Consuming the "Oriental Other," Constructing the Cosmopolitan Canadian:
Reinterpreting Japanese Culinary Culture in Toronto's Japanese Restaurants

by

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Abstract

During the last decade, Japanese cuisine has become firmly rooted in Canada. The once unusual sounding dishes such as sushi, tempura, and edamame are now familiar to most Canadians. Indeed, Japanese restaurants make up a substantial portion of Toronto's diverse foodscape, yet little is known about how this culinary culture is understood, how the constructed image is created, and the identities that are produced through its production and consumption. This dissertation aims to unpack the constructed identities of the cosmopolitan and the "Oriental Other" contained within Japanese culinary circuits in Toronto, while also examining the connections, constructions, and negotiations concealed within the Japanese restaurants' cultural landscape. It seeks to highlight the processes of racialization, Whiteness, and the articulation of difference that are interconnected and interdependent on the production and consumption of Japanese food in Toronto's restaurants. Through this process, cultural differences are mapped out, allowing Japanese cuisine to become an accessible and readily available place to search for cosmopolitan identity making and the performance of Otherness. To this aim, in-depth interviews were conducted with residents of Toronto and chefs of Japanese ethnic origin. Both groups emphasize the relations between food providers and consumers, authenticity strategies, and their imaginative geographies of Japanese culinary culture but had remarkably different interpretations on how these constructions are practiced, articulated, and ultimately understood.

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Statement of Originality

I hereby certify that all of the work described within this thesis is the original work of the author. Any published (or unpublished) ideas and/or techniques from the work of others are fully acknowledged in accordance with the standard referencing practices.

(Shaun Naomi Tanaka)

(March, 2008)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In the "Grand Master" episode of the television program CSI New York, detectives Stella and Danny investigate the death of an up-and-coming fashion designer who was found dead in her penthouse pool. The case leads the pair into the heart of Little Tokyo to an exclusive sushi restaurant that serves fugu, a potentially lethal fish that is forbidden in the United States. The sushi is served on the naked bodies of young Asian women who lie perfectly still before the city's trendy elite. According to Stella, "the next Donna Karen," suffocated to death, not from water inhalation but rather, the blowfish poison, tetrodetoxin, believed to be 275 times more powerful than cyanide. When the chef emerges for questioning dressed in full martial arts gear, he takes a hachi dachi position, a karate stance that stresses a heightened sense of alertness. In broken English he explains that the designer could not have died from his blow fish – he fearlessly tries all fugu first. It is later revealed that the fish was harmless; the fugu that can often run up to $1000 a plate was actually a small piece from a twenty-five dollar fish. The designer did indeed die from ingesting tetrodetoxin at the restaurant, not from the fish, but from poison that had been deliberately placed on the toenail polish of the naked Asian woman from which she ate her dinner. The woman was a previous assistant to the designer with an apparent score to settle. At the end, detective Danny cynically declares, "That's New York for you."

It is left to one's imagination whether the detective's cynicism was in response to the ethics of Asian restaurant owners, culinary culture in multicultural cities, or the

consumption practices of cosmopolitans in their pursuit for exotic tastes and pleasures. It becomes particularly clear, however, that there is more to the episode than simply being part of the latest installment in the CSI lineup. The show's content demonstrates how sushi makes a particularly strong subject of study to increase our understanding of discursive constructions such as culture, identity, and the changing meanings of cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and the Other in contemporary cities.

If the saying is true, "you are what you eat," then a study in food geographies has much to reveal about how people construct their own identities and define others through the commodities they consume. Eating, in this sense, not only has cultural meanings, but also draws boundaries between "us" and "them," defines notions of "here" and "there," and raises issues of "authenticity" and "inauthenticity." In the television episode, multicultural urban landscapes such as New York, or in the case of my own research, Toronto, are shown to be increasingly engaged in the transformation and recombination of such cultural discourses.

1.1 Thesis Goals and Research Questions

The basic objectives of my thesis are threefold. The first is to investigate food mobilities, or in other words, the discourses surrounding food geographies, exploring the dialectic relationship between the continuity of tradition and the continuous process of change in the presentation of ethnicized foods in Toronto, thus revealing the various ways in which food is located within and across cultural boundaries and the ways in which

food is linked to conceptions of "race" and geographical imaginations. The second overall goal of my thesis is to research the interconnectedness and interdependencies of lifestyle, geography, and culinary decisions. I seek to unpack the constructed identities of the cosmopolitan and the "Oriental Other" contained within Japanese culinary cultural circuits in Toronto. Finally, the last goal of my thesis is to examine the connections, constructions, and negotiations concealed within the Japanese restaurants' cultural landscapes. Moreover, I want to expose how these complex processes and performances take and make place in Toronto and the influence they have on local culinary culture.

The objectives of my thesis were guided by three primary research questions. The questions were developed though an examination of the gaps in the existing literature and have been continually refined and shaped by the research process.

(1) How is the image of Japanese culinary culture constructed, localized, and used in Toronto? What are the meanings, both intended and assigned, that are connected to this constructed image?

(2) What does the increasing popularity of Japanese food suggest in terms of the changing meanings of multiculturalism in Toronto? Does it reflect a cosmopolitan lifestyle that takes pleasure in the city's multicultural diversity or are ethnic restaurants simply creating a palatable form of difference for society's dominant group?

(3) How do these processes work together to shape the identities of the Oriental Other and the cosmopolitan?

The intriguing subject of food has led to the production of a wide range of non-academic commentaries attempting to analyze the social and cultural implications of this highly geographical practice. There is, therefore, a pressing need for academic research that grounds geographically differentiated foods and the implications of their presence. In the past, geographers may have doubted the legitimacy of a subject so consumed by popular culture; however, the geography of food works through and around the complexities of culinary culture. There is a growing body of literature on food geographies (Bell and Valentine 1997) as well as various discourses involving culinary authenticity, culinary tourism, culinary fetishization, and culinary consumption practices. After reviewing the available literature the academic research in these areas appears to be largely dominated by British and American geographical studies. Their research and theoretical frameworks could be applied to a Canadian context in the majority of cases and indeed helped inform the body of my thesis. Research done abroad, however, fails to consider Canada's unique social, multicultural, and political dynamics in the analysis of their work. Canadian human geographers have much to contribute to our understanding of contemporary culinary geographies. Moreover, Canadian geographers can offer a different point of view surrounding ethnicized restaurants, including notions of authenticity, identity, and difference.

1.2 Cultural Geography

Since the cultural turn of the 1990s, there has been a trend in geography and the social sciences in general toward a focus on culture as a signifying process of self and of social group formation. In this formulation, we begin to see how meaning is actively constructed, negotiated, and contested. Influenced by cultural studies and poststructuralist theories, this new cultural geography recognizes the social construction of reality and the interconnectedness of culture. There is also a more profound concept of Otherness and the articulation of difference. Such explorations have required a more open, nuanced, and self critical form of human geography. In turn, cultural geographers suspicious of grand narratives, totalizing claims, and unsituated knowledges, have become more sensitive to difference, Otherness, and alterity (Doel 2007, 675). My research into the constructed image of Japanese food and its multidirectional connections and practices fits comfortably within this understanding of cultural geography.

This disciplinary trend has encouraged cultural geographers to interrogate the epistemological foundations on which claims to knowledge were traditionally erected, thus encouraging cultural geography to bridge disciplinary boundaries and expand fields of geographical inquiry. Popular culture and areas such as consumption, food, and fashion that were previously thought to be the territory of cultural studies and sociology have been given increased significance in shaping and reshaping social lives in cultural geography. After the cultural turn, geographers were free to "follow ideas and connections wherever they lead instead of following them only as far as the border of

their discipline" (Sayer 2003, 5). This sentiment still holds strong in cultural geography studies, as Strohmayer notes, "any sense of unity nowadays appears to be brought about not on the basis of shared discursively derived theoretical positions but by a recognition of key problems in this post-1989 (and certainly post 9/11) world of ours instead" (Strohmayer 2007, 679). Indeed, conceptualizations of the Other, difference, race, and ethnicity are enriched by the contributions of various social science research programmes to capture fully the magnitude of these constructions. Out of this tumultuous social and political climate new dialogues are emerging and previously excluded voices are being raised.

As these conversations move across disciplinary boundaries, a re-reading of cultural geographic topics, such as consumption, food, and fashion, begins to include notions of globalization, hybridity, and Otherness. As a result, Freidberg suggests that culinary geographic research has crossed the disciplinary threshold into what she refers to as, "*new* cultural geographies of food" (Freidberg 2003, 4). The first generation of geographers working in the field of food culture treated food and foodways as products of particular places. This work paid particular attention to the ecological and technical conditions of food production and food's historical geographies. A second and still active generation of work emerged from a renewed interest in consumption and consumer culture. This area of food geographies includes an increased significance of consumption as an activity capable of shaping social life and the influential role consumers play in shaping and reshaping their identities in different times and places. Supermarkets and ethnic restaurants, for example, have received particular attention in UK-based research

on food culture in its different forms and scales (Crang 1994; Cook, Crang, and Thorpe 1998, 1999, 2000, 2004). For cultural geographers interested in food culture, the challenge then became to understand the cultural contexts and consequences of consumer power. The focus was then placed on the relationship between food, consumption culture, and socially constructed notions of gender, ethnicity, race, authenticity, and class.

My work blends into the new cultural geographies of food that considers the constructed meanings and social processes attached to culinary experiences. "So many things that aren't supposed to go together in theory come together in practice" in the geographies of food (Cook et al. 2006, 657). Therefore, my research, which connects issues of authenticity, Whiteness, multiculturalism, and cosmopolitanism with Japanese culinary culture, sits comfortably alongside new cultural geographies that combine globalization and tomatoes (Barndt 2002), French beans and food scares (Freidberg 2003), or the social lives of tortillas (Lind and Barham 2004). Entangled within these stories of food are much larger issues of fetishization, exploitation, appropriation, and racialization. Cultural geography attempts to re-connect the production and consumption of food to understand the ways in which culinary culture is revalued, and how, why, and among whom food gets unequally exchanged.

In writing up this dissertation I kept Ian Cook's emotionally charged "food-following research" article on my desk as a reminder to attempt to do more to narrate the research process; the emotional geographies involved in meeting and learning about the people, processes, and practices of my work. As Cook rhetorically questions,

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why shouldn't our audience be invited to read about, to identify with, rounded human beings rather than separate categories of people: ie, 'producers' or 'consumers.'…Let's just research the lives of diversely located 'people' (ourselves and others)…whose lives are connected through food. (Cook et al. 2006, 662)

I tried to adopt a level of openness and transparency as much as possible within the body of the dissertation to invite the audience to become part of the research. The fascinating intersections and connections among food, culture, post-structuralism, identity, and race drew me to this particular area of cultural geography where I believe my area of research best fits. By exploring Japanese culinary culture in Toronto with all the messiness of process and practice that it brings, I believe I contribute a new taste to a tried and true cultural geography recipe. To borrow from Michael Dear, food geography's "astonishing range and versatility revealed an irresistible intellectual terrain that turned my head," and I haven't looked back since (Dear 2007, 681).

1.3 Research Context

Exotic and foreign cuisines often evoke images of ethnic clusters or ghettos, the Little Italies and Chinatowns that have become ubiquitous features of most North American urban landscapes. Little Tokyo would seem then like an obvious place for the CSI detectives to find the sushi restaurant in question. Such demarcated cultural landscapes render ethnic neighbourhoods and the culinary cultures associated with them

both visible and accessible. These places are often ambivalently celebrated and commodified because they offer an "authentic" experience with an approachable Other. In Toronto, it has become a popular re-imaging strategy to define ethnic neighbourhoods, such as Little Korea, Little India, and Chinatown on the street signs that intersect these quarters. Despite this emphasis no such Japanese "ethnic ghetto" exists. How is the authenticity of the encounter to be defined if the ethnic branding of the community, in terms of space and place, does not legitimize the experience? Where do you place the Oriental Other of Japanese cuisine?

The government's policy of dispersal during the Second World War, which forced all Nikkei to move east of the Rockies and out of propinquitous communities, systematically prevented Japanese Canadians from rebuilding geographically bounded neighbourhoods. Currently Japanese Canadians make up slightly more than a third of one percent of Toronto's total population and according to future predictions that low percentage will not increase in the near future. It is predicted that by 2017 over half of Toronto's population will be a visible minority with nearly all groups occupying a greater percentage of Toronto's overall population; however, Japanese Canadians will continue to be the lowest represented amongst the visible minority groups (Hall 2005, B4). The prominence of Japanese food culture in Toronto, therefore, cannot be attributed to an accessible geographical place or a sizable Nikkei population. So what accounts for its omnipresence?

Among many new works on food, few studies specifically address Japanese culinary culture and foodways, despite their enormous and growing influence on local

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food habits around the world. Existing works often present Japanese food as part of the "Orient," a small component of "Asian" cuisine, frequently overshadowed by the more prevalent Chinese food industry and its long history in North America (Anderson 1999; Wu and Cheung 2002; Cho 2005). Other publications take a popular culture approach and appeal to North America's current fascination with all things sushi, for example, *The Zen of Fish: The Story of Sushi, From Samurai to Supermarket* (Corson 2007) and *The Sushi Economy: Globalization and the Making of a Modern Delicacy* (Issenberg 2007).

Cook and Crang offer one of the few geographical insights into the proliferation of Japanese culinary culture as part of a new trend in culinary globalization (2002). Their research addresses the mobility of Japanese food and its place in British culinary geographies. They begin by presenting a traditional explanation for the emergence of Japanese cuisine by suggesting that it is linked to the migration flows of minority communities that desire familiarity and an identity-affirming taste of home. They depart from an ethnic studies approach and lend a more geographical perspective; however, in suggesting that if framed in terms of the spaces of commodity culture Japanese cuisine does not simply follow diasporic Japanese populations but has emerged out of global movements and circuits (Cook and Crang 2002, 11-12). Viewed in this way, the sushi phenomenon is driven by global economics not the Nikkei who posses no intrinsic monopoly over "their" food. This notion disrupts and displaces conceptions of cultural food geographies that were once thought of as being related to specific people, places, and identities. In this dissertation, I hope to expand the field of cultural food geographies

by broadening popular perceptions of Japanese culinary culture and acknowledging the evolving dynamics of this burgeoning area of study.

When Japanese culinary culture is localized, it becomes a palatable form of difference and a consumable sign of Otherness. Since the demand for Japanese food has far surpassed the small Nikkei population in Toronto, other Asian groups are seeking to capitalize on its enormous popularity. This development requires a careful examination of the material and symbolic constructions of authenticity and the identity of the Oriental Other in Japanese restaurants. Bestor (2005) argues that despite sushi's presence in nearly every major city world wide, it is still considered to be distinctly "Japanese" or at the very least, a spectacularized representation of "Japaneseness."

> Just because sushi is available, in some form or another, in exclusive Fifth Avenue restaurants, in baseball stadiums in Los Angeles, at airport snack carts in Amsterdam, at an apartment in Madrid (delivered by motorcycle), or in Buenos Aires, Tel Aviv, or Moscow, doesn't mean that sushi has lost its status as Japanese cultural property (Bestor 2000, 61).

He contends that "globalization doesn't necessarily homogenize cultural differences nor erase the salience of cultural labels" and that "Japanese cultural control of sushi remains unquestioned" (Bestor 2000, 61). Admittedly, cultural labels are quite effective in advancing the exotic cachet of Japanese food and marketing of cultural difference, as products such as Loblaw's President's Choice shrimp tempura rolls illustrate. In the process of repackaging the foreign; however, Japanese cuisine is drained of its original cultural signification. Furthermore, I agree that the enduring racial

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stereotypes and imagined cultural qualities that have come to symbolize and construct the image of Japanese cuisine remain firmly intact as it expands globally. I would argue, however, that the imaginative production of Japanese cuisine by one undifferentiated Asian identity has homogenized, and more importantly essentialized, cultural difference from a distinct Japanese cultural commodity to one represented by an Oriental Other. The reduction of distinct Asian identities into one externally defined Oriental Other is a frequently applied practice. Indeed, the Japanese chef and waitress in the CSI episode described earlier were not Nikkei but rather American actors of Vietnamese and Chinese origin.

By essentializing cultural production the dominant group has the power to recycle old, racialized ideas, images, and discourses about people of colour, regardless if they have little basis in reality (Henry et al. 2000, 263). bell hooks, a prominent feminist and activist, argues that when cultures are commodified as resources for pleasure they become what she refers to as, "alternative playgrounds," where privileged groups affirm their access to and power over others (hooks 1992, 22). She has applied her theory to a number of cultural manifestations including gangsta rap and Hollywood movies (hooks 1994). This approach could be applied to geographies of food, as her aptly titled article "Eating the Other" demonstrates, however, scholars working on "race" and ethnicity have tended to overlook culinary culture. Seen in this way, Japanese cuisine becomes not only an objectified Other, but also a product that can be detached from its original geographical landscape and marketed as a cultural commodity (Goldstein-Gidoni 2005). The commodification of Otherness has been so successful because it places the power to

normalize, domesticate, and popularize a product like sushi with the dominant group of a given country while also providing "a new delight, more intense, more satisfying than normal ways of doing and feeling" (hooks 1992, 21).

Though sushi is undoubtedly attributed to people of Japanese origin it is less clear who has the power over its constructed image when it is removed from its original cultural context and adjustments are made to its traditional form. The significance of these instances is not just about reducing distinct ethnic groups into one undifferentiated Asian identity, the Oriental Other, but rather more about the discursive practice of racialization that privilege and sustain enduring ethnic stereotypes and imagined cultural qualities. It is as much a process of producers and consumers becoming willing collaborators in the fantasy of an authentic experience of the Other's culture as it is about a constructed identity. By unpacking the complexities of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto, the processes of racialization, ethnicization, and Whiteness are brought into the discussion of culinary geographies.

Though you may find a Japanese restaurant on almost every downtown street in Toronto, large numbers of local residents do not have the kind of first-hand experience of the cuisine in Japan which can provide a benchmark of the tastes and quality of the "real thing." Supermarket and fast food style Japanese-esque eateries, or as Bestor suggests, baseball stadiums and airport snack carts, become "the 'originals,' the benchmarks" according to Cook and Crang (2002, 18). "They are as real as the 'real thing' gets" (Cook and Crang 2002, 18). How do we account for the different "authentic" interpretations that exist for the same cuisine? In other words, "How Japanese is a Japanese restaurant?" as a

restaurant critic recently asked her Toronto readers (Pataki 2004, n.p). The answer to this seemingly straightforward question lies beneath layers of authenticity work. As the number of Japanese restaurants operated by people of non-Japanese origin rise so too does the importance placed on strategic authentication practices. The Japanese restaurant becomes a medium to stage and negotiate authenticity through the food, décor, architecture, and staff, to name only a few of the contributing elements in the discursive construction of authenticity. The cultural landscape of a Japanese restaurant provides geographical insight into the constructed image of Japanese food with all the myths and imagined cultural qualities that it carries, as well as how authenticity and social identities are created in the exchange between the producer and consumer.

So important is the authenticity of ethnic restaurants to consumers that the Japanese government is seeking to take the guesswork out of the authenticity debate by proposing a program whereby certain Japanese restaurants would be promoted as representing true Japanese culinary culture (Pataki 2004, n.p). The model already in place in Paris would mark qualified restaurants with chopstick wielding stickers that literally say "authentic" in the restaurant's storefront. To qualify, the restaurants must use short grain rice, serve premium Japanese sake, prepare sushi to the highest standards, and educate diners about Japanese food culture. It is not yet determined whether proficiency in the Japanese language will be a requirement as it is in Paris. It will, however, make accommodations for "local variables" such as special rolls and fusion dishes, according to Mari Izumi of Japan's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (Pataki 2004, n.p). The proposed program illustrates how important the discourse of authenticity is to

both consumers and producers of ethnicized foods. Indeed the deeply rooted nature of authenticity was a fundamental issue for both the Toronto residents and Japanese chefs I interviewed in their conceptualization of Japanese culinary culture. While the program attempts to provide a simple solution to a complex discursive construction it leaves many questions unanswered. Who has the authority to judge authenticity? Does an ethnic community have an exclusive monopoly in the authentic production of "their" cuisine? What determines authenticity of a "foreign" cuisine in Toronto when its very presence relies on processes of mobility, transformation, and reconstruction?

