analyse the cultural politics of food pedagogies by examining pedagogical content, techniques, relations, curricula; and constructions of teachers and learners across a number of empirical sites and regional contexts.

To date, the term itself - food pedagogies - has had very little circulation in adult education and wider social theory, although it is beginning to get some traction. In the field of adult education, Jennifer Sumner in Canada is one of the first to deploy it in her teaching at the University of Toronto where it is a Masters level adult education subject. In 2009, the influential American food studies theorist, Associate Professor Julie Guthman, who has written some of the most challenging research on race, class, gender and food reform, uses the term 'radical food pedagogy' in an interview entitled 'On Globalisation, Neoliberalism, Obesity, Local Food and Education' in the online journal *Politics and Culture*. In the interview, she argues that a radical food pedagogy would interrogate why food is being studied by students from privileged backgrounds. We ourselves only started to use the term in 2011 as a core concept in our research, with a number of seminars, and in the call for papers for this special issue, and subsequent journal papers (see reference list). In 2009 a symposium entitled *Food Pedagogy* was held in

Berlin by two Norwegian health and sports academics but focusing on more traditional use of the term in relation to training teachers in food, sports and health studies (Palovaara-Soberg & Thuv 2009). There has been some use of the term in relation to schools; so in the USA, Jessica Hayes-Conroy (2009) who has published on visceral fieldwork, focused on school gardens for her doctorate and chapter six was entitled food pedagogy; in Australia, Monica Green has published on school gardens and pedagogies of food (2008: 11). Activists are also beginning to use the term; for example, there is reference on a web site for an ecologically sustainable farm in the USA, called Ecotone. The term bio-pedagogy - after Foucault's term biopower - has been used for some time in relation to concerns about the so-called obesity epidemic and associated educational initiatives, particularly in schools, led by Jan Wright in Australia who set up a bio-pedagogies research consortium in 2007 and co-edited a book in 2009 (Wright & Harwood 2009). More recently, Emma Rich (2011) also writing about obesity on reality TV uses the term public pedagogy.

Of courses, assertions about what constitutes the 'right' food curricula vary across these widely different pedagogies. As the papers by Helen Benny, John Coveney, and Jo Pike and Deana Leahy in this special issue argue, according to public health practitioners, policy makers, teachers and TV chefs, one area that is deemed to require educational intervention is 'food skills,' which are widely imagined to be on the decline, particularly in the case of working class mothers; whereas, for so-called 'foodies,' good 'taste' is associated with caring about certain classed and racialised 'food knowledge' and learning about novel food, restaurants and ingredients (Johnston and Baumann 2010). For ethical and sustainable food activists, their concern is that we need to understand the provenance of our food. And in the 'locavore' food movement, knowing who made your food and where it hails from is seen as a political and moral citizenship imperative.

Not only is food an *object* of learning, but it is also a *vehicle* for learning. So food studies emphasises food consumption as a cultural, place-based, relational and social practice. As a range of food theorists (for example, Lupton 1996, Jackson 2009, Bell and Valentine 2006) argue food consumption involves social relationships, kinship and intimate relations, collective identities, gift exchange, and social interaction. This body of work underscores the importance of understanding the role of affect, bodies, desire, fantasy, memory, ethics, risk, anxiety, and family relations in food culture. How then might these play out in relation to food pedagogies in gendered, classed and racialised ways? There has also been a turn to sensory pedagogy emphasising how taste, touch and smell are critical to learning about food and culture, but are also not acultural and are classed, gendered and racialised (Sutton 2001). In relation to race, food is often seen by policy makers, tourist agencies and educators as 'multicultural pedagogy', a practice of intercultural bonding. The politics of what has been called 'colonial food adventuring' and 'eating the other' is much debated (Duruz 2005; Flowers & Swan 2012; Heldke 2003). These analyses from food studies raise important issues for adult education scholarship about the pedagogic sites, processes, relations and politics of doing gender, bodies, class, race, citizenship, ethics and family through food consumption, food preparation, and food rituals, and the way these are taught and learned across a range of sites, public and everyday pedagogies, informal and formal educational practices and technologies.

In sum, then, commentators assert that through food we are taught about power, culture, bodies, gender, class, race, status, identity, pleasure, pain, labour, health, morality, our place in the world; as is often said, 'who and what we are'. Across food pedagogies then we have different pedagogic regimes, pedagogic encounters, politics, inequalities and educator-learner relations. Of course in all of this, there is a politics to who is seen as in need of educating and who is set up as 'in the know'.

Of course, we could refer to terms such as 'food education', 'food and informal learning' or 'food literacies'. But we prefer the term 'food pedagogy' for a variety of reasons? So why the term 'pedagogy'? In the past ten years, social theorists have turned to the analytic tool of 'pedagogy' using it in a broader sense beyond classroom teaching practices in schools and universities to examine the proliferation and intensification of teaching, learning, curricula, training and education outside of educational institutions (Luke 1996; Hickey-Moodey, Savage & Windle 2010; Flowers & Swan, 2012; Swan 2012). We might say there is a pedagogical turn. But following Carmen Luke's work (1996) we conceptualise pedagogy on different terms than in traditional educational theory where typically pedagogy is defined in terms of formal curricula, classroom processes and educational institutions. Instead we define pedagogy as the sites, processes and technologies of learning and teaching that happen outside of formal educational systems (Sandlin, Schultz & Burdick 2010; Luke 1996). Pedagogical sites are now seen to include mass media, popular culture, museums, art galleries, public policy projects, welfare institutions, health, community activities, reality TV, psy practices, the internet, screen technologies and media, and social networking sites. The term 'public pedagogy' is used to refer to 'top down' educative influences through cultural forms and 'bottom up' teaching and learning in communities, hobby groups and social movements (Sandlin et al. 2010); 'everyday' pedagogy is used by feminists to explore the gendering processes in the home and family (Luke, 1992) and 'cultural pedagogies' to refer to 'learning' about social axes of difference (Hickey-Moodey, Savage & Windle 2010). Informal sites of learning now include popular culture, museums, the internet, magazines, social movements, mass media, social media and the home (Luke 1996; Sandlin, Schultz & Burdick 2010; Ellsworth 2005; Giroux 2004; Swan 2009 & 2012).

We use the term 'food pedagogies' because it is capacious enough to denote a range of sites, processes, curricula, 'learners' and even

types of human and non-human 'teachers' but tight enough to refer to some kind of intended or emergent change in behaviour, habit, emotion, cognition, and/or knowledge at an individual, family, group or collective level. Thus, we use the term to mean more than the extension of sites of learning to the outside of classrooms. Pedagogy also implies but does not define a priori the power relations involved in educative and learning technologies and processes. Part of the analysis of the politics of pedagogies involves locating them within wider social, cultural and political relations of power. Thus Carmen Luke emphasises that pedagogy cannot be conceived as an isolated inter-subjective event where one analyses the dyadic relations of teaching and learning: rather it 'is fundamentally defined by and a product of a network of historical, political, sociocultural, and knowledge relations' (1996: 130). 'Food pedagogies' refer to a congeries of education, teaching and learning about how to grow, shop for, prepare, cook, display, taste, eat and dispose of food by a range of agencies, actors and media; and aimed a spectrum of 'learners' including middle class women, migrants, children, parents, shoppers, and racially minoritised and working class mothers. We know that the term 'food pedagogies' has clear resonance with adult education scholars because there were 29 abstracts submitted to the special issue.

In this special issue and future research, including a forthcoming edited book on *Food pedagogies* (Flowers & Swan 2013), we intend to interrogate the multiple conceptualisations of food, skills, knowledges and expertise across a range of fields of practices, domains and contexts and to delineate the particularity of their teaching technologies, educational aims, content, curricula and constructions of teachers and learners. Our aim always is to identify the politics of food pedagogies. It is also the focus for all of the papers in this special issue, although they define politics in different ways.

In their paper on 'School food and the pedagogies of parenting', **Jo Pike** from the University of Leeds in the UK and **Deana Leahy** from Southern Cross University in Australia examine how mothers are morally positioned in relation to formal and informal food pedagogies and school food in classed and gendered ways. They undertook ethnographic research in classrooms and school dining rooms; interviews with head teachers and school-meals staff, and employed participatory methods with children aged 4-6 and 10-11 in Australia and the UK. Working through Foucault's notion of governmentality, they focus, in particular, on what they refer to as the 'pedagogies of the school lunchbox' – an 'assemblage of governmental techniques and strategies' – through which governments attempt to direct certain types of mothers – working class mothers - to include or remove certain foods and drinks from their children's lunches. Arguing that much current literature on food pedagogies in schools focuses on children, they focus their attention on the pedagogies which are 'pedagogicalising parents.' In particular they show how the so-called obesity epidemic has rendered the lunchbox, and working class mothers, the subject of intense surveillance. Their conclusion is that these school food pedagogies are forms of moral regulation which pathologise working class mothers as unhealthy and less capable at looking after their children's food and health.

Shifting to a different country, institutional site and learner, the next paper, 'Throw your napkin on the floor: Authenticity, culinary tourism, and a pedagogy of the senses', by **Lisa Stowe** and **Dawn Johnston** from the University of Calgary in Canada, turns to the politics of culinary tourism on their third year undergraduate subject *Food culture* in Spain which involves taking students to Spain for a three-week trip. In their paper, they analyse the formal, informal and incidental learning, and in particular, the sensory learning that the undergraduates experience eating in city and rural restaurants and bars, and visiting a family-run olive press. Drawing on the students' assessments and interviews with students, Stowe and

Johnston carefully interrogate the concepts of 'eating the other' and 'authenticity' – which are much debated concepts in food studies, particularly in relation to the power dynamics of consuming ethnic foods. They show how the students learn new ways to eat, shop and cook back in Canada as a result of cognitive and bodily learning in Spain. In particular, through sensory pedagogies of tasting olives, raspberry sorbet and salty tuna for the first time, drinking in noisy crowded bars and seeing olive oil being pressed, the students actively and critically reflect on what it means to define Spanish culture and food, and their own tourist experiences as authentic.

The next paper, entitled 'A critical race and class analysis of learning in the organic farming movement' by **Catherine Etmanski** from Royal Roads University in Canada, brings in new pedagogical actors: she shows how organic farmers are educators; activists are learners; and farms are pedagogical sites. Taking forward the theme of class analysis introduced by Pike and Leahy, Etmanski argues, using critical race theorists, and food studies theorists Julie Guthman and Rachel Slocum, that we need to attend to whiteness, privilege and race in the organic food movement. Positioning herself as an adult educator committed to social justice, Etmanski is keen to ask how anti-racist and Indigenous Rights perspectives might be brought to bear on the small-scale organic farming pedagogical initiative. The paper is based on ethnographic work she undertook as an apprentice on farms, engaging in a particular kind of learning, getting her hands dirty and being taught about crop diversity, permaculture, animal welfare and soil health. Her main question is how the Eurocentric organic farming movement can learn from and work with the Indigenous food sovereignty movements in Canada but also internationally.

From Canada and the organic farming movement and its farmer-educators, we now turn to Japan and its recent law, 'shokuiku kihonhō', which aims to reform food production and consumption

through food pedagogies. This is discussed in a paper by **Cornelia Reiher** from the University of Halle in Germany, entitled 'Food pedagogies in Japan: From the implementation of the Basic Law on Food Education to Fukushima'. Reiher's main focus is two-fold: to examine how the Fukushima nuclear disaster has affected food knowledge being promulgated by the government. She argues that knowledge about food safety from consumer co-ops and radioactivity measurement has been marginalised in official food pedagogies. Her overall argument is that the food law focuses too much on domestic food producers, nutrition and cooking and reproduces the view that Japanese food is safer than imported food. She sums up her paper by concluding that the Japanese state leaves consumers with an impoverished knowledge about food safety.

In our paper (**Rick Flowers** and **Elaine Swan**) which we have called 'Pedagogies of doing good: Problematisations, authorities, technologies and teleologies in food activism', we analyse data from a roundtable we organised with food activist educators from Australia, using a framework from Nikolas Rose. Our paper has two aims: first to add a new framework as a means for analysing adult education and learning approaches to draw attention to different kinds of power in educational work, and secondly, to use it to commence a meta-analysis of food activist pedagogies in particular. Using Rose's work, we focus of the politics of 'doing good', how educators legitimate and authorise their pedagogical efforts. Applying the framework in a detailed and concrete way to three types of food activist pedagogies, we examine the diversity of knowledges about food, health and education they drew on and what these mean for how 'doing good' relates to race, gender and class in relation to food and learning.

Pierre Walter, from the University of British Columbia in Canada, turns our attention to adult learning sites in the food movement in USA, in his paper entitled 'Educational alternatives in food production, knowledge and consumption: The public pedagogies of

Growing Power and *Tsyunhehw^*. Building on Etmanski's concern that organic farming pedagogies have not attended to issues of race and class sufficiently, Pierre analyses two alternative food initiatives based in Wisconsin in the US: *Growing Power*, an urban farm in an impoverished African American neighbourhood, and *Tsyunhehkw^*, an integrated food system of the Native American Oneida Nation. Drawing on site visits, documentary analysis and digital research, Walter analyses the production of an 'imagined public pedagogy' across these media. He argues that these initiatives constitute anti-racist, decolonising public pedagogies which disrupt the whiteness and middle-class foundations of food movements. While this is an important step forward, he concludes by asking, however, how much they have attended to gender oppression in their educational work.

The next paper – 'When traditions become innovations and innovations become traditions in everyday food pedagogies' – by **Helen Benny** from Swinburne University of Technology in Australia, continues to ask questions about the relationship between food, learning and ethnicity. The pedagogical spaces she focuses on are the domestic, work and leisure settings in Melbourne, Australia. Utilising a perspective termed 'everyday multiculturalism' (Wise & Velayutham 2009) which looks at the lived experience of diversity on the ground in everyday encounters, as opposed to state and policy ordained multiculturalism, Benny explores the food memories of three Australian women. They are Nadia, Anita and Simone who are of different ages and ethnicities. Benny examines the dynamics of tradition and innovation in 'ethnic' cooking and eating through what she terms pedagogies of innovation and pedagogies of preservation. This focus offers insights into the nature of everyday learning processes in 'ethnic' cultures and food traditions.

The final paper is by **John Coveney**, **Andrea Begley** and **Danielle Gallegos**, food historians of nutrition at three Australian universities. In this paper, 'Savoir Fare: Are cooking skills a new

morality?', the authors build on the body of work using Foucauldian analyses of nutritional approaches as forms of governmentality over the twentieth and twenty-first century. They use the term 'savoir fare' to get at the types of authoritative knowledges which are seen to constitute the expert endorsed know-how and know-what-about of cooking in the US, UK and Australia. Historicizing the idea currently circulating in health, education and public policy that cooking skills are on the decline, they argue that there is a proliferation of social technologies such as food literacy programs and cooking TV programs which position cooking skills as life skills. These are not just food pedagogies though, but constitute moral pedagogies which define what constitutes 'good cooking.' And they argue the result is a powerful food and family morality that is both 'disciplined and disciplinary'.

How does a focus on food pedagogies open up how we conceptualise and research adult education and adult learning? We can see through the special issue that it enables us to enrich the depth of our understanding of informal learning and the sites and processes through which education and learning take place from the kitchen to the TV to the school lunch. Theoretical perspectives in food studies bring new vocabularies, concepts, methodologies into dialogue with current thinking in adult education. It provides us with clear examples of educational work to do with food across a rich set of sites and methods. In this special issue, we can see how authors draw on digital research, media analysis, Foucauldian influence analytics, historical and documentary research and ethnographic methods. Future research in adult education and food studies could investigate the reception of these aims by 'intended learners' in closer detail.

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School food and the pedagogies of parenting

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Over the past decade the issue of food and in particular, food consumed within schools has come to encapsulate a broad range of concerns regarding children and young people's health and wellbeing. In Australia, the UK and more recently the USA, attempts to ameliorate a range of public health concerns have provided the impetus for an unprecedented proliferation of school food initiatives and legislative reforms governing the types of foods that may or may not be provided within schools. While academic enquiry in this area has largely focussed upon attempts to govern children, recent initiatives in the UK and Australia have begun to target parents in their attempts to promote healthy food practices. In this paper we interrogate the ways in which parents, or more specifically, mothers are positioned in relation to school food discourses in Australia and in the UK and suggest that school food has become a site through which an array of pedagogical opportunities are opened

up to invoke particular subject positions premised on normative views of affective middle class motherhood. In short, we seek to explore the means through which mothers come to be regarded as legitimate targets of school food pedagogy. The paper draws on empirical data from Australia and the UK to compare a range of pedagogic techniques employed in the two countries. Drawing on governmentality studies we explore how school food pedagogies seek to regulate mothers and their children's food related choices. We consider school lunches and the various techniques that have been deployed in both countries to consider the moralising work that takes place around food and motherhood.

Introduction

Over the last decade the issue of school food has dominated the public health agenda across the higher OECD countries such as Australia, the UK and more recently the USA. School food and the myriad initiatives related to healthy eating have provided a forum through which concerns over the future health and wellbeing of children are articulated. As such, the recent campaign of celebrity chef, Jamie Oliver to improve both the nutritional quality and the aesthetic appeal of school lunches has become part of the dominant discourse surrounding school meals and has been recognised as an influential factor in mobilising public opinion. However, the preoccupation with school food is characteristic of far wider concerns about the condition of modern childhood; concerns which are embedded within specific ways of thinking about women, class and the family (Gustafsson, 2002).

While policy and political discourses configure responsibility for the feeding of children in gender neutral terms through the use of the word parent, it is acknowledged that any analysis of feeding practices necessarily entails thinking about motherhood and

femininity (De Vault, 1991; Lupton, 1996; Warin et al., 2008). Such analyses point to the positioning of women as responsible guardians of future generations (Maher et al., 2010) while others have argued that it is specific groups of women, namely the poor that carry the burden of blame for jeopardising the health, education and potential productivity of future citizens (Gillies, 2007; Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989). In terms of parenting, 'Working class mothering practices are held up as the antithesis of good parenting, largely through their association with poor outcomes for children' (Gillies, 2007:2). In relation to school food, working class women are constituted through media and governmental discourse as lacking in taste, education and morality and this is constructed in opposition to the normative position of effective middle class motherhood. Thus while children and teachers have previously been considered legitimate targets of school food education (Leahy, 2009; Pike, 2010; Vander Schee, 2009) contemporary policy and practice is predicated on the imperative to 'educate' mothers with regard to feeding their children. While there are many different spaces that perform this work, it is the role of schools, as appropriate sites for the 'pedagogicalisation' of parents that is the focus of this paper.

Throughout this paper we interrogate the ways in which parents, or more specifically, mothers are positioned in relation to school food discourses and pedagogies in Australia and in England and suggest that school food has become a site through which an array of pedagogical opportunities are opened up to invoke particular subject positions premised on normative views of affective middle class motherhood. We do not attempt to illustrate how mothers take up these subject positions or the impact of these pedagogies on mothering practices. Rather we are interested to explore the means through which mothers come to be regarded as necessary targets of school food pedagogy and how these pedagogies are designed to enlist parents into a moral project of the self.

The paper draws on empirical data from two ethnographic studies undertaken in schools in Australia and England to illustrate the pedagogic techniques and strategies employed in the two countries. In England data were generated in four primary schools in the north of England between 2006 and 2007 using established ethnographic methods such as observations in dining rooms and classrooms, interviews with teachers, head teachers and school meals staff and participatory work with children aged 4-6 years and 10-11 years. Methods used with children included photography projects, draw and write activities, mapping exercises and modelling and role play. In the Australian study, data were generated from 3 secondary schools in Victoria using a range of ethnographic methods including, observations of health education lessons and interviews with teachers, together with a critical analysis of health education curriculum documents and teaching resources.

Initially, we outline the theoretical terrain that frames our analysis before providing an account of contemporary school food policy in both England and Australia. We then proceed to delineate some of the ways that formal and informal school food pedagogies, attempt to shape mothers' fields of action illustrating this with reference to pedagogies of the school lunchbox. The school lunchbox can be regarded as an intersectional space in which an assemblage of governmental techniques and strategies, emanating from a variety different sources, converge. We suggest that such pedagogical practices perform governmental work that is explicitly moral and as such, entices mothers to engage in practices of self-formation centred around notions of effective motherhood. Finally, we conclude by suggesting some of the outcomes of such approaches using the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' as an example of a critical incident in England where mothers resisted attempts to transform their children's school food and were subsequently vilified by the media and celebrities such as Jamie Oliver.

Governing food: the role of school food pedagogies

In order to understand the proliferations of school food pedagogies, and in turn how they work to govern parental food practices we draw on the field of Foucauldian inspired governmentality studies. Foucault defined government as 'the conduct of conduct' stating that government relates to the 'way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick … to govern in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action' (Foucault, 1982: 220-221). His various analyses of government explored questions related to how conduct, and attempts to shape conduct, were imagined and enacted within different historical epochs, states and sites (Gordon, 1991). For the purposes of this paper, we seek to understand the role that contemporary school food pedagogies play in attempting to structure parents, and specifically mothers, possible fields of action. According to Mitchell Dean (2010: 18) government refers to:

> …any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledges, that seeks to shape conduct by working through our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.

Within this context we understand school food pedagogies to work as governmental devices that provide a 'contact point' for government (Burchell, 1996) that connects questions of government, politics, and administration to the space of bodies, lives, selves and persons (Dean, 2010: 20). In essence school food pedagogies provide government with an opportunity to explicitly shape, sculpt, mobilize and work through the food choices, desires and aspirations, needs, wants and lifestyles of parents, families and children. The explicit intention of food pedagogies is to enlist parents into a process of 'governmental self formation'

Significantly though, Dean (2010: 19) suggests that any attempt to govern, and hence the various food pedagogies that circulate are accompanied by moral imperatives. He states that:

> ...the rational attempt to shape conduct implies another feature of this study of government: it links with moral questions. If morality is understood as the attempt to make oneself accountable for one's own actions, or as a practice in which human beings take their own conduct to be subject to self-regulation then government is an intensely moral activity ... It is a moral enterprise as it presumes to know with varying degrees of explicitness and using specific forms of knowledge, what constitutes good, virtuous, appropriate, responsible conduct of individuals.

Therefore we must consider the ways in which these moral imperatives are used to shore up school food pedagogies and the ways that mothers in particular are rendered accountable for the decisions they take about how, when, where and what to feed their children.

School food policy

In both England and Australia, school food has been situated within the public health policy landscape, most notably in relation to the perceived threat of rising levels of childhood overweight and obesity (Department of Health, 2004; Department of Health, 2008; Gard & Wright, 2005; Rich, 2010; Vander Schee & Gard, 2011). In England the importance of campaigns to improve the nutritional quality of school food was highlighted:

> Amongst children obesity is growing at a rapid, indeed alarming, rate. This is the reason why campaigns like those run by Jamie Oliver on School Dinners are not a passing fad, they are central to the nation's future health. (Tony Blair, 26 July, 2006)

Aside from the explicitly nationalistic overtones in this quotation, the discursive construction of childhood obesity as 'alarming' an 'epidemic' or 'ticking time bomb' is problematic to say the least (Campos, 2004; Gard & Wright, 2005; Evans, 2006). Nevertheless

the positioning of childhood obesity within this discursive framework has provided a rationale to legitimise a range of interventions designed to encourage subjects to make healthier lifestyle choices (Burrows, 2009; Leahy, 2009; Rich, 2010; Vander Schee, 2009). In Australia and England, this governmentalisation has worked in two ways; first by limiting individuals' fields of action, by curtailing the types of food available to pupils at school and second, by encouraging pupils to act upon themselves as healthy subjects. The former relates to the regulation of the types of foods that can and cannot be served at school. In Australia guidance based, primarily on food groups was published through the *National Guidelines for healthy food and drinks supplied in school canteens* (Commonwealth of Australia, 2010) with some variation in terms of implementation between particular states, (https://healthy-kids.com.au/page/107/other-state-canteen-strategies) many of which had developed their own set of guidelines prior to this Federal initiative. In England, nutrient based standards stipulate that school lunches should contain minimum or maximum amounts of 14 different nutrients (Statutory Instrument 2007 No. 2359).

In both Australia and England students are able to go home for lunch, bring a lunch from home, or purchase in lunch in the school canteen. English school lunches typically comprise of different hot and cold meal options that might include curries, casseroles, pasta dishes, salads and jacket potatoes along with hot and cold dessert options. Australian students can purchase items such as, sandwiches, pasta salads, fruit and pizza from their school canteen.

Despite differences in approach, both governments are actively attempting to direct school food decision makers to include, reduce the presence of, or remove, certain foods and drinks from school canteens. This directive is based on the notion that 'healthy kids have healthy canteens' and the assumption that the introduction of school food standards will enhance the nutritional quality of food available

to children in schools, and hence will contribute to an overall improved diet and reduction in overweight and obesity. The latter strategy of government which seeks to encourage students to regulate their own behaviour, relates to the plethora of health education initiatives and interventions in which pupils are taught the value of healthy eating and learn how to select, prepare, and grow food that will prevent them becoming overweight in the future. It is hoped that, with appropriate guidance and support, students will become self regulating subjects (Pike, 2008; Leahy, 2009; Vander Schee, 2009). Much of this is predicated on the assumption that students simply do not have the knowledge and skills to make the 'correct' choices in terms of the food they consume without assistance from experts. Thus schools have become key sites for the transmission of particular kinds of knowledge about food and health and the production of particular types of consuming subjects.

However, while schools have been the locus of attempts to ameliorate specific public health concerns, recent interventions overtly seek to recruit mothers into this endeavour through discourses of engagement and partnership (Crozier, 1998; Popkewitz, 2002). Not only do schools encourage future generations to become self regulating citizens, but they also to extend their reach beyond the school gates through increasingly porous boundaries to invite mothers to contribute to this biopolitical strategy (Pike & Colquhoun, 2012). In so doing, mothers are recruited into a network of governmental programs that converge around the issue of school food which crucially work to constitute a particular kind of good subject. We do not wish to imply a simplistic relationship between biopolitical governance and mothers' acceptance or rejection of school food pedagogies. Rather we suggest a more complex picture comprised of a multitude of different positions that may be adopted and in turn that there are many ways in which mothers may be enticed into occupying them. Our concern here though is to illustrate the ways in which

different fields of action are curtailed and opened up through this pedagogicalisation of mothers.

School food pedagogies

It is without doubt that we have been witness to unprecedented policy action in and around food in schools in both Australia and England. As a result a proliferation of school based food pedagogies shape students' food related desires and practices (see Rich, 2011; Vander Schee & Gard, 2011). And whilst traditionally students have been the targets of school governmental interventions, mothers have recently become the object and target of school food pedagogies. Lisette Burrows (2009: 131) documents a range of school based and public food related pedagogies directed towards 'pedagogicalising parents'. Her analyses reveal a plethora of web sites, television programs, advice brochures, advertising and online games that prescribe approaches to good parenting demonstrated through food selection, preparation and consumption.

Whilst we acknowledge that these devices form part of the broader governmental assemblage, in the ensuing discussion we focus our analytical gaze on school lunches, and in particular the school lunch box. School meals have attracted an enormous amount of governmental attention, and we want to explore how the school lunch box has become a site whereby students and their mothers are enlisted into the governmental process via a multitude of pedagogical techniques that prescribe certain practices of preparing lunch boxes, and thus mothering and eating. The school lunchbox is significant in the pedagogicalisation of mothers since it traverses both physical and symbolic boundaries between home and school and represents a performative enactment of the attitude of the mother towards children's wellbeing and education or rather 'it is a sign of a woman's commitment as a mother and her inspiring her child to become similarly committed as a student' (Allison, 1997: 302). Thus, the

composition of and care invested in a child's lunchbox articulates the mother/child relationship, the nature of care given to the child and mother's acceptance of particular truths and knowledge related to nutrition.

Pedagogies of the lunchbox

The 'obesity epidemic' has rendered children's lunchboxes governable, and consequently we have witnessed the necessary emergence of a multitude of pedagogical strategies aimed at regulating children's lunchboxes. And although lunchboxes are not governed by food standards in Australia or England, other mechanisms come into play to 'ensure' that mothers place the appropriate contents into lunchboxes.

For example in England, the School Food Trust produced a letter for parents in March 2010 suggesting a three weekly menu designed to improve the quality of packed lunches. Nevertheless, because of the drive to increase take up of school lunches, parents were still guided towards school meals as a preferred option. School lunches enable children to try new foods which "may be a good way of ensuring that your child has a healthy meal which may impact on their behaviour and concentration in the classroom" (SFT, 2010). Good mothers who care about their children's education do not even attempt to provide a packed lunch for them. Feeding children is better left to nutritional experts.

In Australia guidelines and support materials have been developed by various Departments of Health and of Education to assist parents' decision-making about packing lunchboxes. In *Healthy lunch box ideas: save time, money and effort* parents are told that 'packing a nutritious lunch box for your child to take to Family Day Care can be easy. Whether your child is in full-time care, part-time care, out of hours care or after school-care using the four simple steps below will ensure your child is eating well and meeting the Family Day Care

Food and Nutrition Guidelines' (Noarlunga Health Services, 2004: 1). The four simple steps to packing lunchboxes are:

1. Write a list of all the meals and snacks your child will take to Family Day Care. Include breakfast, snacks, lunch, dinner or supper.

2. Use the table below to work out which of the five food groups to pack for different meals and snacks.

Meal or snack	Food group suggestions to pack
Breakfast	cereal product + dairy
Snack	1 dairy + fruit
Lunch	cereal product + dairy+ meat or alternative + vegetables
Snack 2	dairy + cereal product
Dinner	cereal product + dairy+ meat or alternative + vegetables
Supper	dairy + fruit

3. Using the table, decide on the particular food you want to pack. If your child is old enough, you may like to ask them to suggest their own choices from the five food groups.

4. Once you have decided on the foods you will pack over a week, you can add the items to your shopping list.

The brochure provides mothers with practical lunchbox ideas, information about how much food a child needs and what to do about treat foods (which should be excluded from lunchboxes because of the risk of nutrient deficiencies and/or children's overweight). Instead, treat foods should be substituted with stickers, a crayon, a written joke or a favourite toy. In moving beyond the remit of lunchboxes into prescribing appropriate mothering practice, the brochure offers advice about further possibilities for positive reinforcement, for

example an excursion or a visit to a park and suggests other ways to provide comfort, aside from treats, including hugs and cuddles, singing to the child or giving positive facial expressions.

The brochure is certainly not unique and governments and their associated health agencies in Australia and the UK have produced a plethora of material to provide information to parents about providing healthy lunches for their children (see 'Great lunch and snack ideas for hungry kids' – Queensland Government 2004; 'Food ideas for Home and School' – Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Education, 'Change 4 Life', NHS http://www.nhs.uk/Livewell/childhealth6-15/Pages/Lighterlunchboxes.aspx). However, what we wish to emphasise here is the binding of lunchbox preparation to effective practices of motherhood and the extension of school food pedagogies into this broader territory. In addition mothers are interpellated in other ways via a range of mass media. Usually at the time children are due to return to school, women's magazines and television lifestyle shows develop specialised segments to educate mothers about what to pack in their child's lunchbox. These media frequently enlist a range of celebrity lifestyle experts to guide the 'ordinary' consumer in choosing food that is both nutritious and conforms to a particular aesthetic of culinary taste (de Solier 2005, Lewis, 2008; Powell & Prassad, 2010). Thus, the constellation of school lunch pedagogies that converge around school lunches works to cultivate certain parenting practices, from preparing healthy lunchboxes which conform to dominant cultural understandings of taste, to providing treats and offering comfort. Expert knowledges usurp those of mothers' since the implicit message is that food prepared by the state is unquestionably healthy because it is approved by nutritionists. Lunchboxes provided from home require intervention from experts to adhere to scientific principles of child nutrition rather than relying on mothers' knowledge of their children's individual tastes and preferences; and a range of tactical strategies ensure that they do.

Stop and search: strategies of the lunchbox police

The governing of lunchboxes is an ongoing project. Once the lunch box has been packed and sent off to school with the child, lunchboxes (their owners and packers) are subjected to further governmental mechanisms. Lunchbox surveillance is commonly employed as a pedagogical device in both England and Australia and has similarly been documented in other research (see Burrows & Wright, 2007; Leahy, 2009; Rich, 2010). As a governmental strategy, teachers are called on to evaluate lunchbox contents in light of dietary information and to develop pedagogical responses to policing lunchboxes. In the following excerpt we consider the policing of lunchboxes as explained at a teacher professional development seminar. The seminar was part of a broader suite of seminars assembled together by a professional association aimed at building capacity of teachers to work in health related areas in schools. The presenter discussed a range of strategies that could be deployed by teachers as they attempted to fight the war on obesity. One of the key strategies being advocated was lunchbox surveillance. Teachers were instructed that at lunch time they should check lunchboxes as students sat down to eat. Teachers were encouraged to reinforce 'good choices' by highlighting them when they are noticed. For example if a student had a banana in their lunchbox, the teacher could (and should) transform this into a pedagogical moment by praising the contents and deliver nutrient knowledge about the particular item. There were other tactics though too that teachers could draw on. For example if they walked past a bad lunchbox they could either give that lunchbox the silent treatment, or they could express a 'tsk tsk' to let it be known that the student's lunchbox was not acceptable.