The concept of cosmopolitanism is used within the social sciences as a theoretical framework to address the intersecting mobilities and affiliations that increasingly organize contemporary political, social, and cultural relations. The cosmopolitan figure is often presented as a "citizen of the world," a person who epitomizes the contemporary climate of unfettered mobility, urban sophistication, privileged detachment, and transnational interconnection. The existing literature documents cosmopolitanism primarily as a philosophical, moral, cultural, and political perspective. There is also the argument that cosmopolitanism remains an elite preoccupation promoted by those whom it most advantages. As human geographers, however, we are encouraged to (re)examine this global citizen not just as a cultural figure but also as an embodied subject with corporeal identities and practices. This position emphasizes the possible fluidity of individual identity in the cultural practice of cosmopolitanism. It celebrates "people's remarkable capacity to forge new identities using materials from diverse cultural sources, and to flourish while so doing" (Scheffler 1999, 257). But the cosmopolitan cannot come

into contact with this diversity, "unless other people are allowed to carve out special niches for their cultures, and keep them" (Hannerz 1990, 249-250). In other words, "there can be no cosmopolitans without locals" even in an age of increased globalization (Hannerz 1990, 250). Indeed, it does not follow that cosmopolitans or neo-liberal forces invented global cultures where none existed.

Cultural globalization involves the diffusion of cultural ideas, practices, and ways of life that would otherwise have remained separated by time and space. Giddens has described globalization as "the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (1990, 64). Globalization, therefore, involves a change in the way we understand geography and experience local everyday reality as well as relations with the rest of the world. Some scholars classify contemporary cosmopolitanism as a phenomenon of globalization (Held et al. 1999, 341, 374; Tomlinson 1999, 185; Barker 2000, 113-114; Mehta 2000, 619-620; Diouf 2002, 111-112). Others differentiate globalization and cosmopolitanism by claiming that "the first signifies an empirical phenomenon whereas the second denotes an ideal" (Papastephanou 2002, 75), or by claiming that "globalization is a set of designs to manage the world whereas cosmopolitanism is a set of projects towards planetary conviviality" (Mignolo 2002, 157). The compression of cultural forms has produced two strands in the globalization debate: one associates globalization with cultural uniformity and the reduction of the world into one global village (Jameson 2000, 51; Watson 2000, 68-71) and the other associates it with cultural diversity (Featherstone 1993, Mathews 2000, 177;

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Scholte 2000, 23). The former position places globalization as cosmopolitanism's antithesis insofar as it is associated with cultural uniformity and homogenization. The latter position ties cosmopolitans, as "citizens of the world," within the process of globalization. "World culture" to which the cosmopolitan belongs, "means: not a replication of uniformity but an organization of diversity, an increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures" (Hannerz 1996: 102).

As a global economic, political, and cultural force, neoliberalism influences how local cultures circulate globally. It is a complex body of theory involving the ebb and flow of both homogenizing and heterogenizing forces, largely defined by several economic principles: (1) an uncritical acceptance of the market to determine both private and public needs; (2) a concentration of wealth and power; (3) deregulation and corporate welfare policies; (4) privatization; and (5) an emphasis on individual accountability at the expense of social responsibility. These principles have come to define local, national, and global practices throughout the world. There is no economic theory, however, that exists separate from the social and cultural practices that it informs and in which it is informed. It is precisely in its oppression of non-market forces that we see how neoliberalism operates not only as an economic system but as a political and cultural system as well.

Food is the oldest global carrier of culture. In fact, food has always been a driving force for globalization, as the proliferation of sushi in landlocked cities illustrate. No longer is culinary culture tied to the constraints of local circumstances. Indeed, cosmopolitan cities around the world are being increasingly penetrated by the connectivity of culinary globalization. The culinary globalization of Japanese food;

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however, is also accompanied by an assortment of imaginative geographies concerning commodity fetishism, authenticity, and the cultural politics of commodity culinary culture. Food is a social, political, and cultural marker. Used positively, it demonstrates belonging to a group, and negatively it provides justification for discrimination, chauvinism, and xenophobia. Eating practices, however, are not simply a way of reproducing identity but also constructing identities. Therefore, food geographies, culinary consumption, and distinction of taste can be examined not only as cultural practices but also as active performances of cosmopolitanism. Food geography is capable of consciously or unconsciously transforming our conceptions of cosmopolitanism by connecting it in unusual ways with other socially constructed meanings and practices.

My research addresses the unique complexities of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto and provides a significant conceptual and empirical deepening of previous work through in-depth interviews with local producers and consumers. My thesis questions the processes by which ethnic food and more specially the image of Japanese food is created or destroyed, strengthened or weakened. To what extent is Japanese culinary culture the result of internal processes and to what extent is Japanese culinary culture externally defined and motivated? How is its image and the identity of the "Oriental Other" formed and transformed? What social purposes are served by the construction of Japanese culinary culture? How does the consumption of Japanese cuisine define and construct cosmopolitan identities in Toronto? Rather then casting culture as prior, fixed aspects of ethnic food categorization, here they are analyzed as emergent, problematic features of food geographies. The results of my thesis advance the existing research in this area

through contextualizing and problematizing the headline-making growth of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto.

1.4 Chapter Outline

Chapter Two begins by exploring the development of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto and examines how the Japanese foodscape has transformed since its arrival in the 1970s. Sushi as we know it today is an invention of the late twentieth century and the undisputed representational food of Japan. Its actual beginnings, however, date back hundreds of years and are deeply rooted in the spiritual, cultural, and social connection the Japanese have with the foods they produce and consume. Thus, the history of Japan's culinary culture and its evolution due to shifting pressures of economics, geography, and culture, are also reviewed. I conclude the chapter by studying the expansion and modernization of Japanese restaurant culture.

Throughout Chapter Three I address the polemical concept of authenticity as it relates to Japanese culinary culture in Toronto. In addition, I define notions of multiculturalism as an ideology and policy. Next, I problematize the discourse of hybridity and highlight how it intersects with culinary geographies. Later I approach the Japanese restaurant as a cultural landscape for staging and negotiating authenticity and review various authentication strategies employed. I discuss how such authenticity work reifies racialized ideas, images and discourses. Authenticity is shown to reflect the Canadian perception of what constitutes an authentic "Japanese" experience, even if the

perception veers from the reality of Japanese culture in Canada and perpetuates reductionist and exaggerated images of the Oriental Other. Finally, I present two general propositions: first, that the construction of authenticity relies upon imaginative geographies of the Oriental Other; and second, that cosmopolitan identities are advanced by the commodification and consumption of "ethnic" authenticity.

In Chapter Four I examine cosmopolitan discourse. Although I review the conceptualization of cosmopolitanism as an abstract notion characterized by mobility, fluidity, and globality, I am primarily interested in the ways cosmopolitanism is entrenched in people's interactions and activities rather then simply as an abstract philosophical position. The construction of a cosmopolitan identity is addressed by exploring the performances, practices, and processes of class, taste, and consumption as constitutive of and connected to the discourse of cosmopolitanism. By exploring varied conceptions of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan culinary consumption practices, I can begin to draw connections between identity making and Japanese culinary culture.

Chapter Five aims to bring the processes of racialization, ethnicization, and Whiteness into the discussion of culinary geographies. Ethnic food is presented as a performance of Otherness that is comprehensible and digestible to mainstream consumers. It often functions as an exotic novelty whereby culinary adventurers can exercise and validate their social class distinctions. I argue that the identity of the Other and what I refer to as the "Oriental Other" are intimately linked with the constructed image and consumption of Japanese food. I approach culinary culture in this chapter not as a space within which pre-existing culinary cultures are reproduced – with all the

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problems that decontextualization brings – but as a recontextualization of identity practices within which cultural differences are constructed, localized, and used.

Chapter Six explicitly describes the various steps of the research design, including the use of an online questionnaire, recruitment and selection of participants, and details of the interview process. The design challenges, limitations, and ethical issues that emerged throughout the course of the research are also presented. Chapter Seven and Eight highlight the major findings of the qualitative research. A summary of the online questionnaire data is presented followed by the interviews analysis. The interviews with Toronto residents and the chefs and restaurateurs of Japanese origin are analyzed separately, revealing common themes within each group and any possible interconnections. Chapter Nine concludes the dissertation by drawing on major findings and highlighting how cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and racism not only simultaneously exist but are also constitutive parts of my cultural food geography research and therefore critical to its understanding and analysis.

Chapter 2

Japanese Food

Sushi's humble history began centuries ago in Japan as a method of preserving fish. Today it is a ubiquitously coveted delicacy outside Japan, found in nearly every North American city, where it is sold out of the deli case at supermarket counters, as a snack at the theatre, and part of a $150 kaiseki dinner at Mississauga's Hashimoto Yu-zen. In the five short blocks along Bloor Street in downtown Toronto known as the Annex, there are no less then a dozen Japanese restaurants. *Toronto Life* magazine jokingly refers to it as the "Maki Mile," listing the various restaurants' prices for California Rolls, their specialty, and the item on the menu that indicates that they have sold out, lovingly referred to in this article as the "McSushi Moment" (Bigge 2005, 25). Indeed, sushi as we know it today is very much an invention of the late twentieth century.

Canada is in the sushi international spotlight again in Issenberg's *Sushi Economy,* where he traces sushi's journey from a method of preserving fish to global delicacy (2007). He credits Prince Edward Island as being the place that changed the entire sushi economy in a chapter entitled, "The Day of the Flying Fish: The birth of modern sushi" (2007, 1-13). In the 1970s, two employees of Japan Airlines, one Japanese the other Canadian, put in motion a set of international connections that would ultimately change Japanese culinary culture around the world. Once empty freight planes returning to Japan via Vancouver and Los Angeles were now packed with millions of dollars worth of tuna.

Akira Okazaki, a JAL employee in Sapporo figured out how to successfully package the fragile fish so that it would not only remain fresh during the long travel time between continents but also arrive unblemished, in perfect sushi-grade condition (Issenberg 2007, 1-13). "The result," according to Issenberg, "was a previously inconceivable placelessness" (2007, 13).

At this time Japanese restaurants started to appear in the Greater Toronto Area, mainly catering to Japanese businessmen and recent immigrants desiring a taste of home. According to members of the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada, only five Japanese restaurants existed in the 1970s. Sasaya, located at 257 Eglington Avenue West, opened to much fanfare late in the decade. A favourable review in the *Globe and Mail* by restaurant critic Joanne Kates ensured the restaurant was packed from the beginning. The two enterprising owners deliberately sought an affluent area that catered to upscale White diners, and unknowingly started a new culinary cultural trend. The duo were both young Kendo instructors. One, whom I interviewed as part of my fieldwork, originally operated a landscaping business on the side, and the other was a Japan Camera employee. Neither had any experience in the restaurant business, let alone experience as a traditionally trained Japanese chef. After unsuccessfully trying to recruit a sushi master, they visited a friend who owned and operated a Japanese restaurant in New York City and after only two short weeks of apprenticeship they opened Sasaya in Toronto.

It would not be until the mid 1980s; however, that sushi and Japanese culinary culture would move beyond a limited number of expensive restaurants. Sushi was quickly coming to represent the tastes of the trendy and elite, as evidenced by the reference to

sushi in popular culture such as *Saturday Night Live, The Breakfast Club,* and *Wallstreet*. However, when ambitious young restaurant employees opened smaller, modest sushi bars in and around the Greater Toronto Area, the Japanese culinary landscape began to change. Becoming a chef in Japan means formal training for at least five to ten years, often washing dishes and learning to cook and season rice for two years before being allowed near the fish. For ambitious sushi chefs opening a restaurant of their own in Canada presented an opportunity to circumvent the long, slow traditional Japanese career path.

By the early 1990s, new Chinese and Korean immigrants saw their entrepreneurial fortunes in Japanese cuisine rather then their own traditional fare. As a result Japanese restaurants in the Greater Toronto Area rose to an estimated 500 to 700 establishments. Statistics in a 2006 document prepared by Japan's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF) (Japanese Food Culture, n.d,) estimate the number of Japanese restaurants worldwide at over 20,000 with approximately 10,000 in North America. The total number of Japanese restaurants in the United States is said to have increased by 250 percent in the past ten years and the number in the United Kingdom by 300 percent in the past five years. Interestingly, less then ten percent of the Japanese restaurant owners in the United States are of Japanese descent according to MAFF statistics (Japanese Food Culture, n.d, 4). With Japanese immigration lower in Canada then in the United States, it is not surprising that the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada estimates similar statistics. Perhaps the saturation of the Japanese culinary scene is why thirty years after

Joanne Kates' Sasaya review she appears to have lost her enthusiasm for the cuisine. She writes,

> Much as I adore sushi, if I had to review another sushi restaurant, I'd gag. It's like still wanting to be in love with someone, but the thrill is gone. It's just a matter of time until you have to stop lying to yourself about it. I would still make a special journey for impeccable sushi. But the soul of sushi has been compromised, its heart torn out, by restaurants that adulterate it. Great hunks of farm-raised salmon, cooked shrimp, cheap tuna and soggy nori are not what the sushi chefs of Japan sweat five years in training to produce. Most of the sushi we get in Toronto is like that. Unfortunately, cooked Japanese food has also been compromised by its popularity, to the point where diners think Japanese food is all tempura and teriyaki. (Kates 2007, n.p)

Issenberg questions whether the invasion of non-Japanese chefs harms Japanese cuisine as Kates suggests or whether it continues the progress of a constantly evolving cuisine. "Is the new any different from the old, and should we care?" questions Issenberg (2007, xxiv). Criticisms of Toronto's Japanese culinary cultural scene are predicated on the assumption there is a traditional and authentic sushi to defile by its new global reach. "The narrative of a perfected past debased by the homogenizing pressures of integration is a convenient fiction embraced by reactionaries of all stripes" (Issenberg 2007, xxi). Sushi's history shows a foodstuff always in flux, remaking itself over centuries due to shifting pressures of economics, geography, and culture. The issue here is not that appropriation or re-articulation of Japanese culinary culture by people of other ethnic

origins distorts some authentic meaning, but rather that it contributes to establish, maintain, and reinforce stereotypical ideologies of the "Oriental Other," while challenging, contesting, and undermining others.

2.1 Japanese Culinary History

Over the last decade, Japanese cuisine has become part of the everyday eating experience for many North Americans. Yet while many Canadians have eaten Japanese food and have come to appreciate it for its attractive presentation and light, delicate flavour, relatively few are well acquainted with its origins and development. In Japan, food represents a lineage where the cuisine is viewed as defining national culture. Thus, an understanding and appreciation of Japanese cuisine implies a certain understanding and appreciation of Japanese cultural values.

The two great Japanese religions, Shinto and Buddhism, are major influential factors in Japanese culinary culture. Together they have formed the philosophical and aesthetic basis for much of the preparation and presentation of Japanese cuisine. The two religions coexist in Japan to the point that most Japanese people adhere to both. Shinto was the sole religion of the Japanese until the sixth century. The religion centres around ideas of naturalism and purity and a life that is in harmony with nature. The essence of Shinto as a religion has to do with the idea of emulating and serving a set of deities, the kami, indigenous to the Japanese islands and believed to be inherently pure (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000, 152). Shinto affects the province of food by characterizing certain foods

as clean and edible by their association with foods offered to the kami. Rice, for example, is believed to be the purest and most desirable of foods. Given that rice is the mother of many Japanese foods and drinks, including sushi and sake, its offering to the deities is an indication of the tremendous importance of food and how it forms the core relationship between the individual and the divine (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993).

Buddhism, an import from India via China and Korea around the middle of the sixth century, deals largely with the afterlife. Like Shinto, Buddhism requires elaborate offerings of food but a fundamental change to the Japanese diet was based on the Buddhist belief that a person should not take life. Thus, the Buddhist preference for vegetarian products has meant that Japan has evolved one of the most complex and elaborate vegetarian cuisines in the world.

Exogenous ingredients and dishes from China, Korea, and later Europe and America have had an enormous influence on the development of Japanese culinary culture. Various foreign products and foodstuffs have had differing impacts and speeds of absorption in Japan. The adoption of new foods has always been high in Japan, but there are distinct parameters which determine how and what foods are accepted (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000, 28). Foreign commodities are interpreted and reinterpreted by the Japanese so that the presentation, taste, texture, size, are adapted to Japanese preferences until they develop a national identity of their own. Many of the staple ingredients in any Japanese kitchen notably rice, tea, noodles, and the soybean in its various guises, appear to have their origins in China. Even the use of common Japanese utensils like chopsticks also derives from China (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000, 43). Over the historical periods new

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ingredients such as the sweet potato and peppers and new dishes such as tempura and milk products were introduced by the West. Japanese culinary culture continued to evolve well into the twentieth century with the introduction of curried rice by expatriate British businessmen who had come to Japan from India.

Although sushi is the undisputed representational food of Japan it is only one of many foods with a deep rooted history in the Japanese culture. Noodles, or *menuri*, for example, is one of the most popular foods in Japan and come in a variety of shapes, textures, and broths. While they originally came from China, noodles have become native to Japan and have developed a national identity of their own. They are also an ideal food to illustrate how historically speaking there was never one national cuisine but many regional cuisines due to geographical differentiation and social stratification. Two of the most notable geographical differences in taste are an east – west divide within Japan over the type of preferred noodle; soba for the former and udon for the latter, and the tsuyu or soup in which the noodles are served. The soup for soba is made by flavoring stock prepared from dried bonito shavings with ordinary soy sauce and mirin (sweet rice wine used for cooking), while udon soup is made using konbu (kelp) based stock flavoured with light colour soy sauce. The rise of a flourishing urban culture in Edo (Tokyo) from the seventeenth century onward led to the development of taste preferences distinctive to that area. While Edo rose in prominence their particular food style spread through eastern and northern Japan and eventually came to influence the entire country after the city, renamed Tokyo, was designated the nation's capital at the beginning of the Meji era. Other foods that originally gained favour in Edo like tempura and sushi have gained

national and international acclamation. It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus on restaurant culture in Tokyo in the following section.

Today, the Japanese diet has changed to adjust to the hectic pace of modern Japan. For expediency most Japanese choose a Western breakfast of toast in the morning instead of the laborious tradition of making miso soup, rice, and fish. Even foodstuffs like milk, which were never consumed in pre-modern Japan, have become staples of Japanese children's diets since World War Two. Notwithstanding foreign incursions into food and food preferences, Japanese cuisine still retains much of its traditional vigor. It has been said that "it is not perhaps that Japan has become Westernized as that things Western in Japan have been Japanified" (Richie 1985, 12). So while Japanese culinary culture has changed tremendously because of foreign influences, the cuisine has managed to maintain and protect its own inherent basic characteristics.

2.2 Sushi

Japan is an island nation; its surrounding seas are abundant with an amazing variety of fish and shellfish. The islands themselves are mountainous, and what little arable land exists is terraced and carefully cultivated to coax rice and other crops from the earth. Japan continues to feed its dense population from the sea and the rice fields, its cuisine emphasizing what nature provides. The philosophy of traditional Japanese cuisine maintains that the food should be enjoyed as close as possible to its natural state, with a minimum of artificial technique. In this sense, raw fish or sashimi is the true essence of

fish (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000, 86). To get this "natural" flavour; however, one must exercise the highest possible discrimination and skill.

Sushi originated as an ancient method of preserving raw fish, called nare-zushi. Fresh fish were gutted but kept whole and stuffed with rice for up to a year. As the fish fermented the rice produced a lactic acid, which in turn caused the pickling of the fish. Nare-zushi refers to the finished edible fish product resulting from this early method; not the rice which was later disposed of (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000, 131).

It is thought that the process of preserving fish by fermentation may have been brought along with the process of rice cultivation from Southeast Asia (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000, 203), while others believe that the practice was brought back by Buddhist priests returning from China after their training in the 7th century CE (Barber and Takemura 2002). Regardless of which historical timeline is deemed most accurate, the sour flavour imparted by fermentation to preserve fish gradually developed into a desirable taste. The rice was no longer discarded but rather incorporated into Japanese cuisine as the foundation for sushi. By the 18th or 19th century, the lengthy fermentation process had evolved into the instant pickled dish much closer to the sushi we know today; cooked rice mixed with a natural vinegar. The traditional method of nare-zushi is still available today in a few remote villages in Shiga prefecture, but it is the modern day sushi style that has reached global status (Sugawara 1994, 23).

In modern forms of sushi the principle of vinegared rice is maintained but the topping shows luxury not by pickling the fish but rather by presenting it raw. The modern art of sushi, therefore, consists primarily of choosing and skillfully cutting fish of the

right size and freshness, in addition to preparing the rice as a base. Sushi can be eaten as a snack, appetizer, or main course and comes in various different forms, from bowls of rice scattered with fish and vegetables (chirashi-sushi) to rolled (maki-sushi), pressed (oshi-sushi), and hand formed sushi (nigiri-sushi).

Condiments used in sushi preparation and consumption are also minimalist and emphasize the natural flavours of the rice and toppings of fish, vegetables, or eggs. Two essentials are wasabi (Japanese horseradish) and soya sauce. Wasabi is made from the powdered form of the root and includes Chinese mustard powder, mixed with water to create the green paste. Soya sauce comes in a wide variety of flavours and types. Sushi is dipped in soya sauce before placing it in the mouth. The taste of fresh fish is better appreciated by dipping the sushi fish side down so that the rice ball will not disintegrate or be further seasoned (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2000, 204; Ishige 2001, 229). Thin slices of pickled ginger are also served with sushi. As one switches between varieties of sushi, eating a small piece of ginger is thought to cleanse the palate of the previous fish, thus refreshing it for the next piece.

Maki sushi is arguably the most ubiquitous form of sushi in North America; it can be found in restaurants, grocery stores, malls, and even convenience stores. In this form of rolled sushi, nori (dried seaweed), the encasing for all rolled sushi, plays a central function. Its flavour is evocative of the sea and its texture, which should be crisp, provides a contrast to the tender fish or vegetable. Sushi rice is spread over the thin sheet of greenish-black seaweed, offering a striking contrast to the white of the rice and the various hues of the fish and vegetables. Once the main topping is added, the nori is rolled

into a wrapped cylinder which is then cut into several bite-size pieces. Fresh cucumber, strips of stewed dried gourd, stewed shiitake mushrooms, pickled daikon radish, and more recently, avocado are most commonly used in rolled sushi.

Sushi has become the most visible expression of Japanese culinary culture in countries around the world. For the average Canadian diner, knowledge and interest in Japanese food seemed to be confined to a few popular dishes until fairly recently. The overwhelming sensory aesthetic experience that sushi evokes and its emphasis on fresh quality ingredients has international appeal. What began as a simple method of preserving fish has transformed through the centuries, eventually becoming a multi-billion dollar global industry.

2.3 Restaurants

Restaurants did not emerge in Japan until the 18th century (Ishige 2001, 117). It was the bourgeoisie of the Edo period who sponsored the appearance of restaurants serving gourmet cuisine in the largest cities. Noodles, tempura, and sushi, however, were readily available from stalls in the 1770s (Ishige 2001, 123). The mobile vendors would set up their goods by the side of a street. The operator would hang his noren curtain to signify that he was ready to serve his customers, who ate standing up. The stalls had wheels and were hauled into place in the evening.

The transition from sushi stall to the structured sushi restaurants of today was gradual. Aspiring restaurateurs opted to expand beyond their working class clientele by

building impressive restaurants and charging higher prices for more elegant versions of the same snacks. By the mid 1800s both restaurants and print culture had flourished in Edo, and as a result restaurant guides emerged to offer customers help in selecting a place to eat (Ishige 2001, 127). Many of the guides were broadsheets; typically with two columns listing the names and addresses of about 150 currently well established restaurants, in descending order and type size according to their rank. The sheet was small enough in size so that it could easily be carried around the city. The restaurant guides were imitations of the established format used for sumo wrestling standings. One example is *Edo Shuhan Tebikikusa* (Pocket Guide to Eating and Drinking in Edo), published in 1848. It listed the names and addresses of 594 restaurants, including soba, sushi and eel restaurants (Ishige 2001, 127). Given that Japan had the highest rate of literacy in the world during the Edo period, restaurant reference tools were not reserved for people of rank. Moreover, the extensive lists of restaurants of various styles and range in quality implied that dining in restaurants had become an activity in which all Japanese could partake.

2.4 Contemporary Sushi Bars in Japan

Today, traditional Japanese restaurants called ryotei can still be found, but are often quite expensive. Unlike restaurants in the West, these are not solely for dining out. They are places for leisurely dinners, for banquets, for drinking parties, and for important

events. For that reason, the restaurant's architecture, décor, and ambience are designed to be as elegant as possible (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2003, 134).

The Japanese government classifies dining establishments into five categories: restaurants, noodle shops, sushi shops, coffee shops, and miscellaneous (Ishige 2001, 214). These dining establishments are then further reduced into groups according to the style of restaurant and the food in which it specializes in. First, present day Japanese restaurants can be pragmatically classified as ryotei or high class restaurants serving haute cuisine; itame kappo, or small restaurants, a sort of dining kitchen with the cook and the diners n the same room; taishu shokudo, or rice shops, both casual and inexpensive; yatai mise, or street stalls; and specialist restaurants. The most common categories are noodle shops, sushi shops, as well as restaurants specializing in eel, tempura, fugu, tonkatsu, and of course fast food. A restaurant specializing in a particular dish will generally not make other styles of dishes. It is only in the humble shokudo, an establishment akin to an American buffet or cafeteria, that the categories are mixed (Richie 1985, 12).

Japanese style bars, called izakaya, represent the more informal Japanese style. There are thousands of bars in Japan, many of them deliberately Western in approach, with similar atmosphere and drinks that you would find in a North American establishment. Some of the Japanese bars not only serve drinks, but have a central focus on food as well. In fact, most izakaya have a small selection of drinks, limited to sake, beer, hard liquour, and soft drinks. It is the variety of foods that distinguish the many bars

in Japan. Food might range from pickled dishes, yakatori (skewered chicken pieces), grilled fish, or edamame (Ashkenazi and Jacob 2003, 136).

2.5 Kaiseki

It should be noted that Western Japan, home to long and established traditions, has remained largely impervious to outside influences and has maintained its own unique food culture to this day. Kaiseki is the height of Japanese cuisine and is most often associated with Kyoto, the place of its origin. Though it is possible to enjoy Kaiseki in cities like Tokyo it has remained exclusive to Japan's elite. There are only a handful of kaiseki restaurants in the United States compared to the inestimable number of regular Japanese restaurants and it is possible that Hashimoto Yu-zen and the more recent Sakura Kaiseki are the only kaiseki restaurants in Canada.

Kaiseki cuisine is a formal and traditional Japanese meal originating in Kyoto. The meal is consists of a sequence of small dishes, often simply but stunningly prepared to reflect the essence of seasonal ingredients. The modern day kaiseki is a sumptuous affair and considered the height of Japanese cuisine, yet its origin is a minimalist vegetarian meal intended for Buddhist monks.

Kaiseki was originally developed in Zen temples to accompany the tea ceremony. Kaiseki is a combination of two words "kai" which refers to the bosom of the kimono, and "seki" meaning stone. Much like the warmed stones Buddhist monks used to tuck into the fold of their kimonos to heat their stomachs and ward off hunger, the original

kaiseki was a small meal, taken not to satisfy, but merely warm the stomach before strong green tea was ingested (Abbott Riccardi 2003, 76). This kaiseki meal consisted of one soup, three small seasonal dishes and just three mouthfuls of rice. It was a meal of restraint simply prepared with seasonal ingredients. While the original kaiseki tradition exists in its pure form today and is still served in the context of the tea ceremony, when we now speak of kaiseki it refers to something quite different. Today's kaiseki is a much heartier and sophisticated meal centered on the drinking of sake rather then green tea and quite elaborate in its presentation.

It has been said that the Japanese meal is a spiritual union with nature. This communion is displayed in seasonal ingredients simply prepared to reflect the natural essence of the particular food undistorted by strong additions such as spices or sauces. The kaiseki menu changes throughout the year to reflect the seasonal changes and the month's particular seasonal spirit. In September, for example, the menu will not only consist of ingredients that are perfectly fresh during this time of year but it will also evoke awe, mystery and reverence; the seasonal spirit for the month. Kaiseki cuisines relationship with nature is also displayed in its design and presentation. The dishes often reflect nature's shapes, such as islands, mountains, forests, leaves, and flowers. As in nature, the dishes contain contrasting elements of colour, shape, flavour, and texture. Finally, garnishes are added to symbolize the seasons and seasonal rituals (Robinson n.d).

Regardless of the particular season or monthly spirit, kaiseki meals offer a succession of finely prepared delicacies designed to bring the diner tranquility while celebrating the artistry and subtleties of nature. One is meant to admire the elegance of

the pottery and the attentive heights of formal Japanese hospitality as much as the food itself. The dining experience is unhurried, often taking three to four hours to consume an entire kaiseki meal. Although the sequence and dishes can vary a typical kaiseki meal consists of eight to twelve dishes. An example of a kaiseki menu is as follows: first, sakizuke – appetizer; second, wanmono – a clear broth in which the ingredients are "piled up" (from the verb moru) to resemble a mountain's height and served in a lacquered bowl (wan); third, mukozuke – a cold dish, usually sashimi; fourth, yakimono – a charcoal broiled entrée; fifth, agemono – a fried dish; sixth, takiawase or mushimono – simmered or steamed dish; seventh, sunomono – japanese salad; and – the final rice dish.

A kaiseki chef carries on a legacy of extraordinary skill and quality. Very few are granted the opportunity to undertake the ten years of training necessary to qualify as a kaiseki chef. As a result, this culinary art has not become a globalized commodity readily consumed in North America or Europe. There are two restaurants in the Greater Toronto Area that follow the principles of kaiseki dining, Kaiseki Sakura on Church Street and Kaiseki Yu-zen Hashimoto on Dixie Road. Both chefs/owners are careful to point out that their restaurants produce a kaiseki-*style* dining experience so as not to offend or compromise the spirit and history of true kaiseki cuisine from Japan.

The urban streets of contemporary Japan offer many culinary choices, from traditional Japanese-style restaurants, snack bars, or contemporary street food vendors, to restaurants that combine foreign ideas with Japanese tastes. The representations of Japanese culinary appear to mix tradition and modernity seamlessly. The cuisine continues to evolve as attempts are made to reconstruct this conceptualization in different

cultural landscapes. New practices and meanings are negotiated and new constructed

images emerge as Japanese culinary culture takes and makes place around the world.

Chapter 3

Authenticity

Molly Ringwald eating sushi in the movie *The Breakfast Club*, The Vapours' hit song "I think I'm turning Japanese," and Nintendo's Super Mario Brothers are only a few examples of the Western world's fascination with Japan. Twenty years after the release of these cultural products, the fetishization of Japanese culture involves everything from no fuss bonsai kits that adorn downtown offices to bejeweled Hello Kitty cell phones. Although Japanese-ness appears to come and go as fad and fashion, Western consumers' appetite for Japanese food continues to intensify. When we move these cultural consumption practices into Japanese restaurants, we are able to observe not only the constructed image of Japanese food, with all the myths and imagined cultural qualities that it carries, but also how authenticity and social identities are created in the exchange between the producer and consumer. This chapter addresses the polemical concept of authenticity as it relates to Japanese culinary culture in Canada, with particular focus on the restaurant as a cultural landscape for staging and negotiating authenticity. First, the notion of hybridity and its place within cultural food geographies will be reviewed. Following this, I explain how the social construction of the authentic is revealed as an active expression of social imaginations. Multicultural discourse grounds our understanding of the authentic and will therefore be defined and outlined in the chapter.

Finally, I shall present two general propositions; first, that the construction of authenticity relies upon imaginative geographies of the Oriental Other; and second, that cosmopolitan identities are advanced by the commodification and consumption of "ethnic" authenticity.

Issues of authenticity, a "true" or "natural" essence, most often comes into play when the authenticity of something has been put in doubt. As Arjun Appadurai has noted, "authenticity measures the degree to which something is more or less what it *ought* to be" (1986, 25). But who is the authority to judge whether something is "real" or fake? When and how does this authentication process occur? Moreover, when "authentic" commodities such as food are constructed locally, how do we account for the different acceptable models that exist for the same cuisine? As Cook and Crang remind us, "There is no simple or unconstructed association of foods and places; rather placings of foods are active social constructions" (1996, 139). For example, uncomplicated associations of ketchup with All-American fare overlook the way ketchup became American through processes of globalization and hybridity, moving it away from its Chinese origins to eventually symbolize America. Cook and Crang argue:

Foods do not simply come from places, organically growing out of them, but also make places as symbolic constructs, being deployed in the discursive construction of various imaginative geographies. The differentiation of foods through their geographies is an active intervention in their cultural geographies rather than the passive recording of absolute cultural geographic differences. (1996, 140)

With the existence of such twenty-first century cultural inventions as Asian fusion and Frapanese cuisine it is necessary to recognize the messiness of authenticity in a study of Japanese culinary culture. Before I follow the process in which such "authenticity work" is negotiated in different geographical landscapes, I shall address the discourse of hybridity and how such geographical imaginations intersect with culinary geographies. To contextualize these arguments in Canadian cultural geography, I shall also define multiculturalism as a legislated policy as well as a social discourse.

Homi Bhabha has proven to be one of the leading theorists of ethnic studies. Like many other contemporary scholars, he recognizes the need to move away from a reliance on the reification of essentialized minority cultures that had for so long dominated historical-cultural research, towards a framework that can accommodate considerations of the ongoing and negotiated process from which cultural hybridities emerge. He maintains that it is crucial "to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural difference" (Bhabha 1994, 1), thus allowing movement beyond expectations of "authentic" beginnings and retentions of cultural mosaics, fixed in space through their territories and borders. The possibility of this conception needs to be examined further. First, we cannot simply assume that the discourse of hybridity actually challenges or disturbs notions of authenticity and essentialism (Cook, Crang and Thorpe 1999, 241). Although hybridity is predicated on the concept of cultural mixing it does not dismiss the fact that entities can come together secure in their differences. Indeed racial, cultural, or other forms of hybridity can coexist in colonial discourse and depend upon emergent

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understandings of clearly defined and separate races or cultures. Bhabha also proposes a construction of cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy (Bhabha 1994). This proposition is impractical given the realities of modern cities, cultures, and social subjects. The dynamics of cultural difference plainly induce the privileging and hierarchy of certain cultures over others – the dominance of what one scholar has called, the West over "the rest" (Featherstone 1995, 4).

Ethnicity and the discourse surrounding hybridity is now routinely recognized as implicated in and reproduced through the production and consumption of food (Crang 1996; Cook, Crang, and Thorpe 2004). Borrowing from Bhabha's notion of cultural hybridity it is easy to see how cuisines are part of a continually hybridizing processes rather than fixed things. There is probably no cuisine that at one time in history did not borrow from foreign influences. Sugar, tea, and rice are only a few of the examples that show how ingredients, food knowledges, methods, culinary and otherwise, cannot have straightforward origins in part because they "move" and migrate, just like people. What is more British then a Sunday dinner of roast beef, potatoes, and Yorkshire pudding? What signifies New Year's Day in Japan more then Misoka soba? The fact that potatoes originated in the New World and that noodles derive from China is of little consequence here. Since their introduction these foodstuffs were not only successfully accommodated into, respectively, British and Japanese diet but have also acquired cultural and ideological connotations of greater importance than indigenous food. Cook and Crang have noted, "There are no pure cultures to mix, if purity means bounded

exclusivity…Processes of displacement are not some recent disturbance of past cultural forms" (Cook and Crang 1996, 139).

One needs to be leery of accepting the idea that everything is "hybrid" or "creolized," because hybridization "is in effect a tautology, the hybridisation of hybrid cultures" (Pieterse 1995, 64). Friedman works through conflicting ways of framing hybridization by approaching it as an actively constructed form of cultural differentiation (1994, 1995). "Cultures don't flow together and mix with each other. Rather, certain actors, often strategically positioned actors, identify the world in such terms as part of their own self-identification" (Friedman 1995, 83-84). Of particular importance, therefore, is why and how such forms of differentiation are made. Freidman contends that it is the cosmopolitan who determines how and with what outcomes imaginaries of multicultural hybridity are constructed and used. "Whether origins are maintained or obliterated is a question of the practice of identity" (Friedman 1995, 74).

By comparison, Edward Said (1978) focuses on how, why, and for what purposes the subjectivities of ethnicized minorities are created in the first place. Said's (1978) influential book, *Orientalism*, argues that history is socially constructed, just as it can be deconstructed and rewritten, "always with various silences and elisions, always with shapes imposed and disfigurements tolerated" (Said 1978, xviii). The direction here is towards an explanation of the socially and geographically varied identity of the "Other." "Orientalism" is presented as a deliberately created body of theory and practice; "a system of knowledge about the Orient," which depends for its design on a "flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible

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relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand" (Said 1978, 6-7). Orientalism, Otherness, and what I refer to as the "Oriental Other" will be given a more extensive and nuanced treatment in following chapters.

As a geographer, Crang, like both Bhabha (1994) and Said (1978), depicts a world where cultural lives are "characterized not only by the points in space where they take and make place, but by the movements to, from, and between those points" (Crang 1996, 47). In a period of intensified globalization, therefore, it must be recognized that globalization itself does not ultimately lead to global sameness given that all the networks that extend beyond spatial boundaries of particular places are subject to local reworking and contextualization (Crang 1996, 48). Crang employs this notion of what he calls "displacement," as a way to reflect on constitutive geographies neither as a homogenizing nor as locally bounded social activities. This theoretical conception is applied to processes of consumption rendering commodities local only in terms of being contextual, open to, and constituted through, "networks, distances, diversions, routes, and inhabitations" (Crang 1996, 48). He advances a "horizontal" analysis that questions the complex web that commodities spin rather than a "vertical" analysis that concentrates on the depth and authenticity of consuming geographies.

Castree questions, "who has the power to construct what geographical imaginations and with what effects?" (2004, 139) He does not suggest that each and every geographical imagination has equal validity, but rather that questions such as the one he posed "encourages those whose geographical imaginations are dominant, emergent or subordinate – in academia and beyond – to actively justify the kind of world

those imaginations are designed to create" (Castree 2004, 139). With this in mind the theoretical framework that drives this study is indeed influenced by Bhabha's work; however, the designations of cultural hybridity with their emphasis on previously separate cultures mixing are themselves recognized as constructed geographical knowledges, a part of a locally produced identity practice. Actively manufactured, they have a constitutive role to play in how we see ourselves and others.

3.1 Multiculturalism

The first official policy of multiculturalism was declared in 1971 by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. The policy was born in the aftermath of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism after ethnic and racial minority Canadians voiced their dissatisfaction with an official bilingual and bicultural framework. It has been argued that the B & B Commission would effectively place ethnic and racial groups into the permanent role of the "Other" and position their concerns as secondary issues. Moreover, it was thought that their cultures and contributions to Canadian society would be devalued in comparison to those of the French and British. Some have suggested that the naturalized assumption that ethnic groups are to remain outside the parameters of mainstream Canadian society creates the fragmentation of citizens into "we" and "they" groups (Peter 1981, 57; Henry et al. 2000, 28). Those marked as "they" or the "Other" are positioned outside the "imagined" community of Canada and national identity of Canadians (Anderson 1983). The simultaneous rejection of existing forms of racism and

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the misrepresentation of multiculturalism have created relentless backlash when any genuine effort to apply the policy is made. Indeed, these attempts are said to be divisive, regressive, and advancing the excessive "special interests" of visible minorities (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). The Multiculturalism Act was established in 1988 to provide a mechanism to promote the policy of multiculturalism, furthering the federal government's capacity to work toward achieving greater equality in the economic, social, cultural, and political life of the country. It is multiculturalism policy, however, that has been one of the most contentious and widely misunderstood policies in Canada.

The goals of multiculturalism outline a set of principles and practices for accommodating and recognizing ethnocultural differences in Canada as a legitimate and integral component of society. By doing so, Canada affirmed its commitment to ensuring equal citizenship and the right to preserve one's cultural and ethnic identities. Multiculturalism policy is often contested, however, because it constructs a concept of a common English-Canadian culture that all Other cultures are made "multicultural" in relation to. Indeed, words such as "tolerance," "accommodation," and "sensitivity," are embedded within the language of the policy thereby placing the power to define normative notions of citizenship with the dominant population. Moreover, while they must accept the particularities of Others, the power to stipulate which differences are tolerable still lies with the dominant group.

Food is an expression of the Others' cultural identity that is widely accepted. The endorsement of the Other's culinary culture affirms a faith in a multicultural society; however, this blanket approval does not address the demands that the articulation of

cultural difference makes upon Canadian society i.e., inclusion, equity, and empowerment for the food purveyor. Indeed, the immense popularity of ethnicized foods tends to conceal the messiness of systemic inequality and the unequal relations of power in the production, and consumption of such cultural practices. While "ethnic" fare such as "Japanese food" may have moved from the margins into mainstream popular culture it is still positioned outside conceptions of a Canadian national identity. For example, at the Air Canada Centre in Toronto you can choose from "local purveyors…and crowd pleasing indigenous brands Toronto has to offer" such as Tim Hortons and Pizza Pizza. According to their website, "In addition to the normal arena fare…[they] also offer sushi" (www.theaircanadacentre.com 2007, n.p). This example reinforces normative notions of citizenship, identity and belonging by removing sushi from the local foodscape and placing it as an alternative to popular indigenous food. The fact that pizza is described as local whereas sushi is described as Other illustrates the selective acceptance of cultural practices despite the promotion of multiculturalism. Once considered an "ethnic" food pizza is now part of the Canadian ethos because it does not alter or threaten the way many Canadians have imagined and constructed a Canadian identity. Because Japanese cuisine continues to sit on the periphery of the Canadian imagined community despite its extraordinary popularity makes it a fascinating medium in which to explore the complexity and contradictions of multicultural ideological discourse.