In the English study, the policing of lunchboxes tended to be conducted within the school dining room by the head teacher or by lunchtime supervisors. Once again, children with undesirable items in their lunchbox were made an example of:

> Mrs. C (head teacher) gets up to leave the dining room. She leaves through the door nearest to the pack up table. She stops abruptly near the door and shouts loudly and slowly, "I don't want to see crisps in pack ups. They are not healthy! Don't bring them anymore!" Her voice is loud and booming and quite intimidating. She stares at the children on the pack up table with her hands on her hips. All goes quiet and she leaves the dining room. She walks very slowly as if to emphasise the gravity of the situation. It underscores her authority I feel. (Fieldnotes, Cleveland School)

While teachers in the Australian study were encouraged to deploy the silent treatment for lunchboxes deemed to be unhealthy, in the English study, the head teachers' disapproval was overt, unequivocal and embodied. There can be no misinterpretation of the message in this interaction. But for those students who persisted in bringing unacceptable lunchboxes, further action was required, particularly where lunchboxes contained chocolate, which was considered the most offensive item for inclusion in a lunchbox. When chocolate was discovered it was immediately confiscated by lunchtime staff, teachers were notified and mothers were spoken to by teachers after school:

A I had to speak to the mum. I just said that they're not allowed chocolate.

Q Were you happy to do that?

A Yes, cos I agree with it. I don't think he should be having chocolate for his lunch. Cos children do tend to leave their sandwiches or leave their apple, and then just eat the sweets straightaway. (Teacher Rose Hill)

For teachers, speaking to mum was considered to be the final weapon in their armoury against the unhealthy lunchbox. However, certain types of mothers were regarded as repeat offenders and these were generally felt to be those mothers that failed to adhere to expectations around the nutritional content and aesthetic quality of food. The assumption was that lunchboxes reflected parents' diets and attitudes

to food. In areas of deprivation, this meant that parents' diets, food repertoire and nutritional knowledge were poor. The kinds of foods alluded to in the example below are cheap, processed and characteristically working class (Bourdieu, 1984; Lupton, 1996; de Solier 2005; Powell & Prassad, 2010):

> I don't particularly think the parents' diets, the majority of the parents' diet round here is particularly healthy..... generally the parents tend to pack them up with their own packed lunch, and you see the stuff that they've been packed up with and it's just, like, packets of biscuits and crisps and, and, erm, you know, bars of chocolate and packets of sweets and fizzy drinks and it's everything you can imagine an unhealthy packed lunch to be. (Teacher Crosby)

There are to be sure many variations of lunchbox surveillance as described above. The mandate for conducting such strategies gains its support from obesity risk discourses. We cannot know what the bodily and emotional responses are for those children who are praised, shamed or disciplined because of their lunchbox contents from these data. On the very surface the intention is that praise will reinforce a positive behaviour so that it continues. For those whose lunchboxes were subjected to negative responses, for example the tsk tsk-ing teachers, or having to sit and endure their teachers' silence, the very experience is explicitly designed to encourage the child to bring a better lunch box. The message is clear, if they bring a 'good' lunch box they can avoid having to bear the brunt of the bodily discomfort of shame. In addition, the 'good' lunch box may actually become an exemplar that they could then feel proud of.

Such strategies are designed not only to educate students about healthy eating, but also to educate mothers in nutrition and the aesthetics of food as the lunchbox functions as a two way conduit across the porous boundary between home and school. The logic of this approach proceeds along the lines that teaching children about healthy eating or eliciting affective responses to teachers' approval/

disapproval, will 'educate' mothers and motivate them to uphold mothering practices that are configured around middleclass norms. This intention is explicit in political discourse.

> If we teach children about food, they will choose healthier food and educate their parents as well. In disadvantaged areas with Sure Start, mothers and fathers are learning much more about food and food co-operatives are being set up. (Mary Creagh - column 590 Hansard 28/10/05)

The mothers that are targeted by such approaches are those from 'disadvantaged backgrounds' living in 'deprived communities' for example in 'Sure Start' areas, whose children are eligible for free school meals, attend breakfast clubs or who have special needs. As Stephanie Lawler (2005) suggests, these women are characterised by their 'lack'; they lack the appropriate level of cooking skills, they lack taste in terms of their food preferences and they lack the right kind of knowledge to be able to feed their children adequately. But as Lawler and others have suggested, (Skeggs, 2005; Walkerdine & Lucey, 1989;) this 'lack' is intimately bound up with ideas of class and gender and women who are deemed deficient are positioned as 'other' in relation to normative assumptions of effective middle-class mothering practices. Encouraging women to refashion themselves in response to these normative assumptions becomes the explicit aim of school food pedagogies and as such represents their overtly moral function (Dean, 2010). And because ultimately, these practices of self-formation are couched in moral terms, where morality 'is understood as the attempt to make oneself accountable for one's own actions, or as a practice in which human beings take their own conduct to be subject to self-regulation' (Dean, 2010: 19) attempts to resist school food pedagogies are understood as excessive, unruly and immoral.

Resisting pedagogicalisation: contested subjects and the Battle of Rawmars

While undoubtedly there are many examples of opposition to school food reforms, the events that unfolded in England in September 2006 at a secondary school in Rotherham, South Yorkshire provoked an unprecedented degree of media attention. For this reason, we turn our attention towards an event which became known as 'The Battle of Rawmarsh' as a critical incident in school food pedagogies where different components in the pedagogical assemblage converged and a variety of alignments between the media, health agencies and schools were forged.

In response to high profile campaigns over the quality of school food, the new academic year commenced at Rawmarsh Comprehensive School with the implementation of a revised, healthier school lunch menu. However, some students were unhappy about the quality and selection of food and the time spent queuing in the canteen. Consequently, two mothers purchased food from nearby takeaways and shops and delivered it through the school railings to their children at lunchtime. This enterprise proved more popular with students than with the head teacher and as trade increased relationships between the school and the women became increasingly acrimonious. Since the school had no jurisdiction over the space beyond the school railings and both the school and the women refused to revaluate their actions, a standoff ensued that was played out in the national and international media. With few exceptions, the media characterised these women in relation to their poor taste, their

deficient intelligence and lack of moral integrity and their ineffective mothering practices.[1]

Figure 1: The 'Battle of Rawmarsh', *The Sun*, September 2006

The physical appearance of the women in the cartoon bears no resemblance to their actual appearance with later pictures in the press revealing the women wearing jeans and t-shirts, with short tidy hair, and a small amount of makeup and jewellery. Nevertheless, the cartoon and some of the written articles invoke particular notions

1 In the UK series *Jamie's Ministry of Food* (Channel 4), Julie Critchlow, one of the "Burger-mum[s]" of Rawmarsh received more sympathetic treatment as celebrity chef Jamie Oliver attempted to recruit her into supporting his cookery campaign. According to the Channel 4 website "Jamie wants Julie, who is actually a good cook herself, to help him to inspire others to cook at home" (http://www.channel4.com/programmes/jamies-ministry-of-food/articles/about-jamies-ministry-of-food). This programme specifically targeted the area of Rotherham as a site for Jamie's cookery school because of the 'Battle of Rawmarsh' incident. Furthermore, Jamie Oliver acknowledged in this programme that his previous comments in the press branding the women 'scrubbers' were a little unfair.

of working class femininity that provide legitimacy for school food pedagogies. The portrayal of these mothers invokes an affective response of disgust through the use of recognisable cultural signs that mark these women out as working class, for example, the cheap clothes which expose too much flesh, the 'Croydon facelift' pony tails, the tattoos, the huge earrings and of course, the excessive, fat and grotesque bodies. Thus they are presented as lacking in taste, symbolised by their clothing, bodies and appearance (Lawler, 2005, Tyler, 2008). Notions of taste are crucial to aspects of self-formation, particularly in relation to food (Lupton, 1996) and in particular to the constitution of white working class femininity (Lawler, 2002). Thus, the cheap, processed, fatty, take away food that they distributed displays their inability to make adequate healthy and aesthetic judgements. They simply don't know what good food is.

In relation to their morality, the amount of flesh on show in these cartoons clearly identifies the characters as women with a particular licentious attitude to sexual relations. In the popular press Jamie Oliver branded these women 'scrubbers'. By drawing on the symbolic associations of fat, and the liberal exposure of it the women are seen to embody excessive appetites. In addition, the women's lack of intelligence was illustrated in *The Times* which characterised the entire town as "a place where fat stupid mothers fight for the right to raise fat stupid children" (Hattersley, *The Times* 24th Sept 2006). Here the women were deemed to be operating irrationally through their non–compliance with the prevailing orthodoxy around healthy eating, an orthodoxy in which school dinners are considered the *only* means of providing a nutritious meal for children during the school day. This discourse specifically positions the women as irresponsible guardians of future generations with their ineffective mothering practices bound to their embodied status as 'fat'. But perhaps the most savage attack came from the women's own regional paper, *The Yorkshire Post*:

> If the rest of the world had ever wondered what goes on in deepest South Yorkshire, then they now know, thanks to the 'Rawmarsh Junk Food Mothers'. Quite aside from the sheer stupidity (and lack of respect) of shoving burger 'n' chips to schoolkids through a fence by standing on graves, the good ladies of Rawmarsh have demonstrated that the problems in our education system go back a lot further than one generation.
>
> I am trying not to be personally abusive, because I wouldn't want to come across any of them on a dark night, but, honestly, what an embarrassing shower (Dowle, 22 September 2006, *Yorkshire Post*)

The article continues to stereotype the women further by labelling them incoherent, poorly educated, alluding to their lack of employment and even suggesting that they wore 'saggy leggings' thereby reinforcing their class position and lack of taste (Lawler, 2002; Lawler, 2005). Such caricatures serve to reinforce the distinction between rational, educated, affective middle class motherhood and the irrational, badly dressed, poorly educated, unhealthy working class mothers who are notable because of their deficiencies. By imbuing these women with such a range of reprehensible attributes, the moral work that accompanies attempts to govern is performed. Equating particular kinds of subjects with opposition to school food reforms shapes the field of possible responses that subjects can choose.

Discussion

Throughout this paper, we have attempted to highlight the ways in which school food pedagogies seek to shape and influence the food related desires and aspirations of children, young people and their mothers Pedagogies attempt to cultivate and shape behaviour by providing the technical means by which subjects can transform their food practices by supplying information, skills, guidance and incitement. In particular we have focused upon the school lunchbox, its construction and the related practices of surveillance, punishment

and reward, as a governmental technology through which certain types of mothers become targets of regulation. We have attempted to locate these pedagogies within a broader governmental assemblage of policy, political and media discourse and the plethora of different agencies that are concerned with school food. School food and the school lunchbox in particular can be regarded as sites where these different elements converge. Through this convergence a complex process of negotiation occurs where alliances are formed, resistance is offered and battles are played out. However, the project of successful government is to ensure that particular governmental imperatives are met, that alignments are forged and resistance is negated in order to enact or rather 'translate' governmental ambitions into practice (Rose, 1999 and 2000).

We suggest that school food pedagogies are essential in achieving the translation of governmental imperatives as pedagogies form 'the various complex of techniques, instruments, measures and programs that endeavours to translate thought into practices and thus actualize political reason' (Inda, 2005: 9). In particular we suggest that school lunchboxes can be regarded translation mechanisms that enable the objectives of government to align with the subjects of government, which in relation to the feeding of children, is generally mothers.

The governmental work that school food pedagogies perform is explicitly moral in that it seeks to encourage subjects to work upon themselves in ways that support particular views of health, consumption and taste and which are tightly bound with concepts of class, gender and what it is to be a 'good mother'. When mothers resist these particular rationalities of government their subjectivity is called into question and found to be deficient. Our brief examination of school lunch box pedagogies and the Battle of Rawmarsh crystallizes the alignment of the school and the media to declare this resistance irrational, immoral, disgusting and unhealthy.

School food pedagogies suggest that choices related to nutrition are unlimited and unbounded, and that they are made rationally. This sets up some mothers 'as less capable, disciplined, intelligent and civilised, even psychologically ill or underequipped to act in ways that 'rational' decent people' know is good for one's health' (Evans et al, 2011: 399). If achieving health is as simple as acquiring knowledge and having the appropriate skills, then this renders mothers who do not comply with the school food agenda as defective citizens who have failed not only in their own moral duty to be well (Greco, 2003), but in their moral duty to secure the health of the next generation.

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Throw your napkin on the floor: Authenticity, culinary tourism, and a pedagogy of the senses

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This article explores the educational objectives of a University of Calgary short-term travel study program (Food Culture in Spain 2011). A combination of secondary research and primary data collected through in-depth interviews with former program participants, as well as student reflective essays written in the field, shows that the sensory experience with food is an important pedagogical tool. Focusing on questions of intentionality, sensory learning, and the meaning of authenticity, we explore the complications inherent in a formal education program built around culinary tourism. We argue that by the end of the three-week program in Spain, students identify as informed culinary tourists who recognize the complexity of authenticity and understand how sensory experiences can inspire and motivate both a bodily and an intellectual understanding of food and their relationship with it.

Introduction

> May 13, 2011. It is Day 5, and our group is in Cordoba, two hours south of Madrid, to visit an old alamazara, an olive oil press in the countryside, and to experience the Arabic and Moorish influences on the food culture of this region. We are staying in a small hotel in the middle of the old town, across the street from the tourist attraction that makes Cordoba famous, the Mezquita. It's an early rise this morning and even at this hour we find ourselves weaving in and out of crowds of tourists. We pass souvenir shops filled with t-shirts and cold drinks. Some students stop to peruse the wares and plan for a return visit later that day, only to have us shepherd them back into line, as the bus is waiting and we cannot be late. We make our way across the bridge connecting the old town to the newer section. The streets in the old town are too narrow for our tour bus to manoeuvre, but this popular tourist town has accounted for that, establishing a tour bus parking area across the bridge where the many groups of tourists can meet their guides. As we board our bus to the Nuñez de Prado olive oil press, we pass at least five other buses, filled to capacity with tour groups of various nationalities and ages. Within five minutes we pass an industrial park, clear the city and are driving through the rolling hills and orchards of Andalucia. Very few cars come this way and the roads are narrow; at points it feels as if the bus won't be able to make the curve. Our group is chatting, watching the scenery from their windows, and making plans for the day ahead. And then the smell hits. At first most students aren't sure what they are smelling -- intense, fruity, only vaguely familiar. But then it dawns on them. It's olive oil. More specifically, it's the smell of olives growing on trees; something that most of them, born and bred in Canada, have never smelled in the raw state. They are shocked. And curious. Some ask, "Are olives a fruit or a vegetable?" A fruit. They grow on trees. "So olive oil is a fruit oil?" Sort of. "Do people drink it?" Yes. Wait until we get to the olive oil press. We'll see. And smell. And taste.

These students were the third group to visit the Nuñez de Prado alamazara with us. Since 2007, we have been co-teaching the University of Calgary's "Food Culture in Spain" group study program.

This three-week travel study program, offered every second year, engages undergraduate students in inquiry-based research, writing, and group presentations on globalisation, culinary tourism, and the popular practices of food production and consumption in Spain. With a group of 27 students and a program assistant, we, the two instructors, travel from western Canada to Spain, where we spend three weeks exploring the country considered by some to be the modern culinary capital of Europe.

The program is intellectually intense, and encourages students to think and feel differently about food; as sustenance, as expression of culture and regional identity, and as a mode of communication. Foremost in our minds, as teachers, is the complexity that lies at the heart of culinary tourism, which has emerged as an enticing and profitable leisure activity throughout the world. Culinary tourism offers the promise of an authentic engagement with another culture; at the same time, as many culinary tourists have seen, it seems to encourage host countries to "package" their food and culture into desirable and palatable "experiences" for tourists. Spain has been extraordinarily successful on this front, establishing itself within popular media as a serious destination for "foodies." It is the site of many well-known experiments in eating: from artisan production, to molecular gastronomy, to Michelin-starred restaurants in off-the-beaten-track locations. It also has entire neighbourhoods – even towns and villages – whose principle *raison d'etre* seems to be an aggressively marketed tourist experience. By organising a group study program around the various (and sometime competing) practices of food and eating in Spain, we endeavour to explore the diversity of Spain's food culture, always questioning, but just as often, embracing, the pleasures and challenges of our experience.

Our program, while quite clearly representative of a constructed, formal learning experience, also makes space for and encourages informal and incidental learning, particularly as inspired by sensory

experience. It is not our goal to romanticise informal or sensory learning; rather, we wish to acknowledge that many students feel discouraged, after years of formal education, from paying attention to their sensory experiences. This romanticisation is difficult to avoid; as Swan (2012: 59) suggests, "Experience, particularly in its emotional and bodily representations is sometimes is sometimes presumed to be un-mediated and un-ideological as emotions and bodies are often thought to be more real, more natural and more true than rationality or cognition." Through assignments, lectures, and discussions, we encourage students to value sensory learning without disproportionately privileging it over cognitive learning; after all, food and eating are integrally connected to the senses. We hope that that on its best days, our program makes a space for students to incorporate sensory learning into their more formal academic work without creating a binary between 'the lived' and 'the studied' or the sensory and the cognitive.

In this paper we utilise a combination of secondary research and primary data collected through written assignments and in-depth, post-program interviews with participants from the 2011 "Food Culture in Spain" program. Through analysis of this data, we aim to highlight how a sensory experience with food can be an important pedagogical strategy that often connects formal and informal learning. Specifically, we wish to explore the following questions: How can the 'intentionality' of culinary tourism be mobilised to foster empowered, critical, reflective learning? In what ways does the desire for an "authentic" food experience motivate learning? Finally, to what extent can sensory experience contribute to a student's understanding of authenticity?

Culinary tourism and authenticity: Defining the terms and reviewing the literature

The first step in understanding the pedagogical significance of a short-term travel study program dedicated to the study of food is a definition of culinary tourism; after all, the role of the tourist is the most prominent role many of the students play while in the field. Culinary tourism and the experience of understanding another culture through food constitute a significant field of inquiry in food studies. Culinary tourism is different from other forms of travelling in that there is a pre-determined motivation for seeking out food experiences. Lucy Long (2004: 21) defines culinary tourism as "the intentional, exploratory participation in the foodways of an other" and she emphasises the "individual as an active agent in constructing meanings within a tourist experience." For Long, culinary tourism cannot be accidental. Intentionality is crucial. In an educational tourism context, it is the intentionality or 'eating with a pedagogical purpose' that can push the tourist from eating as a form of sustenance to eating with a critical eye.

It is important to acknowledge here that the culinary tourist experience cultivated as part of a university degree program of study is distinct from the culinary tourist experience designed for leisure tourists. While there is much overlap between the two groups, we have seen, firsthand, the differences between touring with the primary motivation of pleasure, combined, perhaps, with informal learning, and touring with the joint motivation of pleasure and formal learning in an academic discipline. The motivation for our development of this group study program was a culinary tour we took in 2004 with a group of chefs and culinary students. On that tour, as culinary tourists, we were driven by a desire to see what others don't see, do what others don't do, and eat what others don't eat – classic "food adventuring," in Lisa Heldke's terms (2007). We were aware of the 'risks' of culinary tourism – of slipping into patterns of colonialism

and cultural appropriation that can often accompany a desire, to borrow the words of bell hooks (2000), to "eat the other".

Three years later, when leading our own program in our dual role as guides and teachers, we were driven by similar desires, but those desires were coupled with a deliberate and intentional pedagogical goal. We wanted our students to engage in Long's "intentional exploration" of food and culture, and we coupled that with a requirement for equally intentional scholarly reflection on their experiences. In addition to more traditional assignments such as research papers and seminar presentations, we crafted reflection questions and a reflective final exam based on both the formal components of our program and the informal experiences that students had on their own and in groups. The questions asked students to frame their food and travel experiences in light of their own backgrounds, their upbringing, and the socio-cultural values that have shaped their learning. We hoped that through this intentional exploration, our students could reflect on the hegemonic traditions of culinary tourism while simultaneously embracing the opportunities provided by culinary tourism – to experience, to share, and to interact in thoughtful and meaningful ways.

Jenny Molz (2007: 78) furthers Long's definition of culinary tourism, explaining that, "food acts as a transportable symbol of place and of cultural identity," or a tangible reminder, for the tourist, of a geographic location and experience of culture. Both Long and Molz emphasise that it is not so much the food itself that is an object of cultural experience but rather it is the subject's experience with the food that takes it to a higher level of significant meaning. Food itself does not change depending upon context; a Valencia orange is a Valencia orange, whether it is pulled off a supermarket produce display in Canada or picked directly from a tree in Spain.

For Long and Molz, the meaning or "symbol" of place, culture, and identity lies in the person experiencing the food, who is quite

likely to have a different experience eating the same orange in two very different contexts. Long's "active agent," then, is the key to understanding the effect of culinary tourism, specifically on students who are eating and drinking, not solely for pleasure, but within the formal curriculum requirements of an academic program. Both Long and Molz are relying upon John Urry's notion of the tourist gaze as fundamental to the way culinary tourists intentionally seek out food experiences. Urry (Urry and Larsson, 2011:1-2) suggests, as he did for the first time in 1990, that "the concept of the gaze highlights that looking is a learned ability and the pure and innocent eye is a myth." That "learned ability" is "conditioned by personal experiences and memories framed by rules and styles." Like Long and Molz, Urry sees the subject, or in our case, the student, as the meaning maker, particularly when it comes to making sense of the ways in which their travel experience is framed by their socially constructed understandings of race, class, gender, and other components of identity and community. Our students, as largely white, largely middle-class Canadians, easily fall into the trap of painting the Other with broad strokes; they speak, in advance of our travels, of 'Spanish food,' 'Spanish people,' and 'Spanish culture' as though the differences between Canada and Spain will be far more profound than any differences within Spain -- and as though they, as Canadians, will have a unified cultural experience. We try to complicate these presumptions by asking students to identify and be cognisant of the ways in which their own backgrounds influence their interaction with the Other, as well as the ways in which they see evidence of Othering in the country they are visiting.

The further students get into analysing and unpacking their relationship to food and their role as a tourist, the more determined they become to avoid what they see as the trappings of heavily constructed tourist experiences. They become fixed on the pursuit of what they define as an authentic food experience. Authenticity is a complicated term – not just for undergraduate students studying

food in Spain, but also for those theorists who attempt to define the term for tourism studies. John Taylor (2001: 8) suggests that for a long time, authenticity posed as "objectivism" and that "It [held] the special powers both of distance and of 'truth'." This characterisation of authenticity suggests that the tourist might observe a cultural event and then be filled with some knowledge about a particular culture. With this definition there is very little active engagement between tourist and event, a problem perhaps best described by MacCannell (1973), who suggests that tourists' quests for authentic experiences are frustrating, if not futile. MacCannell utilises Erving Goffman's model of "front stage" and "back stage," where the front of house is the staged tourist 'show' and the back of house is the more 'real' local space. However, MacCannell is doubtful that tourists can find authenticity in either, as the back spaces are often just as staged as the front spaces – something that culinary tourists certainly find as they discover that their special 'all-access' visits to award-winning restaurant kitchens are just as heavily constructed as their experience as guests in the dining room. For MacCannell, there is an illusion of authenticity that will inevitably frustrate tourists if they continue to define a successful tourist experience as one in which they get 'behind the scenes.'

Ning Wang (1999: 364) is perhaps more optimistic than MacCannell, in his analysis of what constitutes an authentic tourist experience, suggesting that "tourists are not merely searching for authenticity of the Other. They also search for the authenticity of, and between, themselves." Wang (1999: 359) calls for tourists to have a conscious sense of self that makes the tourists aware of their own subjectivity within the world:

> Thus, existential authenticity, unlike [an] object-related version, can often have nothing to do with the issue of whether toured objects are real. In search of [a] tourist experience which is existentially authentic, tourists are preoccupied with an existential state of Being activated by certain tourist activities.

For Wang, existential authenticity, or the authenticity of "being," relies on a balance between reason and emotion, and depends on activation by experience -- this is precisely where the daily reflective writing assignments become useful. We are encouraging students to physically and emotionally immerse themselves in experiences, but also to step back and make sense of those experiences by thinking about their own place within them; to reflect upon the ways in which their personal and cultural histories, their values, their beliefs, and their expectations influence their interpretation of any given activity. Our reflective prompts move the focus away from identifying authenticity in the object and toward identifying authenticity in the student's interaction with the object. Wang's notion of existential authenticity is rooted in the conscious relationship between object and subject, making space for students to be part of the construction of an authentic experience, rather than luckily stumbling upon one in a hole-in-the-wall restaurant outside of the touristy areas of a small Spanish town. When students interrogate the relationship between their expectations and their experiences, they begin to understand that their intentional subjective engagement is a better marker of authenticity than any of the objective qualities of the activity in which they participate.

Positioning students as agents in the making of an existentially authentic experience leads directly into our primary goal in our Food Culture travel study program – the entwining of formal, informal, cognitive, and sensory learning. Here, the work of Allison Hayes-Conroy and Jessica Hayes-Conroy (2008) on the role of visceral experience in learning is particularly useful. As the Hayes-Conroys (2008: 465) point out, "…memory, perception, cognitive thinking, historical experience, and other material relations and immaterial forces all intersect with individuals' sensory grasp of the world." For students who have often seen their learning experiences in binary terms (formal/informal, individual/group, mind/body), the intentional enmeshing of these concepts, through our teaching and

through their reflective essays, is an important step in achieving the learning goals set out in this program.

The intentionality of culinary tourism

As program coordinators, curriculum designers, and teachers, we were explicit in our desire and intent to position students as the meaning makers, and to have them approach their travel with intentionality – to be deliberate in acknowledging and challenging their frames of reference, their assumptions, and their observations. In our trip to the olive oil press, students began to see themselves as active constructors of their own experience, rather than people who simply step into pre-existing situations. Instead of walking into a ready-made tourist scenario where information was fed to them unprompted, they were responsible for directing discussion, asking questions, and thinking ahead to the ways in which they might write about the experience. In both reflective writing and interviews, many of the students referred specifically to their intentional adoption of the student-tourist role, suggesting that they wanted to experience events with a depth of awareness that they associated as being distinct from what they understand to be the typical tourist gaze. Students spoke of seeing the student-tourist role as less passive or superficial than the typical tourist role, at least for themselves. Most of them acknowledged that this travel experience was distinctly different than past situations in which they had considered themselves to be leisure tourists. Lauren, a third year Music student, describes her efforts in a post program interview:

> [We were] not just accepting things exactly as you see them, but looking deeper into it. And I am specifically thinking of the olive oil press where we didn't just say "OK, that's how he does it." There were so many questions that people asked… "Oh, why do you do this?" and "How long have you done that for?" and you are just interested in so many other aspects of it and always trying to search for something deeper.

That deliberateness in gaining as much depth of knowledge as possible about the processes and practices of this family-run olive oil press – much like MacCannell's notion of getting "backstage" – was indicative of the attitude of most of the students. We urged students to take advantage of their location, their surroundings, and the opportunity to ask questions of everyone they met. Several of the students talked, months after the program had ended, about how powerfully their own questions and reflections of the field trip played in their memory of the experience.

For Alyssa, a third year Communication Studies student, this experience is a turning point as the students' inquiry-based learning became the subject of their social discussions:

> The field trip that I always remember is going to the olive oil press…we were looking out the window and everyone was like, 'Where are we? This is totally different than anything we have seen before' so it already started off as a new experience and we were all ready to engage with something different than we had before… on the bus ride back we were all talking about that experience the whole time. We didn't start talking about our lives or all that kind of stuff. We really wanted to continue talking about the olive oil press and the different things we learned there and how we were so excited for everyone to try this olive oil.

As teachers, we were entirely aware, on that same bus ride, that this was the first time that we'd heard the students talking about their learning at a time when they weren't 'required' to. It was a moment at which the students' own determination to engage, head-on, with the course content, became obvious. Lauren, in her post-program interview, mentions the field trip to a family-run winery in the Rioja region as another instance in which she wanted to be 'more than' a tourist. In her mind –consciously reflecting on experiences was somehow different than simply racking up experiences for the sake of saying she had done or seen something. She described the realisation that even as she was participating in an activity that she primarily

associates with leisure, she kept thinking "Oh, what would I write about this" or "how would I think about this if I was going to write a reflective paper?" This deliberate reflection became commonplace as the program went on. When students wrote about taste and smell, they began to use more complex language. Instead of describing the taste of a meal as "good" or "bad" or "different," they began to make connections to memory, place, and time. Their reflections demonstrated an intersection of the sensory and the cognitive with increasing complexity throughout the program.

Just as frequently throughout the program, students demonstrated intentionality in the way they spoke of their plans for back home, thinking aloud of ways they might approach their daily life with the intentionality of a culinary tourist. One of the most popular topics of conversation in travel study programs is the comparison to daily life in Canada. But rather than simply noting difference or engaging in simplistic better/worse comparisons, students expressed an explicit desire to take components of their daily lived experience in Spain and find a way to insert these components into their lives at home. In a reflective essay, Lauren speaks of the trip to the olive oil press giving her "a personal connection with the olive oil" and making her "consciously aware of all other products as well." Dena, a third year Communications Studies student, sees her experiences in Spain providing her with "a more fully rounded perspective on how I might attempt to re-create the fullest pleasure of eating when I return home." Perhaps most insightfully, Amy, a fourth year Communications Studies student, writes of her newfound awareness of the relationship she can have with food:

> I have learned that I can't be passive [about food]. If I want good food or healthy food, then I have to take the steps to earn the knowledge. Then I can make informed decisions about what I'm eating, where it's coming from, and is it good for me. Once I have the knowledge, then I have the power, and every time I use it, it is to my advantage. Not only do I have a more "accurate

> consciousness" (Berry, 1992, p. 234), but I will get more pleasure from eating because I know that I am taking the steps to be an informed eater.

Perhaps contrary to their previous travel experiences in which they cordoned off travel time as pleasure-oriented 'special occasion' time, these students were treating their travels as the inspiration for new ways to eat, shop, cook, and engage with their daily lives at home in ways that they hadn't done in their previous travel experiences.

Quest for authenticity: The impossible dream

For the student-tourist – much as for many culinary tourists – there is a pervasive desire to distinguish their travel experience from that of others by seeking out 'authentic' local food. Authenticity, along with being a major theme in our academic inquiry, has become something of a running joke in our travel study program. Months prior to leaving for Spain, students start talking about experiencing 'the authentic food culture of Spain,' and they are convinced that they will avoid the tourist 'traps' and find that little 'hole in the wall' cafe where the 'real' Spanish food is served. They all have different ideas about what is real Spanish food -- *paella, rabo de toro, tapas* -- but finding it is their mission. By midway through the program, their ideas around authenticity have shifted completely. Restaurants outside tourist areas are not instantly, inherently more "authentic" than those in major tourist centres, and some of the best food they eat isn't Spanish at all. They are convinced there is no such thing as authenticity, and like MacCannell suggests, they discover that a search for the authentic food culture of any society is a search fraught with tension and frustration.

Inevitably, by the second week of our three-week program, we have to stage an intervention with our students who have become frustrated and discouraged in their search for authenticity. We ask students to consider Wang's idea of the existential tourist who can participate

in cultivating an authentic experience. We provide prompts that ask students to examine how their responses to an experience might be, as Wang suggests, both rational and emotional, and how delicate that balance can be. We ask them to step back from their experiences, and to critically analyse the socio-cultural influences that inform and shape their initial reactions. From a pedagogical perspective, this is an immeasurably valuable approach to discussing, positioning, and understanding authenticity as it relates to food pedagogy. Students who are actively engaged in finding an authentic food experience while simultaneously being aware of the futility of such a search are students who are critically evaluating their relationship to food by engaging, daily, with food and eating as objects of inquiry rather than simply as products or activities necessary to daily life.

Within days of arriving in Spain, students realise how difficult it is to find anything resembling their pre-conceived notions of 'authentic' Spanish food. Their first trip to Madrid's Plaza Mayor bombards them with placards advertising a popular processed 'OK Paella' being served in most of the plaza's restaurants. In the streets surrounding our hotel in Cordoba, restaurants and cafes all post a 'tourist menu' next to their *menu del dia*, usually consisting of a highly Americanised version of a Spanish main dish, accompanied by French fries and a pre-made dessert. Students feel cheated by this food, and by the assumption that tourists will want a different meal than that which offered to Spaniards. As a consequence, students become increasingly frustrated in their efforts to avoid the tourist label. In a post-program interview, Amy explains the frustration of the early days in the program:

> The word [authentic] came up so much and it was such a struggle for everybody to wrap their head around and all of the different words that went with it, and we were constantly looking into restaurants…. 'well that place can't be authentic, look how many tourists are there, we cannot go there.' And then we would go to the next place, 'well this place has nobody in it, it must be

> authentic' ...I tried so hard when we were there not to be the typical tourist...

Another fourth year Communications Studies student, Lacey, says that authenticity became "an enemy of a word," suggesting that at times, the obsession that she and her friends had with finding authentic meals and experiences "overshadowed our ability to experience pleasure." Erica, a third year Communications Studies student, articulated the frustration best in a reflective essay, saying that "Authenticity is an intangible concept of idealism that we grasp at. It is almost like the more we try to make our experience something authentic, the more it becomes contaminated by well intended, but counteractive efforts."

Our goal was to have students complicate their earliest uses of the word "authentic" and to question what it means to engage, authentically, with a meal, or an experience, or, indeed, with a culture. The purpose of the exercise was not to destroy all pleasure or joy for the students -- on the contrary, it was to help them understand that authenticity was not an objective concept -- that it didn't live in a particular food, or a particular restaurant, but rather, in their emotional, sensory, and thoughtful engagement with an experience. We ask them to try and explain how eating paella in the middle of Plaza Mayor surrounded by other tourists might still be an authentic experience; how authenticity might, as Wang suggests, be located "of and between themselves" rather than in the paella or the plaza. And, so, in the second week of the program, we start talking in more depth about the role that they play in having an authentic experience.