3.2 Authentic: an expression of social imagination

Representations, interpretations, and knowledge itself are always relative to social context and are the outcome of active processes of fabrication rather than the discovery of a reality full formed. Social knowledge becomes real and takes on causative powers when people allow it to gain a grip on the population's social imagination and to enter into their everyday lives. In other words, to say something is socially constructed is to emphasize its dependence on contingent aspects of our social selves. In the following paragraphs, I shall try to synthesize briefly major elements of social constructionism and emphasize how the authentic is an expression of social imagination.

The current usage of social construction was introduced by Berger and Luckmann in *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966). Social construction talk in cultural geography is not only applied to worldly items, such as things and facts, but also to our beliefs about them. It is important, therefore, to distinguish between a constructionist claim that is directed at things and facts, on the one hand, and one that is directed at beliefs, such as authenticity, on the other. The first amounts to the metaphysical claim that something is real but of our own creation; the second to the epistemic claim that the explanation for why we have some particular belief has to do with the role that belief plays in our social lives. Much important work has been done in exposing social construction in areas of gender and race. Contemporary feminist scholars, for example, have illuminated the extent to which gender roles are not inevitable but rather the product of social, political, and cultural forces. Anthony Appiah (1996) has been a prominent

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scholar in demonstrating that nothing physical or biological corresponds to the racial categories that play a pervasive role in society. He argues that such delineations owe their existence to their social function not to a particular essence. Race should not be seen; however, as a grand illusion but rather as an ongoing dynamic process subject to the social, political, and cultural forces of everyday life. Social constructionist thought exposes the contingency of our social practices that have wrongly become regarded as inevitable. Seen in this way, social constructionism invites new forms of inquiry, substantially expanding the scope and significance of cultural geography.

Cultural geographers have written prolifically about the social construction and negotiation of social knowledges, conceptualizations, and imaginations. Some notable examples include the constructions of race and racism (Jackson 1996; Kobayashi 2002, 2003, 2004; Peake and Kobayashi 2002; Nash 2003), of gender identities (Jackson 1991; Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Kobayashi 2004); of sacred places (Brace, Bailey and Harvey 2006); and of tourism (Del Casino Jr. 2000; Germann Molz 2007) to name but a few. Other works (Lu and Fine 1995; MacCannell 1999; Germann Molz 2004; Johnston and Baumann 2007) emphasize the role of socially constructed authenticity in the legitimization of ethnicized foods. At the same time, attention is also paid to the negotiated nature of meanings and the role that concepts of authenticity play in social power relations and negotiations. My research contributes to the field of cultural geographers who acknowledge the role of social construction as an expression of social imagination. It also, however, emphasizes the need to include empirical work that takes

on reconceptualizations of cultural forms, such as authenticity, as active and negotiated constructs.

3.3 Negotiating Authenticity in Ethnic Restaurants

A common theme in contemporary research on ethnic food geographies is the recognition of authenticity as a social and cultural construction. Dean MacCannell's concept of "staged authenticity" (1999) is a particularly useful model to study how restaurants apply different strategies to authenticate the experience they offer to consumers. In his work, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class,* MacCannell suggests that the modern tourist is motivated by an interest in the "real life of others" (1999, 91). Indeed, for ethnic restaurants to be attractive to a broader consumer base they must successfully package a sense of difference and exoticization in ways that are legible and approachable to a mainstream audience. Customers often expect to receive, not only "ethnic" cuisine, but a full exotic experience, "an effortless voyage into some distant enchantments" (Zelinksky 1985, 54) but, ironically, one that is not too different or distant from their comfortable, known world. In such self-consciously ethnic restaurants a deliberate attempt is made to immerse patrons into another culture. Often this means entering a restaurant landscape whose name, architecture, décor, and general ambience promise a reprieve from the everyday. Modern tourists and consumers alike, however, are almost always caught in a paradoxical situation according to MacCannell, where what they think is an authentic experience is really an experience of staged authenticity.

The presentation of ethnicized cuisines in Canadian restaurants represents a constructed image of a culture, providing an excellent example of staged authenticity. It is, important to note however, that even the "original" culture is based on staged authenticity. That is, both the culture from its original place of origin and the globally transplanted culture are socially constructed. Like all cultures, these two representations of Japanese culture are not stagnant, nor are they without internal contradictions. The difference between the two cultural forms is that the former is staged as an expression of one's own culture and the former is staged as exotic or belonging to the Other. It is, in the process of cultural change that the cultural expression of the Other become one's own. Food, like art or music, is reinterpreted by mainstream culture from a position of power and privilege. The transformation from its "original" form is legitimated and accepted because of the relatively unchallenged authority of the dominant culture. Indeed, it is difficult to challenge or compete against dominant modes of cultural production and dissemination as we see in the case of Toronto's chefs of Japanese ethnic origin.

Although a search for a Japanese restaurant example in Canada did not produce results, Jennie Germann Molz offers an interesting example of how the menu, ingredients, and décor in American Thai restaurants offer "a behind the scenes peek, if you will, at Thai-ness" (2004, 56). The representations in Thai restaurants tend to reflect the American perception of what constitutes an authentic Thai experience, even when this perception veers from the reality of Thai culture as it is lived in Thailand. Similarly, Lu and Fine (1995) explore how Chinese restaurants negotiate authenticity in Athens, Georgia. They maintain that if an ethnic restaurant is going to appeal to the dominant

population, it needs to present a "traditional" cuisine that is simultaneously "exotic" and familiar. The food in this case is distinguishable from popular mainstream American fare yet assimilated to become palatable for mass consumption (Lu and Fine 1995, 536). The vitality of a cuisine, in this sense, depends on its adaptability and flexibility. The restaurant owners in Lu and Fines' study attempt to achieve this balance by removing dishes such as steamed fish, duck feet, or pig's tongue from the menu, by offering "American vegetables" – carrots, broccoli, and mushroom – in place of bamboo shoots, hotbed chives, and wax gourd, and by adding sugar and other sweeteners to their dishes (1995, 540-541). Operators of ethnic restaurants, like the ones discussed in Lu and Fines' research, are left with the difficult task of meeting two conflicting consumer desires: to present "authentic" cuisine while actually modifying the ingredients, preparation, presentation, and overall construction of the food to suit the preferred tastes of Western customers.

While both Germann Molz (2004) and Lu and Fine (1995) explore the significance of food in authenticity construction, Crang (1994) suggests that the performative geographies of the restaurant's staff also contribute to a restaurant's consumption paradigm. This notion is even more pronounced in so-called "ethnic" restaurants where the perceived ethnicity of the people producing and presenting the food play a critical role in creating authenticity. Zukin's (1995) interviews with New York City restaurant owners and employees in *The Culture of Cities* suggest that people of colour play a significant role in the "front and back of the house" that often goes undocumented (Goffman 1974; Zukin 1995, 163). While the back of the house may

create the food, the wait staff "present themselves along with the menu" and are no less important in creating the experience of dining out (Zukin 1995, 155). Front of the house employees play an integral part in an ethnic restaurant's authentication strategy: "the way they talk and dress…contribute to the production, circulation, and consumption of symbols" (Zukin 1995, 155). The menu, décor, ingredients, and even the employees of ethnic restaurants facilitate the staging of authenticity and become readily recognized markers of an "authentic" dining experience.

3.4 Smoke and mirrors: authentication strategies in Japanese restaurants

The Japanese restaurant has become a ubiquitous feature of Toronto's culinary culture. What was once limited to a few rather expensive Japanese restaurants across the Greater Toronto Area in the '80s and '90s has rapidly increased to an estimated 700 establishments. Moreover, the restaurants that specialize in serving Japanese food have diversified tremendously over the last two decades. Japanese food has acquired several different connotations in Toronto, from an exotic, ethnic fare and a trendy style of dining, to a health conscious fast food. Japanese restaurants also vary from high-end kaiseki or omakase-style restaurants to shopping mall or supermarket kiosks. Now that Japanese cuisine has infiltrated the mainstream market will people still consider dishes such as maki and teriyaki authentic Japanese cuisine and will it still have the caché that goes along with its consumption?

3.4.1 The Menu

The most basic marker of authenticity in a Japanese restaurant can be found in the menu. Some restaurants, like Mye Restaurant, present the Japanese word for each of their dishes, kanisu, yakiniku, and hiyayakko, for example, with a lengthy English translation underneath describing the dishes' ingredients and how they are served. This approach presents the food as authentic and original. Using the appropriate Japanese name imbues the food with a sense of its origins rather then something that is an unconcealed adulteration such as "Toronto roll" or "sushi pizza." Other restaurants are more direct in their approach. As one restaurant claims, "At Sushi Kaji, we are particular about authenticity. Fish comes strictly from Tokyo bay. Rice, vegetables and even garnishes are from Japan. Although we do not serve 'popular Japanese food' like 'California roll' and 'Teriyaki', we will be pleased to introduce you to the real Japanese food culture" (Kaji 2007, n.p). A sense of authenticity can be constructed in a restaurant by its name, declaring its adherence to traditional Japanese cooking techniques, identifying the region or prefecture from which the food comes, or by contrasting their dishes to those found in restaurants that produce weak imitations of traditional Japanese cuisine.

Restaurants also create culinary authenticity through the selection of dishes on the menu. Most menus include those dishes commonly found in Japan such as sushi and sashimi, noodle and rice dishes, and beverages such as green tea and sake. Occasionally, a parenthetical note, such as "Somen – a favourite summer noodle dish in Japan," can be found on a restaurant's menu. This statement is an attempt to promise the authenticity of the dish by implying that it is custom for Japanese people themselves to eat the particular

dish. By making these claims of authenticity on the menu, Japanese restaurants appeal to what they perceive as their customers' desire for an authentic culinary experience.

Other restaurants attempt to create authenticity by drawing patrons' attention to the distinct visual appeal of Japanese cuisine. It is said that "you eat with your eyes" or that food can be a "feast for the senses," and some Japanese restaurants try to capitalize on this phenomenon by including photographs of dishes directly on the menu. The dishes are often selected because of their striking visible difference from American-type fare, so while a restaurant may include a photograph of an array of sashimi, they may choose to leave out photographs of teriyaki in attempt to highlight the Otherness of the food. The food images are presented along with props or decoration intended to add to the Japanese-ness of a dish. The display of Otherness provides legitimacy to claims of authenticity. Some of the common images found in Japanese restaurants in Toronto that made use of photographs included nigiri sitting atop wooden sushi boats, tempura layered on top of a bamboo matt with scattered Japanese maple leaves, and California rolls presented on black lacquered dishes with carrots in the shape of cherry blossoms for garnish.

While most Japanese menus include typical dishes, such as tempura and maki, other equally authentic dishes and preparation techniques may be omitted with the customers' preference in mind. For example, although in Japan it is common to dip sukiyaki meat in raw egg before eating, most Japanese restaurants that offer this dish will only do so as a special request and may charge extra for this authentic addition. The chef and owner at one of Toronto's preferred Japanese restaurants discusses the challenge of

presenting authentic dishes to Canadian consumers: "It is very difficult," he says, "because I am living in Toronto and running a business here but I am originally a chef from Japan – that is my specialty, that is why many people come to my restaurant." Although he remains committed to what he calls a Japanese frontier spirit he admits that it is necessary to make "some small changes." He may alter the ratio of ingredients in a dish to reflect the taste of Canadian consumers. For example, a dish he likes to prepare, marinated deep fried Edo potato with sea urchin sauce, may contain half of the raw sea urchin and half of his sauce mixed together. "But here," in Canada, he explains "one third is actually steamed sea urchin and two thirds sauce." Other dishes may omit ingredients that may be unfamiliar to a Canadian palate and involve further steps to the cooking process. He enlightens, "Spanish mackerel is in season now. If you put salt and a little bit of rice vinegar on it, it has a very good Japanese taste. But here I put salt with sugar, marinate it a little bit and then I don't use any vinegar. After that I slightly smoke it and then make it into sushi." He believes these alterations will be milder for the Canadian tongue but still present an authentic Japanese delicacy. Within the Japanese restaurant's menu, then, is a complex paradox, claiming authenticity on the one hand, but adapting to the Canadian parameters of culinary acceptability on the other. Even the chef confesses that he has "two faces – chef and business man."

3.4.2 The Ingredients

When ethnic food is localized in a Western cultural landscape adjustments are made to accommodate the values of the host society. This transformative process is usually referred to as the Americanization of a foreign cuisine. Americanization refers to the conscious decision of restaurateurs to modify or alter ingredients and techniques of traditional recipes (Tomlinson, 1986) to meet Western tastes. Traditional Japanese ingredients are influenced by the seasonal cycle: a diet consisting of mainly fish, vegetables and rice should be fresh, of high quality, and served in a simple manner that reflects their natural flavour undistorted by sauces. Some of the more traditional or authentic dishes enjoyed by Japanese nationals such as natto, small soybeans clustered together and covered with a whitish slime that has a pungent smell of fermentation, would not be found on a menu in Toronto as it would almost certainly be disagreeable to most Canadian palates. Despite changes or exclusions, food is often presented by Japanese restaurants as being "authentic," for many customers a socially desirable image in a competitive market. Authentic food implies that products are prepared using the same ingredients and processes found in the homeland of the ethnic group (Lu and Fine 1995, 538). Americanized ethnic food suggests that the traditional characteristics of the dish as indigenously prepared have been modified or transformed. Most of the Japanese chefs interviewed want to distinguish themselves from more commonplace Japanese restaurants that offer a loose and often wide-ranging interpretation of Japanese food. One strategy they employ is simply to omit dishes they feel have been changed so drastically that they misrepresent Japanese cuisine. "Dynamite roll, Toronto roll, that is a totally

different food but people make it like it is sushi. That is a real problem for me, for the profession," said one restaurant owner. Unlike Sushi Kaji who stated that he will not make such popular fare, this chef will indulge his customers if explicitly asked but refuses to advertise them on his menu.

3.4.3 The Décor

Staging an authentic dining experience in Japanese restaurants often involves elements beyond the food. There appears to be standard formula among mainstream Japanese restaurants using artwork, decorations, tableware, and uniforms to suggest an atmosphere of nostalgic exoticism. Many Japanese restaurants in Toronto project a clichéd image of "traditional" Japan: screens or scrolls of Mt. Fuji, cherry blossoms, or bamboo trees are commonly found on the walls and direct the tourist gaze to those sights that may be seen while visiting Japan. The Meneki Neko, more frequently referred to as the "beckoning cat," is one of the most famous lucky charms in Japan and can usually be found at the entrance or sitting atop the sushi bar. Beyond the bar you may find other stereotypical decorations such as samurai sword sets, bonsai plants, geisha figurines, and kabuki masks. A pair of disposable wooden chopsticks, a bottle of soya sauce, and a small placard advertising Asahi or Sapporo beer typically adorns the tabletops. Sushi is most often served on wooden boats or glazed earthenware with miso soup and hot dishes presented in (fake) lacquer dishes and bento boxes. The food sits on top of plastic placemats illustrating a list of customary nigiri and maki. The staged authentic experience

that many Japanese restaurants offer is useful in examining the constructed image of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto and the way these restaurants represent Otherness.

Some of the independent Japanese restaurant owners refuse to contribute to the formulaic decorations that play out Western perceptions of Japanese culture. In order to move away from the typical Japanese restaurant landscape one might find in Toronto, one kaiseki chef designed and constructed the interior of his restaurant entirely by himself. After consulting a number of architects he realized that there is a universal image of what people have come to expect a Japanese restaurant to look like: "you go into a Japanese restaurant and it is always the same – same design, same booths, same sushi bar." It is the ever-present adornments that bother another chef: "every time and every place I went to, it was the same. I am fed up with those small monuments, the cat and things like that." The constructed image of Japanese restaurants in Toronto reflects and reinforces enduring stereotypes of Japanese culture. This conventional representation is not only accepted by Canadian consumers but has become the expected standard for all Japanese restaurants.

While the majority of Japanese restaurants modify the ingredients, preparation, and composition of Japanese cuisine to suit the tastes of Western consumers they are still perceived as offering traditional fare. Indeed, some of the most popular forms of sushi in these establishments have been transformed and repackaged with approachable names such as California or Dynamite roll and incorporate unconventional ingredients such as avocado or mayonnaise before being enveloped in batter and deep fried. The opinions from members of the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada on these culinary

creations ranged from "delicious" to "disturbing;" however, all agreed that they were weak imitations of Japanese culinary culture. What they failed to recognize, however, is the extent to which Japanese culinary practice in Japan is based on extensive, ongoing modifications. The fundamental difference is that the modifications to Japanese culinary culture in this case are occurring in Toronto rather then in Japan. In other words, the extensive and ongoing evolution of Japanese food is currently happening here not there, thus illustrating how place is important in the process of cultural change. In turn, also revealing how the chefs of Japanese origin are equally, if not more complicit, in essentialist thought pertaining to Japanese cuisine. Indeed, food itself is only one of many elements involved in the perception of ethnic authenticity in the public mind.

By essentializing cultural production and commodifying Otherness, everyday aspects of culture are stripped away while racialized ideas, images, and discourses are reified. Such enduring racial stereotypes provide cosmopolitan consumers a palatable form of difference that is domesticated and familiar. So while the foreignness of chopsticks, the simplicity of small lacquered dishes, the beauty of Japanese scrolls, and the kitsch of the beckoning cat all add to a Japanese restaurants appeal, it is the conscious and intentional manipulation of Otherness that is a major contributing factor in the in the construction of authenticity.

3.5 Negotiating Authenticity

Many scholars suggest that authenticity is negotiated, emergent and socially constructed. In other words, authenticity is created as much through the consumer's own perceptions as it is by the chef or employee's performance of Otherness. Therefore, in addition to looking at how Japanese restaurants construct authenticity through the menu, ingredients, and décor, it is necessary to consider how diners determine authenticity in such a cultural landscape. As some of the examples provided illustrate, Japanese restaurants create their own representation of authenticity to meet the expectations of Toronto consumers and remain commercially viable. In this sense, the restaurant owners and chefs are constructing a new definition of authenticity, one that is based on a Western perception of Japanese culture rather than on a singularly Japanese perspective. The diners themselves construct a definition of authenticity, albeit a definition that continues to be constrained by a Western constructed image of Japanese-ness and Otherness.

The Japanese restaurant patrons I interviewed in Toronto are like the respondents in Lu and Fine's study of Chinese restaurants in Atlanta who "define authenticity in association with their own social experience" (1995, 543). They construct a set of criteria to judge the authenticity of Japanese establishments. This formula is based primarily on comparisons to their social experiences of Japanese culture whether through popular media or in other Japanese restaurants.

Respondents who have lived in or traveled to Japan use their experiences abroad to judge the authenticity of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto. One respondent

considers the food at the Queen West Japanese restaurant she frequents as authentic "because the owners are Japanese, most of the people who eat there are Japanese, and they have a menu written in Japanese." Another woman simply states that "the food seems most like what you would find in Japan." For these respondents, the authenticity of Japanese food is evaluated by directly comparing it to their first hand experiences in Japan. While a surprisingly large number of the respondents have been to Japan, slightly less then 25 percent, the majority of respondents have only had Japanese food locally.

Even respondents who have never been to Japan have some sort of expectation of what authentic Japanese restaurant experience should be. In terms of the atmosphere, Western consumers are often looking for the exaggerated stereotypical images or spectacularized versions of Japanese culture they see in popular media. Caricaturist representations of stoic Japanese chefs, kimono clad servers, and what one male respondent called a "Zen-like quality" become essentialized and expected even in a cosmopolitan, multicultural city like Toronto.

In terms of the food, most respondents' frame of reference is limited to the Japanese cuisine they have eaten in their own city and a number of them have only recently been introduced to the unusual taste and textures of Japanese cuisine. Sampling tempura or California rolls is often the most common introduction to Japanese cuisine. These popular dishes are the most commonly reproduced often with inconsistent form and flavour which makes for little comparison to a seemingly more authentic interpretation of Japanese cuisine. One of the Toronto respondents said that he first tried sushi with his roommate in Bloor Street's Korean Town. He ranked authenticity as

"important" when selecting a Japanese restaurant on his questionnaire but when questioned further during the interview he admits,

> I don't think I know anybody that knows authentic Japanese food right now. So you could tell me that this coffee is traditional Japanese and I would probably believe you. I would have to have somebody tell me it is authentic in order for me to know for sure. But based on what I think is authentic – yeah, I guess it's pretty good.

Clearly, the authenticity of a Japanese restaurant depends on a person's exposure, experience and expectations.

Other respondents were less reserved in offering what they believed to be authentic Japanese cuisine. The standard for authenticity was most frequently based on direct comparisons to sushi that you may find at the grocery store or shopping mall kiosk. A woman who was born in Japan and immigrated to Canada in grade school states, "I used to be really offended when I used to see pre-fab sushi being refrigerated – that's so wrong! But you know it's cheap, it's convenient and I am glad sushi is the mainstream now. But people should know that you can get cheap imitation versions or you can go to Hiro sushi or sushi Kaji. You have a choice now**."** Respondents who have never been to Japan share the same sentiment, "I don't like what I term as fast food sushi like you see in the supermarkets" declares a Toronto lawyer, to her "presentation and freshness is key, absolutely key, and so that is what I mean by authentic." The sushi available in supermarkets was unanimously disregarded as less authentic and poorer quality Japanese food; however, when similar food is produced in a Japanese restaurant landscape that has

been staged for authenticity, the lines between what is considered "real" and "fake" imitations of Japanese cuisine are blurred and become indistinguishable to many Toronto residents.

Another criterion that most respondents use to determine the authenticity of a restaurant is the perceived ethnicity of the staff and other diners in the restaurant. The respondents in this study most frequently measured the authenticity or quality of the food based on the ethnicity of the chef and the servers. The more candid respondents admitted that they could not distinguish a chef of Japanese origin from a chef of Korean or Chinese origin and they were simply looking for an "Asian" staff. For that reason, most of the respondents simply assumed that the Asian employees working in their favourite Japanese restaurants were in fact all of Japanese origin. An advertising executive I interviewed pondered, "I always thought they were Japanese," she said quizzically, "They look Japanese." A food critic chose to frequent a Japanese restaurant in her area because she maintains "they are the true Japanese Torontonians and they are just like normal people." As stated earlier, the number of Japanese owned and operated restaurants in Toronto is incredibly small compared to the hundreds of Japanese restaurants across the Greater Toronto Area. In fact, the restaurant she refers to is owned by two young Chinese Canadian entrepreneurs and run by a mix of employees of Chinese and Korean origin and students on working visas, according to their food and beverage supplier. Admittedly the food critic has never been to Japan but qualified her authority to judge based on experience with other Asian cultures. "I think those little sushi shops are owned by Japanese. I would know. I lived in China for two years." Other respondents were

slightly embarrassed to admit that as long as they looked Asian they believed it added to the restaurant's atmosphere and instilled its food with a greater sense of legitimacy. Thus, the ethnicity of the staff is important to the participants in my research but not strictly applied.

Not all of the respondents felt comfortable assessing authenticity but every one felt qualified to make judgment on taste. While many explained that they selected Japanese food for its striking difference from American style fare its Otherness had to remain within the context of somewhat conventional norms of texture, taste, and presentation. The interview respondents stated that while authenticity is important to them, they overwhelmingly admitted that they would not go to a Japanese owned and operated restaurant if the food did not taste good to them. In fact, the questionnaire results indicate that the average respondent placed cost and location before authenticity as factors that influenced their choice of Japanese restaurant in Toronto. Regardless, of the criteria they establish to judge the authenticity of the restaurant and food, customers do not consider the authenticity as the only or even most important factor in deciding where to eat. Thus, authenticity is a concept that is not absolute but related to the standards of the Canadian palate.

3.6 Customers and Employees

Jennie Germann Molz (2004) in her investigation of authenticity and culinary tourism in Thai restaurants describes how any ethnic restaurant "is a symbolic stage upon

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which the exploration of the exotic, facilitated through the concept of authenticity, becomes an expression of identity" (2004, 54). She describes culinary tourism as identity work, a means of expressing and reinforcing one's social identity. As she asserts, however, food and identity are not only intimately connected at the individual level but in terms of group identity as well. According to Mary Douglas, food is a form of social communication that speaks of a group's identity through "different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion, and exclusion, boundaries and transactions across boundaries (1971, 61). By consuming certain types of food, such as Thai or Japanese, therefore, individuals can clearly express their particular group affiliations. Food given exotic and familiar or pleasurable and unpalatable identifications implies more then just culinary preferences; it indicates wider cultural differences between groups. Indeed, the very concept of "foreign" food derives from the marketing out of difference. This process also demonstrates, however, that the identities constructed as a result of eating in ethnic restaurants are not limited to those who consume the "exotic fare." The individuals who produce the food and the employees who create the authentic experience are also included in the process of identity making. In this sense, both producers and consumers converge within the wider social discourse concerning identity construction and the staging of authenticity. The constant negotiation of authenticity offers an ever widening choice of culinary variations on the "Japanese" theme in Toronto. While the chefs of Japanese origin are frequently at odds with the demands of authenticity they cloak their restaurant in the aura of Japanese ethnicity so that it feels the way Canadians expect Japan to feel. Indeed, part of the of the restaurants selling power is the atmosphere of

nostalgic exoticism in which people can imagine themselves more empowered, fashionable, and sophisticated, as a result of their cultural experience with the Other. Indeed, eating out is a commercial transaction in which cultural experiences and identities are commodified for money – "in the restaurant we buy and are fed a menu of satisfactions" (Burnett 2004, 325). These desires are fulfilled when authenticity is successfully negotiated through the discursive relationship between producers and consumers.

Authenticity and the image of the Oriental Other are created by the producers and consumers by enlarging cultural differences rather then commonalities. A sushi chef contributes to this construction by concealing his mastery of the English language. When forced into small talk with the patrons that line his sushi bar he speaks in broken English or feigns lack of comprehension, a practice he maintains is better for business. When he opened his first Japanese restaurant and catering business over 25 years ago he noticed his customers enjoyed the negotiations that needed to be carried out with a foreign sushi chef. Becoming a regular meant they you were able to both master and surrender to an alien culture. The chef capitalized on the fact that customers came to his restaurant not only for his food but because he represented the Other within.

This may also explain why another Japanese chef unwittingly offended his customers by hiring a young White girl to work as a server in his restaurant. "I tried to hire a Caucasian person but somehow it didn't work out," he confesses. He explained to me that his customers expect Asian employees. Of his twenty-person staff, "some are Japanese, some Korean, some Chinese, some Vietnamese…but all Asian." By having a

young White girl as a server he disrupted the staged authentic experience with the racialized Other. His customers questioned her place within what they believed to be a taste of traditional Japanese culture: "'What are you doing here? You don't belong here,' they would say. It is a shame. I felt sorry for her," he explains. It was irrelevant that the food itself was prepared by a number of different Asian employees; her presence ruined their self-validating "ethnic experience" with the Oriental Other, a mark of their tolerance and sophistication. It does not matter if the employees are Japanese per se, as Zelinksy points out in his influential article "The roving palate," just as long as "they are reasonable facsimiles thereof" (1985, 54).

In the exchange between producer and consumer, the cosmopolitan not only creates the identity of the "Other," but needs the Other to enact his or her own cosmopolitan status. The idea that an interaction with the Other reveals more about the self is a common theme in cultural studies. Any gastronomic interaction is filtered by the consumer's own cultural mindset or frame of reference. The notion of what is "exotic" or even "ethnic" can only be defined against their own historically and culturally located experience. This is what occurs in Japanese restaurants, where diners, while experiencing a taste of Japanese culture, are really validating their own individual identity and affiliating themselves with a particularly cosmopolitan status. Unlike sushi that can be consumed on the go from supermarkets or fast food counters, the Japanese restaurant is a cultural landscape that also allows the consumer to mark their class distinctions via their knowledge of particular codes of behaviour. This may be exhibited by using one's hands to eat nigri instead of chopsticks, a fashionable practice in Tokyo, turning one's tea cup

so that the most beautiful part of the design faces one's dining partner, or knowing that hamachi is the prized fish of the season instead of choosing the ever popular maguro tuna. But it is unlikely that most cosmopolitan consumers, despite their familiarity with Japanese cuisine, are familiar with these particular practices.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Toronto's most popular "authentic" Japanese restaurants have simplified the process by which consumers can exercise their cultural sophistication. Sushi Kaji, arguably the best Japanese restaurant in Toronto and recently ranked number fourteen in *Toronto Life* magazine's list of the city's top twenty restaurants, illustrates this point (Chatto 2006, 54). There is no established menu and nothing in the restaurant is available à la carte. Instead the only option is choosing between two preset omakase menus that change weekly. Omakase literally means chef's choice; he or she determines what you will eat, how it is prepared and the sequence and timing in which it is served. In this arrangement, the consumers can easily elevate themselves to insider cosmopolitan status by making the chef the cultural intermediary, their taste maker. A journalist describes a date she went on with a self described "foodie:" "It was obvious that he took pride in knowing how to interact with the chef and the formalities involved," trying to hold back her laughter she joked that he was "visibly proud of his connoisseurship." The privileged few who can afford $120 per person are able to affirm their access to and power over what they consider to be an "authentic" example of the Other's culture. The customer then shows that he or she is knowledgeable enough to trust the acclaimed sushi chef and adventurous enough to enjoy whatever happens to be served. The socially distinguishing features of the clientele in many

Japanese restaurants imply that cultural consumption continues to reflect social inequities and, if it symbolizes a particular educated elite, it also simultaneously acts as a mechanism for social exclusion.

3.7 Conclusion

Authenticity has become an objective category, a buzzword, drawing increasing criticism by cultural analysts (Bendix 1992). Authenticity, considered in the context of Japanese restaurants, is one means of understanding the processes of identity construction and validation that take place in food geographies. The notion of culinary authenticity seems to imply a timeless perspective on profoundly historical, cultural, and geographical processes. While all cuisines have a history, tastes shift, regional distinctions go in and out of focus, new techniques and technologies appear, and "new" foods such as sushi go in and out of fashion. Notions of authenticity, therefore, must be understood as a part of an ongoing negotiated process that involves local consumers as well as the producers of Japanese cuisine. What is often identified as authentic is often simply what is novel or unfamiliar to the local consumer – which may or may not represent what insiders to that culture would identify as significant or traditional elements of it. In practice, what counts as an authentic aspect of a cuisine gets built around the expectations of the eater. In this sense, the authentic difference that Western consumers believe they have found is in fact an Other of Western design. The concept of authenticity may be slippery and

problematic, but it continues to have currency in teasing out the complex interactions that

take place between Western consumers and the 'Oriental Other' in restaurant landscapes.

Chapter 4

Cosmopolitanism

Perform a search for "cosmopolitanism" in any academic journal and you will be lost in a sea of theoretical frameworks, discourses, and philosophies. Include a cursory survey of pop culture and you will drown in the constructed interconnections with lifestyle choices that involve food, fashion, architecture, and so on. The pervasiveness of cosmopolitanism may have even the staunchest skeptics considering its omnipresence. Indeed, the slippery constitution of the term has allowed it to cross disparate spheres of interest, some focusing on political ideologies, others on social relationships, and still others focusing on shared markets or forms of cultural expression. David Harvey (2000, 529) warns that the sheer overuse of "cosmopolitanism" may lead to its loss of significance through constant accumulation of meanings and nuances, thus obscuring the fundamental social formations that have given rise to the concept.

Deriving from the Greek word *kosmopolites*, "cosmopolitanism" literally means "citizen of the world." While the notion of being a world citizen is attention-grabbing it lacks any real explanatory power. Thinking about cosmopolitanism as a "site of struggle" (Althusser 1971; Kobayashi 1993, 207) encourages geographers to examine the deeply contested nature of the concept and begin to explore cosmopolitanism as an embodied way of being in today's globalized world. I respond to the call by moving away from abstract notions of cultural contact by focusing on the ways in which cosmopolitism is

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performed in people's everyday lives. To do so, I shall highlight the work of scholars that relate to my empirical work and give shape to my theoretical perspective on cosmopolitanism.

4.1 Crème de la Crème: Cultivating Cosmopolitanism

The cosmopolitan has been imagined as a cultural figure who epitomizes the contemporary climate of unfettered mobility, urban sophistication, and transnational interconnection, but one who is also uniquely adapted to appreciate the plurality of global cultures (Hannerz 1990; Tomlinson 1999; Urry 1995, 2000; Featherstone 2002). For some, the cosmopolitan figure is reviled as it has become associated with White Western elite, Euro/American bourgeois capitalism, and colonial empires. At the same time, however, the cosmopolitan figure also appears to emerge fully formed and unattached to any particular history, geography, or culture. John Urry's emphasis on mobilities is often regarded as a key component of this view. His conception of mobility includes the ebbs and flows of people, commodities, cultures, and technologies, as well as the new spaces and processes that come out of these networked relationships. Urry argues that the cosmopolitan figure is someone who possesses "a cultural disposition involving an intellectual and aesthetic stance of 'openness' towards peoples, places and experiences from different cultures, especially those from different nations" (2000, 7). The openness that Urry associates with cosmopolitanism is in fact global fluidity or "cosmopolitan global fluids" (Urry 2002, 133). Delanty, suggests in his article on critical cosmopolitanism and social theory, that "identities and modes of cultural belonging,

while being influenced by global mobilities, are not reducible to mobility" (Delanty 2006, 32). By endorsing overarching notions of cosmopolitanism any claims made concerning the construction of a specific cosmopolitan identity become vague to the point of meaningless abstraction.

In contrast to universal and abstract formulations of cosmopolitanism, there are a number of hyphenated versions of cosmopolitanism described as, "rooted, situated, vernacular, Christian, bourgeois, discrepant, actually existing, postcolonial, feminist, ecological, socialist, and so on" (Harvey 2000, 530). These particularized and pluralized accounts of cosmopolitanism often provide accounts that are geographically grounded, historically situated, and embedded in the material everyday practices of people's lives. Robbins argues that cosmopolitanism exists in "habits of thought and feeling…that are socially and geographically situated" (Robbins 1998, 2). The condition of "actually existing cosmopolitism" specifies how multiple cosmopolitanisms may be located and embodied without stripping away the concept's critical and normative power (Robbins 1998). Moreover, replacing one universal cosmopolitanism with plural and specific cosmopolitanisms should not entail a retreat into a fatal particularism because it pays attention to the kinds of relational experience that cosmopolitan subjects have in common, "a reality of (re)attachment, multiple attachment, or attachment at a distance" (Robbins 1998, 3), wherein the attachments involve place specificity and particular cultural practices.

Following in this direction, several writers have provided accounts of cosmopolitanisms that are taken from the experiences of everyday life. For example,

Nava (2002) identifies "vernacular cosmopolitanism" by considering the way a cosmopolitan consciousness was expressed in the popular consumer culture of early twentieth-century England. She draws on the worlds of entertainment and commerce to demonstrate how an increased interest in cultural Others presented notions of cosmopolitan modernity. She explains that this process should be understood not simply as a reflexive stance of openness, but also as a formative counter-culture. Similarly, Beck (2002) identifies how a "banal cosmopolitanism" connects individuals to the global community through everyday practices such as shopping and consuming imported foods. More recently, Beck and Sznaider call for more attention to be paid to the "cosmopolitan condition of real people" in which cosmopolitan sociological theory is based on empirical research (2006, 1). Such a systematic re-conceptualization would take nothing less than a "cosmopolitan turn" of the social sciences according to Beck and Sznaider. Cosmopolitanism as demonstrated in these examples suggests that it is capable of being understood in the context of people's everyday interactions and activities rather than simply an abstract philosophical position.

Similar to the examples provided above, "rooted cosmopolitanism" makes a distinction between notions of an abstract omnipresent figure and a person who exudes a similar state of openness but is integrated locally through membership in a community, territory, or nation (Cohn 1995). Significantly, culture becomes a continuous process of construction as opposed to being embodied in a particular way of life. Rooted cosmopolitanism is a form of cultural framing that underscores the enduring significance of connections to people, place, and culture, even in mobility. As Beck explains, rooted

cosmopolitanism means "having 'roots' and 'wings' at the same time" (Beck 2002, 19).

For example, Szerszynski and Urry (2006) identify a cosmopolitan perspective that rests on a tension between local place and dwelling on the one hand, and universalistic dispositions on the other. Ong (1999) brings these negotiations to life in her discussion of the fluidity of a transnational Chinese business class and its adoption of "flexible citizenship." These highly mobile Chinese elite sought a flexible position among the myriad possibilities found in a time of increased globalization (Ong 1999, 123).

Therefore, fluidity of people and capital across the Pacific redefines the meaning of citizenship and describes a particular form of Chinese cosmopolitanism. Similarly, Appiah (1998) discusses his Ghanaian father's conception of cosmopolitan patriotism.

The idea allows people to simultaneously maintain a citizen's responsibility to nurture the cultural particularities of their native land while taking pleasure in "the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different, people" (Appiah 1998, 91). Local cultural practices, Ghanaian in this case, could be sustained and transmitted as cosmopolitan patriots from their homeland traveled abroad. The result, according to Appiah, would be a world in which each local expression of culture would be a culmination of "persistent processes of cultural hybridization" (Appiah 1998, 92). Each example shows how a cosmopolitan orientation is embedded in particular forms of national identity. "Rooted" and "embodied" examples of cosmopolitanism contribute to a more "critical cosmopolitanism," that recognizes "the inescapabilities and particularities of places, characters, historical trajectories and fate" (Rabinow 1996, 56).

But some caution is in order. Brennan (1997) has recently argued that the canonization of the cosmopolitan reproduces the colonial image of the Western objective and autonomous individual as a binary polarization to the repressed Other who remains tied to the land and labour. Such a postcolonial form of cosmopolitanism both sustains and masks the hierarchal power relations necessary for the West to assert its cosmopolitan status. Smith takes particular issue with what he claims is Doreen Massey's construction of the less privileged, arguing that she represents them as "disconnected victims of global processes, entirely lacking in the dynamic connections to transnational flows that she assigns to place" (2001, 108). Nevertheless, Urry continues to support the notion that "cosmopolitanism should involve the search for, and delight in, the contrasts between societies" but warns against "a longing for superiority or uniformity" (Urry 2000, 7). It is widely accepted in the social sciences that cosmopolitans espouse a broadly defined disposition of openness toward Others, displayed in cultural, political, or aesthetic domains. Indeed, cosmopolitans are often the beneficiaries of an increasingly interconnected world and therefore easily accept the travel, food, music, and other cultural practices associated with globalization. A cosmopolitanism agenda that addresses the inequities of cosmopolitan discourse and probes the more difficult aspects of openness, however, is not as easily accepted by cosmopolitans or acknowledged by its commentators.

Cosmopolitanism as it is presented in academic discourse is not a de facto endorsement of cultural pluralism and political equanimity (Mohammad 2001, 104). Without an investment in reflexivity and critical self-understanding these narratives,

could in effect become a new form of symbolic domination in which cultural diversity is subsumed within a Westernized intellectual framework and remains the privilege of a particular segment of the upper and middle classes and an enduring feature of colonial oppression (Brennan 1997). As we have seen, cosmopolitanism is a willingness to engage with the Other; however, in the past these terms of engagement have been under colonial conditions. By challenging normalizing accounts of cosmopolitanism as an abstract, detached, and free-floating perspective, empirical examples of embodied and placed cosmopolitanisms open up a domain for postcolonial thought and action (Pollock et al. 2000). Indeed, a postcolonial perspective is needed to produce research that rejects imperial thought and the goals, representations, and methods of imposed colonial research, thus producing an examination of cosmopolitanism that includes and values local knowledge and the voices that have previously been silenced in the discussions and research of cosmopolitan discourse.

Harvey argues that "anthropological and geographical knowledges play a crucial, though often hidden, role in defining what any cosmopolitan project might be about in theory as well as practice" (2000, 532). He takes issue with the implication that if geography has to be taken into account at all it is only as an evil, a force narrowing down loyalties that ought to be wider and more generous. Further to his claim,

> Cosmopolitanism bereft of geographical specificity remains abstracted and
> alienated reason, liable, when it comes to earth, to produce all manner of
> unintended and sometimes explosively evil consequences. Geography

uninspired by any cosmopolitan vision is either mere heterotopic description or a passive tool of power for dominating the weak. (Harvey 2000, 557-58)

Immanuel Kant's geographical writing, latent with racism and racialization and couched in "all manner of prejudicial remarks concerning the customs and habits of different populations," is a primary example of the oppressive forms of cosmopolitan ideology that find their way into everyday human relations (Harvey 2000, 533). Harvey insists that the discipline of geography is able to grapple with the complexities of cosmopolitan discourse if it strives for a more unified critical geographical understanding of the world where "radical reconstructions of received representations and meanings of geographical information are possible" (Harvey 2000, 557). Abstract universalism in cosmopolitan discourse that ignores the realities of a world characterized by multiculturalism and movement can therefore be reformed or revolutionized to cope with contemporary conditions and needs (Harvey 2000, 530, 558).

4.2 The Upper Crust: Class, Consumption, and Cosmopolitanism

The mobility, transnational interconnections, and urbane sophistication often ascribed to cosmopolitans necessarily involve a discussion of class. It is not surprising therefore, that Urry's (2000) image of open and adventurous cosmopolitans is almost indistinguishable from Florida's conception of the "creative class" (2002). Members of the creative class "favor individuality, self-statement, acceptance of difference and the desire for rich multidimensional experiences" (Florida 2002, 13). People who would be

considered cosmopolitans or members of the creative class tend to live in dynamic urban communities characterized by a relatively high socioeconomic status and ethnic diversity (Mullins 1999; Florida 2005). This trend may be due in part to place "becoming an important source of status" according to Florida (2002, 230; 2005). In order for a place to be suitable "it has to be cosmopolitan – a place where anyone can find a peer group with which to be comfortable and also find other groups to be stimulated by; a place seething with the interplay of cultures and ideas" (Florida 2002, 227). This is not to say that only the world's largest cities are considered cosmopolitan; indeed, cities, regardless of size can range from the vibrant and unique to the utterly featureless (Neal 2006; 3). It is the city's capacity to advance an engagement with difference and a conscious global outlook that set it apart as cosmopolitan. Sandercock suggests that a cosmopolitan place can be thought of as, "a city…in which there is genuine acceptance of, connection with, and respect and space for the cultural other, and…the possibility of a togetherness in difference" (2003, 2). From this perspective, the implication is that the cosmopolitan city should offer exciting encounters with difference and allows cosmopolitans to negotiate and perform these cultural practices.