For many students, the olive oil press proved to be an experience that they could eventually embrace as existentially authentic. In this field trip, the students were, for three hours, immersed in the world of a multi-generation family run business, organic long before organic was a buzzword, where catering to tourists was a very low priority. Having come directly from Cordoba, where we were surrounded by

souvenir shops and tourist menus and endless accommodations for throngs of tourists, we now found ourselves in an environment with no promotional materials, no tourist information centre and not even a shop in which to properly display and sell their olive oil. For many of the students, the sudden departure from having everything handed to them made them more interested and engaged in the experience. Amy gave a great deal of thought to the subject, and came up with the following final exam reflection:

> Food can be an incredible insight, but one can't simply eat Spanish food and believe that they better understand the Spanish way of life. For me, our visit to the olive oil press was an authentic experience, and I learned from this trip that this type of authentic experience is particularly important. Actually learning about the history of olive oil, seeing with my own eyes the machine used to make it and hearing the passion and pride in [the owner's] voice has changed the way I look at olive oil forever. I will never be able to go to Safeway and buy the cheapest brand without thinking about how it was made, where it is from, etc. I would never have got such an experience if I had just used olive oil in a restaurant. I know that when I make the decision to research where the olive oil I'm buying is from, when I choose to spend the extra money on a quality product, that I will get more pleasure from what I'm eating because I'll be thinking about how I am supporting a traditional family business like Paco's. That is what I believe an authentic experience is, and why I know it is important.

In the same way that the absence of tourists doesn't inherently render a place or event authentic, the presence of tourists, such as in our visit to the olive oil press, doesn't immediately render an experience inauthentic. When students had the opportunity to touch the olives, see the press, taste the oil, and talk to its producer, they connected with this food experience both cognitively and viscerally, and began to understand the value of learning through both their minds and their senses. This experience is not unmediated; it does not exist, independent of those who visit, as some sort of quintessential, pure, authentic marker of Spanish life and culture. But for many

of our students, this was one of the first moments in which they saw and articulated relationships between their past beliefs and behaviours, their current experience, and their intentions to think and act differently in the future. It would be easy to dismiss this particular field trip as an uncomplicated experience that requires little intellectual interrogation on the part of our students -- this is, after all, precisely the kind of experience that most culinary tourists desperately seek when visiting Spain. But we would argue that the intentional, thoughtful reflection of these students, as they question how and why they understand this experience to be authentic, is precisely what makes the experience existentially authentic. As Theo van Leeuwen (2001: 396) so usefully suggests in his essay on authenticity in discourse, it is our job "to ask, not: 'How authentic is this?', but 'Who takes this as authentic and who does not?'." In our understanding of what authenticity means, no experience, no matter how accessible or how obscure, is inherently authentic. It is the practice or interrogation of the experience in which authenticity resides.

Pedagogy of the senses

It became increasingly clear to us, throughout the duration of our program, that students responded most profoundly and thoughtfully to the experiences in which their senses were really engaged. The first time they tasted a fresh anchovy. The first bite of the salty, paper-thin jamon that Spain is famous for. The mild fruitiness of the olive oil that was poured liberally on most of their meals. The cacophony of voices in a plaza bar, where patrons ranged from newborn to elderly, and no one seemed to seek out a 'quiet table.' The very notion of walking into a crowded bar, eating one perfect bite of food, and throwing their napkins on the floor before moving onto the next stop. We heard about these experiences from students again and again, and it became abundantly clear that this physical, sensual engagement with the food of Spain was coming to define our students' experience.

A travel study program has very little value if it does no more than replicate the practices and purposes of a regular home classroom in the midst of another country. So while we were demanding in our expectations that students read, write, and present as part of the program, it was also crucial to us that they do, see, and feel. The critical and analytical lens of culinary tourism, after all, is not the only way students learn through food. In order to appreciate the pedagogical value of such food-centred study abroad programs we need to understand how the senses play a role in student learning.

Lucy Long (2004:21) highlights the importance of sensory experience in understanding culinary tourism when she encourages "an aesthetic response to food as part of that experience." Other theorists see sensory reactions, specifically taste, as critical to food studies and to a long term memory of experiences of both food and travel. Heldke (2007: 386) suggests that:

> Though it would be hyperbolic and unverifiable to assert that gustatory encounters with the unfamiliar are the most profound perceptual experiences the traveller can have, anecdotal evidence suggests the terrors and delights of the tongue affect so dramatically that their memories remain sharp even years later.

Some might argue that taste and smell are highly subjective and that what is unfamiliar for one person might not be for another. Indeed, many of our students spoke of eating things that were familiar to other people but terrifying for them, like raw meat or a barely-cooked egg. But as Carol Korsmeyer (2007: 8) suggests, senses such as taste can create and activate memories that connect the individual to the historical, the social, and the cultural:

> Tastes are subjective but measurable, relative to culture and to individual, yet shared; fleeting sensations that nonetheless endure over many years in memory; transient experiences freighted with the weight of history. And finally tastes can provide entertainment

> and intellectual absorption, both when they are experienced in the act of eating and drinking…

As our students spent more and more time immersing themselves in the food culture of the various regions of Spain, they became increasingly liberated in the language they used to describe experiences, challenging their comfort zones in academic writing. Instead of relying exclusively on carefully considered and deliberate references to academic articles, students started to also speak and write of the sensual pleasures of their experiences, and the simultaneous fear and delight that can come with sensory excitement. A student who had been quite conservative in her writing in the early days of the program spoke, later, of a dinner we had shared, remembering "the fresh, cold saltiness of the tuna tartare" and "the tangy sweetness of the raspberry sorbet." Another told the story of being in a pintxos bar in San Sebastian, where a particularly elaborate array of food was displayed on the counter, only to catch a glimpse, out of the corner of her eye, of another student's purse-sized bottle of hand sanitizer perched amidst the gorgeous display of food -- for her, this was a perfect visual juxtaposition of the culture shock that some students had experienced in Spain. In a striking echo of the Hayes-Conroys' reference to intersection between the visceral and the cognitive, Lacey recalls the sensory experiences at the olive oil press to explain what she called a difference between "head sense" and "heart sense":

> When I reflect on that day, very little of what I recall is 'head.' All I remember is the oranges and the olive oil. The handshake that I got from [the owner]…the graciousness that we felt from him. That's not really a head sense but it is a heart sense. The smell of walking in the room where they did the press. The feel of the rope circles that they squished olives in between. Still to this day a whole year later that kind of nylon-y rope, anything that looks or feels like that reminds me of that day…

She goes on to talk about how up until then, authenticity had felt like a joke, but that at this point, everyone "just got it". For her, it was the sensory experience that made things 'real' and allowed her to move

from feeling like a self-conscious tourist into feeling a connection to the food culture of Spain.

Many students spoke of their sensory experience with food in Spain being a turning point in seeing the value of eating for pure pleasure instead of simply nourishment or habit. Upon her first visit to a popular and crowded tapas bar in a small town in the Rioja region, Maia, a third year Communications Studies student, writes:

> ...anticipation met its mark in my first visit to Asador Sagartoki. All of the passion and pleasure was immediately evident in the restaurant, redefining my notion of culture entirely. The seemingly careless ease with which the servers produced food, slinging bites from counter to plate while jet streams of cider shot from the walls behind them brought to light Bourdain's notion of "terrorizing" one bar after another...I can identify with the notion of being terrified; my experiences eating in Vitoria and in San Sebastian comprise the most uncomfortable and yet amazing eating of my life. The tapas culture requires that you work for your food, but rewards you with unending tidbits of delicious (yet unexpected) combinations. This feeling of having my comfort zone challenged was essential to shifting my perspective on consumer consciousness and the pleasures of eating. Being so involved in the process, fighting to get up to the bar, shouting to order, without knowing what you are getting, even keeping track of your own bill, puts an onus and responsibility on the diner that sharpened my perspective and made me appreciate my food, and the pleasure of eating, all the more.

Her description of the physical experience of the bar -- slinging food, shooting cider, fighting to get to the bar, shouting to order -- these sensory experiences were entirely unfamiliar to most of our Canadian students, for whom busy, crowded bars were usually for drinking and dancing, not eating, and restaurants tended to be a decidedly more sedate environment. The sensory overload created by the tapas bars of Northern Spain challenged our students' understanding of food culture in a way that made them feel – however temporarily – like part of Spanish life.

Conclusion

The experience of studying the food culture of another country (much like the experience of traveling abroad with a group of university students) is fraught with complexity. As instructors, we endeavour to help our students see the importance of a pedagogy of the senses – one that values and complicates their sensory experiences. We know that in doing so, we run the risk of romanticising sensory education as somehow more "natural" or "pure" than cognitive learning (Swan 2012; Hayes-Conroy 2008). This is not our goal. To be sure, we are driven by a desire to see our students stop dismissing their senses a something separate from cognition – to think about how taste and sound and smell, for instance, can inspire and motivate both a bodily and an intellectual understanding of food and their relationship with it. We would never suggest that sensory learning is any less racialised, or classed, or gendered than cognitive learning; indeed, we talk about precisely these issues regarding the social construction of sensory experience on a daily basis throughout the program. While many of our students, in their early reflective writing, are producing "middle-class epiphanies"[2] framed by Western narratives of food, travel, and authenticity, they are also providing entry into a more complex interrogation of what – and how – they know.

Throughout their travels and studies, our students struggle, much as we do in this article, to make sense of authenticity. There is a great temptation -- among tourists, among students, and Thanks to Elaine Swan for this phrase.indeed, among academics, to settle on a tidy definition of authenticity that can provide satisfaction to the traveller in search of authentic experiences. But such a tidy definition is virtually impossible, and, in our minds, ultimately dissatisfying, erasing the nuances that make authenticity interesting. As Wang (1999: 353) so usefully suggests, it is crucial to recognise that "authenticity is not a matter of black or white, but rather involves a much wider spectrum, rich in ambiguous colors. That which is judged as inauthentic or staged authenticity by experts, intellectuals, or elite may be experienced as authentic and real from an emic perspective--

2 Thanks to Elaine Swan for this phrase.

this may be the very way that mass tourists experience authenticity." This notion of a spectrum of authenticity is exceptionally valuable for us as teachers -- it provides us with an entryway to problematise the more "obviously" or stereotypically authentic experience of the olive oil press, as well as to invite reflection on how eating a Big Mac in the midst of the walled city of Toledo might be an equally authentic experience.

We would argue that food is a powerful, but not uncomplicated, pedagogical tool in the process of student learning, where both the mind and the body are simultaneously engaged in understanding crucial components of communication and culture. As culinary tourists, students are critically engaged with the food culture of Spain, but as sensory beings they are also individually challenged as they experience food and eating with a deliberate awareness of both sensory and cognitive experiences. Our students became aware of their own power to create meaning in experiences, recognising that critical analysis and intentional reflection can be applied to even the most quotidian moments of their travels -- the sensory experiences that they have often taken for granted. Finally, with time and seemingly endless discussion, they come to understand authenticity as a process of engagement between subject and object -- as a means, rather than an end.

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A critical race and class analysis of learning in the organic farming movement

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The purpose of this paper is to add to a growing body of literature that critiques the whiteness of the organic farming movement and analyse potential ramifications of this if farmers are to be understood as educators. Given that farmers do not necessarily self-identify as educators, it is important to understand that in raising this critique, this paper is as much a challenge the author is extending to herself and other educators interested in food sovereignty as it is to members of the organic farming movement. This paper draws from the author's personal experiences and interest in the small-scale organic farming movement. It provides a brief overview of this movement, which is followed by a discussion of anti-racist food scholarship that critically assesses the inequities and inconsistencies that have developed as a result of hegemonic whiteness within the movement. It then demonstrates how a movement of Indigenous food sovereignty is emerging parallel to the organic farming movement and how food sovereignty is directly

related to empowerment through the reclamation of cultural, spiritual, and linguistic practices. Finally, it discusses the potential benefits of adult educators interested in the organic farming movement linking their efforts to a broader framework of food sovereignty, especially through learning to become better allies with Indigenous populations in different parts of the world.

Introduction

Following the completion of my doctoral studies in 2007, I sought out an opportunity to work on a small organic farm. As some readers might understand, at that particular moment in time I felt strongly compelled to be outdoors, away from my computer, getting my hands dirty, and working out the rigidity that had developed in my body through the writing process. I also believed that knowledge of to grow my own food was important to learn in light of multiple, interrelated global tragedies, including the global economic crisis, environmental degradation and climate change, all of which result in concerns for food security.

Through interactions working side by side in the field, over meals, or at farmers' markets, I learned about the daily operations of this particular farm: the technical details of growing food, as well as the importance of local agriculture, permaculture, the organic certification process, crop diversity, soil health, seed saving, irrigation, food security, human working conditions, animal welfare, and more. Together with other employees, apprentices, volunteer visitors on working holidays from around the world, children, and their friends, I gained a range of new perspectives from the planting and harvesting of crops to the politics, philosophy, and aesthetics behind the organic farming movement—not to mention the business of selling organic vegetables. As I reflected elsewhere:

> In my experience, conversations [on the farm] were as rich as any graduate level classroom, and, for me, they provided a safe space to ask questions, share my own knowledge and observations from an outside perspective, and get to know previously unexplored elements of my physical strength and identity. The key difference was that these conversations simultaneously engaged my body as well as my heart and mind, allowed me to experience the seasons more fully, and solidified theory into practice through the everyday actions of the farm. (Etmanski, in press, para 19).

Throughout my doctoral work I had explored, among other topics, principles of adult learning, community leadership, and social justice through intersectional analyses of power and privilege. As knowledge is wont to do, these topics informed my experience while I worked on the farm and continue to inform me to this day. Linked to my background in adult education, I have recently begun reflecting on the informal learning that occurs in the context of the small-scale organic farming movement. This kind of learning can be characterized as occurring "informally and incidentally, in people's everyday lives" (Foley, 1999: 1) by people inside of social movements as well as those observing from the outside (Hall & Clover, 2005). I recently documented these reflections in a chapter examining the learning-centred role of farms and farmers in the organic farming movement (Etmanski, in press).

Yet, as I continue to contemplate this topic, the critical adult educator in me is curious to understand what opportunities exist to more explicitly link a social justice perspective (in particular, an anti-racist and Indigenous Rights perspective) to the small-scale organic farming movement in general and to my home community more specifically. Moreover, as documented in my forthcoming chapter mentioned above, while my experience was that learning certainly happens informally and incidentally through daily interactions, during my time on the farm, I also learned that intentional educational efforts also take place within the organic farming community. These

include organized networks for internship and apprenticeship called Worldwide Opportunities on Organic Farms (WWOOF) and Stewards of Irreplaceable Land (SOIL). While none of the farmers with whom I worked self-identified primarily as educators, the natural corollary of people seeking out learning experiences on farms is that farmers do play an educational role in raising awareness—not only about the techniques used to grow food, but also in the politics of food security.

In light of these recent reflections, the purpose of this paper is to add to a growing body of literature that critiques the whiteness of the organic farming movement and analyse potential ramifications of this if farmers are to be understood as educators. Given that farmers do not necessarily self-identify as educators, it is important to understand that in raising this critique, this paper is as much a challenge I am extending to myself and other educators interested in food sovereignty as it is to members of the organic farming movement. To develop this critique, I open with a brief overview of the organic farming movement, followed by a discussion of anti-racist food scholarship that critically assesses the inequities and inconsistencies that have developed as a result of hegemonic whiteness within the movement. I then demonstrate how a movement of Indigenous food sovereignty is emerging parallel to the organic farming movement and discuss the potential benefits of adult educators within this movement linking their efforts to a broader framework of food sovereignty, especially amongst Indigenous populations in different parts of the world.

The organic farming movement

As I have described elsewhere (Etmanski, in press), the organic farming movement has emerged largely in response to current industrial agriculture practices around the world. The list of social, economic, and environmental problems – indeed some would say crises – associated with the dominant agricultural paradigm

is extensive. To name but a few examples: the extensive use of natural gas and oil in fertilizers, pesticides, farming infrastructure, machinery, and food transportation (particularly in the face of Peak Oil); damages associated with growing mono-crops, cash crops, and agro-fuels; depletion of soils and rainforests, as well as groundwater pollution leading to oceanic 'dead zones'; displacement of Indigenous peoples and other unethical treatment of both humans and animals; subsidies and product dumping, which create an increasingly unequal global marketplace; and finally, the multiple ways in which industrial agriculture contributes to Climate Change. Many challenges stem from the technological and chemical changes to agriculture during the Green Revolution, which ultimately "proved to be unsustainable as it damaged the environment, caused dramatic loss of biodiversity and associated traditional knowledge, [favoured] wealthier farmers, and left many poor farmers deeper in debt" (Altieri, 2009: 102). P. C. Kesavan and S. Malarvannan (2010) suggested that "today, it is widely acknowledged that the 'yield gains' associated with the green revolution of the 1960s and 1970s have tapered off largely because of deterioration in the structure, quality and fertility of the soil" (p. 908). In addition, the spread of patent-protected, fertilizer-dependent seeds through neo-liberal globalization policies has created debt and dependency on foreign aid amongst poor farmers around the world (Altieri, 2009: 103). The use of certain pesticides in treating seeds was recently linked to the worldwide decline of the honeybee population (Krupke, Hunt, Eitzer, Andino & Given, 2012), and scientists have been calling for further investigation into links between the general use of pesticides or herbicides and the occurrence of cancer in both children (Hoar Zahm & Ward, 1998) and adults (Dich, Hoar Zahm, Hanberg & Adami, 1997). The list goes on.

People in many parts of the world have been taking action at both the local and global level to resist and transform the dominant agricultural system. In North America, the drive to support local, organic agriculture and eat in season produce (thereby reducing

the environmental impact of transportation over long distances) is gaining momentum through such bestselling books as Michael Pollan's, *In Defense of Food* (2008) and *The Omnivore's Dilemma* (2006), as well as through popular documentary films such as, *Food Inc.* (Kenner, 2008; helpfully critiqued by Flowers & Swan, 2011). The gap between food producers and consumers is also narrowing through such food-centred movements as the 100-Mile Diet (Smith & MacKinnon, 2007), or the international Slow Food Movement, which promotes good, clean, and fair food for all (e.g. see Slow Food Canada, 2012). In parallel, the number of organic farms in Canada is on the rise, particularly in the province of British Columbia, which grew from 154 certified producers in 1992, to 430 in 2001 (MacNair, 2004: 10). The Certified Organic Associations of BC (COABC, 2012) lists 68 certified organic farms on Vancouver Island (where I live) and the surrounding Gulf Islands—and this number is complemented by an abundance of non-certified farms, farms in transition, and backyard, community, or school gardens (LifeCycles, 2012).

Anti-racist food scholarship

Despite this growing movement around food and organic farming anti-racist food justice scholars such as Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman (2011) have suggested that the North American alterative food movement "may itself be something of a monoculture" (p. 2). These authors' critique is sadly ironic given the widely held adverse opinion of mono-cropping practices within the small-scale organic food movement. It is particularly problematic in my home context since Canadians have long grappled with the concepts of multiculturalism and diversity. The Canadian Multicultural Act (Canada, 1985), for example, is an attempt to promote equity and equality amongst people of all cultural backgrounds. Yet, proponents of critical race theory have suggested that the rhetoric surrounding multiculturalism and diversity has become so powerful that it can render the majority of Canadians ignorant to current and real

interpersonal and structural acts of racism. Sherene Razack (1998) suggested that the denial of racism has become "integral to white Canadian identity" (p. 11) while Jo-Ann Lee and John Lutz (2005) further contended that "liberal multiculturalism does not address racism systematically, because racism is viewed as an individual pathology and not seen as part of the social order" (p.17). In this way, many Canadians (among others) have a tendency to either deny that discrimination exists, or view the results of interconnected ideologies of discrimination (Miles, 1989) as the anecdotal actions on behalf of ignorant individuals rather than systemic outcomes. Nevertheless, as will be discussed here, the so-called 'whiteness' of the North American organic food movement has not gone unnoticed, an observation that reflects my own experience of the local organic farming movement as well.

In their edited compilation entitled, *Cultivating Food Justice*, Alkon and Agyeman weave together fifteen chapters outlining the various ways in which race and class are implicated or ignored in just conceptions of food sustainability. Topics range from legal regulation surrounding some Chinese immigrants' agricultural practices (Minkoff-Zern, Peluso, Sowerwine, & Getz, 2011) and hunger or food insecurity amongst farm workers' in mainstream agriculture (Brown & Getz, 2011), to farmland ownership amongst Black Nationalist religious organizations (McCutcheon, 2011) and resisting or breaking mainstream stereotypes of ('white') veganism (Harper, 2011). Rachel Slocum further outlined the multiple lenses through which scholars are viewing "the intricacies of race, power and food" (2007: 520), which echo many of the topics mentioned above. These include, but are not limited to: the racial politics of various foods; food, identity, and nationalism; representations of difference via food; the roles of racialised groups in food production (e.g. in terms of agricultural knowledge and labour); colonialism, neo-colonialism, and settler society in global food circuits; the meanings of food consumption for differently located people in the spaces of body, home, community

and nation; and, finally, the racialised aspects of organic food production as well as the social movement (outlined above) in which this food production is embedded. Due to space constraints, I will not go into detail on each of these topics here, but interested readers could see Slocum (2007) for a list of useful references.

The overwhelming consensus among these authors is that the alternative food movement is dominated by a Euro-white membership that promotes ecologically-friendly, ethical food while—with a sense of tragic irony—largely ignoring racialised injustices, "an omission which reflects its adherents' race and class privilege" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011: 331). Said differently, and particularly in relation to a U.S.-based community food security coalition, "the movement's whiteness has been brought up at every annual conference" (Slocum, 2006: 331). My own whiteness, and that of many people involved in the local food movement where I live, reflects this reality as well—a reality that provides the impetus for writing this paper.

As a result, although the alternative food movements may intend to promote ethical food practices, in practice sometimes normative assumptions based on dominant values are perpetuated through a lack of reflexivity around privilege. These may include unquestioned narratives that (a) ethical food necessarily must cost more and (b) *if only people knew* what was in their food and the unethical means by which it is produced, they/we would change their/our habits (Guthman, 2011). In flagging these assumptions, Guthman is not dismissing the global trade policies and processes through which certain foods are inequitably regulated or subsidized (expanded upon by Holt-Giménez, 2011); rather, she is suggesting that by uncritically accepting that ethical food *unfortunately but necessarily costs more* we limit our imagination and ability to argue for ethical food for all. Moreover, our motivations for eating the way we do are far more complex than the 'if only they knew' narrative would suggest (see also Flowers & Swan, 2011).

Because they are dominant, such assumptions, values, and norms typically go unquestioned, unnamed, and unnoticed by those in positions of relative social power—an absent centre "with the power to define itself only in terms of what it designates its opposites" (Pajaczkowska & Young, 1992:202). Said differently, whiteness presides as "the unmarked category against which difference is constructed, whiteness never has to speak its name, never has to acknowledge its role as an organizing principle in social and cultural relations" (Lipsitz, 2002: 61-62). According to Brenda McMahon whiteness includes at least three layers: (2) the physical, phenotypal characteristics and limited skin pigmentation associated with Western Europeans, (2) the social privilege associated with dominant, Euro-Western cultural norms, and (3) the unarticulated beliefs, policies, and practices that maintain the status quo and reproduce power amongst 'white' people and those who have more closely assimilated to 'white' cultural practices (2007: 687). Julie Guthman further proposed that "the unconscious habits of white privilege are in some respects more pernicious than the explicit racism of white supremacy because [they are] not examined" (2011: 266). As the 'if only they knew' narrative implies, when such assumptions are left unexamined, even well-intentioned individuals and movements for social justice risk unconsciously measuring others against these unarticulated expectations. In so doing, they unintentionally reproduce the discriminatory practices they may have sought to overcome.

All this is not to say that people of colour do not participate in the alternative food movement; indeed various streams of the movement exist and people participating within them are diverse as suggested by Priscilla McCutcheon (2011) and A. Breeze Harper (2011) above. However, proponents of alternative food practices and other educators ought to be mindful not to misconstrue the challenge as "a diversity problem rather than as a relational process embedded in society that constitutes community food" (Slocum, 2006: 331). In other words, since whiteness is hegemonic in North America,

the alternative food movements located therein reflect this cultural hegemony. Food justice must therefore be analysed through a more intersectional lens that includes an understanding of structural racism and classism instead of individual acts of exclusion or racism alone (Holt-Giménez, 2011: 319). This somewhat paradoxically locates the organic farming movement as both alternative and mainstream at once, suggesting that in fact there are multiple, loosely related, occasionally overlapping movements underway. For the remainder of this paper, when I refer to the organic farming movement I am referring to this mainstream, Euro-white alternative food movement, to differentiate it from the Indigenous1 food movement discussed below.

Indigenous Food Sovereignty (IFS)

Despite the current surge of interest in local, organic foods, colonialism came close to destroying the Indigenous food systems – and the Indigenous peoples – of Canada. As Ball described, Indigenous people in Canada have "withstood the near destruction of their populations, social structures, and cultures as a result of colonial interventions" (2005: 3). These colonial interventions have included violent acts of warfare, exposure to diseases, segregation and restriction of travel through a system of land reservations, forced sterilization, forced confinement of Indigenous children in government sponsored Residential Schools, and social policies that promoted the legal adoption of Indigenous children into white families (Ball, 2005). Through a recent Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "the government now recognizes that the consequences of the Indian Residential Schools policy were profoundly negative and that this policy has had a lasting and damaging impact on Aboriginal culture, heritage and language" (Regan, 2010: 1). Nevertheless, the legacy of these policies has an ongoing impact not only on culture, heritage, and language, but also on food.

Over the past few decades, rates of chronic, non-communicable diseases such as obesity, type II diabetes, heart disease, and some forms of cancer have been rising disproportionately amongst Indigenous peoples (Damman, Eide, & Kuhnlein, 2008; Milburn, 2004; Power, 2008; Waziyatawin Wilson, 2004; Whiting & Mackenzie, 1998). "Canada's Aboriginal people, for example, have rates of diabetes some three times the national average and higher rates of other chronic diseases" (Milburn, 2004: 414). These diseases are directly attributed to the ongoing effects of colonization and the Westernization of Indigenous populations worldwide, which means that changes "in diets, patterns of work and leisure have occurred with industrialization, urbanization, economic development, and the globalization of markets" (Damman, Eide, & Kuhnlein, 2008: 135). These dramatic lifestyle changes have resulted in a 'nutrition transition' away from traditional foods (sometimes called wild or country foods) toward highly refined and processed store-bought foods.

Factors influencing the decline of traditional food intake amongst Indigenous people include but are not limited to:

- increasing availability of Western foods, including in some cases culturally inappropriate food aid (e.g. the 'boxes of hope' distributed amongst poor Kolla and Jujuy households in Argentina, see Damman, Eide, & Kuhnlein, 2008);
- migration to urban centres where people are more apt to join the mainstream economy while adapting to urban lifestyles, leaving less time to fish, hunt, or gather traditional foods. This also results in fewer opportunities for knowledge transmission from elders to the next generations and weakening social bonds of reciprocity in the exchange of traditional foods;
- appropriation of traditional territories by governments and corporations, creating displacement from and declining access to land;

- decreased overall knowledge of traditional food practices due to the legacy of colonial education, including government supplied nutrition guides (e.g. those that recommend milk to lactose intolerant populations, see Milburn, 2004);
- effects of TV advertising and marketing of not only Western foods, but also of Western lifestyle;
- contaminants found in some traditional foods (e.g. mercury in fish and marine mammals, which are important staples in the Inuit diet in the Canadian North; see Chan & Receveur, 2000), as well as animal extinction and changing migratory patterns due to climate change; and finally,
- feelings of shame and cultural inferiority associated with eating traditional foods, especially amongst youth.

This last point is linked to Fanon's (1967) concept of internalized racism, where individuals outside the dominating culture, particularly colonized peoples, begin to accept the barrage of racist messages in their environment and come to believe that their differences from the dominant group truly are deficits or weaknesses.

For these and many other reasons, Indigenous leaders, scholars, and activists such as Waziyatawin Angela Wilson argue that:

> as Indigenous knowledge is revalued and revived, our people become stronger and we fuel our capacity for meaningful resistance to colonization. Indeed, across Canada and in various parts of the world, Indigenous peoples are mobilizing to promote, protect and, in some cases, reclaim pre-colonial practices related to food (Baskin, 2008; Milburn, 2004; Waziyatawin Wilson, 2004). The importance of this work, then, cannot be overstated; the recovery of Indigenous knowledge is Indigenous empowerment" (2004: 371).

Food, therefore, cannot be viewed in isolation from other forms of Indigenous knowledge. Instead, it must be understood holistically in the context of interdependent relationships between land, language, culture, arts and crafts, health, spirituality, lifestyle, and general ways

of being in the world. The movement of Indigenous food sovereignty therefore strengthens Indigenous people's "ability to respond to our own needs for healthy, culturally adapted Indigenous foods" (Indigenous Food Systems Network, n.d., section on Indigenous Food Sovereignty, para. 1).

Though the language of food sovereignty may be current, the practices, knowledge, values, and wisdom necessary to maintain both autonomy from the industrial agricultural system and healthy, respectful relations with the land are not new. For example, the Indigenous Food Systems Network promotes four principles based in traditional knowledge that are related to food sovereignty:

> **Sacred or divine sovereignty:** Food is a gift from the Creator; in this respect the right to food is sacred and cannot be constrained or recalled by colonial laws, policies and institutions. Indigenous food sovereignty is fundamentally achieved by upholding our sacred responsibility to nurture healthy, interdependent relationships with the land, plants and animals that provide us with our food.
>
> **Participatory:** IFS is fundamentally based on "action", or the day to day practice of maintaining cultural harvesting strategies. To maintain Indigenous food sovereignty as a living reality for both present and future generations, continued participation in cultural harvesting strategies at all of the individual, family, community and regional levels is key.
>
> **Self-determination:** The ability to respond to our own needs for healthy, culturally adapted Indigenous foods. The ability to make decisions over the amount and quality of food we hunt, fish, gather, grow and eat. Freedom from dependence on grocery stores or corporately controlled food production, distribution and consumption in industrialized economies.
>
> **Policy:** IFS attempts to reconcile Indigenous food and cultural values with colonial laws and policies and mainstream economic activities. IFS thereby provides a restorative framework for policy reform in forestry, fisheries, rangeland, environmental

conservation, health, agriculture, and rural and community development. (See listing for Indigenous Food Systems Network in references.)

While these four guiding principles provide a framework for Indigenous food sovereignty (in Canada), they are related in purpose if not by signature to a global Indigenous and peasant-based movement for food sovereignty referred to as *La Via Campesina* (2012) or the peasant road (see also Aurelie Desmarais, 2007; Borras, Jr., 2008; Martínez-Torres & Rosset, 2010; Torrez, 2011). This movement constitutes a transnational "peasant-led network that has grown to represent 200 million farmers in 70 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the Americas, and encompassing approximately 150 local and national organizations" (Etmanski, in press, para 8). Every country's right to autonomous decision-making power over agricultural policy, in consultation with peasants and Indigenous peoples is a key element of the *Via Campesina* movement (Schuurman, 1995).

As mentioned above, since multiple, occasionally overlapping food movements exist, the extent to which these global actions to promote Indigenous Food Sovereignty are understood within the more mainstream elements of the organic farming movement are unknown. In my experience of this movement, I have learned about the structures (e.g. corporate interests in unjust global trade policies) that give rise to the dominant agricultural system, but rarely have I had conversations about the acts of racism that permitted the near decimation of the original inhabitants of the on which we now farm. Certainly, some farmers actively promote this kind of analysis, for example, a grassroots group in this region, the Rainbow Chard Collective, makes reference to *La Via Campesina* and argues that their own "work as food activists is not done until it is made accessible to all" (Rainbow Chard Collective, March, 2011, n.p.). Although these larger struggles for food sovereignty are directly linked to the political context of the organic farming movement, whether or not

the privilege of whiteness precludes awareness of these struggles is a topic that merits more research.

Food as a potential means of solidarity

Although the organic farming movement and Indigenous food sovereignty movement are fundamentally related through their focus on food, with proponents no doubt intersecting and overlapping to some extent, they appear to be emerging on parallel rather than deeply interconnected trajectories. While some scholars have (cautiously) suggested that organic farmers' knowledge *is* a form of Indigenous knowledge (Sumner, 2008), others have proposed "that it is essential to open an inquiry into sustainable food practices that do not operate in opposition to, but rather *autonomously* from the mainstream foods movement" (Mares & Peña, 2011: 200). As described above, since reclaiming Indigenous food systems is an act of self-determination, empowerment, and resistance to ongoing racism and the effects of colonization, the movement for Indigenous food sovereignty will likely continue gaining momentum on a parallel course to the organic farming movement. My intention, therefore, is not to suggest that Indigenous Food Sovereignty become subsumed under the organic food movement.

Yet, in returning to the question of what opportunities exist to more explicitly link an intersectional social justice perspective (in particular, an anti-racist and Indigenous Rights perspective) to the small-scale organic farming movement, Alison Hope Alkon and Julian Agyeman put forward a very practical stance. They have called for solidarity of effort by virtue of the relatively privileged members of the organic farming movement seeing "the low-income communities and communities of color most deeply harmed by industrial agriculture as potential allies" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011: 332). Otherwise stated, "if activists in the food movement are to go beyond providing alternatives and truly challenge agribusiness's destructive power, they

will need a broad coalition of supporters" (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011: 4; see also Mares & Peña, 2011). Respectful engagement will no doubt mean moving beyond a superficial or aesthetic desire to become more diverse, toward a critically reflexive relationship based on mutual learning, not to mention a level of tolerance for the imperfect politics of solidarity (DuPuis, Harrison, & Goodman, 2011). In my community, this will also involve unsettling the settler (Regan, 2010) through a recognition that the organic farming movement exists by virtue of settlement on unceded Indigenous lands.