The greatest similarity between conceptions of the cosmopolitan and the creative class is not simply a quest for experience and a propensity to live in dynamic cities, but rather the assertion that the kinds of experiences they crave reflect and reinforce their identities as cosmopolitan or creative people. Indeed, their constructed identities are cultivated and exercised by virtue of engagement with the Other (Urry 2000, 7-8; Florida 2002, 79 and 166). Florida acknowledges, "their social and cultural preferences,

consumption and buying habits and their social identities all flow from this" (2002, 68).

Consequently, the cosmopolitan is described as someone who both masters and surrenders to "alien culture," going to extreme lengths to immerse themselves in "authentic" examples of the Other's culture; a predatory practice that Bell refers to as, "the endless safari of the cosmopolitan" (Bell 2002, 14). The creative class and cosmopolitans have constructed a lifestyle that draws attention to their distinct cultural identities.

4.3 A Matter of Taste

Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984) is the original and most prominent force behind theories that emphasize class norms and choice in consumption preferences. Examinations of the cultural power of food have traditionally relied upon production-oriented explanations. Exploring food culture and practice through Bourdieu, emphasizes the need to move towards a framework that would consider the power of consumption, as well as lifestyle. Bourdieu's account is less concerned with the internal structure of taste systems and more with the complex economic, social, and cultural battles, as well as with how such battles ultimately relate to and reproduce class and status. Distinctions of classification are exhibited via knowledge that is used in consumption practices such that frequenting Japanese restaurants, for example, marks the consumer as cosmopolitan, globally wise, educated, and adventurous (Bourdieu 1984; Bell and Valentine 1997, 193-4). These emblems of class, the luxury goods and cultural commodities, are at the heart of

symbolic struggles between the classes. Taste, according to Bourdieu, functions to legitimate social differences and establish one's social orientation or one's sense of place.

In the tradition that Bourdieu inspired, class and cultural consumption have been understood to be more or less intrinsically tied; elite cultural practices being the preserve of the upper or economically advantaged classes with middle and lower popular practices in turn enjoying their own distinctive class moorings. Both classes, according to Bourdieu, make cultural choices on the basis of aesthetic standards commensurate with their class and education backgrounds. Economic and cultural capital, therefore, are considered the fundamental principles of distinction. However conceptualized, classes in and of themselves are not social groups, although a strata of people with common interests and characteristics may develop an awareness of themselves as a group at different times and for different reasons. Bourdieu draws particular attention to the importance of shared cultural dispositions and practices for the formation or expression of class consciousness of this kind. That is, although an act of intent is certainly required to transform a potential class into a social class, cosmopolitans for example, shared cultural tastes are also an important prerequisite for a sense of shared class identity. By placing the significance of economic and cultural capital on the same level, Bourdieu's framework implies that cultural tastes might be used to identify classes as readily as classes themselves might be used to classify cultural tastes and practices. In Bourdieu's words, "taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier" (Bourdieu 1984, 6).

This notion provides fertile ground for exploring possible interconnections with cosmopolitanism. A way of thinking through these tangled linkages is to explore the idea

of "cultural mobility" (Emmison 2003, 211). The concept of cultural mobility engages issues of class and the cosmopolitan ability to move between cultural realms. By gathering the two concepts we can begin to reflect on the differential ability of individuals to consume culturally or to participate in divergent cultural fields. Alan Warde endorses a shift from a materialist perspective on social life to one in which discourses and cultural constructs are given a prominent role in understanding cosmopolitan social activities. He maintains, however, only through "empirical examinations of particular social practices" will evidence be obtained "to challenge current accounts of the transformation of the field of consumption" (Warde 1997, 2). It is with this point in mind that I look to the consumption of Japanese cuisine in Toronto as part of a wider discourse of cultural mobilities and cosmopolitan identity formation.

First, it is important to address a few problematical issues with Bourdieu's framework when applied to Canadian social and cultural space. Methodologically, Bourdieu uses a 1960s survey of 1,217 subjects from Paris, Lille, and a small provincial town as the basis of his conclusions on taste and class distinctions (Bourdieu 1984). It is argued that few cultural tastes in the late 20th and early 21st century can be deemed explicitly low or high-brow. Since Bourdieu's account depends upon a societal capacity to readily identify key indicators of a specific class position, a drastic increase in possibilities may render it impossible to communicate refinement or distinction (Warde, Martens and Olsen 1999, 106; Veenstra 2005, 251). Erikson suggests, from a Canadian perspective, while knowledge of high-brow culture was indeed significant to social

divisions in France at the time of Bourdieu's empirical research, it is cultural variety that is most relevant to social cleavages in Canadian cultural landscapes today (2001).

Contemporary commodity culture is characterized by its enormous variety of cultural items in circulation. This diversity runs counter to Bourdieu's dependency upon a generalized societal capacity to identify and interpret key markers of social position. Warde, Martens, and Olsen question whether such variety will make it impossible to communicate refinement or class distinction (1999, 106). With more signifiers available it becomes increasingly difficult to legitimize the superiority of one group's cultural practices over another's or how one might demonstrate one is indeed a member of a superior grouping (Warde, Martens, and Olsen 1999, 106-107). They begin their research by reviewing the "omnivornous" argument that Western populations no longer recognize any fixed cultural hierarchy and that, instead, individuals seek knowledge of an increasingly wide variety of seemingly equivalent cultural genres (1999). They undertake a case study of thirty households in Preston, a city in North-West England, to elicit information about their eating out practices "because it is a highly differentiated and popular activity where selection among alternatives might be expected to exhibit a social logic" (Warde, Martens, and Olsen 1999, 111). They discover,

> If any type of eating out is associated with style, connoisseurship and social distinction, as reflected in it being the province of the educated, metropolitan middle classes, it is the tendency to eat in a wide range of foreign restaurants. (Warde, Martens, and Olsen 1999, 124)

The socially distinguishing features of the clientele in ethnic restaurants in their study imply that cultural consumption continues to reflect social inequalities. Thus, they conclude that while many types of cultural practice lack symbolic significance in contemporary commodity culture, others continue to act as recognized social markers.

Peterson and Kern use the process of "omnivourousness" to describe the process of persons with "high-brow" cultural tastes in music who claim to like an increasing number of middle-brow and low brow genres (1996, 901). They explain the trend whereby people that have a professed liking for opera and classical music are beginning to enjoy country music, blues, rock, and gospel as well (1996). The appreciation of variety runs counter to Bourdieu's theory of distinct "tastes" being intimately tied to social positioning: "it is antithetical to snobbishness, which is based fundamentally on rigid rules of exclusion," it is not "liking everything indiscriminately," but "an openness to appreciating everything" (Peterson and Kern 1996, 904). Omnivourousness is a response to the structural changes which have made different cultural forms such as music, art, and food, more widely available in an increasingly globalized world according to Peterson and Kern. They claim that omnivorous inclusion is better adapted to a twenty-first century globalized and multicultural society, "showing respect for the cultural expressions of others" (Peterson and Kern 1996, 906).

From an anti-racist perspective there are two primary theoretical problems with Peterson and Kerns theory of cultural omnivourousness. First, omnivourousness reifies the concept of "low" and "highbrow" cultural forms but removes the social hierarchy associated with these terms. Although they insist there is "a historical trend towards

greater tolerance of those holding different values" (1996, 905) it must also be read against a historical backdrop of a class-based society founded on social exclusion. Secondly, it fails to address the process of racialization and race discourse that is intimately connected with the production and consumption of such things as blues and gospel music. Cultural omnivorism is an exclusionary position exhibited through a symbolic cultural tolerance with a significant class basis and is therefore not entirely antithetical to Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984).

Cosmopolitanism is not itself the emergence of urban elite culture. Rather, it refers to the complex pattern of interconnectedness and interdependencies of lifestyle and geography that have arisen in major cities across the world. Cosmopolitanism is fraught with implications for all spheres of existence – the geographical, the political, the cultural and so on. Within these spheres, it has the effect of relating the cosmopolitan life to societal structures, processes, and events. So while the argument can be made that cosmopolitanism in and of itself is not limited to a particular class, it also does not exist outside of the unequal power relations that are part of the everyday reality of Canadian cities. Indeed, not all people and not all places have the same access to power and privilege that allows them to move between cultural realms with the same fluidity. Class distinction and social cleavages, however, are not as clearly defined as Bourdieu or the above geographers suggest.

4.4 Consumption and Culinary Cosmopolitanism

> Part of being truly cosmopolitan, truly a citizen of the world, is knowing your rambutans from your kiwano (and knowing what to do with them). (Bell and Valentine 1997, 187)

Consumption is often presented as both an art form and a way to shop for status in cosmopolitan cities. Zukin, in her book *Point of Purchase* describes the development of lifestyle in the media between the 1960s and 1980s reflecting a growing sense of "consumption as a matter of entitlement" (2004, 195). The theory of such conspicuous consumption is not new. American economist Thorstein Veblen coined the term in 1899, noting that people concerned about their social status would conspicuously consume in order to advertise their wealth and ensure their rightful place in society. The agency of consumers is emphasized, thus providing a significant means of establishing an individual's identity (Giddens 1991) and a meaningful social practice (Miller 1998).

The specific role of food consumption as a marker of identity has long been noted within work on social classification suggesting that a particular class's eating practices are indicators of their cultural difference (Levi-Strauss 1962; Bourdieu 1964). Cook, Crang, and Thorpe explore how food operates as an arena of practice within which understandings of national identity rather then class are established, deployed, and reworked (1999). Their particular focus is on the ways in which a globalized, diverse, and outward-looking identity is being constructed and practiced through British culinary culture (Cook, Crang and Thorpe 1999, 225-226). Culinary constructions of

cosmopolitanism, in this sense, are formed through the consumption of foods and cuisines that are differentiated culturally and geographically. If we are to understand the interconnectedness and interdependencies of cosmopolitanism and food, not only do we have to identify the culinary imaginaries being developed and deployed in the exchange but we also need to contextualize these developments within everyday practices of identity and representation.

The cosmopolitan characteristics of flexibility, adaptability, and openness to difference are not just cultural dispositions, but rather active performances that can be displayed in the consumption of Japanese food, for example. The appetite for "exotic" and ethnicized cuisine offered alongside the constructed image of Japanese cuisine is a specific and situated expression of a largely privileged cosmopolitanism. May (1996) argues that the consumption of exotic food functions as a way to establish distinctions between social groups. Demonstrating knowledge of foreign cuisines and alien cultures has a status of currency in those social groups offering an alternative to more conventional forms of establishing social standing. Moreover, Germann Molz insists, "eating foreign food constitutes a symbolic and material performance of cosmopolitanism" (2007, 84). This is not to say that the focus of my research is on particular kind of privileged cosmopolitanism, but rather to demonstrate that within a cosmopolitan framework a focus on food, for example, can take us away from abstract notions of cultural contact and conflict to the everyday life of people. James Clifford uses the term "discrepant cosmopolitanisms" to refer to the practices of people who are often overlooked by a narrowly defined elitist cosmopolitanism (1992, 106-107). He is

referring to the immigrants who transport and reproduce their foodways abroad for Western consumers and whose cosmopolitan identity is overlooked because it is forged in vastly different conditions. Indeed, the "host of servants, helpers, companions, guides, bearers, etc." (Clifford 1992, 107) are also cosmopolitanized by food mobilities thus demonstrating how such identities are embedded in the broader politics of mobility, consumption, and Otherness.

4.5 Healthy Cosmopolitanism

> I just want to get healthy. I want to take better care of myself. I would like to start eating healthier. I don't want all that pasta. I would like to start eating Japanese food. (Bill Murray as Bob Harris, in Sofia Coppola's *Lost in Translation*, 2003)

Food is a strong marker of identity because it is literally incorporated into and within the body. The material properties of Japanese cuisine give it a heightened significance for consumers particularly in terms of health and social status. When Japanese food began to flow into cosmopolitan city centers across the United States, Canada, and Europe in the 1980s it was inaccessible to all but the privileged, such that eating Japanese cuisine became performative of an elite sensibility. The rediscovery of organic foods and an emphasis on fit bodies during this period provided new opportunities for the expansion of Japanese culinary culture as the growth of alternative diets, traditional Asian foodways, in particular, began to be adopted by non-Asian

consumers. Japanese cuisine was promoted as a low-fat, low-cholesterol option to the American diet characterized by compulsive and excessive eating.

Research on the revived interest in health and diet has drawn connections between culinary geographies and cosmopolitan consumption. Wilson suggests that the current concern about the quality, purity, and origins of the food we ingest is not simply about diet but rather a more complex practice of "health issues," becoming "status issues" (Wilson 2004, 245). She argues that affluent people with "a level of income that allows them to spend a little more on the everyday necessities of life" are able to "declar[e] their social identity through the choice of diet and by favoring foods that connote cosmopolitanism and educational attainment" (Wilson 2004, 245). According to Wilson this elite sensibility has developed into a taste for bean curd and seaweed, "Asian foods, especially those based on traditional Japanese cuisine are especially in vogue" (Wilson 2004, 246). Indeed, health may play a major role in the mainstreaming of cuisines once deemed "alternative" or exotic but other discourse and negotiations are at work too. Slocum in her research on Whiteness and alternative food practices reveals how "white, wealthier bodies" tend to be the ones whose "dietary obsessions body forth in the fetishization of fresh, local, sustainable, '5 (fruit and vegetables)-a-day,' non-processed, whole grain, small-scale or organic" movement (Slocum 2007, 526). She explores how Whiteness in the consumption of organic and healthy foods rest on inequalities of wealth that serves both to enable different food economies and to separate people by their ability to consume. The point here is not to draw any essentialist equivalence between health, and Whiteness but rather to highlight the connections between health, social status and

Japanese culinary culture. Unpacking these connections reveals the invisible privilege exercised in the culinary pursuit of gratification as well as the underlying processes of marginalization and exploitation. These issues at the very least complicate the new politics of culinary decisions in cosmopolitan cities and indeed play a significant role in identity construction.

4.6 Conclusion

A revival of cosmopolitanism seems to be underway in both discourse and practice. Conceptions of cosmopolitanism in the social sciences continue to focus on increased global mobilities, the blurring of distinct boundaries, and the flow of information and capital. Hyphenated versions of cosmopolitanism such as "rooted cosmopolitanism" and "actually existing cosmopolitanism" demonstrate, however, how cosmopolitanism can be geographically grounded, historically situated, and embedded in the material practices of people's lives. When cosmopolitanism does not occur somewhere in abstraction we can begin to see how individuals cope with the global and multicultural conditions of contemporary society. Seen in this way, cosmopolitan identities are not only cultivated out of the tension between the local and the global but exercised by virtue of engagement with the Other. Indeed, individuals reflect and reinforce their cosmopolitan identities by seeking omnivorous (Warde, Martens, and Olsen 1999), class (Bourdieu 1984), or lifestyle (Wilson 2004) experiences. These

cultural activities exhibit the cosmopolitan ability to move and consume between cultural realms.

Chapter 5

"Let's Eat Japanese!"

Asian-ness comes and goes as fad and fashion. Tattoos of dragons entangled around Chinese ideograms are all the rage. Feng-shui consultants divine the best arrangements of furniture inside a house and plantings outside for design magazines. Miniature Zen gardens and bonsai from no-fuss kits adorn offices. Acupuncturists stick their profusion of delicate needles into even the family pet. Japanese animation becomes a staple of mainstream children's television and Japanese *anime* gains a following among more mature viewers. …Children are captivated by the home-grown Barney and the British Teletubbies only until they are old enough to learn about Pokemon, Nintendo, and Playstation. (Wu 2002, 6-7)

The fleeting popularity of "ethnic" commodities exposes the tendency of mainstream society to selectively engagement with multicultural discourse. The cultural appropriation of some of the commodities mentioned above, however, also illustrates how mainstream society can completely detach a cultural product from its traditions. In a chapter entitled, "The Best 'Chink' Food: Dog-Eating and the Dilemma of Diversity," Wu reminds us "that people can eat Asian foods but still have contempt for Asian people" (Wu 2002, 223). Classical studies of foodways examine how food, while an everyday practice, embodies the society in which it is found. How foodways become a means for one group to dominate over or exclude the other has been less fully explored.

A few studies have focused the issue of eating as a form of exclusion based on explicit racial nationalism (Pillsbury 1988; Pilcher 1998). The aim of this section, however, is not to identify food consumption or food production as racist practices in the narrow sense of that term, but to bring the processes of racialization, ethnicization, and Whiteness into the discussion of culinary geographies. Recent work in human geography has seen the questioning of various forms of essentialism, and the recognition of essentialized categories such as race and gender as socially constructed. The current challenge for cultural geographers is to look into the specific ways in which processes of racialization are interconnected and interdependent with food.

5.1 Ethnic Food

The widely accepted ontology of ethnic food, even in multicultural cities like Toronto, endorses the notion of separate and distinct "authentic" culinary cultures. "Italian," "Indian," "Mexican," and "Japanese" represent an unchallenged legible taxonomy reflecting how food producers present a particular cuisine to a target audience and how potential customers frame their culinary choices. In this sense, food, places, and cultures come together but remain secure in their difference. "Ethnic" food is an ascribed category constructed to separate the "Others'" culinary culture from White mainstream society. Through this process, cultural differences are mapped out, allowing food to become an accessible and readily available place to search for evidence of ethnicity or the performance of Otherness.

Ethnicity and Otherness are identities that are simultaneously produced and maintained. Barth (1969) convincingly articulated the notion of ethnicity as mutable, arguing that ethnicity is the product of social ascriptions, a kind of labeling process engaged in by oneself and others. According to Heldke, "ethnic" functions as a code word for "Other" (Heldke 2003, 51). Unfamiliarity becomes the standard by which the identity of Other, or ethnicization, is defined. What is identified as an ethnic restaurant, however, is often a static portrayal of the Other's culture, created precisely with the outsider in mind.

This type of staged ethnic cuisine is created with the patron who is attracted to cultural differences that are digestible and comprehensible in mind. It is believed that sufficiently domesticating ethnic foods will make them more accessible and therefore more popular with mainstream consumers (Lu and Fine 1995). Ina Garten, a cookbook author and famous television host of Barefoot Contessa, a Food Network program, demonstrates American consumers' preference for palatable forms of difference. Talking to the camera in her Hampton's kitchen she explains to her audience the trial and tribulations of creating the perfect barbeque sauce. She tried making a "Chinese barbeque sauce" but found it to be "too Chinese-ee" so she mixed it with more "American" flavours to get it just right (Barefoot Contessa, episode 1G1C06). As the cultural critic Wu observes, Asian food items such as the ubiquitous egg roll and fried rice, as well as novel creations such as green-tea ice cream and sushi pizza are regular features at many ethnic food festivals, but rarely will food vendors serve up culinary unmentionables such as dog stew. The taboo against eating dog demonstrates where Canadian principles

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concerning multiculturalism conflict with the actual practice of accepting diversity and what the mainstream population might consider unpalatable, inedible, and intolerable. Wu compellingly articulates the real difficulties involved in confronting difference in understanding foodways. He writes, "We only taste diversity. Our festivals of diversity tend toward the superficial, as if America were a stomach-turning combination plate of frites, tacos, sushi, and hummus. We fail to consider the dilemma of diversity where our principles conflict with our practices" (Wu 2002, 216). The food of the Other becomes a substitute for actual engagement with people of colour or ethnicized minorities. It becomes part of an identity performance that is less about experiencing a particular "Canadian" flavour then it is about exploring the consumer's own cosmopolitan identity.

It is in the multi-ethnic cosmopolitan city, such as Toronto, that ethnic cuisine is most likely to become a fully self-conscious product. van den Berghe contends that an urban context provides "the most fertile ground for the blossoming of ethnic cuisines" because, he continues, "food not only reinforces ethnic ties; it also is the most rewarding and easiest bridge *across* ethnic lines" (1984, 393). He rhetorically asks if there is a more "accessible" or "friendlier" way to engage with Others then an ethnic restaurant, suggesting that "as an outsider consuming an exotic cuisine, one is literally 'taking in' the foreign culture" (1984, 393-394). There are two possible ways to interpret this passage. The first involves the literal ingestion of food produced by ethnic Others. The second more complex interpretation speaks more to bell hooks' argument of "eating the Other" and the discourse of commodity fetishism attached to this practice (1992). hooks argues that White Western cultures visually and metaphorically consume racially marked bodies

as a kind of spice or condiment to flavour the bland Whiteness of mainstream culture or to enact an expansive global cosmopolitan culture. van den Berge's statement contributes to this commodity practice, "ethnic cuisine represents ethnicity at its best, because its most sharable. It does not take much effort to learn to like foods, even exotic ones" (van den Berghe 1984, 396).

Ethnic restaurants, according to Zelinsky, have become a form of gastronomic tourism, where largely affluent White patrons begin to explore different "exotic experiences" (Zelinsky 1985, 54). Nearly fifteen years later, Warde, Martens, and Olsen (1999) believe that British cosmopolitans have taken this level of engagement further by becoming "cultural omnivores" in their dining-out practices. Their argument rests on the premise that Western cultures no longer recognize any fixed cultural hierarchy and that, instead, people seek an appreciation of diverse, yet equal, cultural genres. They maintain that it is this pursuit of variety in consumer practices that marks the distinction between social groups. In this sense, taste is not necessarily a marker of distinction but a marker of recognition (Warde, Martens and Olsen 1999, 124). "The implication is a shift from connoisseurship or refinement – knowing what is best – to having a wide knowledge of all the alternatives" (Warde, Martens and Olsen 1999, 120). They admit, however, a "pronounced socio-economic exclusivity of the clientele of ethnic restaurants." This observation leads them "to infer that there is something symbolically significant about taste for foreign foods" (Warde, Martens and Olsen 1999, 122). Differences in social status are therefore displayed through an appreciation and knowledge of ethnic cuisine as a form of cultural capital that bestows distinction. Thus they conclude that, "if any type

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of eating out is associated with style, connoisseurship and social distinction, as reflected in it being the province of the educated, metropolitan middle classes, it is the tendency to eat in a wide range of foreign restaurants" (Warde, Martens and Olsen 1999, 124). Significantly, Warde, Martens, and Olsen also acknowledge that the socially distinguishing features of the clientele of many ethnic restaurants implies that cultural consumption continues to reflect social inequalities and, if it symbolizes a particular educated elite, it also simultaneously acts as a potential mechanism for social exclusion (1999, 124).

While consuming the Other's food involves a culinary exchange it does not necessarily involve an equal or "friendly" exchange between producer and consumer. bell hooks posits, "the commodification of difference promotes paradigms of consumption wherein whatever difference the Other inhabits is eradicated, via exchange, by a consumer cannibalism that not only displaces the Other but denies the significance of that Other's history through a process of decontextualization" (hooks 1992: 31).

5.2 Other

The word or the concept of the "Other" is used in many different and by no means compatible ways in current social science discourse. For Frantz Fanon (1967), Edward Said (1978), and innumerable other early thinkers in the field of cultural studies today, the term "Other" names the racial, class, gendered, or national Other. Beauvoir says, "Otherness is a fundamental category of human thought" (Beauvoir 1949, 97). The

dichotomy that leads to otherness is implicit in legends, myths, and the most mundane contrasts, such as that of day and night. Beauvoir says that establishing Otherness is quite automatic; from the establishment of Otherness spring valorized designations such as "inferior," "different," "foreign," and "lower class."

Edward Said focuses on how, why, and for what purposes the subjectivities of ethnicized minorities are created in the first place. Said's influential book, *Orientalism*, argues that history is socially constructed, just as it can be deconstructed and rewritten, "always with various silences and elisions, always with shapes imposed and disfigurements tolerated" (Said 1978, xviii). Said examines how various discourses have shaped and structured a fictionalized and exoticized "Orient" that serves as the subaltern Other for the West. In Said's words, Orientalism is the Western "corporate institution for dealing with the Orient -- dealing with it by making statements about it, authoring views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short. . . a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1978, 3).

Orientalism as a discourse is not confined to analyses of the Orient. Said claims there have been counterparts in similar knowledges constructed about Native Americans and Africans where there is a chronic tendency to deny, suppress, or distort their systems of thought in order to maintain the fiction of scholarly disinterest. In other words, Said presents his work not only as an examination of European attitudes to Islam and Arabs but also as a model for analysis of all Western "discourses on the Other." The direction I would like to take here is towards an explanation of the socially and geographically varied identity of the "Other." "Orientalism" in this sense, is presented as a deliberately

created body of theory and practice; it is "a system of knowledge about the Orient," which depends for its design a "flexible *positional* superiority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand" (Said 1978, 6-7). Orientalism acts as a means for the West to control and domesticate the Other by fashioning it to one's own imaginings.

5.3 The Perpetual Foreigner

Japanese Canadians are figuratively and even literally returned to Asia with the simple question, "Where are you from" or "Where are you *really* from." These questions are nothing more than a roundabout means of implying that someone who is of Japanese ethnic origin is not one of "us" but one of "them." Trinh Minh-ha is a writer, film-maker, and composer who emigrated from Vietnam to the United States in the 1970s. Now a professor at San Francisco State University, she has written *Woman Native Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism* (1989). In the book she draws connections between exoticism, authenticity, and Otherness. Of particular significance is her discussion of "difference":

> Now I am not only given the permission to open up and talk, I am also encouraged to express my difference. My audience expects and demands it; otherwise people would feel as if they have been cheated: We did not come to hear a Third World member speak about the First World, we came to listen to that voice of difference likely to bring us what we can't have and to divert us from the monotony of sameness. They, like their anthropologists,

whose specialty is to detect all the layers of my falseness and truthfulness, are in a position to decide what/who is 'authentic' and what/who is not. (Minh-ha 1989, 88)

Patrons of Japanese restaurants are part of Minh-ha's "they": most do not wish for sameness or familiarity, they seek a performance of difference. Minh-ha emphasizes how Western cosmopolitans who once opposed and contested her difference are now enthralled by it. Our capacity to consume the Other, however, has well defined limits. Minh-ha continues, "Eager not to disappoint, I try my best to offer my benefactors and benefactresses what they yearn for: the possibility of difference, yet a difference or an otherness that will not go so far as to question the foundation of their beings and makings" (1989, 88). A sushi chef that I interviewed participated in similar negotiations by concealing his mastery of the English language. When forced into small talk with the patrons that line his sushi bar he speaks in broken English or remains silent, feigning lack of comprehension; a practice he maintains is better for business. When he opened his first Japanese restaurant and catering business over 25 years ago he noticed his customers enjoyed the negotiations that needed to be carried out with a "foreign" sushi chef. Becoming a regular meant that you were able to both master and surrender to an alien culture. The chef capitalized on the fact that customers came to his restaurant not only for his food but because he represented an approachable Other within.

5.4 Eating the Other

In *Black Looks*, particularly in an aptly titled "Eating the Other," bell hooks argues that Otherness is continually manipulated, exploited, and commodified by White Western societies as seasoning that spices up mainstream culture (1992, 21). Through such processes of commodification the realities of racism and racialization and their histories are "eradicated, via exchange, by a consumer cannibalism that not only displaces the Other, but denies the significance of that Other's history through a process of decontextualization" (hooks 1992, 31). Culinary cosmopolitans are thus able to consume the Other through food without acknowledging the complex histories, power relations, or identities intrinsically tied to "exotic" or ethnicized foods (hooks 1992; Wu 2002, 223).

In Japanese restaurants, the chef stands behind the sushi bar and yells "irrashaimase!" to incoming patrons indicating that they are open for business. It is a traditional practice that has carried over to Japanese restaurants in Canada, whether the chef is of Japanese origin or not. "Welcome," is the basic translation of the term, but once localized in a North American city such as Toronto it becomes a geographically uneven and socially differentiated practice that represents a much more complex relationship of approachability, power, and intimacy. Cosmopolitans exercise their cultural sophistication by choosing to sit across from the sushi chef at the bar instead of taking one of the available tables. Most customers who want to commune with the approachable Other will simply order *omakase*: the term has two basic translations, the first is "chef's

choice" and the second is "I leave it up to you." The second interpretation of the word places the power with the cosmopolitan consumer, something they can willingly surrender to the chef. This invitation begins an intimate exchange between the "Oriental Other" and the cosmopolitan. It is the responsibility of the chef to ensure that the customer feels both confident in their skill and yet audacious in their culinary decision.

The discourse of culinary tourism is linked with the ideological image of eating the Other. Food, travel, and cross cultural engagement combine with exploratory eating of unfamiliar foods in the consumption of alien foodways, places, and cultures. Lucy Long (2000, 20) describes culinary tourism as a way of participating and encountering difference:

> Culinary tourism…is about individuals exploring foods new to them as well as using food to explore new cultures and ways of being. It is about the experiencing of food in a mode that is out of the ordinary, that steps outside the normal routine to notice difference and the power of food to represent and negotiate that difference.

Food, in this case, becomes a symbol of geographical or cultural differences – a consumable sign of Otherness. Our understanding of culinary tourism, therefore, is as much about the way food operates within a symbolic economy that sells a "taste" of the Other, the exotic, the foreign, as it is about eating as a material encounter.

Germann Molz's (2007) article "Eating Difference" investigates the intersecting mobilities that are involved in culinary tourism. Through her analysis of travel narratives, interviews, and travelers' accounts of their journeys on web sites she concludes that

"food and eating are mobilized as material symbols of the global in travelers' performances of cosmopolitanism through which travelers simultaneously transgress and reinforce their own culture's norms" (Germann Molz 2007, 77). Although her particular focus is on world travelers and their accounts of eating across global cultures, she also contends that the urban consumer can engage in "imaginative travel" by visiting local ethnic restaurants (2007, 81). Seen in this way, eating in a Japanese restaurant in Toronto would fall under Germann Molz's definition of culinary tourism. She describes this imaginative mobility as "eating to travel", in other words, "foreign foodways 'travel' so that the culinary tourist does not have to" (2007, 81). She contends that these cosmopolitans are not necessarily concerned about cultural engagement through food, but rather use food to perform a sense of adventure and openness and ultimately an expression of their cosmopolitan identities (2007, 79). She follows the line of argument of eating the Other presented by hooks but presses further, suggesting that cosmopolitan travelers also eat the differences between various Others and in turn consume the global.

Germann Molz also acknowledges, however, that the "pleasure of such culinary displacement" has been criticized as "culinary plundering" that relies on other displacements, mobilities, and networks (2007, 82). In this sense, culinary tourism represents precisely the kind of commodity fetishism that bell hooks writes about in "Eating the Other" (hooks 1992). Ethnicized foods, whether consumed abroad or locally, are inextricably connected to historical systems of domination and exploitation. These cuisines are divorced from the social relations and geographies of their production by culinary tourists. Robert Sack's geographical analysis of contemporary consumer worlds

suggests that consumer ignorances are spatially as well as socially constructed: "The consumer's world attempts to create the impression that it has little or no connection to the production cycle and its places. It hides or disguises these extremely important connections" (Sack 1993, 103-4). Separating the social, cultural, and political geographies inextricably tied to the production and consumption of ethnicized cuisines add to existing imageries of ethnic Others and places.

Indeed, constructed images of ethnicized foods are often re-inventions created to suit local sensibilities and consumption tastes. Jackson argues, however, that geographers need to explore the complexities and contradictions of commodification that are easily missed by adopting a rhetoric of moral outrage and blanket disapproval. He challenges "the shrill language and simplistic assumptions" and "some of the apparent certainties" (Jackson 1999, 96). There is nothing intrinsically wrong with the commodification of cultural difference, Jackson argues; however, he concedes, it is apparent that the ability to commodify other cultures is not evenly distributed in society or space. Jackson uses Aboriginal art and "black" music to examine the complex cultural politics of consumption and the commodification of cultural difference. He concludes,

Taking material culture seriously involves going beyond the individual interpretation of commodities, and reinstating the importance of social relations with all of their associated inequalities. It also requires an examination of the social relations of production *and* consumption (through empirical work with actual consumers 'on the ground'). (Jackson 1999, 104)

As geographers, if we are to rise to the challenge of examining the social relations of production and consumption, we must also consider the constructed identities that are produced as a result. Indeed, it is often the producers of things, not just "things," that are racialized, exoticized and commodified for consumption. Jackson's case study of Aboriginal art and "black" music would have made an excellent example to consider how the image of the Other is constructed through the production of these cultural representations.

Jackson and Thrift (1995) maintain that it is the consumers who actively shape the meanings of the goods they consume in various local settings. The commodification of ethnic food is therefore criticized for serving the needs of the White mainstream while leaving cultural products devalued and degraded. Dwyer and Crang (2002) believe that commodity culture does not necessarily "result in the production of superficial, thin and bland ethnic differentiations. Nor does it inevitably involve the appropriation of ethnic forms" (2002, 410). They maintain that commodification is a process through which ethnicities are reproduced and in which ethnicized subjects are actively engaged with broader discourses and institutions. Seen in this way, commodity culture "can moblize varied ways of thinking about cultural difference – varied 'multicultural imaginaries'" (Dwyer and Crang 2002, 412). They attempt to position themselves outside of the typical "celebration and criticism" positions by thinking about commodification in terms of processes that (re)produce difference, rather then simply enable its appropriation through consumption (Dwyer and Crang 2002, 415-416).

5.5 Oriental Other

"Trust me…I can tell," said a retired man currently operating as a private tour guide in Toronto. Perhaps I should have been prepared for such an answer after he greeted me in a local coffee shop by bowing deeply and shouting "ohayo gozaimasu," (good morning) attracting the attention of the other patrons quietly sipping their drinks and reading the morning newspaper. We had just discussed the rising popularity of sushi in Toronto and the hundreds of Japanese restaurants that dot the urban landscape. He told me that he had enjoyed Japanese cuisine for decades particularly for its marketed "difference." When the conversation moved to the number of Japanese restaurants operated by chefs of Korean or Chinese ethnic origin, I thought he was going to cite his years of experience with Japanese cuisine to legitimize his authority to judge the authenticity of one restaurant over another – the exact type of "difference," how he could "tell." Instead, he explained that he knows the ethnicity of a restaurant's employees because he is able to determine whether a person is Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Vietnamese in origin by simply looking at the flatness of the face, the shape of the nose, or the particular slant of the eyes. Although I tried to maintain as much impartiality as I could muster I must have had a look of shock on my face because he took my expression as surprised admiration, "No, seriously, … I really can," he said, visibly proud of this skill. A more subtle but more common example of such racialized discourse was made by a twenty-something sheet metal worker I interviewed in Toronto. Like others I

interviewed, he felt compelled to profess his *in*ability to differentiate between Asian identities: "I'm sorry, I am not very good at telling *them* apart."

The retired man I first encountered exemplified a colonialistic, hegemonic position of power over racialized groups. To him, such a display of racial classification represented knowledge and social currency rather then the perpetuation of an overly simplistic, reified, and not necessarily accurate understanding of human variation. Although this racial order and discourse is often used to rationalize and legitimize the exploitation and oppression of racial minorities, he considered it as a form of cross cultural understanding, "I have always been curious of the Other," he said, "I have always appreciated the Other." This appreciation, according to him, is evidence of his cosmopolitan status, "I live it, I love it, I relish it." "As a result" he continues, "I am just as comfortable in Chinatown as I am in Little India or whatever." Although he believes that his ability to move comfortably between worlds is evidence of his cosmopolitan positionality he fails to recognize that it is the privilege of his Whiteness, gender, and socio-economic status that allows him to "eat the Other."

In contrast, by exercising their phrenological *in*abilities, some of the respondents contribute to the constructed, racialized image of the Oriental Other and build upon their own cosmopolitan distinction. The comment by the younger tradesman I interviewed reveals a position akin to the often-held view of colour-blindness. In this case, the sheet metal worker, however, is not claiming to be blind to the "colour" of Others but rather that he cannot distinguish between ethnicities that lie alongside one another on the colour spectrum. His apologetic manner suggests that he *should* know or at the very least has a

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right to know. To the average consumer it is simply enough that the producer is some form of Oriental Other to establish the authenticity of their experience, "There is definitely a cachet about going out for sushi. … I figure now that I am living downtown I should at least try it" he explains. But to have knowledge of precisely *which* Other would secure his standing as an emerging cosmopolitan. His statement is also an interesting comment on place given that he draws a connection between "downtown" and cosmopolitan activity. The significance of these instances is not just about reducing distinct ethnic groups into one undifferentiated Asian identity, the Oriental Other, but rather more about the discursive practice of racialization that privilege and sustain hegemony over those who are non-White.

This seemingly innocent practice of assessing racial or ethnic identity from physical features shares a resemblance to the more overtly sinister system of phrenology. Only a century ago, phrenologists would determine the race, temperament, and intelligence of people by charting their head size with the backing of science. In the wake of the bombing of Pearl Harbor, *Life Magazine* informed Americans as the title read, "How to tell our friends from the Japs." The article provided written and pictorial hints on how to differentiate Japanese and Chinese people. Among the hints were some about their facial features and bodies, others about dress and demeanor: "some aristocratic Japanese have thin, aquiline noses, narrow faces and, except for their eyes, look like Caucasians," "most Chinese avoid horn-rimmed spectacles," and the Japanese are "positive, dogmatic, arrogant" while the Chinese are "more placid, kindly, open" (*Life* 1941, 81-82). Philippe Rushton, of the University of Western Ontario, in his research

linking head and sexual organ size with intelligence, offers a contemporary application of this system of practice (Rushton 2000).

The consumption of the Other is not always one of an economically subordinate Other, as hook's (1992) theories imply, but rather a more complex cultural construction. Indeed, it is the ability of the cosmopolitan consumer to identify with the Other through food that is the very thing that marks the difference between their worlds. In Said's terms, it is an act of "Orientalism" that constructs the Other as different (1978). The process becomes much more complex when many cultural contexts converge on the same place. Recognition of this process has allowed cultural geographers to move beyond static cultural boundaries previously regarded as fixed in space and stable over time.

Cook and Crang investigate the local globalization of culinary culture by using *Time Out* magazine to stage an argument about the character of British food geographies and their spaces of identity practice (1995). Cook and Crang argue that the superficiality of knowledge provided in consumer cultures prevents any real engagement with cultural difference and promotes instead the socio-economic agenda of the mainstream. They suggest that a "re-contextualization" is required: one that offers "more accurate and realistic knowledge, about those 'Others' being consumed…about specific places and people's of 'origin' and less loose expressions of difference" (Cook and Crang 1995, 145). They admit that such "engagements with difference" run the risk of paralleling the cultural and economic valorizations made through constructions of authenticity (Cook and Crang 1996, 145). A possible alternative that Cook and Crang posit is to emphasize

"commodity biographies of distribution and production," thus showing "the veil of fetishism for what it is – a mask of myths and smokescreens (1996, 145).

While I entirely agree with the notion of providing more deeply textured accounts and more specific knowledge about the geographies of ethnicized foods, Cook and Crang do not discuss the Other within. If we are to explore the biography of a commodity, we must also consider the representational politics of Otherness in relation to place, multiculturalism, racism, and citizenship. What geographical knowledges are required to unpack this convergence of "cultures"?

5.6 Palatable Cultural Difference

Cultural diversity impacts almost every aspect of the geographical, cultural, and social landscape. Some aspects of difference are perceived as more digestible then others, with food at the centre of this palatable form of difference. Connections are easily drawn between food and notions of cultural diversity in multicultural cities. It is common to find celebrations, festivals, and specific months dedicated to a particular multicultural group in Canada with food acting as the medium for cultural engagement. These celebrations of difference are easy to accept and applaud but have been criticized for constraining multiculturalism to the tolerable and non-threatening. To appreciate fully the complexity and often confusing Canadian multicultural imaginaries it is necessary to look at the practices of cultural differentiation rather then simply at the politics of cultural diversity.

Homi Bhabha differentiates cultural diversity and cultural difference in the following way:

> Cultural diversity is the recognition of pre-given cultural 'contents' and customs, held in a time frame of relativism…giv[ing] rise to anodyne liberal notions of multiculturalism, cultural exchange or the cultural of humanity…cultural difference is a process of signification through which statements of culture or on culture differentiate, discriminate, and authorize the production of fields of force, reference, applicability and capacity. (Bhabha 1995, 206)

Seen in this way, it is necessary to go beyond the rubrics of cultural diversity to increase our understanding of the multicultural imaginaries deployed in a convergence of culinary cultures in a particular place and time. As Cook, Crang, and Thorpe suggest, "we have to think about the differentiations being constructed to stage the productions and consumptions of that diversity" (1999, 229).