Said differently, this call for solidarity across difference is reflected in Vandana Shiva's (2005) work to demonstrate the symbolic link between the longstanding practice of seed saving to maintain biodiversity and the inherent value of human diversity. She argued that:

> The seeds being pushed to extinction carry within them seeds of other ways of thinking about nature, and other ways of fulfilling our needs. [...] Cultivating and conserving diversity is no luxury in our times. It is a survival imperative. It is the pre-condition for freedom for all. In diversity, the smallest has a place and a role, and allowing the small to flourish becomes the real test of freedom. (Shiva, 2005: 94).

As such, not only does solidarity across difference offer a broader coalition of support against the practices of industrial agriculture, in these times where we are faced with increasingly complex socio-economic and ecological challenges, the value of not only remembering, but working together to actively regenerate diverse knowledges cannot be underestimated.

Nevertheless, as farmers and educators in the organic farming movement finds an appropriate balance between respecting autonomy and seeking ways of working in solidarity across difference, it will also be useful to understand that not all knowledge is meant to be shared with all people at all times. "This notion of knowledge-

sharing, or a freely accessible knowledge commons is itself a euro-centric assumption" (Corntassel & Gaudry, in press). This means that Elders and knowledge-keepers may choose the conditions under which certain knowledge can and will be shared. Members of the organic farming movement who seek to work across difference must respect this fundamental right to autonomy and desire to protect knowledges that were nearly decimated through colonial practices.

Conclusion

This paper has aimed to raise awareness amongst educators interested in learning through the organic farming movement, by suggesting that we ought to attend more explicitly to the politics of race, class, and other dimensions of power and privilege embedded in this movement. The critique presented here represents an area of potential growth not only for farmers, but also for consumers of organic or alternative foods. However, responsibility to critically examine the embedded Eurocentric assumptions of this movement and work to mitigate the detrimental outcomes of such assumptions extends far beyond the role of farmers and consumers, especially as farmers themselves are often facing economic constraints (Pilgeram, 2011; Tunnicliffe, 2011). Those of us who self-identify as educators, including me, have a role to play in raising awareness and creating an infrastructure of support for deepening the anti-racist and class analysis within the organic or alternative food movement. This analysis includes acknowledging that although members of this movement may be struggling against the detrimental effects of industrial agriculture worldwide, many of us are simultaneously benefitting from the privilege of whiteness. Moreover, this privilege is not necessarily perpetuated by individual acts of racism, though they may of course occur. Rather the legacy of colonialism has created and maintained structural injustice for Indigenous peoples in many parts of the world, injustice perpetuated through reduced access to healthy, culturally appropriate foods. As Indigenous peoples fight for

sovereignty, not only of food, but of cultural, linguistic, and spiritual practices that serve to regenerate their health, adult educators committed to the goal of food justice have an opportunity to learn how to become better allies.

Notes

1 In line with Waziyatawin Wilson, I am giving preference to the word "Indigenous" over other terminology such as First Nations, Aboriginal Peoples, American Indians and so on, "because of the implicit notion of coming from the land and being of the land, [which supports] a political declaration about [Indigenous peoples'] claims to the land" (2004: 371).

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Food pedagogies in Japan: From the implementation of the Basic Law on Food Education to Fukushima

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Japan's Basic Law on Food Education (Shokuiku kihonhō) was enacted in June 2005 as a response to various concerns related to food and nutrition, such as food scandals, an increase in obesity and lifestyle-related diseases and an assumed loss of traditional food culture. The Law defines food education (shokuiku) rather vaguely as the acquisition of knowledge about food and the ability to make appropriate food choices. In this paper, my focus is the impact of shokuiku on discourses about food safety in relation to the nuclear disaster. I will address the following problems: Firstly, the assumption that 'domestic food products are the safest in the world'; secondly, the power relations between municipal authorities, producers and consumers in Japan; and thirdly, the question of whether food pedagogies can adequately address food safety concerns after the Fukushima nuclear disaster. I argue that, although the Basic Law offers a holistic approach to food in theory,

with its focus on nutrition and the emphasis on domestic food, food pedagogies, practiced according to the Basic Law cannot adequately deal with the food safety problems that Japanese consumers face after the Fukushima nuclear accident. Because of the ignorance regarding food safety issues from official sides, Japanese consumers are left with a lack of awareness for these issues. Therefore, stakeholders who are not included in the state's shokuiku campaign, such as consumer co-ops and Civil Radioactivity Measurement Stations try to provide knowledge about food to enable Japanese consumers to make appropriate food choices.

Introduction

In March 2011, Northern Japan was hit by a triple disaster – earthquake, tsunami and nuclear catastrophe – that killed almost 19.000 people and left Japan with the worst nuclear catastrophe since Chernobyl. The aftermath of this nuclear crisis especially threatens the safety of domestic food products. When the nuclear disaster at the power plant Fukushima Daiichi occurred in March 2011, large amounts of radioactive materials were released into the atmosphere and into the sea and groundwater. Only a few days after the accident, radioactive iodine was discovered in vegetables and milk. Today, caesium in food poses the largest problem to farmers from Fukushima and its neighbouring prefectures, as well as to consumers in the entire country. The Japanese government set provisional safety levels in late March 2011, which were revised and lowered in April 2012. The exposure limits for caesium in normal food, such as vegetables, grain or meat, were lowered from 500 Becquerel per kilogram to 100 Bq/kg (MHLW, 2012). More than one year after the nuclear disaster, irradiated food detected still exceeds old and new safety standards (*Mainichi Shinbun* 29.03.2012).

In April 2005, the Basic Law on Food Education (*shokuiku kihonhō*) was enacted. This was against the background of various concerns related to food and nutrition, such as numerous food safety scandals, an increase in obesity and lifestyle-related diseases, and the fear of the loss of traditional food culture. It was developed by the Cabinet Office (Naikakufu) in co-operation with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) and the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW). In 2006, the Diet passed a five-year Basic Plan for the Promotion of Food Education (*shokuiku suishin kihon keikaku*). In 2011, the second Basic Plan was released.

Shokuiku is defined in the Basic Law as 'the acquisition of knowledge about food and of the ability to make appropriate food choices' (Naikakufu, 2005). The term *shokuiku* is usually translated into English as 'food education', although alternative terms such as 'nurturing through eating' (Takeda, 2008) exist as well. But even authors (Kojima 2011, Kimura 2011, Mah 2010) who use the translation *food education* point out that '*shokuiku* is not limited to just a food education or nutritional guidelines' (Kojima 2011: 50). Since the English-language term *food education* is too reminiscent of the rather limited nutritional and dietary education in Anglo-American countries, I prefer to use the term food pedagogies when I refer to the very broad approach to *shokuiku* envisioned within the Basic Law, as food and nutrition (*shoku*) are broadly defined in Article 6 of the law as 'all kinds of processes ranging from food production to food consumption' (Naikakufu, 2005).

However, I argue that, although the Basic Law offers a holistic approach to food in theory, with its focus on nutrition and the emphasis on domestic food, food pedagogies, practiced according to the Basic Law cannot adequately deal with the food safety problems that Japanese consumers face. On the contrary, with the law's emphasis on firstly, domestic food, and secondly, the urge to support

the farmers in the Tōhoku area after the triple disaster (Naikakufu, 2012); *shokuiku* actually endangers the health of Japanese citizens. This pro-producer stance has a long tradition in Japanese agricultural and consumer politics (MacLachlan 2002, Mulgan 2005a, b). In addition, the long held assumption that Japanese food is safer than imported food makes it difficult to sensitise Japanese consumers to alternatives. The paper concludes that in the context of the nuclear disaster the Japanese government is unable to achieve the goal it has formulated in the Basic Law and its related action plans: to provide adequate knowledge about food to enable the Japanese citizen to make appropriate food choices. This paper is based on the analysis of various materials including laws, national and local plans for the improvement of food pedagogies, articles by social scientists critically commenting on food pedagogies, as well as insights from a recent qualitative consumer survey I conducted in Summer 2011, and qualitative interviews with local nutritionists, food distribution networks' members and farmers I carried out in February 2012 in Japan.

Principles of the Basic Law

Food pedagogies (*shokuiku*) comprise intellectual (*chiiku*), moral (*tokuiku*), and physical (*taiiku*) education. The physical aspect of education involves the concept of healthy nutrition. According to the Basic Law, this means a regular and well-balanced diet that consists of at least three meals a day as well as sufficient exercise. On the moral level, the Basic Law focuses on teaching children to learn gratitude towards food, nature, and everybody involved in food production. The intellectual aspect of these food pedagogies includes the acquisition of food-related knowledge (Shimomura, 2007). The wide perspective on food, however, does not mean that the Basic Law and its related campaigns aim at empowering consumers by providing knowledge about the ills of the modern food system, as Kimura (2010: 477) points out. *Shokuiku* rather focuses on 'creating consumers' who

make the right purchasing decisions but does not name and address actually existing neoliberalising processes of the food system that are also responsible for food safety problems. This becomes especially evident when private food corporations such as supermarkets or fast-food chains such as Aeon or Mos Burger participate in *shokuiku* activities (ibid).

The aims of the Basic Law are:

1. the establishment of a national campaign for the promotion of food pedagogies
2. the implementation of a state-supported system for the protection of 'traditional Japanese food culture'
3. the enforcement of measures to ensure food security
4. the promotion of healthy nutrition (Kobe Toshi Mondai Kenkyūsho, 2006).

These aims are to be implemented through co-operation between the state, the local authorities, food-related businesses, farmers, educators, and families (Naikakufu 2005: Article 9-13). The Japanese government claims that, from an international perspective, the law is a unique concept to Japan, because of its wide approach to food pedagogies compared to the West (MAFF 2006: 4).

Criticism of the Basic Law

The Basic Law has been criticised on a number of counts. First, for attempting to intervene in the private sphere of Japanese citizens; secondly, for its anachronistic image of Japanese society, family, and gender relations (Kojima 2011, Kimura 2011) and thirdly, for its neoliberal approach (Sasaki, 2006). This neoliberal approach, according to Shimomura (2008), becomes evident, because the law mainly sets only responsibilities for local authorities and citizens. According to Kojima (2011) *shokuiku* is merely understood as a responsibility for citizens, but not as a civil right. This means that, for instance, Japanese citizens are held responsible for consuming more

domestically grown foods in order to raise the self-sufficiency ratio out of a 'sense of responsibility for the nation', although domestic food is more expensive, but the Japanese government does not offer assistance to compensate citizens for their expenses (Kojima 2011: 54). In addition, these neoliberal tendencies are also met by a sometimes acrimonious nationalism, as Takeda (2008) has detected in the law.

In this paper, my focus is the impact of *shokuiku* on discourses about food safety in relation to the nuclear disaster. Overall, the Japanese government has been harshly criticised for acting too late; for denying the dangers emitting from irradiated food; and for their weak attitude towards testing during the last year (Foodwatch, 2011). Moreover, government officials encouraged Japanese consumers to buy farm products from Fukushima and the neighbouring prefectures to support disaster-stricken farmers. The government's stance on the food safety problem tended to favour producers and not to consider consumers' interests. The following statement by a MAFF official illustrates this: 'We hear the calls for more disclosure, but revealing more detailed data would just hurt too many farmers' (Fackler, 2012).

A columnist from the Kyūshū newspaper *Saga Shinbun* gets at these issues in June 2011:

> Food safety and the carefree consumption of food are important topics of *shokuiku*. However, due to radiation released from the damaged Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power plant we now look at our domestic food products that we thought of as the safest in the world, with increasing concern. [...] At the end of last month, the Board of education [BOE] in Kashima city in Ibaraki prefecture published the following information concerning school lunch: 'we are obliged to use local food, but at the moment we prefer to order ingredients from West Japan.' Hereupon the BOE was criticized by local farmers for supporting harmful rumours (*fuhyō higai*). Shortly after, the content of the BOE's website was revised as follows: 'We cannot guarantee all local food products' compliance

> with safety standards, so we use food from West Japan instead of those local food products. We use those local products as ingredients whose safety is ensured' [...] According to the second Basic Plan on Food Pedagogies, the focus of food pedagogies in the next five years lies on 'the transfer of knowledge about food and the ability to choose food, and to promote food pedagogies that enable people to practice a healthy diet. Tasks [of food pedagogies] include the discussion of the ties between families and the regions, with complex topics such as the food self-sufficiency ratio, but the most urgent problem at the moment is the radioactive contamination of food. (Taira, 2011)

This quote refers to three related problems I will address in the following: Firstly, the assumption that 'domestic food products are the safest in the world'; secondly, the power relations between municipal authorities, producers and consumers in Japan; and thirdly, the question of whether food pedagogies can adequately address food safety concerns after the Fukushima nuclear disaster. The Basic Law on Food Education (*shokuiku kihonhō*), defines its *shokuiku* as 'the acquisition of knowledge about food and of the ability to make appropriate food choices' (Naikakufu, 2005). But a critical question is: who is supposed to provide this knowledge? Pedagogy has been defined by sociologist of education, Basil Bernstein (2000: 78) as: a 'process whereby somebody(s) acquires new forms or develops existing forms of conduct, knowledge, practice and criteria from somebody(s) or something deemed to be an appropriate provider and evaluator'. But we need to ask: who are these appropriate providers and evaluators in the Japanese case? In particular, whose interests are they serving in relation to the threats posed by irradiated food? To answer these questions, I will examine three different groups of stakeholders at the centre of food pedagogies in Japan: municipalities, food producers and consumer co-operatives. I will compare their current practices with the goals envisaged by the Japanese government in the Basic Law.

The Basic Law on Food Pedagogies

Food pedagogies, food safety and food security

Before comparing the approaches of the aforementioned three groups of stakeholders, I will provide a brief outline of how ideas about 'food safety' are presented as interconnected with 'food security' in the Basic Law. This is vital to an understanding of the difficulties most of these stakeholders and the Japanese government have had with taking a clear stance against irradiated food from the affected areas in the aftermath of the disaster. According to FAO (2003: 29) 'food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life'. Food safety refers to an aspired absence of health risks in relation with the consumption of food (Busch, 2004).

In essence, the Law and its related plans promote the image of domestic food as safe. In addition, they make it the responsibility of the individual consumer to eat more domestic food products, especially rice. They do this as a solution to the low food self-supply capacity. Let me quote from Articles 7 and 8 (Naikakufu, 2005) that deal with the food self-sufficiency ratio and food safety:

> *Contribution to an increase of the food self-sufficiency ratio*
>
> *Article 7:* Food pedagogies have to promote our country's outstanding traditional food culture, nutrition that revitalises regional characteristics, and food production and consumption that takes into account its balance with the environment; it has to further the citizens' understanding of the situation of our country's food demand and supply, and through the planning of exchange between food producers and consumers, it contributes to the revitalisation of farm and fishing communities and to the increase of our country's food self-sufficiency ratio.
>
> *The role of food pedagogies for securing food safety*
>
> *Article 8:* Food pedagogies mean, given that securing food safety and a carefree consumption are the base of a healthy nutrition, to offer a wide array of information about food and in the first

> place on food safety and to exchange views on these issues. By furthering citizens' knowledge and their understanding about food, [food pedagogies] aim for citizens who realise an appropriate nutrition and who approach this aim by a positive stance towards international co-operation.

Interestingly, food pedagogies, according to the law, only promote *knowledge* about food safety. The law does not address the need for better controls, higher safety standards or labelling. Since the 1990s, MAFF, one of the initiating ministries involved in the law, promotes the preservation of Japan's food self-supply capacity. It claims that this is necessary, in order to ensure the stable supply of food at stable prices and maintaining food safety (Mulgan 2005b: 165). Japan's food self-sufficiency rate has decreased steadily from 73% (based on calories) in 1965 to 40% in 1998. Since then, it has stabilised on around 40% as average level (MAFF, 2011).

According to Kojima (2011: 51), the term *shokuiku* itself was introduced to National Diet Proceedings in 2003 by Takebe Tsutomu, then head of the MAFF. He had learned the term from journalist Sunada Toshiko, who had used the word to refer to nutritional and dietary education in foreign countries. From that time, the term appeared in MAFF publications as one of its policy objectives. Before this, due to agricultural protectionism and high food prices, the interests of farmers and consumers were perceived as conflicting. Politically, the discursive combination of producers' interests and consumers' interests, according to Mulgan (2005b: 165), became necessary in order to justify MAFF's rejection of agricultural trade liberalisation. Due to the lack of competition on the food market that this rejection caused, food prices in Japan stayed high. Consequently, to justify high food prices for domestic food produce, consumers had to believe that these products were safer than imported foods. However, since 2000, Japanese consumers were faced with successive food scandals around domestic food safety. Most of them involved Japanese producers such as Snowbrand, Meathope

or Fujiya (Kawagishi 2008: 17). Nevertheless, when in 2008 the so-called *gyōza jiken* occurred and frozen dumplings filled with meat from China caused food poisoning to several Japanese consumers, the blame was laid on Chinese producers only, although safety inspections by their Japanese trading partners were also insufficient, because they valued low costs over safety issues (ibid. 104). In a qualitative survey I conducted among 60 consumers from Kyūshū, Kansai and Kantō in 2011, 51% still responded to the question 'What do you think about imported food from China?' with 'I would rather not buy/ eat it'.

Takeda (2008) also points out this form of nationalism inherent within the Basic Law on Food Pedagogies. Despite the acknowledgment of the hybrid nature of Japanese food within Japanese society, its particular Japanese elements are singled out and positively opposed to the non-Japanese elements. This becomes evident when Western-style food is considered unhealthy, while Japanese-style food is referred to as a 'dietary pattern that […] suits Japan's climate and culture' (MAFF, 2006). Ohnuki-Thierney (1995: 232) elaborates on how "amid a flood of Western foods, the Japanese continue to reaffirm their sense of self by reconstructing their own 'traditional' food. Rice is the defining feature of the 'traditional Japanese cuisine'." However, the 'purity' of Japanese white rice has been threatened – from the perspective of MAFF officials and farmers – by trade deregulation since the 1990s when, for the first time, rice from Southeast Asia entered Japan and was sometimes even mixed with Japanese rice.

However, more than half of the food Japanese consumers buy and eat is imported. According to JETRO (2010), this particularly concerns seafood, meat, grains and vegetables. About a quarter of all imported fresh and processed foods originate from the US, while 20% is imported from China. This problem is also addressed as 'the problem of the dependence on food from overseas' (Naikakufu, 2005)

in the introduction of the Basic Law, where it is mentioned as one of the problems that have to be solved by *shokuiku*. It therefore is quite surprising when the mass media ascribe problems related to food safety solely to imported foods, as the example of the gyōza incident demonstrates.

Shokuiku practitioners

Having provided a brief introduction to some of the key terms and politics in the Law, I now provide a summary of each of the three 'deliverers' or 'pedagogues'.

Municipalities

The two key terms I am using are municipalities and prefectures. By these terms, I mean different levels of government on local and more regional levels. Japan is divided into 47 prefectures which each consist of cities, towns and villages – the municipalities. In Article 10, the Basic Law defines the role of the municipalities and prefectures (Naikakufu, 2005). They are expected to co-operate with the central government to plan their own *shokuiku* activities and to implement them on the basis of the understanding of *shokuiku* defined in the Basic Law. Prefectures are requested to design their own plans for the promotion of *shokuiku*, based on which the municipalities in each prefecture should draw up individual programs. Although governments in countries like the US or Germany launched nutrition programs such as "Five A Day" to promote the consumption of fruits and vegetables, there are no concrete expectations for local authorities connected with food education. This difference can be explained by the centralised state structure and the top-down structure of policy implementation processes. Although local autonomy in Japan was strengthened since the 1990s, the attempt to set responsibilities for local authorities in the Basic Law is strongly reminiscent of the systems called *kikan inin jimu*, according to

which the central government could utilise local governments as its administrative agencies (Hüstebeck, 2009).

However, decentralisation has contributed to a certain lack of enthusiasm for *shokuiku* on the local level. This is because various plans touching upon issues of nutrition and food were already in place before the central government passed the Basic Law on Food Pedagogies. While the *shokuiku kihonhō* commits local authorities to drafting individual support plans, it fails to explain whether and how older plans can be linked to the new plan and to provide financial resources (Shimomura, 2007).

Regarding their content, most local plans define *shokuiku* in accordance with the Basic Law. However, many add local issues, emphasising the uniqueness of local agriculture and of the prefectures themselves. Food pedagogies in many rural municipalities are an important form of support for local agriculture (Shimomura, 2007), community planning, and regional revitalisation (Reiher, 2009).

Generally speaking, *shokuiku* by municipalities comprises cooking classes, lectures on nutrition, gardening in schools, and the promotion of local food. Many municipalities have recently hired nutritionists (Cabinet Office 2010: 20). They often co-operate with local civic groups and neighbourhood associations.

Because of the economic difficulties in many rural areas (Kitano, 2009), the promotion of domestic food, respectively local food, is of utmost importance for local economies. Therefore, one of the objectives of the many local plans for the promotion of food pedagogies is the promotion of local food by, for example, increasing the use of local produce in school lunches (Arita-chō, 2008). One nutritionist from Kyūshū states that she thinks domestic foods are probably safer than imported foods (Interview Ms. A., 2012). Another nutritionist from Kyūshū believes that local food is best for the locals' health, because it is fresh. This, combined with aspects of shipment,

costs, and local revitalisation were many good reasons to buy local farm products, because everyone would profit (Interview Ms. H., 2012).

Producers

Having provided a summary of the municipalities' response to the Basic Law, I now turn to producers. The Law on Food Pedagogies calls on farmers, fishermen, and the food processing industry to 'offer opportunities for people to experience a variety of farming- , fishery- and forestry- related activities. This is, in order to enhance their understanding of nature's benefits and the importance of human activities in food production and distribution' (MAFF 2006: 4). Policy makers in Tōkyō expect farmers to co-operate with schools and municipalities. They expect farmers to increase the direct selling (*chisan chishō*) of their products to enhance communication with their customers. The Law expects them to cater to local schools, and invite children and customers to offer them agricultural experiences. The direct selling of local produce is expected to boost the Japanese self-sufficiency rate and to assist local farmers (Hirata-Kimura & Nishiyama, 2007).

Nonetheless, agricultural experience (*nōgyō taiken*) is nothing new (Shimomura, 2007). Particularly in rural areas, farmers have always offered opportunities for agricultural experience to people who wanted to help during the rice-harvest, for example. In the 1970s and 1980s, it was quite common that municipalities from the Tōkyō area would choose rural partner communities to where they would send municipal employees and school children for agricultural experience and recreation in nature (Kitano, 2009). Today, farmers provide all kinds of agricultural activities. In Arita, a small municipality in Northern Kyūshū, local farmers let fields to people from urban areas where they can grow their own vegetables. However, since the city

dwellers only visit occasionally, a large part of the work remains with the farmers:

> They basically come to plant the crops and then to harvest. Meanwhile, me and my wife, we water the plants and care for it. Personally, I don't think that they learn much about farming through this. But they are proud of the vegetables they eventually bring home and I earn a little (extra) money. (Interview Mr. S., 2012)

Many farmers have also started to sell their produce directly to customers. But this does not necessarily have the pedagogic impact that customers learn more about crop growing or food safety. Especially when it comes to food safety, the average farmers, who are not involved in organic farming, do not reflect too much on agricultural pesticides (Interviews Mr. S., Mr. O., Mr. U., 2012).

In the same manner, Japanese farmers sell directly to locals for different reasons, but there is little evidence so far that it is because they care about or have even heard of *shokuiku*. One older farmer from Saga prefecture who lives by himself considers moving around town with his truck and selling vegetables to housewives a chance to meet people, and, as he smilingly said, young women in particular (Interview Mr. O., 2012). Thus, farmers are involved in *shokuiku* activities sometimes on request by local authorities and schools, sometimes by local JA, and sometimes on their own initiative. However, most of the farmers I have interviewed in Saga prefecture and the Tōhoku area in 2012 have not even heard of the term *shokuiku*. Younger farmers, however, such as one organic farmer I visited in Chiba prefecture, communicate with customers and a wider public via the internet: they write blogs about organic farming and make movies they publish on YouTube and other channels. As they need to attract customers, they promote their own/domestic agricultural products as safe and delicious.

Consumer co-operatives

In this final section I look at the role of consumer co-operatives. Japan has one of the largest and most influential consumer co-operative networks in the world. In the 1970s, consumer co-operatives were founded in Japan to provide consumers with cheaper and safe milk. By collectively ordering food, housewives in the same neighbourhood not only saved money, but the different local community groups also developed close relationships with local and regional farmers (Gelb & Estevez-Abe 1998: 265). During the 1970s and 1980s, with a large number of more than several 100,000 members, consumer co-operatives contributed to the spread of awareness of food safety issues among Japanese consumers. At this time, safe food basically meant the production of domestic food and the use of only little pesticides or none at all. Some consumer co-operatives exclusively contracted with producers to ensure that these ecological standards for safe food were followed. Brand name products were established to publicise that those products were guaranteed to have been locally and organically grown (Jussaume et al., 2001). Seikatsu Kurabu, for example, is a retail co-op that today caters to 350,000 households in many parts of Japan. The co-op offers low-pesticide, additive-free, non-genetically-modified food. Customers of consumer co-operatives are mostly health-conscious and ecologically minded, and order food from catalogues every week (Interview, Seikatsu Kurabu, 2012). During the 1970s, especially young mothers joined the co-operatives, and the local groups already offered on a regular basis what is now called 'agricultural experience' by the *shokuiku kihonhō* (Interview, Esukōpu Ōsaka, 2012). Since many of the consumer co-operatives advocate the idea that building a long-term relationship with domestic farmers ensures food safety, families often spend weekends at farms and help with farm work. By doing so, they are promoting what the *shokuiku kihonhō* calls 'understanding of [...] the importance of human activities in food production' (MAFF, 2006).

These co-operatives also do other important pedagogical work on food issues. For example, many local consumer groups and consumer co-operatives today are members of the national Seikyō-Network, which organises meetings, spreads information, and supports financially weak groups. Besides organising trips to the country side in order to get in touch with farmers and to help them, local groups also offer cooking classes and lectures (Interview, Hiromerukai, Kobe, 2012). However, the content of the lectures goes beyond mere nutritional issues, as is the case with most municipal *shokuiku* activities, and further addresses food safety issues, such as genetically modified organisms, food labelling, or the global agri-food system. Moreover, most of the groups are politically active and try to lobby bureaucracy and political parties (Interview, Esukōpu Ōsaka, 2012). While some groups write protest letters to government officials and organise or participate in demonstrations, members of the so-called *seikatsusha* networks that arose from the Seikyō network successfully run for local council elections in urban areas (Tsubogo, 2010).

In a nutshell, consumer co-operatives not only fulfil the requirements by the Basic Law to provide an understanding about food by offering agricultural experience and cooking classes, but exceed the Basic Law's objectives with activities attempting to change the existing food system and food legislation. However, the assumption of domestic food being better, although not necessarily safer than imported food, is shared by most consumer co-operatives alike.

Challenges to food pedagogies in Post-Fukushima Japan

In this section, I will elaborate on how the Japanese state failed so far to provide adequate knowledge on irradiated food to Japanese consumers, although, according to the Basic Law, citizens are required to acquire 'knowledge about food and of the ability to make appropriate food choices'. I will show how other actors replace the state as food pedagogue in this critical situation.

Today, many consumers are dissatisfied with the information on irradiated foods and insufficient testing. Although the government assures consumers that only food below the safety limit is sold, there exists no obligation to sufficiently label foods with information on radiation. Since monitoring by municipalities, prefectures and state-run facilities is insufficient, producers, consumers and retailers take the initiative and undertake their own measuring. Municipalities often lack the money to buy measuring devices, as they depend on state subsidies to implement a sufficient measuring system for food (Nakamura & Koizumi, 2011). At the same time, as the aforementioned quote from the *Saga Shinbun* illustrates, they try to support local farmers and are expected to do so, even at the expense of consumers.

Especially in Fukushima prefecture and in the Tōkyō area, Civil Radioactivity Monitoring Stations (*shimin hōshanō sokuteisho*) were founded. For a small fee, consumers and producers can bring in foodstuff and let them get measured. The results of the monitoring are published on the internet (CRMS, 2012). Some co-ops such as Daichi o mamorukai have established their own safety standards and offer an extensive monitoring system (Daichi o mamorukai, 2012b). According to MAFF, alternative safety standards are confusing consumers. MAFF calls on food producers and retailers to stick with the official limits and to abandon their own standards (*Asahi Shinbun online*, 21 April, 2012). As this appeal by MAFF illustrates, the Japanese government is afraid of losing the power to define what safe food is. This indicates that after the Fukushima nuclear catastrophe, the power relations between the state, consumer co-operatives, producers and retailers are contested.

Since consumer co-ops principally have a very close relationship to their contracting producers, it has become very difficult for them to provide information on irradiated food. On the one hand they do not want to sell irradiated food to their health-conscious customers; on

the other they want to support the producers in the Fukushima area. In the case of Daichi o mamorukai, this dilemma has resulted in the paradox situation that they sell vegetable sets for children which do not contain food from Northern Japan, but at the same time also sell "Support Tōhoku sets" (*Tōhoku fukkō ōen setto*) with food from the disaster-stricken areas (Daichi o mamorukai, 2012a). Especially in Tōkyō, many shops and stalls offer farm products from Tōhoku. Their initiators argue that it is their patriotic duty to support the farmers in Fukushima. However, in Fukushima prefecture and Tōkyō, other groups, mostly initiated by parents, have installed shops where only food products from Western Japan are sold (Fackler, 2012).

As shown above, the problem of irradiated food is not limited to the prefectures close to the Fukushima Daiichi power plant. Since processed foods are sold in the whole country, it was no surprise when in December 2011 irradiated infant milk powder was discovered in Japanese supermarkets all over the country (Interview Mr. K., 2012). Therefore, consumers not only in Tōkyō and Northern Japan are concerned with food safety now. Some nutritionists in charge of *shokuiku* in the municipalities report that in the first months after the nuclear disaster, many consumers called for information on which kinds of food were safe to eat and to feed to their children. Some prefectures started research on the topic and provided municipalities with information or invited them to lectures. One nutritionist from Kyūshū stated:

> It is difficult, because in my position I am not allowed to tell people 'don't eat irradiated food'. I feel that it is the task of each individual to take care of his or her own health and to cultivate skills to make judgments about it. I am expected to tell people: 'please try to increase the knowledge you need to protect yourself on your own'. […] Since they are on their own, they need to understand that they must not be indifferent about what they are eating. They must think about nutrition, but also about food safety. That is of utmost importance. (Interview Ms. H. 2012).

This quote shows that, while *shokuiku* in the municipalities is usually exerted in accordance with national *shokuiku* policies, not all local officials in charge of *shokuiku* agree with the national handling of food safety issues after the Fukushima nuclear disaster. Some call for lower safety limits on radioactivity in food, demand food labels that give information on radioactivity in food, and call for more information on the topic in general. This situation not only raises grave concerns about what constitutes food pedagogies at this moment in Japan, but also expresses the ambivalence of the power relations between the policy makers at the national level and the actual pedagogues – nutritionists – at the local level who cannot speak freely about how irradiated food poses risks to consumer's health.

Conclusions

Through the implementation of the Basic Law on Food Pedagogies, the Japanese government attempted to react to challenges in the realm of food and nutrition. In order to boost the food self-sufficiency rate, the law promotes that domestic produce is safer, better for the health of Japanese citizens, and to be preferred to imported foods. Nutritionists employed at the municipalities teach children and mothers about 'balanced' Japanese-style meals and how to cook local food. Municipalities often cooperate with local farmers who sell local food to local consumers and tourists, and invite urban consumers to their farms to experience Japanese agriculture. Some consumer co-ops who are closely related to their suppliers also stress the fact that (organic) farm products from domestic farmers are safer than imported foods. There exists a discursive interconnectedness between the low food self-sufficiency rate and threats to food safety through imported foods, which is also evident in the legislature, and through activities concerning *shokuiku*. The dependence on imported foods and the threats they pose to food safety are often considered far more

dangerous than the dangers irradiated foods pose to public health (Otake, 2011).

With its focus on nutrition, cooking and gratefulness towards domestic food producers, *shokuiku* in Japan, as practiced according to the Basic Law by municipalities, schools, and national organisations, is not an adequate concept to deal with the problems Japanese consumers face after the nuclear catastrophe at Fukushima. This rather proves the opposite to be true: with the law's emphasis on domestic food and the proliferation of the assumption that Japanese food is safer than imported food, it further endangers the health of the Japanese citizens. However, the preferential treatment of (food) producers is not surprising when taking into account the post-war history of consumer politics (MacLachlan, 2002) and the handling of food poisoning caused by environmental pollution by the industry. Victims of the 1950s mercury poisoning in Minamata, for example, still fight law suits against Chisso, whose chemical plant in Kumamoto prefecture released its sewage into the sea and contaminated the fish population in the surrounding waters (George, 2012).

Consequently, many established food education practitioners still have not changed their assumption of 'domestic food = healthy and safe food' after the Fukushima nuclear accident. However, food education faces a huge challenge due to this situation, because the ignorance regarding food safety issues from official sides leaves Japanese consumers with a lack of awareness for these issues. Therefore, the Japanese state is not an appropriate provider of adequate knowledge on food safety. Instead, stakeholders who are not included in the state's *shokuiku* campaign, such as consumer co-ops, try to provide their members with information on radiation in food. Most interestingly perhaps is the appearance of new actors in the field of food pedagogies, such as the Civil Radioactivity Measurement Stations that try to truly achieve the objective of the *shokuiku kihonhō*: 'the acquisition of knowledge about food' and its

dissemination to enable Japanese consumers 'to make appropriate food choices' (Naikakufu, 2005).

As I have shown in the beginning of this essay, food safety has always been a subordinate aspect of Japanese government's food pedagogies. However, one would have expected policy makers to change their focus more towards the issue of irradiated food after the nuclear catastrophe. But as the Shokuiku White Paper from 2012 (Naikakufu, 2012) makes clear, this is not the case. The emergence of other, mostly community-based and civic, stakeholders shows that there is a need for this kind of food pedagogies among Japanese consumers. Therefore, in these times of crisis it is of utmost importance to further challenge and complement the Japanese state's approach to *shokuiku*.

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Pedagogies of doing good: Problematisations, authorities, technologies and teleologies in food activism

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In this paper, we apply a framework from Nikolas Rose to analyse the politics of 'doing good' in food activist education, what we call food pedagogies. We argue that a detailed exploration of food pedagogies has been neglected in adult education and in the growing field of food studies, in spite of the rapidly proliferating forms and site of food education, advice and learning in Australia and other countries. In contrast to other frameworks in adult education which focus on classifying approaches as behaviourist, humanist, progressive and radical, we deploy problematisations, technologies, authorities and teleologies. These latter 'pathways' move away from an abstract idea of 'power as property' and as coercive (Gore 1993) to an examination of 'power as technique' and as productive. Drawing on qualitative data with three different types of food activist educators – a biodynamic educator, a health promotion managers and two farmer-activists, we show Rose's framework

opens up our ideas about what can be seen as pedagogical to include the non-human and how adult educators authorise their claims to be doing good. We conclude by arguing that the differences in how each of these activists see food and health should not simply be seen as a difference in opinion but a difference in what Annemarie Mol (1999) calls ontological politics. In so doing, the paper contributes new findings and theorising on pedagogies to food studies, and a new analytic framework for analysing adult education approaches and in particular their claims to be 'doing good.'

The politics of knowledge and relations between teachers and learners are foundational concerns of adult education scholars (Foley 2000; Cervero & Wilson 2000; Alfred 2001; Vella 1994). In critical food reform, the racialised, classed and gendered moralities of food knowledge are foundational concerns (Guthman 2004, 2008; Slocum 2011; Kimura 2011; Ken 2010; Lupton 1998). In this paper, we analyse how these intersect in food activist pedagogies, itself an under-researched topic in adult learning and food studies as we have argued elsewhere (Flowers and Swan 2011; see also Cook 2009). Drawing on a Foucauldian framework culled from British sociologist Nikolas Rose (1996), we analyse the accounts of three types of food activists: a bio-dynamic agricultural educator, a health educator, and two farmer-activists, taken from a full-day roundtable we convened for food activists involved in educational work for ethical and sustainable food.

We have two main aims: first, to offer an analysis of the project of 'doing good' in food pedagogies through using Rose's framework. By doing good, we mean the ways in which educators – and in this case food activist educators – authorise what they do as a form of ethics; and secondly, to compare the framework to typologies of adult education which describe politics of knowledge and relations between teachers and learners (Merriam, Cafferella & Baumgartner

2007; Newman 1993, 2006; Fenwick 2006; Boud & Griffin 1987). In focusing on 'doing good', we intend to examine the ways in which food educators legitimate their interventions, and the politics of these claims (see Guthman 2008 on how white undergraduate students try to do good by 'bringing good food to others'). This is an important topic for food studies' authors who question the morality in food advice but up until now have focused less on pedagogies per se (Mol 2010; Jackson 2009; Coveney, this issue; Pike and Leahy, this issue). In the paper we argue that Rose's framework is a fruitful form of analysis for educators as it opens up the vista of what can be understood as pedagogical; expands our understanding of the types of knowledge that adult educators mobilise in their work; and finally, offers a way to examine the politics of 'doing good.'

Of course, the work of Michel Foucault has been used extensively in analysing adult education in the past twenty years (Fejes & Nicholl 2007; Fejes 2008; Garrick & Solomon 2001; Reich 2008; Chappell, Rhodes, Solomon, Tennant & Yates 2003; McLean 2012; Tennant 1998; English 2006; Swan 2009, 2008; Gore 1993). As adult education theorist, Scott McLean (2012) writes, Nikolas Rose's research is less recognised and deployed in adult education, in spite of having influenced a number of related fields. Both Foucault and Rose offer adult educators a conceptualisation of the operation of power, quite distinct from Gramsci and Marx and other theories of power used in some forms of adult education literature. It is distinct on a number of counts. First, implicit in some typologies of adult education (see table 1) is a construction of power as a possession, a see-saw model in which teachers have it or learners have it. This leads adult educators to emphasise how power should be distributed to learners, a concept of 'power-as-property' (Gore 1993: 73; Chappell et al. 2003). But for Foucault and Rose, power is exercised rather than owned. This means:

> 'that power is not the possession of some people who wield it over others dominating and constraining them but that it is relational and productive. Without power, nothing is achieved. But if power is not to be found in somebody's hands, or in this or that social actor's possession, then what is it and how does it manifest itself (Fox 2000: 860)?'

Power is exercised through everyday mundane activities and processes: what Foucault calls 'technologies': hybrid assemblages of diverse forms of knowledge such as advice, techniques, judgments, experts, texts, and sanctions. Technologies are highly concrete, specific forms knowledge-in-practice not generalised approaches. Through these mundane, micro, even 'minor and petty' forms of expertise, authorities such as the state attempt to govern through capacitating, not constraining us. This works in quite unsystematic, dispersed, contradictory and localised ways across innumerable and unexpected sites (Miller & Rose 1996: 12; Miller & Rose 2008; McNay 1992).

This reformulation of power is important for theorising adult education. Adult education is often conceived by scholars and activists as a site for enabling learners to liberate themselves through gaining new knowledge or becoming conscious of existing but undervalued forms of knowledge. But another point of distinction is that for Foucault, there can be no separation of power and knowledge, thus he uses the term power/knowledge. Power works through all forms of knowledge: for example, bottom-up and top-down, scientific and lay, and particularly for Foucault, self-knowledge (McHoul & Grace 1993). There is no point of origin such as an institution like the state or an elite cabal. And there is no way to be outside of power or outside of knowledge, even so called liberatory knowledge such as consciousness raising or self-reflection.

Thirdly, power is, in addition, not seen simply as a coercive force. It is also productive in the sense that we can do and be things as a

result of the operation of power. Part of its productiveness is the way it operates through notions of seduction, freedom and desire rather than prohibition, coercion and punishment. Rose argues that, although these latter forms of power are still in operation they are secondary to the idea of our being governed by the idea of freedom. Thus, he writes that 'in striving to live our autonomous lives, to discover who we really are, to realize our potentials and shape our lifestyles, we become… bound in new ways into the pedagogies of expertise (1999 cited in McLean 2012). An important part of the operation of power then is that we imagine we are doing good to ourselves: getting the good life of health, wealth or happiness.When educators work with such 'pedagogies of expertise,' they too construct themselves as doing good in helping people get the good life.

In this special issue, John Coveney, Jo Pike and Deanna Leahy provide useful Foucauldian analyses of nutrition and school lunches, respectively. Our work differs in three key ways: first, we are keen to offer a framework which could be used to interrogate 'doing good' across other sites of adult education; secondly, if we accept that pedagogies work through hybrid assemblages we are interested to examine ways in which food activists mobilise diverse forms of advice, techniques, judgments, experts, texts, and sanctions and what this may mean politically. We have argued elsewhere that activists in food social movements draw on a panoply of knowledges: codified and informal; theoretical and experiential; lay and expert; embodied and cognitive; gendered, racialised and classed (Flowers & Swan 2011; see also Allen et al. 2003 for research on the place based nature of food activism knowledges). Much of what is going on in food social movements is:

> 'struggles over knowledge systems… The most cursory look at today's food advertisements shows that all food is embedded in a contested discourse of knowledge claims' (Goodman & DuPuis 2002: 18).

As we emphasise elsewhere the politics of knowing - what is known, who produces it and 'who is in the know' - are critical to food pedagogies (Flowers and Swan 2011). This type of politics links to our third aim which is to examine the authorisation of 'doing good' and their relations to gender, race and class. Struggles over knowledge are also struggles about the legitimacy for authority. Rose's framework encourages us to analyse the politics of 'doing good' as a form of legitimacy. Contrary to some adult education theorists, this means we cast a critical gaze at the claims to 'doing good' made by activists as we might at the claims made by institutional experts to offer us new ways to think about adult education and food activism. To do this we begin with a summary of a 'typical' adult education approaches framework, followed by an introduction to the work of Nikolas Rose; we introduce Rose's framework of problematisations, technologies, authorities and teleologies in some detail so that this could be applied to future adult education initiatives. After introducing the three types of food activist educator, we relate each of the elements of Rose's framework to illustrate quotes and themes from the activists and we conclude by asking what this means for understanding the ethics and politics of doing good.

Frameworks

In this section, we compare an influential typology from Griff Foley's edited book *Understanding adult education and training* (2000) to an alternative framework from Nikolas Rose's work. Adult education scholars such as Sharran Merriam, Rosemary Cafferella & Lisa Baumgartner (2007), David Boud (1987), Tara Fenwick (2006), Miriam Zukas and Janice Malcolm (2002), and Griff Foley (2000) have created all typologies of different traditions, orientations, identities and philosophies in adult education theory and practices. These authors describe such classification attempts as limited and simplifying but argue that they have heuristic utility in enabling adult educators to understand different theoretical and value positions

within particular traditions (Foley 2000). Underpinning most of these is a classic distinction between traditions labelled liberal, behaviourist, humanist and radical. Foley's typology, abridged below in Table 1 is a useful example for this paper as it is widely used; has a long lineage (Scott 1985 which in turn is adapted from Darkenwald and Merriam 1982); and is taught on undergraduate and postgraduate courses.

Table 1

School of thought	Aims of adult education	Role of teacher and learner	Teaching methods
Cultivation of the intellect (traditional school)	Fill learners with worthwhile knowledge	Teacher is in control and learner is passive	Mainly lecture
Individual self-actualisation (humanist)	Self-direction and self-fulfilment	Teacher facilitates and students decide what to learn	Experiential methods
Progressives (reformist)	Active individual citizenship to strengthen democracy	Teacher and student learn from each other	Problem solving and negotiated learning
Social transformation (revolutionary)	Create new social and political order	Co-creation of curriculum	Participatory action research and dialogical learning
Organisational effectiveness	Develop skills and attitudes to enable achievement of prescribed goals	Trainers transmit information and deliver prescribed curriculum	Outcomes are assessed in terms of objectives achieved

Source: adapted from Foley 2000, in turn adapted from Scott 1985 and Darkenwald & Merriam 1982: 14-15.

We could attempt to categorise various food-activists according to these schools of thought. But for us this forecloses analysis. For example, implicit in many of these frameworks, including Foley's, is a foundational continuum of behaviourism bad; humanist so-so and progressive good. From this stems a number of effects which in our view limit examinations of adult education: first, some fairly crude assumptions about the power of the teacher and student. Second, a failure to examine the claims to 'doing good' across all schools of thought especially the so-called radical or progressive. Thirdly, this kind of table already assumes that the kinds of ideas which are informing practice are from a shallow educational pool of behaviourism, humanism and critical theory rather than the deeper and swirling eddies of knowledges used by food activists. It delineates education as if pedagogies and their supposed schools of thought are hermetically sealed and not informed by other cultural ideas. Fourthly, in assuming what already constitutes the educative, it is less useful for identifying and examining more 'concealed' pedagogies.

In contrast, Rose's framework enables us to extend our net more widely. The pros and cons of Foucauldian approaches have been much debated across a number of fields, and in particular by feminists (Luke and Gore 1992; McNay 1992; Gore 1993). For proponents - including Stephen Brookfield (2005) in his book about critical theory and adult education - Foucault's model of power as productive is particularly useful. Thus, the relations between people and social institutions are not simply coercive, but take on many aims, 'not just to control, subdue, discipline, normalise, or reform' but also to make us 'more intelligent, wise, happy, virtuous, healthy, productive, docile, enterprising, fulfilled, self-esteeming, empowered' (Rose 1996: 12). This means for Rose that we are not 'incessantly dominated, repressed, or colonised by power (although, of course, domination and repression play their part in particular practices and sectors) but subjectified, educated and solicited' (1996: 79). How

then might we examine techniques of subjectification, education and solicitation in food pedagogies?

Rose's framework provides us with a 'shorthand' for such an approach to analysing power and pedagogy. First referenced briefly in a paper in one of the key journals for Foucauldian scholars, *Economy and Society* (1993), and then in a more extended discussion published in the book, *Inventing our selves: Psychology, power and personhood* (1996), Rose positions the framework as a set of 'pathways' for investigating the history of how we relate to ourselves (1996: 25). The set of pathways comprises what he refers to as *'problematizations', 'authorities', 'technologies'* and *'teleologies'*. We can contrast these to the categories in Foley's table to analyse adult education approaches and we compare these more extensively later in the paper.

Table 2

Traditional categories from Foley	**Pathways derived from Rose**
school of thought	problematisation
teaching methods	technologies
role of teacher and learner	authorities
aims	teleologies

Usefully for adult education, Rose is keen to map the concrete vocabularies, techniques and practices professionals and lay people use. Rose, himself, uses the framework to offer a capacious set of questions to examine 'psy' pedagogies (coaching, facilitation, self-help) but we suggest in this paper that it can used for analysing other educational projects such as food pedagogies. We now define, elaborate and apply each 'pathway' in turn to the accounts of three types of food activists.

Problematisations

We start with the idea of 'problematisations' because this concept is fundamental to Foucauldian theorising. The comparison point in adult education literature such as Foley would be 'schools of thought': behaviourism, humanist, progressive and radical. Through applying the concept of problematisations to three types of food activist educators, we want to identify how we might think differently about 'schools of thought'. Although our paper is mainly focused on Rose and Foucault, we augment their definition of problematisation with Carole Bacchi as she has developed a body of work extending the notion of problematisation to policy making (2012, 2010).

First then, Foucault defines problematisation as 'how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) become a problem (1985: 115). The significance of this concept is in its focus on the processual:

> 'asking how this rendering of things problematic occurred. The term problematizing [is] a useful way of designating this as a process, for it remove[s] the self-evidence of the term 'problems.' It suggest[s] that 'problems' are not pre-given, lying there waiting to be revealed. They have to be constructed and made visible, and this construction of a field of problems is a complex and slow process' (Miller & Rose 2008: 14).

For example, a problem for some activists is that people are not eating enough organic food. But a problematisation is more than just seeing a problem: it is about how a particular group of activists, in this case, make suppositions and presumptions about what food is 'good' and 'bad,' based on certain kinds of knowledges, and how these get translated into advice, prescriptions, tips, techniques and interventions. Problematisation is about analysing the conditions of knowledge production: 'Where, how and by whom are aspects of the human being rendered problematic according to what systems of judgement and in relation to what concerns' (Rose 1996: 25)? This means analysing 'how problems are given a shape through the ways

they are spoken about and through the 'knowledges' that are assumed in their shaping' (Bacchi 2010: 2). For example, of the 'problem' of madness, Foucault asks 'how and why were very different things in the world gathered together, characterized, analyzed, and treated as for example 'mental illness'?' The answer to this question provides the "elements" deemed relevant "for a given 'problematisation'" (Foucault, 1985 cited Bacchi 2012: 2). What is emphasised here is that problematisation involves a gathering together of knowledges and so in relation to food activism we can ask what is gathered by whom for what ends?

A second part of problematisation is designating certain people and behaviours as unsound and then trying to change them. In relation to food, certain types of eating are constructed variously as unhealthy; environmentally damaging; cruel to animals; unsustainable for food producers; and having unfair labour conditions for workers. Groups of people are seen to be in need of changing, depending on which of these problems is the target of reform: women, mothers, children, working classes, middle classes, young men, racially minoritised groups, migrants etc. Experts are needed to identify the problem and to provide the solutions including changing people's behaviours: for example, adult educators. People who need changing 'have to be known to be governed' (Bacchi 2012: 5). Thus, the eating of, growing of, wasting of, shopping for and cooking food constitutes a constellation of problematisations for a range of experts and professionals that include agricultural economists, statisticians, nutritionists, development planners, adult educators and health promotion workers. Problematisations produce problematic people, habits and objects and people who know, people who don't (Flowers & Swan 2011).

Finally, problematisations entail particular solutions. Environmental issues about food, for some activists, might mean buying local food. Or it might mean buying organic food that isn't local. Solutions are grounded in certain presuppositions too. So buying 'local' food grown

in a 100-mile radius is based on an assumption that reducing the distance food travels prevents certain environmental problems.

Solutions can be provided in the form of advice, rules, opinions, policies, and prescriptive texts (Bacchi 2012). We can see this clearly in relation to food pedagogies with magazine columns, calorie counting, nutritional labels, recipe cards, healthy eating mnemonics etc. Through the process of problematisation, experts and solutions create subject positions, certain identities - ways of being and acting - and as a result, moralities and ethics about 'good' and 'bad' people, behaviours and objects.

Having elaborated on the pathway of 'problematisation', we analyse the accounts of three types of food educators from our research. We provide a brief summary of their key concerns about food pedagogies drawn from our coding of core themes in their accounts. Before doing that, we provide a short introduction to the activists.

The food activist educators

The data are drawn from a full-day roundtable discussion we organised for a number of food activist educators. For the purposes of our paper, we focus on Ian, Susan, Joan and Paul because they provide us with sufficient depth and heterogeneity in order to exemplify Rose's framework.

Ian is a self-employed bio-dynamics agricultural educator who runs workshops in Australia and internationally on growing foods. Bio-dynamics is based on the philosophy of Rudolph Steiner, which includes a belief that the visible, physical world is penetrated by a world of life-forces (Purdue 2000).

Susan is manager of a health promotion project aimed at encouraging 'disadvantaged people' to eat according to the principles of the *Australian Guide to Healthy Eating* which were produced by the Commonwealth of Australia (Kellet, Smith & Schmerlaib 1998). The

initiative is based on a peer education model in which local people are trained to teach cooking, healthy eating and budgeting.

Joan and Paul are farmers and advocates in a farmer's association. They have a particular interest in promoting provenance. All of the educators have a clear idea of the strategies they think will make a 'difference.' In the next section, we use quotes from our five-hour audio recorded discussions illustratively to enable us to elucidate Rose's framework and to signpost further potential analysis. Our aim is to not deride or dismiss the work of the activists but attend to the ideas and techniques they drew upon and to ask questions about their likely effects.

Summary of problematisation for each educator

The problematisation for Ian, the biodynamic farmer-educator is that foods are not being grown with the life-force of the cosmos in mind (Pfeiffer 1938; Purdue 2000). This means that people are eating foods that can make them sick physically and spiritually. Thus the land and the soil are seen as sites of action. Small-scale, commercial and not-for-profit vegetable growers and farmers are the target learners who need to change. The system of judgment is biodynamic philosophy. The solution is to show people who might grow food as farmers and gardeners how to use biodynamic principles.

The problematisation for Susan the health educator, is that poor, working class and migrant mothers are not cooking food according to the 'healthy eating messages' promulgated by government authorities (Kellet, Smith & Schmerlaib 1998). In this problematisation, the health worker imagines this group does not know what healthy food is or how to cook it on a tight budget. She says: 'people have very little money to buy their food because

they are all probably on government benefits or have very small incomes.' The system of judgement relates to nutritional science and government policy on what constitutes health but also popular ideas about good mothering. There are also judgments made about how this group best learns, namely from their peers. The solution is to teach mothers how to cook and shop according to the 'healthy eating messages' agenda. She says: 'So one of the things that we are trying to teach these participants and peer educators is how to cook a healthy meal with a modest budget.'

The problematisation for Joan and Paul, the farmer-activists is that consumers are not purchasing enough 'local' food from small-scale farmers and this means they are buying the wrong kind of food which, in turn affects farmers' livelihoods and people's health. It is believed that consumers don't know where food comes from and if they did, they could make rational decisions to buy more local food that would have better nutritional properties. The site of intervention is supermarket aisles. The solution is to ensure food is labelled with information about provenance, nutritional and 'freshness' qualities. The system of judgement is a mix of social marketing, environmental ideas about locavorism and again nutritional science. Joan says:

'In supermarkets, information on the origin, freshness, or mode of generation is scarcely available. That's particularly evident in the food aisles in the fish market aisles because even though you might be buying Australian fish, you cannot differentiate between farm fish and free ranging fish in which your omega threes are substantially different. In farmed fish, the omega six is much more relevant and the omega threes are down, yet it's the omega threes that we are looking for in our diet. There have attempts to increase the disclosure by the supermarkets. But the supermarkets, their accumulators and merchants have actively opposed any attempts at transparency in the area of production, mode, origin, or date of harvest.'

Across all these problematisations are assumptions about what makes for 'good health' and individual's responsibility for growing, shopping, cooking and eating in ways which are imagined to be

'healthful.' Although Rose's work typically lacks attention to class, race and gender, we can see classed expertise in operation here and assumptions about the class and gender of those people who can and should learn different habits. Growing food requires land. Making decisions based on food provenance requires a certain level of disposable income and classed attitudes about health.

There are clear distinctions in who is seen as responsible for producing health, and what the solutions and the sites of intervention are. For example, in the case of the health educators, migrant and working class women are being responsibilised for their children's health: they are being taught how to 'mother health.' Food is seen as a kind of medicine (Gaynor 1998). But there are different assumptions being made about what constitutes 'good-for-you-food' and what it 'contains' which can facilitate health. For the biodynamic agricultural educator, food is a conduit for a life force from the cosmos. For the farmers, it is freshness and locality which in their view guarantees the vitality giving properties of food.

Underpinning these pedagogies are different ontologies of food and of physical health. But the assumption that food is only important for its role in promoting physical health is, of course, highly contested. For example, Lauren Berlant (2010) argues that the emphasis on physical health in relation to food neglects how important certain kinds of food are for mental and emotional health.

To turn now to reflect on adult education typologies: the use of problematisation can be compared to schools of thought. Schools of thought seem like static and predictable influences on how adult educators think and act. The benefit of using problematisation is to make 'thinking as practice' more visible and to show that there is nothing inevitable about it (Bacchi 2012). It gets at the processes and conditions of knowledge-making and forces us to examine taken-for-granted assumptions about what are imagined to be 'problem' actions, behaviours and people in a way that schools of thought do

not. Food activists and adult educators draw on a spectrum of ideas from the predictable to the unpredictable in quite particular 'blends' which can't fit simply into the cookie cutter of behaviouralism, humanism, progressive and radical (Csurgo, Kovach & Kucerova 2008; Swan 2009). Problematisation can help us trace blends, and their effects. To put it pithily, schools of thought focus on product and homogeneity, and problematisation on process and hybridity.

Technologies

Technology in the Foucauldian sense refers to various means 'invented to govern the human being, to shape or fashion conduct in desired directions' (Rose 1996:26). In Foley's adult education table, technologies can be compared to teaching methods such as lectures, group discussions, and peer education. Implicit in the classifying of teaching methods are assumptions that some are more 'empowering' than others. Technologies as defined by Foucauldians are much broader in scope than teaching methods. Technologies are assemblages of knowledges, instruments, statistics, notations, systems of judgment, buildings and persons and can take numerical, classificatory, spatial, visual, bodily and discursive forms (Ilcan and Phillips 2003). Extending what we might see as pedagogical, the emphasis is on the mundane, technical and material (Dean 1999).

A distinctive element to technologies compared to teaching methods is that they bring to view more indirect and everyday ways through which people intervene in their own ways of acting, being and living and which connect back up to political strategies. As assemblages of situated, technical and corporeal procedures, practices and tactics, they are how government works at a distance (Miller & Rose 2008: 16). Importantly, these technologies work through the notion of freeing rather than coercing or dominating us. This freeing constitutes a new form of control which values self-responsibility, self-care and self-discipline as ethical and civic.

The idea of technologies has been taken up with some alacrity by a range of adult education theorists, but few have deployed Rose's other pathways of problematisation, authorities and teleologies. Foucault defined different types of technologies which work together: technologies of production, sign systems, power and the self. Each of these technologies embodies distinct 'presuppositions and objectives about human beings' (Rose 1996: 26) and distinct forms of domination that involves changing or training the self (Burkitt 2002; Besley 2005). Adult educators have focused most on *technologies of the self* (see for example, Fejes 2008; Reich 2008; Chappell, Rhodes, Solomon, Tenannt & Yates 2003). In essence, these are mechanisms for self-discipline: procedures which 'permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality' (Foucault 1988: 18). Comprised of specialised forms of knowledge which teach us how 'to estimate, to calculate, to evaluate, to discipline and to judge ourselves' (Cruikshank 1993: 329), *technologies of the self* are contrasted with *technologies of power*: the latter being exercised by institutions such as prisons and schools and which attempt to dominate through examining, normalising and classifying.

Examples of adult education scholarship on *technologies of the self* include Clive Chappell et al.'s analysis of self-help books, work-based learning, training in corporate culture, and HIV/AIDS education (2003); Andreas Fejes on 'the confession' in educational guidance (2008); Ann Reich's analysis of Australian vocational education and training (2008); and in relation to food pedagogy, Peter Kelly and Lyn Harrison's analysis (2009) of Jamie Oliver's *Fifteen* apprenticeship project.

Technologies of the self have also been discussed extensively in relation to research on food. For example, Cressida Heyes (2007) discusses how organised diet programmes and weigh-ins are presented as *technologies of the self in* Weightwatchers. In this issue, Pike and Leahy write about the technology of the school lunchbox and how it operates to produce a morality about good mothering. There has been in-depth work on *technologies of the self* in community development by Barbara Cruikshank (1993). She argues that empowerment and self-esteem can be understood as technologies. Any technology, she reminds us, operates at improving the individual and society. Importantly for Foucault both technologies of power and technologies of the self produce effects that constitute the self. Feminists and critical race theorists have gone onto argue that these also constitute gender, race and class.

Summary of technology for each educator

We focus on two central technologies for Ian, the biodynamics educator: one is a soil activator made from a mixture of chicken manure, basalt salt and other ingredients. In biodynamic circles, it is imagined to carry cosmological properties. In his teaching, he hands this out for people to try. It has material properties in terms of its biological capacities to affect soil and operates symbolically as 'dirt' operates in the organic food movement as a signifier of purity and nature. Together it works as a 'graspable ethics' i.e. that you can touch and smell (Clarke, Cloke, Barnet & Malpass 2008).

The second is the technology of hands-on learning: learners have to have a go, be it growing crops or baking bread. He says: 'In other words, I teach people about the preparations but by the time they go home they've stirred them and sprayed them so they've had the physical experience. So they can go home and initiate change."

Having a go' works on the body rather than the intellect, and acts as a kind of witnessing to 'little miracles' which then work to convert

learners. This can take several years. His is a pedagogy of conversion rather than didactism.

'It's amazing how these things happen but I've got little samples [of soil activator] you can all take home to try it. … I gave [an airport security officer] one of these little packs that you can take home and I said look, we stir it for an hour … just make sure you dissolve it in your watering can, flick it out, we aim for a drop per square foot, and I got on the aeroplane and left… 12 months later I went through and he was on duty. He rushed over and said; I don't want you to think that I didn't believe you, but he said that stuff is just way better than what you told me it was. So the issue is how we get people to start. Because with farming, once people have the experience, it's not me teaching them, it's actually their experience that actually drives it.'

In the case of Susan, the health promotion manager, peer education is the core technology: 'We decided that we would train ten peer educators to start off as a pilot in nutrition concepts. Very basic nutrition concepts.' Peer education – in which it is claimed that if 'peers' teach and mentor it will be more effective and progressive than if one relies on professional experts - has become a widely used intervention in health promotion since the 1980s (Turner & Shepherd 1998). Common assumptions are that peers are a credible source of information, act as role models and equalise power relations. Peerness then is used as a gloss for participatory democracy.

The peer educators in this example, however, are institutionally educated in 'nutrition basics', 'healthy eating messages' and presentation skills and are given mentors in nutrition from a local university. Their role is to run 'healthy eating activities' in the community: to do cooking demonstrations; to share ideas about nutritional values of food, and costing menus, largely aimed at poorer migrant women. The peer educators then are trained in nutritional knowledge that their 'peers' do not have. The nature of their peerness then is their coming from the same neighbourhood.

Labelling on food is the technology for Joan and Paul, the farmer-activists. In their view, the label should provide consumers with information about provenance, date of picking, place of production, ingredients, and ecological footprint. They, like many other Australian food activists, refer to this as 'truth in labelling.' As Paul puts it:

'Consumers need to be taught to read the label and require that the product they are buying has comprehensive information… Now this is what most people don't realise. When you buy a packet of eggs, that could have been in a cool room for six months prior to being packed. Same with your vegetables. When you go to Woolworths or Coles, you'll see a date when it was packed. But that could be a week old.'

Labelling works as a technology of the self as it assumes people can be agentic by being informed (Yngfalk 2012). It is a means through which consumers can protect themselves and their bodies from harm through their everyday shopping decisions. Carl Yngfalk (2012) observes that labelling attempts to train people to trust their cognitive decision-making and 'factual' information and to over-ride their 'greedy bodies' (Mol 2010) and sense of smell, touch and taste. Even though label-knowledge will necessarily be incomplete and food information highly contested, for the farmers the labels will operate as truthful authorities.

Using the concept of technologies enables us to broaden our understanding of what can be understood as pedagogical. The food educators are using a range of human and non-human technologies, such as Body Mass Index, healthy eating pyramid, and peer educators. There are some similarities with the concept of hidden curriculum which also expands the analytical focus of what could be considered pedagogical. But hidden curriculum is based on a particular understanding of ideology. In the words of Steph Lawler:

> … the concept of ideology almost always presupposes a 'real' which is both beyond ideology and obscured by it (Barrett 1991). To speak of ideology is to speak of the lies that *obscure* the truth, but to speak of discourses … is to speak of the knowledges that produce the truth… [Foucault] replaces a concern with how we come to be governed by lies and untruth (as with ideology) with a concern with how we come to be governed by truths which are *made* true. … It is simply not possible, in many cases, to speak or even to think "outside the true" (Lawler 2008:59).

To focus on technologies, means then to be less concerned about what is deemed to be true or not, but how what is deemed to be true comes about, and at a technical or material level. Thus there are no teaching methods or technologies that are outside power/knowledge, even that of learner or community empowerment (Cruickshank 1993; Gore 1993). So, as the feminist educational scholar Jennifer Gore observes of the often used circle chair technique in which interactional control is imagined to move from the teacher as learners sit together not behind desks in rows with eyes to the front: 'there is nothing intrinsically liberating about this practice (1993:58). Adult educators who might be categorised in polarised ways as radical or behaviourist in the literature, use similar technologies of the self such as diaries and group discussion and in so doing exercise power and knowledge. Of course, their aims and content may be different but a particular relation to oneself and others is produced for the learners and the educators through deploying technologies of the self.

But the concept also asks us to reflect on the wider relays and links of technologies to wider governmentality aims. Of course behaviourism, humanism and progressive education have all been used in the service of institutional and governmental goals but this is rarely discussed in adult education models such as Foley's. In addition, we need to ask questions about who can mobilise what kinds of technologies. It should not be assumed that they are available universally nor their effects even and undifferentiated by gender, race and class (McNay 1992).

Authorities

The third dimension in the conventional adult education typology is the roles of teachers and learners and how these may be defined in relation to their relative skills, power, and expertise. Here we will consider as a point of comparison, Rose's concept of authorities. Rose asks us to study the nature of the authority of those involved in defining, making and solving problematisations: for example, food activist educators. Analysing authority means to think about: 'Who is accorded or claims the capacity to speak truthfully about humans, their nature, their problems?' (Rose 1996:27). Of the recent rise in food experts, Jane Dixon (2003) asks what they claim as their right to act. This involves us examining how authority is authorised – for example by the law, the media, culture, science, art and sport. The nature of authority varies and can be personal, allied to science, spirituality, claims to truth, or formal qualifications. For example in relation to food, John Coveney (this issue; 2006), Jo Pike and Deana Leahy (this issue), and Deborah Lupton (1996) write about the way 'nutritional science' provides authority for a range of experts such as health workers, personal trainers, and teachers.

For example, we can ask how has it come about that Australian food writer, Stephanie Alexander or British TV chef, Jamie Oliver are seen as authorities on what we eat and cook at home. Rose shows us how authority takes different forms: expert, codified and lay knowledge, but also importantly for the purposes of this paper, includes wisdom, virtue, experience and practical judgment. So Alexander and Oliver call upon nutritional-science authority but also invoke their experience as cooks and lovers of food. Adult education theorists have long recognised experiential knowledge but Rose's framework pushes us to dig deeper and interrogate who and what has authorised it. A critical dimension to authorities includes classifying people 'behaving badly.' In the field of food pedagogies there are energetic pronouncements by food educators about 'bad' eating, cooking and

shopping behaviours motivated by a belief they are 'doing good.' Rose's understanding of authority is that the idea of 'doing good' - being ethical and wanting to help - is central to the legitimacy of contemporary pedagogies and educators.

For Rose, another dimension is the relation between authorities and those who are subject to them. One commonplace relation is the pastoral relation like that of a priest and a member of his or her flock, in which techniques such as confession, self-disclosure, discipleship and exemplarity (role modelling) are used. Other types of relations which we might see in adult education and food pedagogies, which are under-theorised, include solicitation, seduction, captivation and in particular, conversion (Rose 1996). As Miller and Rose put it:

> It seems that there are only so many ways in which the few can change the many…you can regulate others, enmesh them in a wed of codes and standards, coupling these with sanctions for transgression and/or rewards for obedience. You can captivate others, seduce them with your charms and powers, bind them to your values through the charismatic force of your persona. You can educate others, 'change their minds' as the saying goes, train, convince or persuade them to adopt particular ways of understanding, explaining, reasoning, evaluating, deciding, such that they will recast what they wish to achieve through reckoning in your terms. Or you can convert others, transform their personhood, their ways of experiencing themselves and their world so that they understand and explain the meaning and nature of life-conduct in fundamentally new ways (2008: 147).

It is the latter they suggest which is most potent. It is what Foucault calls subjectification: turning us into active subjects who are also subject at the same time: 'we have been freed from the arbitrary prescriptions of religious and political authorities … but we have been bound into relationships with new authorities, which are more profoundly subjectifying because they emanate from our individual desires (Rose 1996:17).

We now turn to see how we might apply this analytic concept of authority relations to the accounts of our food activists and what this enables us to scrutinise.

Summary of authorities for each educator

Ian, the bio-dynamic agricultural educator conceives himself as a facilitator. He says: 'So I don't ever go and try to solicit people. I'm not there trying to sell it so much as make it available for the people who can see it.' He claims that people change themselves through a slow-burn model of conversion. This is the quintessential model of facilitation where the educator takes a back seat and imagines the relations between teacher and learner to be anti-authoritarian and anti-didactic.

'They had an illness in themselves or their family, they got to the stage where their doctors said here's your pill, go home, don't come back, I can't do anything more for you. They're called heart-sink patients. When you turn up the doctor's; his (sic) heart sinks because he can't do anything with you. These people go home and they sit on their butt for five minutes, five days, five years, five decades, and one day they wake up and say I'm going to do something. They set off on a path of investigation. It can take them to yoga, or this, or that, or the other, but they actually out of their own passion affect change. These are the people who go down the alternative pathways.'

For Susan, the authority relation is one of the benevolent, caring professional. She said 'we didn't want to come in and intervene as experts.' The legitimation of authority is coming from a claim to be doing good; first, in imagining peer education to be more democratic than didacticism, and secondly in improving people's lives. We have discussed how Rose problematizes the first claim, and now refer to how Coveney (2006) and Lupton (1996) problematize the second claim. Coveney (2006) and Lupton (1996) point out, there are contesting views among health scientists and social scientists about

how food is 'good' for you, and about whether food is to be conceived primarily as medicine, fuel, or pleasure. The idea of 'doing good' - in other words the authority that is invoked - comes from the premise that 'nutritional-science' views about health override any others.

Joan and Paul, the farmer-activists also draw on 'nutritional science' knowledge but also emphasise their first-hand experience of growing. They present themselves as modern and scientific but also being close to the land and as rural stewards. They talk about the importance of knowing about the soil and land.

'... you look at a bok choy or a vegetable, you look - when you go and buy it, you look at the bottom. If the end is brown, you know it's not fresh. I grow coriander and we had three farms. I would take it up to my Chinese neighbours who also grow it and they could tell me which farm it came from just by the taste. Now this is all to do with the nutrients and the soil.'

In so doing they are invoking what we have called elsewhere 'farming nature' (Flowers and Swan 2011): Farming improves, tames and cultivates nature, 'through generations of embodied experience' and knowledge through the senses (Franklin 2002, in Jacobsen 2004: 64). Farming nature invokes a closeness to land, animals and soil, a simpler rural life, and straightforward people. This is in contrast to industrialised and polluted city life with its corrupted bodily knowledge (Vileisis 2004). Because farming nature is about improving nature, authority for these farmer-activists comes from their bodily knowledge augmented with scientific knowledge. 'Doing good' is about connecting shoppers to 'farming nature.

In attending to authorities instead of teacher-learner roles, we can see that there are other relations between teachers and learners than those based on a continuum of control or codified knowledge. The concept enriches our understanding of the nature of teaching and learning by bringing expanded notions of authority to include,

for example, the operation of wisdom, benevolence and senses, all of which can be shaped into advice which affects our lives. For Foucauldians, contemporary governmentality takes the form of advice (Phillip 2009). The key issue is through what claims and techniques can someone legitimately excise authority over the intimate details of someone else's life (Miller and Rose 2008: 149)? In our paper this would include what people cook, eat, do with their bodies, do in their domestic spheres, spend their money on and more.

A focus on authorities encourages us to question the ethics of 'doing good.' Anne-Marie Mol (2010) argues that in many discourses on eating healthily, food choices are seen as difficult with the body imagined as too 'greedy' to eat too much of the 'wrong' foods. There is some of this in the farmers' discourses but their main concern is how people access foods which are seen as 'bodily healthy'. We can see how classed, gendered and racialised notions of 'healthism' and claims to be improving 'health' enable a range of experts to claim 'a new ethical regime for authority itself' (Miller and Rose 2008:144). Julie Guthman (2008) has shown how these types of 'bringing good food to others' initiatives in the US reinforce whiteness, and she and Jessica Paddock (2008) have argued against their middle class assumptions about health. As Mol (2010) and Berlant (2008) argue we need to interrogate the ethics of health being promulgated: what about pleasure, satisfaction, and other kinds of health?

It is true that some adult education approaches examine ethics. But often assumptions are made in advance. Thus a 'boo-hooray' binary underpins characterisations of so-called instrumental education versus progressive or radical education, with instrumental education seen to be unethical and radical education the most ethical. Critical to the food activist educators accounts of their authority is the idea that they are being ethical because they don't 'impose' their expertise on learners. As Wendy Hollway (1991) notes this is a common-place idea about power and knowledge amongst adult educators, who construct this form of teaching as 'democratic' and 'participative' as if power has

been waived. What has been less examined in Foucauldian analyses is the classed, racialised and gendered dimensions of authority relations – who or what is seen to be authoritative. Whose ethics count? Who can claim authority and who or what authorises it?

Teleologies

Finally, we contrast Rose's notion of teleologies with the more traditional concept of educational aims. Rose defines teleologies as the goals, plans and endpoints of programs, and what he calls 'forms of life' - subject positions - which are ideal ways to be and to act. These are modes of being we hope to create in our selves and in others which have an ethical valorisation to them (Dean 1996). Examples include the 'responsible prudent father'; the 'worker accepting her/his lot;' the 'good wife fulfilling her domestic duties with quiet efficiency and self-effacement.' In the field of food, examples include the 'health-conscious citizen who heeds dietary guidelines'; 'ethically conscious consumer who cares about the sustainability of the environment'; or 'creative and cosmopolitan food adventurer.' In her study of Norwegian food discourses, Annechen Bugge (2003) presents three core subject positions: The 'gourmet' which values pleasure, the 'therapist' values health consciousness, and the 'traditionalist' which values national sentiment and nostalgia. Subject positions are forms of desireable subjectivity and clearly gendered, racialised and classed. They are not a priori preformed but specific, concrete, historical shapings. We can take up multiple, partial, elided and even contradictory positions (Fejes 2008: 655).

A second important element is that the teleologies are articulated in relation to specific problems and solutions about human conduct and connected to wider governmental objectives such as national prosperity, virtue, harmony, productivity, social order (Rose 1996). For Rose, health is one of the quintessential teleologies of governmentality. Teleologies specify undesirable and desirable behaviours at the level of populations, workers, families and society.

In relation to food, Jensen has referred to 'the emerging citizenship of food' (Jensen 2004) in which traditionally thought of mundane domestic habits are now 'ethicalised.' This is how individuals can make 'bigger acts' through being 'responsibilized.' As Fiona Allon writes of green home DIY, we are seeing the 'micropolitics of the household and the minuate of everyday behaviours' connected to civic responsibility (2011: 205), reinventing citizenship and patriotic duty (2011: 207). Through these ordinary everyday habits, one can become an ethical subject.

Summary of teleology for each educator

The desired subject-position of Ian is the spiritual grower who cares for his or her self and the cosmos. This is not simply an organic grower. They become stewards of the cosmos through growing food in special ways – for example, fertiliser mixes with bone, feathers and soil - which bring individual and environmental health. We note that various commentators would classify biodynamic agriculture as New Age and critique 'New Age' practices for reproducing a neo-liberal agenda of self-responsibilisation. There are clearly some aspects in this account which can be seen as self-responsibilisation, but there are complications: the bio-dynamic farmer-educator does not advocate the market as a solution and asserts that change in food growing and consumer practices might take up to twenty years, and can happen as much through serendipity as planning. There are particularities to the biodynamics philosophy in its configuration as a 'spiritual science' of biodynamics too which renders it more complex. Thus it postulates a more fluid, open body than often described in Foucauldian theorising (Gaynor 1998). In this way it also moves outside of traditional nutritional pedagogies. It imagines 'links between the dynamism of soils, plants and people, thus moving from the 'clinical nutrition' apprehension of the body as a complex collection of molecules, to an approach which considers bodies as sites of a dynamic activity which persist through various spatial-temporal processes' (Gaynor 1998: 19).

In the case of the Susan there is a more apparent link to neo-liberal 'self-care' governmentality agendas. The subject-position is the frugal, obedient migrant cooking woman who must care for her family's health through making meals according to the 'healthy messages' guidelines. She must cook according to calculated budgets and scientifically defined nutritional values. This teleology represents the quintessential neoliberal project of personalising social problems, and we might add, gendering and racialising social problems. This does not mean that there are not important benefits for the women in the food project Susan runs. Nor are we suggesting that Susan is unaware of the limitations of the approach. She clearly wanted to organise other more macro reforms but did not have the power or funding. Nevertheless, the subject position is of mothering health, and with health and food defined in narrow ways.

For Joan and Paul, the desired subject-position is the label-literate shopper who makes rational decisions on the basis of the provenance of food. The notion of label-literacy connects with a wider notion of consumer citizenship. Shopping-activism is much debated. Some food theorists have critiqued what they see as the neoliberal rationalities and subjectivities which undergird consumer-activism (Guthman 2007). This is because this teleology constructs the market as the place where politics gets done and privileges the 'choosing subject' (Guthman 2007). In this way, 'citizenship [is] manifested through the free exercise of personal choice… new relations [have been formed] between the economic health of the nation and the 'private' choices of individuals … the citizen [is] assigned a vital economic role in his or her activity as a consumer' (Miller and Rose 2008: 48-49). More recently food theorists have argued that neo-liberal governmentality does not mop up all ways of being and acting (Dowling 2010). For example, Robyn Dowling argues that it is possible to 'go beyond governmentality' to exceed these subject positions or create alternatives.

In contrast to the idea of educational aims, the notion of teleology ups the stakes with its focus on 'forms of life' and their links to wider governmental projects. In the case of the bio-dynamic farmer-educator, health educator and alternative farmers discussed in this paper, we can see an emphasis being placed on 'forms of life' where individuals must take responsibility for the food they grow, eat and shop. For our activists, good citizenship is being refracted through a lens of care: for self, family, cosmos, farmer and land. With the focus on the growing, shopping and cooking of food, these forms of life and their ethics are highly classed, racialised and gendered though. Class, gender and race are central to these forms of life as feminist food writers have argued. Importantly for adult educators, subject positions as forms of life are ways through which subjects are brought to life through technologies and knowledge, and especially self-knowledge. But they are also resisted and refused (see in this issue Pike and Leahy). In relation to the food activists, more research would need to be done on their learners and how these learners may reproduce, embrace, or perhaps half-heartedly or intermittently inhabit these forms of life, and reject the teleologies being set out before them.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have examined the ways in which three types of food activist-educators construct food, health, learners and pedagogies using Rose's framework of *problematisations, authorities, technologies* and *teleologies*. We have argued that this framework enables us to do two things: first, to open up the politics of adult education pedagogies through a different model of power; and secondly, to expand our understanding of food activist pedagogies. In short, we can see that the three types of activists cannot be easily categorised in any one school of thought, be it humanist, behaviourist, radical or progressive. Even heuristically, these concepts, unlike *problematisation*, flatten the complexity of how food and health

become analysed and treated in pedagogies. Looking at *authority relations* rather than the role of the teacher gets at the ways in which educators legitimate what they do in terms of doing good. The focus on *technologies* brings new pedagogues to the fore; for example, it would be quite unusual to discuss labels as pedagogical within more traditional models. Rose's framework enables us to think about the ways in which adult educators, regardless of so-called 'school of thought' are *vehicles* of power in mobilising technologies of self and domination. Finally, by emphasising *teleologies* rather than aims, we can get at the ways these pedagogies produce types of selves and types of ethical habits.

Of course we do not know how these pedagogies are received by the target learners and the extent to which learners accept, refuse, and take up subject positions either apathetically or compliantly. Moreover, research is needed on food pedagogies to identify what 'substance' gets 'capacitated': habits, skills, identities, emotions, senses, knowledge (Flowers & Swan 2013).

Furthermore, Rose's framework challenges the claims to ethicalisation in adult education. Thus it provides us with a means to examine adult education approaches and their terms and conditions of 'doing good.' Rose's framework describes processes which bring subjects, identities, knowledges, and truths into being: they are not simply pre-formed. They also bring political and ethical subjects into being (King, S. 2003). We have seen some of the ethical work that the 'learners' need to do according to our food activist educators. Through what knowledges and truths do food activist educators make their work 'ethical'? Through what knowledges and truths do we as adult educators make our work 'ethical'? To produce our selves into political and ethical subjects what 'substance' do we have to work on? What is the prime material of our claims to being doing good (King, L. 2003; King, S. 2003) ? For Rose, these questions would need to

be answered in relation to specific, concrete practices as power is not general and abstract but located and technical.

Across the accounts of the food activists there is a multiplicity of educational sources, aims and targets of intervention. One way to understand this is to draw inspiration from Rose's notion of the 'psy-complex' which is an umbrella term that refers to the expanding architecture of psychological expertise and techniques in contemporary culture. The term complex is used to indicate a hybrid assemblage of knowledges which may be contradictory but have a family resemblance in how they understand problems and solutions. In the same vein, we can see the contours of what we might call ' the food-knowledges complex' across a range of food pedagogies, including food activist educators. In the food-knowledges complex, there is a congeries of ideas, ideals and practices. Whilst invoked, psy knowledges are much less important than 'health' knowledges of which 'healthism' is the most salient. As with Rose's idea of the 'psy complex,' even though there is a diversity of views about what health is (ontology) and what constitutes good health (knowledges), there is a dominant view of health that gets propagated, and this is used to undergird claims to be doing good. In this idea of the 'food-knowledge complex' we can see how problematisations, authorities, technologies and teleologies are gendered, class and racialised and constitute gender, class and race. In the psy-complex experts claim to help us with what Rose (1996) calls 'problems of living'; in the food-knowledges complex, experts claim to help us with 'problems of eating'.

Different problematizations, technologies, authorities and teleologies constitute food, health and bodies in various ways whilst at the same time promoting, in this case, healthism. To argue this, is to say more than there are various constructions being invoked in food activist pedagogies: it is to suggest that food and health are activated by activists in ontologically distinct ways across their pedagogies. This is

because pedagogies are performative and reproduce what Rose calls 'forms of life.' The pedagogies bring objects and kinds of humans to life. In so doing, they can also bring types of lives to humans. Across the food activist pedagogies, food becomes seen as spiritual, a medicine, a choice, a responsibility and health expands to cover the environment, spiritual connection, family health, agricultural health, farmer's economic health. For the educators, to get at the 'health in food' requires different activities and processes: food needs to be grown, cooked, and shopped for in particular ways. What food and health, then, are 'really like' and 'should be like' is contested (Jacobsen 2004).

To understand this we draw on Mol's (2002) notion of the 'body-multiple': a concept she uses to show how patients' bodies have quite different ontological realities according to which medical practice they are participating in. This is to argue that the body is not singular but multiple, and enacted in varied and even incommensurable, situated medical practices. Objects are multiple; and reality open (Jacobsen, 2004). In similar vein, John Law and Marianne Lien (2012) examine how salmon become a very different type of ontological object across different 'salmon-reality' practices from the biologist writing a textbook on salmon to salmon farmers in Norway catching salmon. Thus in examining the 'food-knowledges complex,' it may be helpful to identify how what we could call 'food-multiple' and 'health-multiple' constitute not only food and health as different objects, but also how they make race, class and gender. Rose's framework helps us understand that what we see as problems and solutions as educators are not self-evident nor equally distributed by race, gender and class. One way to think about 'doing good' then in food pedagogies is as 'ontological politics' (Mol 1999): the ways in which debates and struggles need to be had over which food, pedagogical and health realities to enact (Bacchi 2012; Jensen 2004).

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Educational alternatives in food production, knowledge and consumption: The public pedagogies of *Growing Power and Tsyunhehkw^*

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This paper examines how two sites of adult learning in the food movement create educational alternatives to the dominant U.S. food system. It further examines how these pedagogies challenge racialised, classed and gendered ideologies and practices in their aims, curricular content, and publically documented educational processes. The first case is Growing Power, an urban farm which embraces small scale capitalism and vocational education as an end toward community food security, social and ecological justice, and anti-racist education. The second case, Tsyunhehkw^, is the 'integrated community food system' of the Oneida Nation in rural Wisconsin, centred on cultural decolonisation through the growing and eating of traditional Oneida foods. In both these projects, there are strong possibilities to teach a critical, social justice alternative to white, middle class norms and practices of food production and consumption.

Introduction

This study contributes to an emerging and vibrant scholarship on the forms, processes and sites of public pedagogy (Sandlin, Wright & Clark 2011). This body of work intersects with a longer tradition of research on adult learning in social movements, including the environmental movement (Clover 2004; Foley 1999; Flowers & Chodkiewicz 2009; Ollis 2008; Walter 2007). In general, public pedagogy scholarship has tended to focus on critiques of hegemonic structures of informal education and learning in popular culture, following traditions of critical pedagogy (Sandlin, O'Malley & Burdick 2011). However, research on disruptions of dominant state and corporate ideologies through public pedagogies such as culture jamming (Sandlin 2010), voluntary simplicity (Sandlin & Walther 2009) and critical shopping (Jubas 2011) is also a part of this scholarship. Research in social movement learning, although necessarily including a critique of dominant ideologies and social structures, has focused more on the potential of adult learning and education for social change. To date, however, public pedagogy and social movement learning in the food movement has received relatively little attention, with notable exceptions (Flowers & Swan 2011; Sumner 2008).

The environmental movement, and more recently, the food movement, have been criticised in feminist scholarship as repositories of male, middle class norms, practices and oppressive gender relations. In the food movement, calls to return to more holistic, organic and local food production, for example, may simply mean additional labour for women, and family meals may be sites of violence against women, both symbolically and materially (DeVault 1991; Lupton 1996). More recently, scholars in the food movement have also begun to critique the structures and relations of social class, whiteness and power expressed in alternative food practices, pedagogies, spaces and community institutions in the food movement

(Guthman 2008; Slocum 2006, 2007). Among others, Rachel Slocum (2006: 337) argues for the importance of understanding and acknowledging the history of racism, colonialism, and class and gender oppression underlying the food system in attempts to enact local alternatives to it:

> It may be useful for community food advocates to actively consider that the US food system was built on a foundation of genocide, slavery and layers of racist institutions that have dispossessed racialized groups of cultural pride, land and wealth, in gender- and class-specific ways. It survives, for instance, through the work of people of color who serve, disproportionately, in the hazardous work of farm labor and food processing. Institutionalized racism intersecting with processes of colonialism, welfare ideology and gender and class oppression is also visible in the areas of food insecurity, disease and excess death.

In the politics and activism of Indigenous scholars in North America and beyond, strong themes of decolonisation, land sovereignty, self-determination, cultural revival and indigenous pedagogies in relation to food are also strongly voiced (Grande 2004; LaDuke 2005). Recently, Indigenous scholars have begun to take up the thorny political question of feminisms and Indigenous thought, activism and culture as well (Green 2007; Suzak et. al. 2010), with strong implications for the study of colonialism, gender oppression, class and race in the food movement.

The purpose of this paper is to examine how in two sites of public pedagogy in the U.S. food movement there are possibilities for 'activists' to disrupt, contest and create alternatives to dominant ideologies and practices in the food system, and to examine how these pedagogies do or do not address racialised, classed and gendered ideologies and practices in the food movement. The paper describes the aims, curricular content, and their publically documented educational processes. Other research on public pedagogy in social movement sites suggests that adults may 'engage

in critically transformative learning on their own', focusing more on 'noncognitive and embodied relations of learning…without the help of an intervening adult educator and without critical, rational dialogue' (Sandlin, Wright & Clark 2011: 11). Thus, the paper looks for evidence of a public pedagogy promoting transformative learning in the two sites under study as well.

Methodology

The study sites, located in the state of Wisconsin, U.S., illustrate diverse public pedagogies embracing alternative ideologies and material practices of food production and consumption, social justice, cultural revival, and human health. The first case, that of *Growing Power*, is an urban farm in an impoverished African American neighborhood in the city of Milwaukee. This case embraces small-scale capitalism and vocational education as an end toward food security, multicultural leadership, social and ecological justice and anti-racist pedagogy. The second case, *Tsyunhehkw^*, is the 'integrated community food system' of the Oneida Nation in rural northeastern Wisconsin. It centres on recovering, producing, processing and promoting healthy, traditional Oneida foods; that is, on decolonising local food and life systems.

Data for the study was collected in brief site visits, documents (including newsletters, annual reports, conference programs, and brochures) and an exhaustive internet search using Google -Web, -Video and -News search engines. This form of digital research is increasingly prevalent in adult education research (e.g. Irving & English 2011; McGregor & Price 2010). Data were analysed using ethnographic content analysis (Altheide *et. al.* 2008) in a two-stage process for analysing digital websites and media as public pedagogy (Kelly 2011). In the first phase, all data were reviewed for each case, and a composite case 'portrait' developed; in the second phase, characteristic elements for each case were identified, and findings

solidified in a second review of data for each case. Internet sites used for the study included each initiative's webpages (for *Growing Power* almost 50; for Oneida over 150), social media (both have Facebook and Twitter sites), blogs, independent news media accounts (67 articles for *Growing Power*, 28 for Oneida), and in the case of *Growing Power*, 54 videos.

The study examines only the claims made by each case in their publically available documents, and thus does not reveal how and what learners in these sites actually experience and learn, except anecdotally. The study likewise does not directly address how educators in these settings, as 'the critical link between hegemonic popular culture and critical awareness of that culture as hegemonic', might help to 'foster critical dialogue and help adult learners understand the power and politics at work within popular culture' (Sandlin, Wright & Clark 2011: 10). Thus, in one sense, this study, like many others preceding it (Sandlin, O'Malley & Burdick 2011: 359), is an analysis of an 'imagined public pedagogy', as this pedagogy is evident in the documents of each case. In this regard, the study provides a good starting point for further empirical field research on adult learners and learning in these and other informal pedagogical sites within the food movement.

Community-based capitalism, food production and social justice

The city of Milwaukee, Wisconsin's claim to fame has been its German immigrant breweries (Miller, Schlitz, Pabst), industrial manufacturing, and a radical political history in which 'Sewer Socialists' elected three Socialist mayors from 1910 to 1960. Today, Milwaukee is a city of about 600,000 people surrounded by another 1 million people in its suburbs, which have grown dramatically since the 1960s, in part as a consequence of 'white flight' from the city proper. Like other cities in the Midwestern Rust Belt, Milwaukee suffered from a downturn in manufacturing in the late 1960s,

in which thousands of once well-paid industrial workers found themselves slipping out of the middle class and into the low wage service and healthcare sectors. Endemic poverty began to characterise many neighbourhoods of the urban core, including those which were predominantly African American (City of Milwaukee 2012a). The city is today deeply divided by race and class both geographically and economically: according to one recent study, Milwaukee is in fact the most racially segregated city in the U.S., with urban blacks disproportionately suffering the ill effects of job and tax base losses to the prosperous white suburbs (Denvir 2011).

Together with an enduring legacy of racial inequality, Milwaukee has also historically been the site of grassroots movements for peace and social justice, environmentalism, and civil rights, of innovations in community development, and of numerous attempts to bridge its economic and racial divides. In the last decade, a food and sustainability movement in the city has grown in leaps and bounds, with strong roots in impoverished African American communities, among others (Broadway 2009; City of Milwaukee 2012b). One of the most long-standing and well-known of these local food security initiatives is *Growing Power*, an integrated urban farm and non-profit training centre established by African America entrepreneur, farmer and community leader, Will Allen.

A former professional basketball player and corporate businessman, Allen has for the last twenty years built a community-based urban farming system on two acres of land situated directly in the midst of one of Milwaukee's poorest African American neighbourhoods, close by to the city's largest public housing project. As a non-profit organization and land trust, the mission of *Growing Power* (2012a) is 'supporting people from diverse backgrounds, and the environments in which they live, by helping to provide equal access to healthy, high-quality, safe and affordable food for people in all communities'. The *Growing Power* (2012b) farm site houses

20,000 plants and vegetables, 100,000 fish (tilapia, perch, blue gill), chickens, goats, ducks, rabbits and bees, and supplies cheap organic food to some 10,000 people. *Growing Power* makes 400 'mobile grocery store' deliveries of 'safe, healthy and affordable produce' to local pick-up points, manages a cooperative network of small family farmers practicing sustainable farming, supplies fresh produce to some 25-40,000 Milwaukee Public School students, is involved in numerous community and school garden initiatives, donates produce to local food pantries, and operates two farmers markets in poor neighborhoods which otherwise have difficult access to healthy food. The organization has taught and employed hundreds of local African American youth and others in urban agriculture, building their professional skills and food knowledge, and enabling them to pursue new ways of attaining good health.

Growing Power's educational aims are enacted in part in its focus on developing community capacity for sustainable urban agriculture. The farm is envisioned as an 'educational lab' and 'Community Food Center and Training Facility'; it is a 'place to try new things, learn what we do not know, and improve on what we do. We believe that farming should be simple and accessible to all people, so we create methods for growing and livestock management that can be replicated in every neighborhood, from Detroit, Michigan to Ghana, Africa' (Growing Power 2012c). To this end, the farm offers daily tours, numerous hands-on workshops on composting, aquaponics, solar energy and animal husbandry, long-term (five month) training programs on community food systems, 3-month and year-long apprenticeships, one year vocational training for 'Food Systems Specialists', service learning and community volunteer opportunities, accredited in-service training for school teachers, and year-round youth leadership training. Regular community feasts and celebrations at the farm are a critical part of food education and community building as well. Off-site, *Growing Power* teaches about community food systems within a network of school and community gardens,

urban farms and some 16 'Regional Outreach Training Centers' around the U.S. (Growing Power 2012d).

As part of its mission to promote progressive social change in the food movement, and racial and economic equality for poor people of colour, in particular, *Growing Power* has established the *Growing Food and Justice for All Initiative* (GFJI). As leader Will Allen notes:

> 'The people hit hardest by the current food system are usually people of color – but even a decade ago, farming carried a stigma in these communities. There were memories of sharecropping, like in my own family. Today, folks are jumping onto the "good food" revolution, and it's crucial they see faces that look like their own' (quoted in Kaufman 2010: 17). The mission of GFJI is thus both to encourage the participation of people of colour in the food movement and to address racism and social injustice on a broad scale: GFJI is 'an initiative aimed at dismantling racism and empowering low-income and communities of color through sustainable and local agriculture' (Growing Power 2012e).

GFJI's aims are accomplished in the building of a national anti-racism network through a blog, newsletter, website, and social networking, provision of financial and educational support for community initiatives to dismantle racism, policy activism, and training of community-based anti-racism trainers (Growing Power 2012e). Above all else, however, is GFJI's annual conference, and strong presence at *Growing Power's* (2012f) urban farming conferences. The 'Intensive Leadership Facilitation Training' (ILFT) immediately before the 4th annual GFJI Conference in 2011, for example, was 'designed to build a community of leaders and provide intensive training and dialogue for participants to facilitate anti-racist food justice trainings in their own regions/communities' (GFJI 2011: 7). During the ILFT training, participants engaged in 'farming activities (at *Growing Power's* farm site) that explore how to build a just food system, identify barriers to achieving justice and equity, historical challenges and community building' (ibid: 7). They further

discussed 'examples of institutional and structural racism and how it operates..., practical applications of facilitating change and becoming a change agent', and individual roles and processes of anti-racism work, including strategies and action plans (ibid: 7). In general, GFJI educational initiatives address the intersectionality of various oppressions, including racism, class, homophobia and sexism. At the September 2012 Growing Power Conference (upward of 3,000 participants expected), for instance, the GFJI (2012) Track includes topics such as Race and Food; LGBTQ People in the Food Movement; Environmental Injustice; Indigenous Rights: Global Movement, Survival and Cultural Preservation; Occupy the Food System: Action, Organize and Protest; Practical Food Justice with Hands on Tools and Activities to Take to Your Community; and Community Based Policy.

No. 1: Milwaukee

Food production and the recovery of Indigenous knowledge and identity

Formerly occupying some 6 million acres of land in New York State, the Oneida People now living in Wisconsin were, before they were dispossessed of their lands, slash and burn agriculturalists, who rotated crops of corn, squash and beans through swidden fields, hunted and 'farmed' deer, caught fish and collected wild foods (Loew 2001: 100-102). In the late 1800s, the Oneida were forced off their New York lands by hostile white settlers and unscrupulous land speculators. In the early 1800s, they migrated to Green Bay, Wisconsin and purchased a small strip of land from the Menominee Nation, settling along the Fox River to practice sedentary agriculture (Oneida Tribe 2012a). In 1838, the Nation was allotted 65,430 acres (263 km2) of land, but in a familiar history of dispossession, by 1999, most of this land was in private hands (Loew 2001). However, by 2009, with buy-back of traditional lands by tribal government, the Oneida Nation regained sovereignty over 22,398 acres (90 km2) of their original reserved lands (Griffin 2009). Today, there are 16,567

Oneida people in Wisconsin, about 6,000 of whom live on or near the Oneida reservation (WSTI 2011).

From 1893 to 1920, Oneida children, like many other Native Americans, were subject to forced assimilation policies in Indian boarding schools. In these schools (some as far away as Pennsylvania and Virginia), Oneida children were punished if they spoke their native language or practiced cultural rituals, were clad in drab and proper Victorian era clothes, had their hair cut short, were assigned foreign names, fed foreign foods, and taught a curriculum comprised of half academic training and half menial, and often gruelling, manual labour (Loew 2001). The 'de-culturalising' aim of these schools, whereby native children were forcibly removed from their homes to rid them of their Indigenous culture, was similar to assimilationist policies across the U.S., Canada, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand (Smith 2009). For the Oneida people, a cultural renaissance of sorts began in the Red Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s in urban Milwaukee (Loew 2001). By the 1980s, the Oneida were among the first Indian tribes to sign a gambling agreement with the State of Wisconsin, and subsequently opened a thriving casino, hotel, restaurant and convention centre complex. Funds generated were then invested on Oneida lands in a 'textbook example' of community development and cultural revival: this included land buy-backs, establishment of a healthcare clinic, housing, a court and police system, social welfare programs, a library, an early childhood program, elder care, higher education scholarships, a tribal school system, and an integrated community food system (Loew 2001; Oneida Tribe 2012b).

As one strand of Oneida cultural revival and education, the Oneida Nation elementary school was established in 1994. Together with the Oneida secondary school, the school system now enrols over 400 students (WSTI 2011), and offers a bilingual and bicultural curriculum based on traditional Oneida culture, comprising Oneida

language, music, history, Indigenous knowledge and customary traditions. Included in this education is the elementary school's Three Sisters Garden (corn, squash, beans), and medicinal and herb gardens. Here, children grow Indigenous foods, learn Oneida food stories and dances, harvest crops and learn to cook and present a community feast of traditional foods (Griffin 2009; Vasquez 2011). As a second major strand in recovering and promoting traditional culture, since 1994, the Oneida Nation has developed the 'Oneida Community Integrated Food Systems' comprised of an 83 acre certified organic farm, a 40 acre apple orchard (4,000 trees), a cannery, greenhouses, small-scale aquaponics, a food pantry, health centre, farmers market, a museum, a retail store selling traditional foods, and a youth program (Oneida Tribe 2012c). Within this food system, the *Tsyunhehkw^* ('life sustenance') program is a 'culturally and community based agricultural program for the Oneida Nation' whose aim is to play 'a pivotal role in the reintroduction of high quality, organically grown foods that will ensure a healthier and more fulfilling life for the *On^yote?aka* (Oneida), and (be) the facilitator of positive dietary and nutritional change' (Ibid.). The three major components of the system are agriculture, the cannery and retail sales.

Jeff Metoxen (2005), manager of *Tsyunhehkw^*, writes about the reason why traditional agricultural and food processing are being recovered, adapted and taught to community members and others:

> It is our On^yote?aka (Oneida) Cultural Belief that when the humans were created, shukwaya?tisu (Creator) instructed them that all that was needed for a good life was readily available to them. They would want for nothing; there was water, food, medicines – everything needed to sustain them. All that was asked of the humans was to gather what was provided and give thanks… Over time, we failed to provide this recognition and ignored our responsibilities…the Three Sisters were going to leave this world if the people continued in this way. The people recognized they had failed and began again to honor the Three Sisters in their

> ceremonies…We continue today in honoring all of creation, and we recognize the Three Sisters in our ceremonies…As we care for the Three Sisters, we continue to learn how to accomplish this, and share that knowledge. Caring for the White Corn goes hand in hand with caring for and respecting our natural environment and all that it provides in return. It is our job to respect all that the Creator has offered, and we look at food as the natural medicines and health provided for us by the Creator.

Central to these teachings is the recovery of Indigenous knowledge of the Three Sisters (corn, squash, beans), and in particular, the revival of Oneida varieties of White Corn, a traditional protein-rich variety of corn at the heart of the Oneida diet, culture, cosmology, health and agriculture. Teachings in the agricultural component of *Tsyunhehkw^* are offered to the community in hands-on workshops on growing of organic heirloom White Corn, creating a Three Sisters Garden, and growing traditional herbs, berries and vegetables. In the revival of traditional agricultural knowledge, visits back to Oneida relations living in New York and Canada are also important (Vasquez 2011). In fact, the original White Corn seeds now planted on-site in Wisconsin were obtained from the Oneida Nation in New York in 1992 (Metoxen 2005).

Another source of traditional knowledge and education is The Oneida Museum: it explains the history of White Corn, the Three Sisters, the Green Corn Story, cycle of ceremonies, the Thanksgiving Address, women and men's traditional roles, the longhouse, and Oneida language, music, symbolism, history and art. In the fall of the year, the annual *Tsyunhehkw^* Harvest and Husking Bee serves as a further pedagogical site where Oneida people 'share the knowledge of snapping, husking and braiding our White Corn. With community support the corn is hand harvested and braided to dry in the Oneida tradition' (p. 4). Elders and historical records are consulted to learn more about 'traditional ways to care for the crops, land, and the animals' and much knowledge is gained as well

through trial and error (Metoxen 2005: 4; Vasquez 2011). At the *Tsyunhehkw^* Cannery, workshops are regularly presented on how to make culturally significant White Corn foods like corn soup, corn bread, corn meal, flour and dehydrated corn as well as canning and preservation of locally grown fruits and vegetables (Oneida Tribe 2012d). Finally, educational aims of *Tsyunhehkw^* are put into practice in the Oneida Tsyunhehkwa Retail Store, which sells and teaches about a wide range of traditional medicinal herbs and oils, White Corn products (from the Cannery), wild rice and herbal teas (Oneida Tribe 2012e). In this effort, the store runs an interactive Facebook information and advice blog, holds an annual open house, and offers a Brown Bag lunch series, with regular workshops on holistic and traditional Oneida medicine.

Discussion

Both of the community initiatives presented above appear to be rich pedagogical sites in the food movement. Each aims to convey a particular oppositional knowledge, practice, ideology and ethic of local, sustainable food production and consumption. In examining their public pedagogy (i.e., the documentation found in their websites, reports, newsletters, blogs and other public media such as videos and news accounts), it is evident that these sites provide an educational curriculum which could be used to foster grassroots, oppositional adult learning – in workshops, demonstrations, hands-on experience, cultural rituals, ceremonies and feasts, experimentation, and the sharing of local and indigenous knowledge in stories and community dialogue.

The two cases present an educational curriculum which is in part about learning, re-learning and re-valuing traditional foodwork – including growing, preparing, processing and harvesting food, but also eating food: as re-envisioned practices, these are in fact pedagogical acts. This pedagogy then helps not only to undo the

legacies of racism, colonialism and dispossession and the whiteness' upon which the US food system is built (Slocum 2006), but also to establish a more just system of food security, cultural identity and health for racialised groups such the Oneida and marginalised African American urban youth. Part of the intent of organizing the many shared meals, rituals and food ceremonies in the life of *Tsyunhehkw^* (e.g. the Oneida Harvest and Husking Bee), for example, is to teach a common Oneida identity through the act of preparing and eating traditional foods. This sort of learning, as it is described by the Oneida organizers and public descriptions of *Tsyunhehkw^*, is partly about the recovery of lost knowledge and cultural practices, but is also about embodied, relational and spiritual learning alongside others in the community; it is means of reviving collective Oneida identity through food.

The teaching and learning which takes place through *Tsyunhehkw^* might thus be understood as a decolonising, political act of popular education, in which not only cultural revival, but also food and land sovereignty, social justice, and critical place-based education meet at a particular juncture of adult learning the food movement. The connection of food and land as a source of identity, sustenance and collective history is particularly important in the larger project of re-possessing dispossessed territories, place and culture. Part of the history of colonisation of Native American peoples was to take away both native lands and the native foods which flourished upon these lands. As close as a century ago, most American Indian Nations produced almost all their own food; today they typically produce less than 20% (HTE 2009: 19). Native American reservations, like the urban inner city, are often food deserts, a long car ride from the nearest supermarkets and sources of healthy food. Partly as a result of their reliance on imported, highly processed industrial foods, many Native communities suffer high rates of diabetes, heart disease and obesity. These diseases are enduring legacies of land dispossession, de-culturalisation through boarding schools, and the concomitant

loss of cultural, agricultural, spiritual and ancestral knowledge (LaDuke 2005; McGregor 2004). In overcoming the ill effects of colonialism through *Tsyunhehkw^*, Oneida youth and adults may discover their history and culture, for example, in the act of gardening the Three Sisters, learning to braid and hang White Corn for drying, participating in Oneida rituals and ceremonies of planting, growth and thanksgiving, or simply listening as community elders recount the Oneida Creation Story or equally, the traumas and violence of boarding schools. This learning in *Tsyunhehkw^* clearly involves more than just cultural learning: it is also political education, and potentially transformative.

In *Growing Power*, like Oneida's *Tsyunhehkw^*, there are numerous community meals and events as part of the public pedagogy; however, unlike *Tsyunhehkw^*, these farm meals often bring together people of different class, racial and ethnic backgrounds to prepare, eat and celebrate the farm's food, which they have collectively helped to grow. In the racially and class-divided City of Milwaukee, these meals can represent a political act: when local African American people in a poor 'black' neighbourhood work alongside, sit down to eat a meal, and talk together with middle class people from the city's nearby 'white' Eastside neighbourhood, the process can be transformative for both. That is, it may involve a realisation of shared humanity, but also better understandings of relations of power, white privilege and difference across race, class and culture, and perhaps even promote a shared commitment to political activism for change. On the other hand, there is also the possibility that 'white' people dining with 'black' people may be (unwittingly) engaging in the cultural politics of 'eating the other', in an act of cultural commodification and appropriation (hooks 1992). As bell hooks (1992: 21) tells us, in this form of cross-cultural consumption, 'ethnicity becomes spice, seasoning that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture'. Along these lines, Wisconsin native Lisa Heldke (2001: 78), for example, writes of her 'adventures' in 'cultural food colonialism' as

she sampled a diversity of foods at the 'ethnic' restaurants of Chicago, Minneapolis and St. Paul: 'I was motivated by a deep desire to have contact with and somehow to own an experience of an Exotic Other to make myself more interesting'. The political economy of urban space, food, race and poverty is likewise an important consideration in understanding the potential for cross-cultural learning in *Growing Power*. Sharon Zukin (2005), for instance, examines how a history of 'shopping for ethnicity' across spatial barriers of class and ethnicity in New York City has led to urban gentrification, forcing African American, Latino, Caribbean and other minority and working class residents out of their own neighbourhoods. Thus the very revival of a neighbourhood through the efforts of organizations like *Growing Power* might in fact sow the seeds of its later spatial consumption by wealthier, 'whiter' outsiders. How these issues are addressed in the public pedagogy of social justice and anti-racism in *Growing Power* is an important question for further research.

Since *Growing Power's* educational practices are centred symbolically and materially on empowering marginalised people of colour, and not primarily in the ('white') alternative food movement, they are, however, well-positioned to address the racist and class foundations of the U.S. food system, and the likelihood of further 'colonial' abuse. To this end, *Growing Power* offers a curriculum of safe, skilled, and productive agricultural labour and education for African American and other youth, promotes food security, sustainability and social justice in the poor, racialised communities in which it operates, and directly addresses sustainability, racism and social justice in its public pedagogy. Unlike much of the north American food movement, *Growing Power* is not centred on the norms, people and food practices of middle class 'whiteness' (Guthman 2008; Slocum 2006); but instead proposes educational alternatives to these. In this, *Growing Power*, and above all, its *Growing Food* and Justice for All Initiative, join other efforts attesting to the power of anti-racist educative activism in the food movement, such as Mo' Betta Foods

in Oakland, California, Food from the Hood in Los Angeles, and Just Foods in New York (Guthman 2008: 394). As such, *Growing Power* and these other social justice initiatives appear to embody a space and pedagogy of hope rather than white, middle class privilege in the food movement.

From this study, it is not clear how gender roles and relations play out in the public pedagogy of either *Growing Power* or *Tsyunhehkw^*, although these are important questions for research on public pedagogy in the food movement. What, for example, is gender division of labour in the growing of food, the processing, preparation and serving of food, the organizational and productive decisions, the distribution of income and benefits? How might these two cases of public pedagogy be oppressive to women, or alternately, a source of increased capabilities and freedom? Does a return to traditional food cropping, harvest and preparation in *Tsyunhehkw^* mean an intensification of gender roles, an increase in women's work and a decrease in power, for example? Or is the very shape of this feminist analysis of foodwork simply a further expression of 'whitestream' Western colonialism; a misunderstanding of the many complex and diverse relations of gender in indigenous societies, some of which hold women and two-spirited people in positions of great reverence and power (Grande 2004; St. Denis 2007)? These are also excellent questions for further research.

Conclusion

It is evident from this study that *Tsyunhehkw^* and *Growing Power* act as sites of public pedagogy which disrupt and create educational alternatives to dominant racialised and classed ideologies and practices in the U.S. food system. As such, they contribute to more critical, socially aware conceptualizations and practices of production, distribution and consumption in the food movement, as it moves away from its white, middle class foundations toward more broadly inclusive incarnations. These pedagogies are cognizant

of historical legacies of racism, colonialism and class oppression and work to overcome them. By contrast, it is not clear how they take up an understanding of gender oppression in their educational work. In both cases, the importance of informal and transformative adult learning is evident in their aims, curriculum and educational processes. How and where this learning occurs in practice, and how it might be encouraged by adult educators; that is, how these sites mobilise people to social action, who is mobilised, and with what results, is fertile ground for further research, both in these and other sites of public pedagogy in the food movement.

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When traditions become innovations and innovations become traditions in everyday food pedagogies

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This paper explores the way learning to cook remains important for the maintenance of 'ethnic' food traditions and how sharing food knowledge plays a role in intercultural exchanges. Ethnographic data from an ongoing study in Melbourne is presented to highlight how, in everyday practices, both tradition and innovation are involved in learning experiences related to cooking. Using an everyday multiculturalism perspective, the study was designed to investigate the resilience of ethnic food cultures in the face of increasing industrialisation in global food systems. In this paper, I focus in particular on the interplay between tradition and innovation in everyday settings by drawing closely on three women's accounts of cooking and learning.

The women remain attached to the food traditions they learned by observing and taking part in daily routines of meal preparation

and they stress that many of these practices need to be preserved. At the same time, their accounts reveal how everyday settings can be considered as 'pedagogical spaces' where opportunities for innovation arise and new knowledge about food and cooking can be acquired. Families, schools, travel, workplaces and neighbourhood networks emerged as sites where traditional food knowledge can be shared and new skills developed. The paper contributes to our understanding of food pedagogies by highlighting the dynamic relationship between tradition and innovation in everyday, mundane encounters and exchanges in multicultural societies.

Introduction

This paper explores the way learning to cook remains important for the maintenance of 'ethnic' food traditions and how sharing food knowledge plays a role in intercultural exchanges. Ethnographic data from an ongoing study in Melbourne is presented to highlight how, in everyday practices, both tradition and innovation are involved in learning experiences related to cooking. The empirical work described here took place during 2010-2011 in a study designed to investigate the resilience of ethnic food cultures in the face of increasing industrialisation in global food systems. In this paper I focus, in particular, on the interplay between tradition and innovation in everyday settings by drawing closely on three women's accounts of cooking and learning.

Many observers believe traditional cooking skills are receding because modern, industrialized food systems offer consumers more opportunities to eat pre-prepared meals. However, notions of tradition and innovation used in discussions of cooking practices are problematic because they have not been carefully defined (Short 2006: 113). In both scholarly and popular discourse on cooking, terms such as 'traditional' are loosely defined but generally used to mean

natural, unprocessed and 'authentic' products and 'cooking from scratch'. Innovation in cooking also can, and is, defined in various ways. One way it can be defined is to indicate practices associated with processed food products and shortcuts (Ritzer 2008); another is to indicate new 'foodie' trends (Laudan 2001). But for the purpose of this paper, I will define innovation as the practice of changing one's 'traditional' foods as one draws on new knowledges and skills from others.

The lack of definition has led to imprecise notions of what constitute actual cooking skills and how they are learned. For instance, Frances Short asks why frying a piece of fresh fish is considered to be 'proper cooking', when heating a ready-made fish meal in a microwave – a practice that might require as much physical dexterity as frying fresh fish – is not seen in the same way? (2006: 99). According to Short, this suggests that in continuing debates about the perceived decline in cooking capabilities (Lang & Caraher 2001; Murcott 1997), knowing how to cook is often portrayed solely as a set of technical skills. Short argues this is insufficient for explaining how food knowledge and skills are acquired and reproduced. She recommends that attention be shifted to the person performing or learning the tasks involved in cooking. A 'person-centred' focus, rather than concentrating on technical abilities, enables us to take into account the attitudes, beliefs and daily lived experience of the person doing the cooking (Short 2006: 98). For this paper, using such an approach provides a way of understanding how broader social and cultural processes have a bearing on learning to cook as the following review of the literature illustrates.

Food: learning and tradition

There is a significant body of work on food exploring notions of continuity and change in class, gender, identity and consumption, but there is little discussion in this literature on learning to cook

(notable exceptions include Duruz 2005; Short 2006; Sutton 2001). Furthermore, there is emergent literature on how food in everyday intercultural interactions provides opportunities for learning (Wise 2011; Noble 2009; Flowers & Swan 2012). This brief survey of the literature will suggest how questioning the interplay between tradition and innovation in contemporary multicultural societies is helpful for revealing the processes involved in learning to cook as well as for understanding how people learn about other cultures through their foodways.

Alan Warde (1997) points out that many concerns about food in contemporary societies are laments for the perceived passing of traditional cooking practices (see also Lang & Caraher 2001). These concerns are in line with the claims in George Ritzer's *McDonaldization* thesis that eating cultures are increasingly dominated by standardization and homogeneity (2008).

At the same time, however, a substantial body of work stresses the resilience of ethnic cuisines in the modern world. For instance, maintaining traditional cooking and eating practices is seen as fundamental to processes of multicultural home-building and creating a sense of belonging in a new setting for those in migrant communities (Hage 1997). Traditional ethnic food practices are closely linked to the symbolic significance of shared cultural values (Kwik 2008), as markers of ethnic identity (Beoku-Betts 1995), and for providing cultural strategies for negotiating generational differences (Vallianatos & Raine 2008). While such works are useful for framing multicultural experiences, they frequently leave aside the question of how cooking skills and practices are actually acquired. One scholar who does focus on this question is David Sutton.

In his treatment of food and memory, David Sutton focuses on food traditions being taught through processes of 'embodied apprenticeship'. In these processes, culinary knowledge and skills are transmitted and received through *taking part* in the physical

performance of 'doing/learning cooking' (2001: 126). Because much of the practical knowledge required for accumulating cooking skills involves sedimentation of sensory imagery into memories, watching and copying are the primary way this kind of learning is achieved. These are largely informal, mimetic processes where cultural taste preferences and memories become embedded by observing, listening, smelling and tasting. A bank of cognitive, sensory and physical skills develop together to build a 'stock of knowledge' upon which to draw in future practice.

A stock of knowledge involves more than simply knowing the manual tasks necessary for preparing food. Short argues that 'perceptual, conceptual, emotional and logistical' skills are all brought into play when people cook. This is 'tacit' knowledge necessary for the organization and multi-tasking involved in routine meal provision (2006: 61). Sutton (2001) emphasises that most of this knowledge is absorbed casually and often without formal 'lessons': the body learns through habituated practice in a way that cannot be set down in more formal situations such as following written instructions in recipe books. It is, as Short suggests, 'inadvertently gathered know-how' (2006: 52). Sensory cues such as smell and taste are particularly important for indicating when food is correctly prepared according to custom and the cultural tastes of those who will be eating it (Choo 2004).

As many observers point out, the assumption that domestic foodwork is primarily the responsibility of women is found in most societies (Beagan et. al 2008; Beoku-Betts 1995; Lupton 1996). Embodied apprenticeship is shaped by the gendered division of domestic labour and is illustrated by the fact that it is frequently an older female relative who is demonstrating how a dish should be prepared and a younger female who is expected to absorb the knowledge imparted by taking part in the process with her (Sutton 2001: 134).

Another salient feature in how traditional food practices are learned is repetition. Gestures and practices used for preparing food are repeated as is the seasonal rotation of dishes associated with traditional cuisines. Warde claims familiarity engendered by repeated practice is indicative of the way certain dishes or entire cuisines come to be regarded as traditional (1997: 64). For food to be judged as belonging to a tradition it must be thought of as long-lived and authentic. In Warde's definition these become moral and aesthetic values.

There is, however, a danger of romanticising notions of tradition (Laudan 2001). Jean Duruz notes that regrets about supposedly 'lost' traditions are often voiced as discourses of 'nostalgic return' to a past where it is imagined the food was better than that of the present day (Duruz 1999). As these writers note, the problem with such accounts is they ignore the difficulties of daily life such as the labour-intensive practices involved in 'traditional' meal provision. Who today, Short asks (2006: 101), really wants to pluck their own chickens or mill their own grain? Indeed, it has been suggested that calls for the resurrection of traditional cooking practices might disguise a socially conservative argument that women 'belong' in the kitchen and are to blame if negative outcomes arise when traditional practices fall into disuse (Lang & Caraher 2001: 11).

This raises interesting questions about the continuation of traditional food practices and learning to cook in modern societies. While people find the idea of longevity in a cuisine an appealing one (Warde 1997: 66), there is widespread agreement in the literature that traditions are not fixed and immutable. Sutton argues that even the most entrenched customs associated with traditional cooking can be disrupted by circumstance and therefore the stock of knowledge must allow for adaptation (Sutton 2001: 129). Warde found that a certain amount of improvisation is necessary for a practice to be successfully

sustained over time because other factors intrude especially the amount of time and money available for cooking (1997: 129).

In sum then, the literature on food and tradition tells us that people remain attached to distinct styles of cooking and transmission of food knowledge because they regard them as providing comfort and a sense of belonging in relation to collective cooking and eating practices. There are equally appealing attractions to be found through learning about other cuisines and customs and in the next section one way this occurs is explored.

Food: learning and everyday multiculturalism

Everyday multiculturalism perspectives are particularly useful for exploring ideas about food and learning in contemporary Australia because, as Amanda Wise and Selvaraj Velayutham point out, an approach that takes 'the lived experience of diversity' as its central focus is able to show how 'social actors experience and negotiate cultural difference on the ground' (Wise & Velayutham 2009: 3). Everyday multiculturalism emphasizes 'ordinary' encounters with difference and diversity; 'micro-moments' that occur in mundane situations such as workplaces, neighbourhoods or schoolyards (Noble 2009). For the purposes of this paper, when these encounters involve interactions around food they become important for considering how possibilities for learning and innovation arise.

The attention to 'on the ground' experience does not, however, mean that broader structural processes are ignored or discounted (Wise & Velayutham 2009). This is important when investigating food practices because complex factors including access to economic resources, age-differentiated nutritional requirements, powerful marketing messages and increasingly individualized taste preferences inevitably impinge on both learning and sustaining cooking practices (Bell & Hollows 2007).

One such factor is the migratory flows characterizing the current phase of globalization which, it has been suggested, have helped broaden food choices available for consumers in modern cities (James 2005; Wise 2011). As migrant communities establish food businesses to cater for the tastes and traditions of their own members, the wider population is also offered opportunities to try food from other cultures. Donna Gabaccia (1998) points out that mainstream businesses then begin to offer different food ranges and are quick to commodify 'exotic' produce as consumers become more familiar with 'new' dishes and different ways of preparing food. Ahmad Jamal (1996) argues that the appearance of 'ethnic' products in mainstream supermarkets helps those in the majority culture to adopt products from other cultures into their cooking. In a recent view of the complex relationships in multicultural societies, Greg Noble explores the way 'being together' is regularly negotiated in practical terms, including via reciprocal transactions around food (Noble 2009). He suggests that 'strangeness' disappears through habitual contact as people are brought together in ordinary situations such as sporting clubs, schools and community groups (ibid: 61).

While Warde says curiosity about 'foreign food' is a feature of modern life (1997: 59), Ben Highmore warns that, although attraction to the food of another culture can be seen as a form of learning it does not necessarily equate to a positive attitude towards multiculturalism more generally (2008: 292). Furthermore, Gill Valentine points out that some types of daily interactions between people from different groups are not really 'multicultural encounters' at all (2008: 326) and are often cross-cut by uneven power relations of class, gender and age. In this regard, Ghassan Hage has criticized using food as an indicator of multicultural interaction as being superficial and even exploitative (Hage 1997). Hage argues that the experience of dining out in ethnic restaurants is more often practised to enhance the cultural capital of the (mostly white and middle class) diners than establishing any real interconnections between migrants and the mainstream

(1997). For him, the relationship is a distant and distancing one; it is 'multiculturalism without migrants' in which extant power hierarchies in the relationships between the centre and periphery are left undisturbed (Hage 1997).

And yet, Uma Narayan (1997) argues, an appreciation for the food of others might be a first step towards deeper recognition: 'gustatory relish for the food of 'Others' may help contribute to an appreciation of their presence in the national community, despite ignorance about the cultural contexts of their foods – these pleasures of the palate providing more powerful bonds than knowledge' (cited in Highmore 2008: 391). I want to highlight this point because, as Noble argues, it is the multidirectional nature of intercultural exchange that is the most significant characteristic of the evolving 'diversification of diversity' in Australia today. He shows that while 'many long-time Australians take up the diverse cultural goods made available by cultural diversity, so too migrants and their children take up elements of the prevailing Australian ways of life *and* maintain the diverse traditions and practices they have brought with them, *and* create new traditions and associations' (Noble 2009: 48, original italics). In this sense, intercultural exchanges can play an important role for exploring the dynamics of tradition and innovation within everyday food pedagogies.

What follows illustrates how sharing food with someone from another cultural tradition can be an introduction to learning about the dense layers of meaning associated with the food of that culture (Morgan et al. 2005). This rarely occurs in a vacuum. Intercultural sharing of food has the capacity to transform interactions between people 'where identities are not left behind, but can be shifted and opened up in moments of non-hierarchical reciprocity, and are sometimes mutually reconfigured in the process' (Wise 2009: 23). Shopping, cooking and swapping recipes are ideal, 'unthreatening' ways that intercultural food exchanges intermesh in daily practice (Duruz 2005) and create meaningful connections between people (Wise 2011).

The interplay between traditional and innovative food pedagogies

The empirical study described here took place during 2010-2011 and was designed to investigate the resilience of ethnic food cultures in the face of increasing industrialisation in global food systems. Participants were recruited in local shops and markets in an inner suburb of Melbourne. The area has a multicultural 'feel' and provides an ideal space for exploring the ways people are 'doing togetherness' (Valentine 2008). In-depth interviews were conducted in 32 households and raised a number of issues covered in the literature discussed above. The participants were asked to describe how they learned to cook, who had taught them and what factors most influenced their ongoing practices. In addition, they were invited to discuss how they adapted new ideas and practices into their daily routines.

This section draws on three of the participants, Nadia, Anita and Simone, and is structured around their responses. I am singling these three out because they exemplify the two significant themes common to all the participant's responses about learning to cook. Firstly, learning to cook was described as the result of informal, habituated processes and was principally absorbed through observation of an older relative, usually a woman, preparing food in the home. This was the case even amongst those participants, particularly male, who had not been encouraged to cook from a young age. All of the participants remembered watching meals prepared and were able to reproduce the practices when necessary. The second broad theme was the on-going accumulation of cooking knowledge and skills influenced by multicultural diversity. While their own cultural tastes and traditions remained important, the participants also described everyday interconnections and exchanges with people in which they were offered opportunities to learn new ways to prepare food. Most often, these occurred in workplaces, neighbourhood and friendship networks or through intermarriage. What follows shows

how the women's cooking regimes incorporated both traditional and innovative practices which lends weight to arguments from the literature that learning to cook is a multifaceted process (Short 2006).

Nadia:

Nadia, who identifies strongly as Italian-Australian, is a forty-one year old, full-time mother with three pre-teen children. Nadia came to Australia as a child, as did her Macedonian partner who runs a small second-hand furniture business. Their garden has well-established fruit trees and several sizeable vegetable beds but the kitchen is clearly the centre of most household activities. Well-used pots and pans are stacked near a large oven, the children's homework and newspapers are spread out on the table and a range of cooking equipment, old and new, occupies the benches. There are no cookery books in the kitchen and when this is mentioned, Nadia shrugs and responds that she doesn't need them. 'I come from Italy, so I eat lots of pasta', she offers, by way of explanation. Nadia begins her interview by saying:

> In the Italian families, everybody cooks! From day one, everybody cooks... you are with your mum and you cook with her. It's what you do.

She goes on to describe her children making gnocchi with her mother:

> Of course, it's their favourite 'cos they love making them. ... So they go to the shops, they buy the ingredients, they bring 'em back. Mum boils the potatoes, she does the semolina, she does the mashing potatoes; you know it's the whole process. And they get the sieve and they make the [gnocchi] and they cook 'em and they make the sauce and stuff. It's the whole day. Not a whole day, but at least three or four hours of an activity. But that's just what they do; especially grandmothers. It's just what they do.

Nadia's description of intergenerational transmission of food knowledge and skills is akin to Sutton's account of embodied

apprenticeship (Sutton 2001: 134). Her elaboration of her mother's gnocchi-making 'lessons' with the children shows how closely the process of learning to cook is connected to both gendered assumptions underpinning domestic food work and practical skills acquisition. In this account, the labour-intensity of traditional cuisines and the assumption that responsibility for it falls to women appear seamlessly intertwined as 'just what they do'. However, what Nadia has articulated here is the way, in some women's experience, taken-for-granted expectations about cooking practices come to be positively inflected as enjoyable tasks. Nadia made it clear that she enjoys the culinary work she performs for her family and friends, and describes herself as 'a bit of a crowd-pleaser':

> Some people feel it's a chore, I think… But for me it's an extension of me, of my kind of caring and sharing. So if you love someone, you can share what you've got.

Nadia's comments are typical of all the women from the broader study who did most of the cooking in their households. Rather than seeing this as 'false consciousness' or a rationale employed to disguise an unequal, unfair division of domestic labour, a view of kitchens as spaces for celebrations of feminine innovation and power brings with it the possibility that in spite of the continued lack of recognition of the 'workful' nature of routine domestic cooking tasks (De Vault 1997:183), many women regard cooking as an avenue for creative expressions of identity. In this view, learning to cook and acquiring new cooking skills is a form of 'positive feminine subjectivity' (Lupton 2000: 185). The current popularity of food shows on television may have raised the status of cooking and enabled women to claim the kitchen as a creative space over and above the obligation to provide family meals (Hollows 2003).

However, earlier incidents in Nadia's culinary education were not all positive. She was regularly teased at school for the type of lunches her mother provided; a former boyfriend refused to eat at her house

claiming he didn't think it was 'safe' to eat homemade salami; she has repeatedly tried to convince her neighbours that her children, unlike their own, are fond of garlic and herbs in their food. These are common experiences raised in discussions of multiculturalism and illustrate the everyday racism experienced by many migrants when their food is rejected (Highmore 2008; Valentine 2008).

Nadia also described how her cooking changed through marriage and travel. She has extended her culinary repertoire as she caters for her partner's food preferences which are different from her own and as she tries to recreate the meals she tasted while overseas. While discussing these influences, Nadia acknowledged that the opportunities she had for learning other cuisines was not something that had been available for her mother:

> I don't think I'm that traditional as my mother… But mum never really worked, like out of the house so she really kept her ways… In my mum's house, we only eat Italian… But I think 'cos I also cook like [partner's] family. Also, I do cook Asian meals. And also sometimes the Greek comes in there too because you're here and there are Greeks everywhere, you know.

Nadia has seen Australian cooking and eating cultures change throughout her lifetime:

> Like, when you go to someone else's house these days it's not like it used to be… They will bring out the ciabatta, they will bring out the sundried tomatoes, you know? I feel that Italian food has become part of Melbourne food. It's like everyone has caffe latte and everybody has focaccia and everyone eats pasta. Yeah, I think Italian culture has amalgamated into Melbourne.

The 'amalgamated' cultural exchange Nadia describes here is reminiscent of Noble's thesis of the multidirectional interactions between migrants and the mainstream (2009: 48) *and* of the importance Hage attributes to home-building practices (1997). The appearance of food products associated with Italian cuisine such

as sun-dried tomatoes on the shelves of Australia supermarkets indicates they have become popular with a broad cross-section of the population. At the same time Nadia expresses pride in the fact that her traditions have been readily adopted into Australian foodways. This is one way food traditions, albeit in commodified form in this example, can be taken up by others and adopted as innovative ways of exploring other cuisines.

Anita

The second interviewee, Anita, is a single, twenty-six year old language teacher. Her parents migrated from Italy in the sixties and worked at the Ford factory until their retirement when they bought a house with a garden large enough to sustain the family. The kitchen in Anita's flat is crammed with preserves and produce from her father's garden and she grows a surprising number of vegetables and herbs in her own tiny courtyard. Anita was born in Australia but regularly travels to Italy to stay with aunts and cousins and to continue her language studies. She describes her food traditions as 'Sicilian', being careful to make sure that it is understood as regionally distinct, not the more general 'Italian'. When asked who had taught her to cook, her reply is a pithy summation of the partly unconscious acquisition of food knowledge referred to by Short as 'inadvertently gathered know-how' (2006: 52): *'I don't know, you grow up and it just happens!'*

For Anita, learning to cook was intricately bound up with repetition and habit (Lupton 1996; Warde 1997). The following extract shows how this cements traditional dispositions of taste:

> I grew up having pasta con salsa, that's Sicilian. It's just pasta and sauce, passata. Every night! That's like five nights a week. Saturday we would have our homemade pizza, once again with all the homemade ingredients. And then Sunday we would have some leftovers. That was it; that was like the staple diet.

In Anita's reflection on her mother's cooking, the importance of preserving Sicilian recipes was a prominent concern. Her feelings of custodianship towards the recipes and cooking practices she had observed as a child were expressed in terms of an anxiety they would disappear if they fell into disuse. It is notable that Anita mentions only females as having any responsibility in this regard despite the fact that her brother and father also cook on occasion:

> And now I'm thinking I've gotta start taking responsibility! My nonna died last year… and then there's my mum and me and my sister and I've got a niece and everything but if we don't make an effort to learn these things then they won't exist 'cos they are not written down.

A 'pedagogy of preservation' is apparent here. This is evident when Anita claims that 'going by feel' is appropriate for cultural insiders whereas learning from books opens up the tradition for outsiders.

> I approach risotto in the same way as I guess Anglo folks would. Like, I'm using a recipe book rather than going by feel whereas if I'm making a pizza or if I'm making pasta, why would I look at a recipe book? I'll try different risottos like everyone else.

Anita assumes 'everyone' will want to try to find new ways of cooking because *'Anglo cuisine doesn't have too much of an evocative hold on us'*. The 'acculturation of the mainstream' to diverse food cultures also starts to change how ethnic food is perceived; many foods and cooking styles lose the label 'exotic' and become part of a widely shared and familiar set of meanings (Jamal 1996: 21). This was alluded to in Nadia's observations about Italian food becoming 'amalgamated' into Australian culinary landscapes and here, it is seen in Anita's view that mainstream Australian cooking habits continue to benefit through cross-cultural exchange of recipes and ingredients.

Her workplace is one site where this occurs. Anita offers her co-workers simple Sicilian recipes and brings arancini for them to try; they reciprocate by teaching her something of their cuisine in return:

> At work [there are] a lot of Anglo-Aussie women and they have taken me under their wing and they find it amusing that I won't know about these Aussie traditions. Oh my god, they taught me to make… it was golden syrup dumplings! And I'm like, 'what?' Yeah, but they take great delight in sharing these things.

In exchanges of this kind, the pedagogical encounter moves from the domestic sphere to a broader, work-place setting where sharing is the key feature. Learning about food from another culture is not simply the acquisition of a recipe; it opens up opportunities to learn about the broader circumstances surrounding cuisines. Such exchanges do more than inform. They bring people together in ordinary and everyday instances of 'people-mixing' that can lead to establishment of ongoing relationships through cooking together (Noble 2009: 62).

Simone

Now I turn to an older woman from a different heritage and generation. Simone, seventy, is an outgoing woman of Anglo-Irish descent who lives alone in the small semi-detached cottage she bought once her five children had moved away. Simone relates a cooking repertoire based on the frugality of a working class upbringing and her struggle to raise her children alone on a meagre wage. During her interview, Simone describes the food of her childhood as 'the classic English diet of meat and three veg' and notes that this only started to change when she became active in political movements in the sixties and seventies and started to mix with 'bohemian people'. Simone gave an account of embodied learning:

> I suppose I learnt the basics of cooking from just being there and watching and helping and cutting up … And I think one of the difficult parts of cooking and why it is important to watch people is that a lot of it is about how the stuff looks at certain stages of preparation. So you know by looking at it that you have mixed it enough, or that you've kneaded it enough or that it's cooked enough. So that visual thing, that's really quite important… and

> the cookery books can't really tell you that. Even the photographs don't kind of work.

In the following extract, Simone recounts the effort of recreating a marmalade that tasted like the one her mother made. This is a task she now describes as 'a perpetual chore' made necessary by the fact that she cannot find a commercial product as much to her liking as the one she remembers. Eschewing convenience in favour of flavour and without a written recipe to guide her, reproducing the taste involves visualizing how her mother had done it. Importantly here is that she was not consciously aware that she remembered how to do it.

> I think it's like osmosis. With the marmalade, I didn't realize that I knew how to make it until I really sat down and thought 'Now this [bought product] is not the marmalade that I want. What did she do?' And then I kind of summoned it up… this is the way my mother made the marmalade and now that's how I cook marmalade. The unwritten recipe – and that's that thing about seeing something – you know when you look at the fruit that it's been boiled enough.

While visualization may be sufficient for reproducing oft-observed traditional practices, the discovery of food from an unfamiliar cuisine can be a prompt for learning to cook in innovative ways. Simone recalls her first experience of dining in a restaurant:

> I can remember when I was about eighteen and I was taken out to dinner and I was taken to one of the first licensed Italian restaurants in Melbourne… And I can remember what I had – I had veal scaloppine and I thought, 'hello, how long has this been going on?'

Following this discovery of food from outside the 'classic English diet' of her youth, Simone began experimenting with a wider range of cooking styles. Later, she learnt new recipes largely through talking to neighbours, 'especially old people' and local shopkeepers. This 'network' or 'neighbourhood pedagogy' has two interrelated outcomes: it teaches different ways of cooking and thinking

about food and it builds relationships of respect through creative experimentation (Morgan et al. 2005).

> Italian and Greek food was the first different food that I had and I owe my neighbours a lot for that. I can remember discovering olives… And I started, you know, trying things with oil and I remember the revelation of cooking cabbage with a little bit of oil and vinegar and what a difference that made.

Today, Simone's Sri Lankan son-in-law teaches her to cook his favourite dishes and, while doing so, she learns about different customs and manners associated with food and eating. Simone's previous experience of Sri Lankan cuisine has been from restaurants or using pre-prepared commercial products; now she is learning from watching her son-in-law creating dishes at home. There is a reversal of typical roles here: her age and gender suggest that she would be the one 'teaching' the younger male relative to cook but for Simone, learning in this way means she must re-situate herself as she takes part in the food preparation and becomes part of his family life.

> I've tried doing a few of the Sri Lankan recipes. For example, there is a beautiful chick pea curry that he makes with all these different spices. Now, when you taste that, you can't imagine even thinking one of those [pre-prepared] bottles is going to give you anything like it.

Here we see how Simone equates tradition with meals made from scratch. She values the way learning to make this food teaches her about traditions, in this case those of her Sri Lankan son-in-law. On the other hand, it also introduces innovation by extending the culinary repertoire she can draw on.

Conclusion

Families, schools, travel, workplaces, neighbourhoods and intermarriage can all be considered as 'pedagogical spaces' where long-lived, culturally distinct culinary skills continue to be practiced

and become sites that provide opportunities for acquiring new knowledge about food and cooking. The relationship between these is a dynamic one. For many people, learning to cook traditional food happens through repeated observation and taking part in daily routines of meal preparation as seen in the accounts of 'pedagogies of preservation' given by Nadia, Anita and Simone. At the same time, there are 'pedagogies of innovation' taking place. For Nadia, intermarriage and travel were prompts for her to change her cooking habits. In Anita's case, workplace relationships have been instrumental for showing her different ways of approaching food. And for Simone, dining out, neighbours and in-laws have led her to embrace a wider range of recipes.

These women have not jettisoned their 'own' ways of cooking or the traditions they find important. The data presented here suggests that traditional food knowledge and skills are not disappearing in the face of increasing industrialization in food systems as Ritzer has suggested (2008). But the accounts show this is because of effort, learning, and labour to preserve traditions. These traditions, in turn, become the ingredients for innovation as co-workers and friends swap traditional foods in everyday, mundane encounters often missed by popular and academic accounts. . A person-centred approach (Short 2006) as used here has shown that our understanding of food pedagogies could be broadened by paying more attention to pedagogies of preservation and pedagogies of innovation through what Wise calls 'micro-moments of hopeful encounter' between people of different ethnicities (2005: 183).

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'Savoir Fare': Are cooking skills a new morality?

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There has been a recent surge of interest in cooking skills in a diverse range of fields, such as health, education and public policy. There appears to be an assumption that cooking skills are in decline and that this is having an adverse impact on individual health and well-being, and family wholesomeness. The problematisation of cooking skills is not new, and can be seen in a number of historical developments that have specified particular pedagogies about food and eating. The purpose of this paper is to examine pedagogies on cooking skills and the importance accorded them. The paper draws on Foucault's work on governmentality. By using examples from the USA, UK and Australia, the paper demonstrates the ways that authoritative discourses on the know how and the know what about

food and cooking – called here 'savoir fare' – are developed and promulgated. These discourses, and the moral panics in which they are embedded, require individuals to make choices about what to cook and how to cook, and in doing so establish moral pedagogies concerning good and bad cooking. The development of food literacy programmes, which see cooking skills as life skills, further extends the obligations to 'cook properly' to wider populations. The emphasis on cooking knowledge and skills has ushered in new forms of government, firstly, through a relationship between expertise and politics which is readily visible through the authority that underpins the need to develop skills in food provisioning and preparation; secondly, through a new pluralisation of 'social' technologies which invites a range of private-public interest through, for example, television cooking programmes featuring cooking skills, albeit it set in a particular milieu of entertainment; and lastly, through a new specification of the subject can be seen in the formation of a choosing subject, one which has to problematise food choice in relation to expert advice and guidance. A governmentality focus shows that as discourses develop about what is the correct level of 'savoir fare', new discursive subject positions are opened up. Armed with the understanding of what is considered expert-endorsed acceptable food knowledge, subjects judge themselves through self-surveillance. The result is a powerful food and family morality that is both disciplined and disciplinary.

Introduction

In his book,*The omnivore's dilemma*, Michael Pollan (2007) begins by asking how was it that, almost overnight, the American idea of eating 'healthily' was revolutionised? Referring to newspaper stories about the role of high protein, low carbohydrate diets to promote weight loss, Pollan describes how this idea moved rapidly through the US food system, garnering support from experts and industry alike,

creating new markets for so-called 'low carb' foods, increasing sales of books based on Dr Atkin's-style high protein diets. The process also saw a rapid decline in the status of so-called tradition staple foods, like bread, potatoes and pasta, which were now deemed detrimental to health.

Pollan believes that this development was only possible because a culture, like that of the US, has no food tradition of its own. In other words, when there are no longstanding rules and rituals about what to eat and when to eat it, people's diets are at the whim of whatever popular discourse is served up whether this be from science, commerce or even journalistic wisdom. In the Australian context, Symons makes the same point when he describes Australian food culture as being industrial cuisine and having "a history without peasants" (Symons, 1982:10).

Pollan's point is that 'deep' food cultures – for example, those of France and Italy, which have been developed over a long period of time – are resilient to change, or at least change slowly, such is the case of the so-called 'Mediterranean diet'. This resilience to change comes from a number of sources, including strong anchoring in the ecological links about what foods can be grown and when, and how foods are transformed for human consumption using appropriate food processing methods. Embedded in 'deep' food culinary wisdom is knowledge not just about what to eat, but also how to find food, prepare it to create a dish and therefore make a meal. Thus the provisioning of food – food procurement, processing and cooking - is at the very centre of food cultures, and many cuisines give pride of place to the longevity of traditional recipes and cooking techniques as an indication of not only the integrity of food and eating patterns, but of the culture itself. At the heart of these processes are skills in cooking. The belief that cooking skills are passed down from one generation to the next supports a confidence in particular social and cultural structures which see the domestic sphere as central.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the salience of cooking skills and the importance accorded them. It will argue that the centrality given to cooking becomes most visible when cooking skills are thought to be declining, or found wanting, limited or inadequate. As will be shown, a concern for cooking skills in many western cultures often emerges as a 'moral panic' at times when questions are raised about basic human skills, and even survival itself. Part of this panic speaks to a belief that without a tradition of cooking family harmony is at risk and family life is precarious.

The paper begins by demonstrating some examples of where in recent history, public sentiment has reacted to the idea that cooking skills, especially those that abide by particular standards, have declined. It then goes on to examine recent cases where cooking skills have been addressed in public policy. This examination is important in view of the current enthusiasm and uncritical acceptance of cooking skills in health and education sectors.

Theoretically, the paper draws on the work of Michel Foucault, especially the ideas related to governmentality (Foucault, 1991). By governmentality, Foucault refers to the emergence of a concern for the governing of a complex of 'men and things'. By 'men and things', Foucault is referring to individual and collective wealth, resources, customs and habits, as well as the consequences of drought, famine and other calamities. In other words, governmentality has a major concern with populations, a role we now attribute to the state. Indeed, Foucault's point is that governmentality was in fact an art around which crystallised the organising technologies and concepts of the modern state. Within governmentality there developed a range of techniques for knowing the population, and managing it through that knowledge. So statistical surveys, demography, medicine, and discourses on sanity and reason were deployed in order to take care of the population's health and welfare. The knowledge arising from these new disciplines are what Foucault describes as 'technologies of

power'. They demarcate the necessary boundaries of understanding, endorsing particular certainties and dispelling others. In so doing they create what Foucault calls 'regimes of truth'.

However, governmentality does not only mean the government of others; it also means the government of oneself. In other words, individuals come to know themselves through discipline and training that are required by appreciation of particular forms of knowledge acting as discourse. These 'technologies of the self', constitute the modern subject as one who knows him or herself; the self-reflective, self-regulating individual. The appropriate forms of 'technologies of the self' made available during the emergence of governmentality was that administered by the Christian church. According to Hunter (1994: 37), what happened was that the state inherited the moral training of the church because of "the cultural scarcity of pedagogical relationships and disciplines". In other words, the state adopted and promoted Christian practices of the self because there was a rarity of pedagogical models available at the time. Foucault's point, and it is one amplified by Mitchell (1994) and Hunter (1994), is that the new form of political technology ushered in by governmentality comprised two adjacent but autonomous forms of 'technologies for living'. These were "the government of the state, and the Christian (soon to be humanist) spiritual perfection of the self" (Hunter, 1994: 42). The practices of 'spiritual' or ethical perfection multiplied and spread outside of the ecclesiastical institution and became available in many modern institutions, the family, the school and the clinic where they were practised in terms of the ethical comportment of individuals (Foucault, 1982). In other words, the technologies of the self, which constitute the modern subject, were appropriated from practices of the formation of the Christian soul - practices such as self-observation, self-examination, confession, and self-renunciation (Petersen, 2003).

It is within this set of possibilities offered by governmentality that we can see the emergence of a new subject: the food choosing subject - one who needs to acquire particular cooking knowledges and skills to choose one path over another. As we shall see discourses generated through nutrition and home management pedagogies produced technologies of power prescribing what is to be practiced, how and when. The term 'power' is not used here to describe some form of oppression or domination. It is used to denote a more positive property; one that provides the necessary rationale to achieve positive ends prescribed and endorsed by expert understanding. According to Rose (1990) expert understanding infuses and shapes the personal investments of individuals, in the ways that they form, regulate and evaluate their lives, actions and goals. However, in order to "form, regulate and evaluate their lives, actions and goals" individuals need to actively apply themselves as self-reflexive subjects with respect to expert understandings. That is to say, they need to subject themselves to its authority, its credibility and its integrity. As we shall see, the imperative of knowing how to prepare and cook food has been problematised at various stages in a number of western cultures, providing an opportunity for pedagogical advice and correction on cooking.

What's (not) cooking?

The recent interest in cooking skills by a number of scholars have raised questions about the exact nature of cooking. While there is some agreement about the fact that cooking involves the transformation of the state of food – for example, from raw to cooked – numerous other possibilities present themselves. Does reheating amount to cooking? Does putting together a meal from pre-prepared ingredients count as 'real' cooking? Or is this merely assembling? These questions are not of major concern for this paper, but point to the fact that cooking and the skills required to complete cooking tasks are currently being problematised.This problematisation is usually

undertaken by experts who privilege cooking from scratch – that is from basic or raw ingredients – as the gold standard, especially with respect to fostering improvements in eating behaviours and ultimately diet quality (Huntley, 2008:97).

This problematisation can be seen in a number of historical developments that have involved a reconsideration of the quality of food eaten by individuals and communities. Some of the earliest examples of an almost evangelistic 19th Century movement promoting the need to improve cooking skills can be found in the work of Wilbur Atwater in the USA (Coveney, 2006:61). Atwater is regarded to be the founding father of nutritional science. Building upon the popularity of newly arising facts about nutritional food components, especially energy and protein, Atwater's work supported community crusades to spread new knowledge about food and cooking to households and communities(Crotty, 1995:16). Community-based movements rallied to take this knowledge of cooking to towns and cities across the USA. With later government involvement, the new knowledge was introduced into the school curriculum, becoming part of US national domestic science initiatives (Berlage, 1998).The pedagogical priority of domestic science also became embedded in the school curriculum in the UK (Mennell, Murcott, and van Otterloo, 1993:89) and Australia (Reiger, 1986:57).

Movements in the UK and Australia were given particular impetus with the finding from surveys that, by the standards of the new nutrition discourses, populations were often poorly fed (Coveney, 2006:63). Moreover, the monitoring and surveillance of school children's health (New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, 1908) and the examination of physique of army recruits (Winter, 1980) – all of which were believed to be less than satisfactory – gave strength to the importance of spreading new knowledge of cooking.

A number of publications sprang up to provide knowledge of cooking with nutrition principles in mind. In the USA a monthly

magazine, *Century Illustrated*, provided advice about what to eat and how to prepare it. At the time, nutrition principles concerned only the requirements for so-called macronutrients, protein, fat and carbohydrate. By relating nutrient intake to nutrient need, Atwater was able to estimate the wisdom of family food purchases. He related his findings to calculations of spending power and household budgeting. Thus Atwater was able to calculate nutritious and economical menus for families, which were published for popular audiences (Crotty, 1995:18). Atwater regarded fruits and 'water rich' green vegetables as unnecessarily extravagant purchases since at the time there was a limited understanding of the need for vitamins and minerals (Coveney, 2006:61).

Atwater was very outspoken about the importance of learning the correct 'domestic pecuniary economy' for preparing and eating food, saying:

> The true Anti-poverty Society is the Society of 'Toil, Thrift and Temperance'. One of the articles of its constitution demands that the principles of intelligent economy shall be learned by patient study and followed in daily life. Of the many worthy ways in which the charity we shall call Christian is being exercised, none seems to me more worthy of appellation than the movement in industrial education of which teaching the daughters of working-people how to do housework and how to select food and cook it forms a part. (Atwater, 1888:445).

In the same edition, Atwater strengthens his stand by pointing out "If Christianity is to defend society against socialism must it not make such homely, non-theological teachings as these part of its gospel?" (Atwater, 1888:445). In other words, should not the home, the hearth, and even the stove be at the very centre of Christian pedagogy?

An important spin-off from Atwater's work was the development of the field of domestic science, later known as home economics. According to Rossiter (1980) American cities at the end of the

nineteenth century, like many in Europe, had major public health problems, which accounted for a large percentage of mortality and morbidity. Half of all deaths were children. The need for families to be taught better hygiene and nutrition appeared to be self-evident. Thus began a training in science for women who, up to that time had been prevented from doing scientific research, and domestic science began as a tertiary degree. Training programmes taught topics such as cookery, nutrition, hygiene and mothercraft, the pre-requisites for which were often sciences like chemistry, bacteriology and psychology. Crotty (1995:23) shows how in Australia, these ideas spawned a number of cooking and food preparation movements, such as the Australia Health Society which further popularised food and nutrition.

Interest in cooking and related skills also reached a peak during times of necessary thrift and frugality, not only based on household income but, in the case of World War Two, on national food security. In the UK in particular, large-scale government information campaigns were launched to remind the public about the need for basic cooking skills (Hammond, 1954).Many campaigns were full of information on wise use of ingredients - many of which were in limited supply – and, as part of this, a need to reduce food waste (Drummond and Wilbraham, 1994:454). A range of means was used to educate and provide necessary instructions for preparing what were often ingredients unfamiliar to British consumers, including a regular morning radio programme *The Kitchen Front that* would present information about cooking in a light-hearted fashion (Coddingham, 2011:392)

The effects of restraint and rationing of ingredients like fat and sugar were in the end to be of benefit to the British public, even though the hardship of rations continued until the early 1950s. Indeed, it is now believed that the population in Britain was at its healthiest during these times. The transformation is regarded to be responsible for a policy turn around. Unlike Germany, the British government entered

the war years believing that the state had no role to play in changing people's eating habits. But by the end of 1945 it had changed its mind believing that government had a primary responsibility to change attitudes to food and enhance well-being (Coddingham, 2011:385).

Cooking skills in decline

During the latter post war years of the 1960s and 1970s, a national emphasis on cooking skills fell into decline. This was in part due to the increased credibility and available of so-called 'convenience foods', which were rapidly becoming features in household diets as quick ways to serve up meals to families, and the increasing rise of commentaries which were critical of women's domestic roles (Attar, 1990; Shapiro, 2004).

It should be noted that the moralisation around women emerging from the kitchen to paid employment is not a recent phenomenon. Walton (1992) describes the increased availability of prepared food (in this case fish and chips) was well received by women but criticised by health professionals. The consumption of food prepared outside the home was read as poor mothering, and a breakdown in the process of policing of 'proper' families (Walton, 1992). The same moral panics can be seen today where the demise of cooking skills, and of family meals are linked with a rise in fast food and convenience food consumption, and a rise in childhood obesity. Indeed, the rise in obesity in children has been linked directly with cooking skills, or rather, lack thereof (Pidd, 2008).

In Australia the need to teach students about cooking skills was demoted during the 1960s and 1970s, evidenced by a decision in many states to stop the training of home economics teachers, who had until that time been the traditional custodians of the knowledge and teaching of food and cooking skills (Pendergast, Garvis and Kanasa, 2011). The positioning of home economics as feminine, practical and unpaid meant that it had been and continues to be

marginalised particularly in secondary school curricula where a strong focus is retained on the 'science'. Even in the development of national curricula the practical art of cooking is noticeably absent (ACARA, 2011). These events are viewed as leading to a decline or deskilling in cooking skills and a move away from cooking from scratch (Begley and Gallegos, 2010). However, the prominence of a loss of cooking skills was highlighted in the launch of Australia's National Food and Nutrition Policy (FNP) in 1992. The policy states 'The role of many women as 'gatekeepers' of their family's health requires special attention. Women in poverty…may need improved food skills to obtain good nutrition from foods which they can afford' (Commonwealth Department of Health, Housing and Community Services,1992:5). Thus we see direct reference to the need to improve cooking knowledge and skills by targeting of the 'nutrition gatekeeper'. The prominence of the nutrition gatekeeper as the person, usually female who has primary responsibility or moral judgment for household food choices, originated from US research during the 1940s (Mead, 1943). It gained further attention in work undertaken by Murcott (1982) and Charles and Kerr (1988) who described the role of women in ensuring "good" food made it to the table. Women have continued to be the traditional targets in many FNPs since that time via interventions aimed at making mothers moral guardians of family food choices. However, as the quote above suggests, it is low-income groups who are considered most in need of tutelage where cooking skills are concerned. This arises from the observation that diet-related diseases are more common in low-income populations (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2010), and by implication, are a result of a deficit in nutrition and cooking knowledge. Thus, from what has been said already, women, as gatekeepers become the primary focus for pedagogical interventions designed to improve cooking skills and thus the quality of family meals.

The purported decline in cooking skills is often conflated with another observation in many western cultures: the decline in the family meal. In popular discourse, this refers to the fewer occasions for families to eat together. A number of claims have been made about the role of family meals in the health and welfare of children, not least of which is the assertion that children from families that do not share meals are more likely to have unhealthy eating habits, more likely to smoke or drink, and more likely to take part in illegal activities, such as drug taking (CASA, 2011). The association of family meals and cooking skills is being complicated, however, by the use of convenience foods that facilitates the 'doing' of cooking to produce family meals (Beck, 2007), and the use of fast food eating occasions as family occasions (Brembeck, 2005). Whether family meals produced by convenience actually count as family-oriented events is a matter of debate, given the importance accorded to meals cooked from scratch (Begley and Gallegos, 2010).

A number of scholars have questioned the purported decline in family meals and the decline in cooking skills, mostly on the basis of poor data or exaggerated claims. Indeed recent Australian data points to the maintenance of a family meal ideology, albeit transitioning into a range of diverse forms (Gallegos et al 2011). However, an emphasis on increasing cooking skills continues as a major theme in many health promotion programmes. For example, in the Australian *Go for 2&5 fruit and vegetable* campaign the targeting of the main meal preparer and promotion of suitable recipes have been key elements in the initiative (Pollard, 2009). Also, the recent developments of *Measure up*, the Australian Commonwealth Department of Health and Ageing's campaign to increase healthy weight, emphasises the so-called 'Country Pantry', where facts sheets with cooking skills ideas are a central part of message. Cooking skills interventions are now also seen as the new practical modality for improving individual eating behaviours as stand-alone techniques coming under the remit of health agencies and welfare agencies as the focus on low income

families continues. Examples include Jamie Oliver's *Ministry of food* (Adams, 2012), Stephanie Alexander's *Kitchen garden* (Australian Federal Government, 2011) and Diabetes Australia's *Need for feed* (Diabetes Australia, 2011).

In summing up so far, cooking skills have been at the centre of a number of concerns – some would say 'moral panics' –not only about eating habits, but also by implication, the nurturing of family and family life. These concerns often arise during national priorities or crises. For example, Atwater's work on food values was used extensively by industrialists in the USA, who wanted to show that, contrary to claims for higher basic wages by trade unions, households were in fact being paid enough; the solution to poverty was the optimisation of household expenditure along nutritional guidelines that emanated from Atwater's research (Aronson, 1982). A similar case was made during court hearings in Australia during the debates in 1920 by unions and employers for a basic living wage (Reiger, 1986). Cooking skills were also highlighted during times of national crisis, for example during the world wars. While different in nature from the Atwater-inspired causes, a national obsession during times of conflict and the battle on the 'home front' gave emphasis to cooking from basics and avoiding waste, and everyone doing their bit. Coming to the present, it could be said that the new battle is the preservation of the environment – with a renewed focus on the home front, growing your own and reducing waste emerging as important techniques to lessen the impact of climate change (Coveney, 2011).

What is the problem?

The work of Carol Bacchi can provide a useful framework to unpack the preoccupations that underpinned concerns about food and cooking during these times. Bacchi seeks to highlight the discourses that are embedded in the problematisation of social issues and essentially ask 'what is the problem represented to be?' (Bacchi,

1999). In doing so, Bacchi is not asking for a rendering of the *real* problem or the *truth* of the issue. Instead, she seeks to find out how the problem being addressed is position and how this positioning acts to garner public or political support. Bacchi's work draws on Foucault's understanding of the government of conduct, especially as it is addressed in the seminal work on governmentality (Foucault, 1991).

In relation to the priority given to cooking skills, we can notice a number of features. Central the problematisation of common food practices both during theAtwater campaigns in the late 19th Century and later movements during the world wars is the belief that a certain kind of knowledge is deficient or entirely missing. That is to say, there is a lack of so-called 'savoir fare', used here to point to practical *know how* and *know what* about food and cooking. For Atwater and related educational movements which were seeking to increase people's understanding of nutrition, this was to some extent understandable; nutrition discourse itself was a new way of thinking about food, one predicated on the belief that what mattered most was not the flavour or the tradition of food, but basic nutritional constituents. Essentially, people were being asked to re-calibrate their palates so as to not appreciate foods for flavour or taste or pleasure, but to valorise food's nutritional value instead. Atwater is famous for noting that pleasure of eating is unimportant because even bad tasting food can be shown to be digestible, metabolisable and therefore of nutritional value to the body. Of course, unlike traditional cultural understandings of food and cooking which rely on flavour and taste to indicate quality, nutritional qualities of food - calories, proteins, carbohydrates etc. - are not immediately available to the senses. One cannot taste a calorie. Thus the role of the expert in this discourse is crucial. The expert provides the necessary knowledge to rationalise food by exploring and making visible its essential nutritional ingredients. This rationality leads, literally, to rationing: within a nutritional discourse,

food is portioned out on the basis of calculated physiological needs which have been carefully measured and quantified.

Atwater's work was entirely consistent with the priorities of his day. The need to understand the thermodynamics of a system, its energy flows, and mechanical advantages were part of the nineteenth century industrialisation of everyday life. Machines powered by steam were increasingly used as substitutes for human labour, and the calibration of expenditure of energy conversion was a requirement if cost/benefits were to be realised. Three areas of research were of importance: first, establish relationship between gas exchange and heat production; second, evaluate foods in relation to energy requirements and expenditure; and third, establish the causes of energy expenditure (Johnson, Ferrell and Jenkins, 2003)

Atwater's work was the first to show that the human physiological system, fuelled by food energy, obeys the same thermodynamic principles as the steam engine and the Spinning Jenny: energy is neither created not destroyed but is converted from one form to another. In this case it was energy in food, released as energy for physical work. Atwater's projects were able to include research on protein, pioneered by Justus Von Liebig and other scientists in Germany,who were examining the composition foods (Rossiter, 1975). Thus the creation of this new knowledge of populations, and its use in making feeding more efficient, was central to the problematisation of the ways in which people chose food at that time.

The focus on cooking skills in the UK and Australia during world wars also emphasised food and cooking pedagogy, but with had different focus. Here the importance was to remind households of the need to be frugal and thrifty. During the Second World War in particular, a UK propaganda campaign was waged by a Ministry of Food (Drummondand Wilbraham, 1994:448) and it emphasised cooking skills that 'made more with less'. Nutrition was featured as part of

this, as was waste. Indeed, reducing waste became a national priority with the creation of the UK Nutrition and Food Conservation Branch, Food Distribution Administration. The role of the Food Distribution Administration was to reduce waste in the food system and conduct public awareness campaigns through "…the press, radio, civic and women's organizations, trade groups and other outlets. The object of these efforts is to save every savable bit of food" (Kling, 1943). A pedagogy developed to remind consumers that it was at the level of the household that waste saving was mostly possible and, with a strong reference to earlier Victorian values, it was noted that "In this time of need, the Nation may well again practice the prudence of its forebears" (Kling, 1943).

Cooking skills as governmentality

The common feature that binds the examples given is the way in which the discourses being propagated constructs subjects who are now required to make choices. That is to say, the use of knowledge being generated is predicated on the individual choosing one path over another, with respect to the food they eat. And while this choice may be seen in the form of a freedom to choose, in fact it is a form of control that arises directly out of the problematisation of what, at an earlier time, did not require consideration or reflection. People mostly ate what had been part of their social milieu and endorsed by their social class.

The technologies of power, which is one armature of Foucault's concept of 'governmentality', were generated through the development through Atwater's work on nutritional discourses. These discourses not only prescribed what foods were regarded to be nutritious but the cooking skills needed to maximise health and wellbeing. The development of state funded programmes to support domestic economy movements in the USA, UK and Australia in

the early part of 20th Century promulgated the new knowledge as 'regimes of truth'.

However, as has been pointed out (Santich, 1995), nutrition discourses tend to produce a good/bad dichotomy, arising out of what is nutritionally good, (i.e., nutritionally sound) to eat, thus eating healthy foods tends to become a virtue, a better moral choice. Similarly, discourses around frugality and parsimony in food preparation tend to emphasis what is right, proper and correct in terms of efficiency and thrift. Conversely, within these discourses are inevitable notions of 'bad', 'profligate' or 'wasteful' or less morally worthy practices. The morality brought to bear on food and eating through the dichotomisation of good/bad has a long history in western culture. Nineteenth century nutritional proselytisers like Sylvester Graham and John Harvey Kellogg in the USA used the idea of correct eating habits as a platform for promoting a food morality: eating good food leads to good character. Even the founder of Methodism, John Wesley, used healthy food choice to support his ministry (Turner, 1992: 191). Thus the subjectifying effects of discourses on food perpetrated beliefs about morality and the self-worth of subjects: the 'good' or the 'bad' eater. And so the second armature of Foucault's 'governmentality', the technologies of the self, is realised in the self-reflection by individuals on what for them is good to eat, not only from a nutritional viewpoint but also from a moral perspective.

Within the present context which promotes the desirability of cooking skills, the moralisation of subjects continues with respect to good and bad cooking; good cooking is cooking at home from scratch and bad cooking is reconstituting/reheating and outsourcing the cooking 'work'. It should be of no surprise that the majority of government-sponsored cooking skills programmes are aimed at low income, socially disadvantaged populations who are required to improve

their knowledge of what is right and proper to eat. In Australia, food programmes like *Food cent$* (Foley and Pollard, 1998) target low-income groups and furnish them with ideas about cooking on a budget and are commonly delivered by welfare organisations. In many ways these programmes rehearse those initially propagated more than 100 years ago by the Atwater movement. However, modern programmes also emphasis the idea that cooking skills and the resultant fare can create communality and thus bond family units together.

The fundamental necessity of cooking skills, and related tasks, have however turned towards a broader audience, supported by an understanding that cooking skills are, in fact, life skills (Lang and Caraher, 2001). The importance given to this understanding can be seen in programmes targeting young children (Burgess-Champoux, 2009). For example, the Stephanie Alexander Kitchen Garden programme in Australia is nationwide, supported by over 12.5 million dollars of public funding. According to the website, the aim of the programme is "The creation and care of a Kitchen Garden [which] teaches children about the natural world, about its beauty and how to care for it, how best to use the resources we have, and an appreciation for how easy it is to bring joy and wellbeing into one's life through growing, harvesting, preparing and sharing fresh, seasonal produce" (kitchengardenfoundation.org.au/). The website points out that by taking part in the programme, children learn skills in gardening and cooking that will last them a lifetime.

In Australia there are also propositions to reintroduce home economics into the national school curriculum by positioning cooking skills as life skills (Home Economics Institute of Australia, 2010). Furthermore, a new discursive elaboration of cooking-as-lifeskills has developed with the arrival of 'food literacy', taken to mean "the capacity of an individual to obtain, interpret and understand basic food and nutrition information and services as well as the competence

to use that information and services in ways that are health enhancing" (Kolasa et al, 2001).

Thus the primacy accorded to cooking skills, once the province of the homemaker, or the 'gatekeeper', has now spread to include children and men (Szabo, 2011). The actual penetration of this more democratic rendering remains to be seen, however. Men and increasingly children still retain control over food preferences but women still undertake the bulk of the labour (Santich, 1995), even though the skills of cooking have supposedly become essential lifelong skills for all. Cooking skills have thus acquired a sense of morality, with them we become ethical subjects, with concern for our health and wellbeing; without them survival is precarious and life is risky. This is particularly true when low levels of skill in cooking and thus fewer home-cooked meals challenges the assumed loss of commensality, and shared family time. The consequences for the health and welfare of children, in particular, are thought to be dire.

Embedding the imperative of cooking skills within the discourse of health literacy provides a powerful lever for further pedagogical engagement with wider audiences. Now that cooking is seen as a 'life skill', it falls on a broad section of the population to acquire the necessary knowledge and associated competencies to provide the right and proper food. These pedagogies are not only needed to secure health, but also to maintain overall happiness. Thus good cooking becomes the ethical responsibility of all, just as the acquisition of good health – or as Crawford (1980) puts it, 'healthism' - has become the responsibility of each and all, not only to secure individual well-being, but also in order to secure a good society. Warin (2011) shows how for cooking this is played out in Jamie Oliver's *Ministry of food* project, which, while seeking to empower individuals through the provision of cooking skills, essentially 'responsibilisise' them within a

neoliberal discourse of model, and indeed moral, citizenship.

We can use the work of Rose (1996:54) to summarise the ways in which the emphasis on cooking knowledge and skills has ushered in new forms of government. Firstly, the relationship between expertise and politics is readily visible through the authority that underpins the need to develop skills in food provisioning and preparation. Experts have shown how low levels of cooking skills may lead to a reliance on pre-prepared foods which put at risk health and wellbeing and family time (Devine, 2002). Thus then need to create dishes and meals from basics, especially fresh ingredients, is now a requirement receiving strong support from the state and aligned groups. Secondly, a new pluralisation of 'social' technologies has opened up which invites a range of private-public interests. The proliferation of television cooking programmes demonstrates an intense public interest in cooking skills, albeit it set in a particular milieu of entertainment and even competition (de Solier, 2005). The partnership between broadcast industries and supermarkets creates new investment of private capital. While supermarket chains are no strangers to television channels, mostly through advertising and marketing, the opportunities through endorsement of foods from celebrity chefs opens up a new set of private sector possibilities. More broadly, state involvement in cooking skills can be seen in the investment in various programmes designed to improve diet. Televised cooking has privileged the masculinity of celebrity chefs over the domestic female construction of cooking (Swenson, 2009; Hollows, 2003). These are often manifested in the development of cookbooks and recipes that accompany campaigns that are aimed to improve diet. Often this requires the collaboration of government with private interests, for example, the fruit and vegetable or other food industry partner. Lastly, a new specification of the subject can be seen in the formation of a cooking subject, one that has to problematise food choice in relation to expert advice and guidance about what and how food is to be cooked. As we have seen, the cooking subject was once gender

specific. However, with the belief that knowledge of cooking is a now a life skill for all there is an obligation to broaden the scope of who is required to cook and under what circumstances.

A governmentality 'lens' shows that as discourses about what is the correct level of 'savoir fare', or food savvy, abound, new discursive subject positions are opened up. Thus while nutrition ushered in a food choosing subject, one that had to choose one food over another on the basis of nutritional calibration and calculation, the development of 'savoir fare' introduces another layer of subjectivity. That is to say, subjects who are food savvy not only know what is scientifically in food (nutrients, etc.), and properties, but also when and under what conditions food should be cooked. They are required to be food literate in every sense. Armed with the understanding of what is considered expert-endorsed acceptable food knowledge, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and what food is right for health and wellbeing, subjects judge themselves through self-surveillance (Warin, 2011). The result is a powerful food morality that is both disciplined and disciplinary.

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