Cook, Crang and Thorpe investigate how everyday eating practices are involved in the production and consumption of social imaginaries within which understandings of British national identity are constructed and practiced (Cook, Crang and Thorpe 1999, 225-226). They concentrate their examination on the multicultural spaces of culinary Otherness and their connection to ethnic Others. Some of the positions they raise in support of their argument are presented elsewhere in my thesis; that is, the concern for the decontextualization of cultural forms and the desire to explore Otherness while maintaining the solidarity of mainstream positionality and the degree to which the

process of making ethnic food accessible converts difference into sameness. Two of their positions regarding culinary cultural differentiation and multiculturalism can be easily applied to a Canadian context. First is the notion that the commodification of cultural Otherness produces highly spectacularized and aestheticized symbolic multiculturalism that has no mechanism for equal rights (Cook, Crang, Thorpe 1999, 232). Second is the argument that "commodified multiculturalisms are often underlain by forms of racism that corrupt the seemingly positive evaluations of difference enacted within them" (Cook, Crang, and Thorpe 1999, 233). These arguments provide a starting point to discuss the ways in which multiculturalism is itself a product of Whiteness.

Some have suggested that the naturalized assumption that ethnic groups are to remain outside the parameters of mainstream Canadian society creates the fragmentation of citizens into "we" and "they" groups (Peter 1981, 57; Henry 2000, 28). Those marked as "they" or the "Other" are positioned outside the "imagined" community of Canada and national identity of Canadians (Anderson, 1983). Minority commentators have raised their concerns about the divisiveness of multiculturalism in general. Ogmundson, for example, argues from a Canadian nationalist perspective that Canada is too weak, especially due to its powerful southern neighbour, and thus cannot afford threats to its unity. He asserts that multiculturalism "seems designed to maximize internal divisions, encourage foreign exploitation, and facilitate eventual disintegration and foreign absorption" (1992, 52). He feels personally compelled to identify with the notion that everyone should become "simply Canadian." He takes his contention with multiculturalism to its furthest extent by declaring it "to be a form of cultural genocide

aimed at the destruction of a pan-Canadian identity" (Ogmundson 1992, 47). He recognizes that "many listeners or readers of this paper will probably consider [his] position racist or bigoted" but in the end he still feels that "people like [him] are the victims" (1992, 49). He insists that "all I am trying to do is defend the right to be a Canadian in Canada" (1992, 49). The fact that all citizens of Canada are not perceived to be "simply Canadian" due the continuous process of racialization, seems to escape Ogmundson. Bissoondath also takes the position that ethnic identity and perception are a matter of choice. For him, multiculturalism is a form of ghettoization, an invitation to allow immigrants not to change, an encouragement of "clannish exclusivity" (Bissoondath, 2002, 369) and even a "gentle form of cultural apartheid" (Bissoondath 1993, 375). Like other critics of multiculturalism, he questions at what point diversity will erode social cohesion in Canada.

These assimilationist perspectives help advance arguments like that more recently brought forth by Howard-Hassmann (1999). She argues for the need to include "Canadian" as an Ethnic Category in the national Census; a position lost on most anti-racist activists and people of colour in general. A debate between Howard-Hassmann and Abu-Laban and Stasiulus erupts over the article, "Canadian" as an Ethnic Category: Implications for Multiculturalism and National Unity" (Howard-Hassmann, 1999). Howard-Hassmann declares Abu-Laban and Stasiulus as "illiberal multiculturalists…who want the state to recognize the fixed, unchanging identity of Canadians." She further contends, "for these scholars, multiculturalism as a policy must ensure that individuals identify themselves as members of their ancestors' ethnicities. They believe in the idea of

fixed, primordial groups" (1999, 526). In their defense, Abu-Laban and Stasiulus retort that Howard-Hassmann's Canadian ethnic identity "appears to us to be assimilationist and anachronistic" (2000, 478). Furthermore, the policy that she describes "seems more likely to encourage assimilation and the cultural hegemony of dominant ethnic groups than to encourage integration" (2000, 485). Howard-Hassmann's argument fails to acknowledge the racialization of people of colour and the history of systemic racism that have precluded a common "Canadian" identity. Indeed, the simultaneous rejection of existing forms of racism and the misrepresentation of multiculturalism has created relentless backlash when any genuine effort to move beyond its symbolic or commodified form is made.

Culinary multiculturalism is similarly implicated in a complex field of relationships and expectations that are contested, negotiated, and often unequal. The pluralistic principles of diversity and the "song and dance" celebration of people's cultural difference is a part of the popular Canadian ethos. This pleasurable and stimulating diversity, however, often positions the White consumer as an adventurer in search of novelty (hooks 1992). An interview I conducted with a woman who has traveled extensively throughout Asia and has written three different cookbooks on her experiences with Asian cuisine problematizes this quest for exotica. Her books read like a travel diary rather then your typical cookbook. People want that type of "warmth" she explains, "people want to hear about other people's experiences and fantasize about doing it themselves." She continues, "there is comfort, or 'warmth' as I call it, in knowing that someone has done it first." The foods and recipes she adapts for her

cookbook have been consumed by Japanese, Chinese, and Indian people long before any form of culinary imperialism; however, it is the experience of "someone" like her in which others find "comfort or warmth" in. She admits that perhaps she is a little more eccentric then the average person but "as a married, educated, White woman living in Toronto with two kids" others could imagine the possibility of doing what she does or at least getting a taste of her adventurous lifestyle through her recipes, secure in their own homes. Commodified multiculturalism and the spectacularization of non-Western cultures allow members of the dominant societal groups to "exercise their fantasies safe in both the knowledge that their centred positions will not be threatened and that the reality giving rise to the commodity fetish lies elsewhere" (Cook, Crang and Thorpe 1999, 232). Moreover, the particular designation of ethnic food is caught up in a complex and confused construction whereby White people are removed from notions of ethnicity and in the process construct ethnic others (Cook, Crang, and Thorpe 1999, 229). The convergence of (multi)cultures in what Cook, Crang and Thorpe refer to as "culinary neo-imperialism" produces a symbolic multiculturalism that merely serves "the consumption options of the middle class" (Ley 1994, as quoted in Cook, Crang and Thorpe 1999, 232). Culinary multiculturalism as a convergence of cultures gives license to "'eat the other' – or at least some parts of some others, some of the time" (Gabaccia 1998, 9)."Food has long been the acceptable face of multiculturalism" (Gunew 1993, 41) but this easy acceptance must be problematized to see how such celebratory accounts are caught up in notions of Otherness and Whiteness.

5.7 Whiteness

The category of "White" is receiving increasing attention in geographic literature as a result of the growing recognition among scholars that so-called "race" studies have focused only on people of colour, while excluding Whites who have traditionally held hegemonic positions of power over all other racialized groups. Although it is widely accepted that "race" is a social construct with little basis in genetic variability, it is still used to categorize people. The large body of literature that examines issues of "race" with groups variously encountered by Whites, but seldom subjects Whiteness itself to geographical scrutiny. Whiteness, according to Bonnet "seems to have an extraordinary power to appear transparent before the scholarly gaze" (1997, 194). Until recently, Whiteness has been constructed as an essentialized and unchangeable body existing outside the realm of debatable racial categories (Bonnet 1997, 195). Rather then contributing to the discussion by simply mapping racial or ethnic difference, contemporary examinations of Whiteness have begun to apply a more nuanced exploration into the varied processes by which racialization and difference are constituted (Bonnet 1997; Jackson 1998; Kobayashi and Peake 2000).

There has been a growing recognition in human geography that debates about the construction of race apply with equal force to dominant groups as well as to ethnicized and racialized minority groups. By turning the analytical gaze from an exclusive emphasis on racialized minorities to include dominant groups who have "traditionally exercized the power of definition," (Jackson 1998, 99) we can begin to explore the varied

processes by which difference is constituted. Examining the process of racialization from this perspective allows us to appreciate "that racialized ways of thinking and the practices that they inform have varied significantly from time to time and from place to place" (Jackson 1997, 99). Indeed, concepts that are particularly significant to my thesis, such as cosmopolitanism, Whiteness, and Otherness, are not neutral; rather, they exist as part of many different social and interpretative frameworks. Their construction can be influenced by a variety of scales that alter our interpretation and understanding of the concept (Jackson 1997, 100). It is with this point in mind that I explore the construction of Whiteness in material and discursive terms.

Frankenberg, in her path breaking article, "White Women, Race Matters" helped to define the field of Whiteness Studies, maintaining that Whiteness consists of three interconnected dimensions: as "a location of structural advantage; … it is a 'standpoint' or place from which White people look at ourselves, at others and at society … and it refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed" (Frankenberg 1997, 447). In other words, as a "location of structural advantage," it involves cultural practices that have come to be understood as normal (Frankenberg 1997, 1). Frankenberg's theory was informed through analysis of interviews with White women of diverse "age, class, region of origin, sexuality, family situation, and political orientation" (1997, 23) By reading these interviews critically against themselves and one another Frankenberg hopes to convey the ways in which "race, racial dominance, and whiteness" are "complex, lived experiences" (1997, 22).

Kobayashi and Peake (2000) consider how the colonial process of racialization continues to be part of the normalized landscape in the New Millennium. They outline three propositions on the subject of geographies of Whiteness and on how, as geographers, we may respond to a cultural environment that is imbued with "whiteness," or the "…normative, ordinary power to enjoy social privilege by controlling dominant values and institutions" (Kobayashi and Peake 2000, 393). Of particular relevance to an investigation of ethnic foods is their conception of Whiteness as a standpoint, "a place from which to look at ourselves and the surrounding society, a position of normalcy, and perhaps moral superiority, from which to construct a landscape of what is same and what is different (Kobayashi and Peake 2000, 394).

Slocum contributes to the literature on food and racial difference by investigating embodied accounts of race and food (2007, 520). She explores how Whiteness is produced by addressing the spatial dimensions of food politics. Using farmers' markets and upscale supermarkets such as Whole Foods and Trader Joe's, Slocum reveals how food spaces are racialized and create "places of white belonging" (2007, 527). She uses participant observation at food community meetings, conferences, and farmers' markets as evidence for her study. She also interviewed community food leaders in the northeast United States and observed food specific list serves (Slocum 2007, 521). The capacity to shop in alternative food places tends to be an economically and culturally middle-class, White thing to do, according to Slocum's findings. The aim of these spaces therefore, is to create a shopping experience that is "calm, safe, comfortable, aesthetically pleasing and satisfying" (Slocum 2007, 527). Although such places of White belonging are clearly

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classed, as demonstrated by Slocum herself admitting to purchasing a $2.15 cucumber because it was organic and grown in California, they primarily cater to "the culturally middle class who might be some combination of bourgeois suburban, left, hippie, alternative, academic, non-profit urban or tourist out for the day" (Slocum 2007, 527).

While Slocum (2007) explores the elements of White food space that derive from the normalization of Whiteness in farmers' markets and upscale food retailers, other social scientists consider representations of difference and Whiteness via the consumption of exoticized food. Lisa Heldke's *Exotic Appetites* (2003) is an earnest attempt to tease out the connections between Westerners' passion and pursuit of so called "ethnic cuisine" and the colonialist attitudes embedded in everyday relationships and approaches to foreign foods. Her arguments reflect earlier work in the area of culinary tourism and the ideological image of eating the Other as presented early in the chapter (hooks 1992; Long 2000). Unlike Germann Molz's examination of travel narratives and interviews to reveal the socially differentiated practice of eating, Heldke's book is an exercise in critical reflexivity in which she discusses the politics, power, and epistemic presuppositions that she, as a White "food adventurer" animates in her pursuit of exotic, foreign, and authentic food experiences with the Other (2003). Food adventuring is both an attitude and a practice exercised by those who tend to occupy a privileged position. There are distinct similarities between Whiteness and food adventurers and Heldke attempts to engage/resist the culinary legacies of colonialism by addressing the invisible privilege of her own Whiteness. For example, like the White person who does not see race as a distinguishing part of their identity, food adventurers think their culture is bland

and ordinary. Heldke writes, "I had slipped into conceiving of the United States as culinary neutral, as a beige backdrop against which other cuisines could display their features" (2003, 2). Although this comment is based on her experiences with ethnicized cuisines a strong parallel exists between her description of the United States and her own White positionality. Although Heldke admits that "food adventurers" are for the most part Euro-American, Christian, White, middle-class, well-educated cosmopolitans, she argues that food adventuring is "not just a 'white thing'" (2003, pxxi). She is careful to point out that people of colour can also be food adventurers. Such inclusionary definitions, however, should not assume that food adventuring will draw similar experiences for all groups:

> There are important differences between, say, the acquisitiveness of a white adventure eater in a Burmese restaurant and that of a Korean adventurer in an Indian restaurant…that do not allow the two instances to be conflated into a single phenomenon. (2003, pxxii)

White food adventurers, despite having a sense of risk or adventure in crossing culinary boundaries, maintain a relatively stable cultural position from which to explore and consume the Other. Moreover, their particular position of privilege allows them to "taste" Otherness, to embody a sense of risk while simultaneously reinforcing their own positionality as the norm against which other cultures are defined as exotic and foreign (Germann Molz 2007, 86).

Uma Narayan is hesitant to surrender all power dynamics involved in the definition and differentiation of ethnic food (1997). This process, according to Narayan,

is not simply a one-way consumption, appropriation, and representation emanating from the dominant culture. Although eating the Other may be a "shallow, commodified and consumerist interaction," she argues that it is preferable to maintaining a distance from their "strangeness" (Narayan 1997, 180). Narayan takes issue with Heldke's contention that food tourism is a form of culinary neo-colonialism and appropriation of a subjugated Other. Alternatively, she suggests that one might consider the ways in which immigrants, and I would argue people of colour more generally, gain agency and self-sufficiency by selling their own invented ethnic cuisines to the dominant group. Like other postcolonial critics she cautions against associating agency only with Whiteness and society's dominant group.

This example brings to mind a reoccurring conceptual problem that the majority of students grapple with in 'Race' and Racism, an interdisciplinary studies course taught at Queen's University. The professor for the course, Dr. Audrey Kobayashi, introduces the invisibility of Whiteness and the broader issue of everyday racism by offering an example of an exchange she had with a friend at a dinner party she was hosting. While preparing sushi for her guests the professor's friend declares that she is thrilled to be served such a treat because she only knows how to make "Canadian" food. The example illustrates the power of her friend's positionality to define itself and its culinary culture as the "Canadian" universal norm. Every year, as a teaching assistant, I am bombarded in the tutorials that follow this lecture with questions on how this seemingly innocuous example could be considered an incidence of everyday racism. The processes and performances of subtle forms of racialization can serve to reinforce the hegemony of

Whiteness but clearly go unnoticed by those who do not experience them directly (Essed 1991). To a class of mainly young, White undergraduate students, the privilege of Whiteness is at once obvious yet invisible (McIntosh 1989). Whiteness in this sense is considered outside of the colour spectrum – natural, normative, and basically raceless.

The racelessness of Whiteness and its standardization as the norm has led to the installation of so-called colourblindness as a system for making possible the denial of racism as a real experience while ensuring the discrimination against those who in fact cannot be Whitened. This contemporary rearticulation of racist discourse is what Goldberg defines as racelessness (Goldberg 2002). Such historicist racism "trades exactly on an implicit and informal invocation of historical referents now denied in the public sphere" yet continues to inform neoconservative ideas such as colourblindness and "raceless states" (Goldberg 2002, 228). Indeed, Whiteness according to Kobayashi and Peake, is "a set of cultural practices and politics based upon ideological norms that are lived but unacknowledged" (2000, 394) and it is exactly within this invisibility that the power and privilege inherent in Whiteness resides. Goldberg, however, reminds us that historicist views have not brought with them the demise of racism. On the contrary, it is the elaboration of historicism that enables the perpetuation of racism to be perpetuated within contemporary societies.

Food is a visible way not only to mark ethnicity and difference but also to look at food's relationship with issues of Whiteness. Indian American writer Geeta Kothari (2000) inadvertently raises interesting questions about Whiteness as she writes about her Otherness in an autobiographical essay, "If You Are What You Eat, Then What Am I?"

Kothari reflects in a narrative about her desire for tuna fish sandwiches. She describes how her mother prepared tuna fish for her boxed lunches, hoping to satisfy her daughter's hunger for "American" food. Geeta's mother did not understand, however, that the other children's mothers transformed the odorous fish into tuna salad by adding unmistakably white mayonnaise. By eating the same food as her classmates, Geeta hoped to lessen the trauma of being so viscerally different. Anita Mannur describes a similar experience after immigrating from Penang, Malaysia to Australia (2004). When she first started carrying her lunch to school her mother would pack a lunch consisting of rice and dahl. She writes,

> My white Australian classmates would look on in curiosity at my 'weird' lunch in a 'strange' container. My rice and dahl were nothing like the tuna fish sandwiches they would carry in their pink plastic lunchboxes adorned by the likes of Strawberry Shortcake. Over time, the snickering and odd looks became too much, and I begged by mother to buy me a plastic lunchbox and to let me have tuna fish sandwiches. Eventually she relented, and when the day finally arrived that I had tuna for lunch, I was visibly excited; I was that much closer to losing my status as "Other" and becoming like my white classmates. (Mannur 2004, 209).

Upon opening her lunchbox she found that her mother had "Indianized" her lunch, turning the pink fish into a bright yellow with the addition of green chilies, cilantro, and turmeric.

Linda Furiya also wanted to be part of the exclusive "lunch box brigade" of girls "who carefully unpacked their containers as if they were unveiling family heirloom jewelry" in her small Midwestern American town (2006, 5). She describes the thrill and

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anticipation after her mother relented and agreed to pack her lunches. "I expected a classic elementary school lunch of bologna, cheese, and Miracle Whip sandwich and a bag of Durkee's potato sticks, but all I saw were three round rice balls wrapped in waxed paper. Mom had made me an *obento*, a Japanese-style boxed meal" (Furiya 2006, 5). These examples poignantly articulate how people of colour are racialized by the foods they consume and how food is inextricably bound to issues of place, race, and power. While food can affirm the cultural identity of ethnicized Others it is also a reminder of the everyday politics of food revealing the power of Whiteness as a universal norm. Thus, Whiteness is viewed as another, but very powerful, socially constructed identity.

5.8 Conclusion

As the world rearranges itself the construction of ethnicized culinary cultures links individuals, social groups, and communities in unexpected new relationships. The proliferation of ethnic foods offers North Americans a stimulating diversity, one that positions the consumer as an adventurer in search of novelty (Crang 1999, 230). For scholars like Hannerz (1990), Bell (1992), and hooks (1992) the consumer is often a cosmopolitan who seeks both to master and to surrender to "alien culture." They will go to extreme lengths in order to immerse themselves in what they consider to be an "authentic" example of the Other's culture; a predatory practice that is "the endless safari of the cosmopolitan" (Bell 2002, 14). Hannerz adds, tongue in cheek, "some would eat cockroaches to prove the point, others need only eat escargots" (Hannerz 1990, 240).

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Although this example is meant to be an amusing comment on cosmopolitan consumption practices it also exposes the tendency to assume that it is White Western consumers who are in a position to be cosmopolitanized. Hannerz (1990) takes for granted that cosmopolitans are not from a cultural background that serves cockroaches or escargot on a regular basis. Mainstream America is placed as the background by which foods and foodways are defined as strange, inedible, and exotic.

In this exchange, the cosmopolitan not only creates the identity of the "Other," but needs the "Other" to enact his or her own cosmopolitan status (Said 1978; Crang 1999, 237). The commodification and consumption of Otherness allows Western consumers to exercise their desire for the "exotic" without threatening their mainstream positionality, while simultaneously depoliticizing cultural difference and reducing cultural forms to the status of commodity. The promotion and accessibility of cultural difference to worldwide proportions comes at a price: the price of exclusion, exploitation, exoticization, appropriation and racialization. Historically, Western countries looked outward, extending their hands into the corners of the globe to fill their appetite for new consumer choices.

Now into the 21st century, the scavenger hunt overseas is over; all areas of the globe have been reached by colonization, imperialism, migration and travel. So "the hunt turns inward" in multicultural cities, the cosmopolitan "looks to the 'other within', rediscovering (or reinventing) 'lost' (or invented) traditions" (Bell 2002, 14). hooks worries that in this process, cultural forms are removed from their places of origin and transplanted into alien systems of exchange (hooks 1992, 21) Such a commodification of

difference denies the significance of that Other's history, which is eradicated in the trade. The resulting differentiations become aestheticized, too far removed from social connections; ultimately, "ethnicity becomes just spice, seasoning, that can liven up the dull dish that is mainstream white culture" (hooks 1992, 21).

The racialization of culture in Western societies has prompted scholars to explore the commodification of Otherness in its various localized expressions. The result is often an intriguing, but largely theoretical, discussion of the issues. To appreciate the construction of the Oriental Other and various forms of difference that are developed and deployed within culinary culture we cannot simply measure the popularity of Japanese cuisine. Such measurements tell us little about how this culinary culture is understood, how the constructed image is created, or for what purposes they are used. This thesis fills in some of these gaps in knowledge and explores the process of their construction and dissemination.

Chapter 6

Methodology

6.1 Research Design

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how I collected and analyzed the data in order to address the research questions and objectives of my thesis. I reveal the decisions and justification at each step in the research process, and provide evidence of the research design's transparency and rigour. I review the issues of data collection, including recruitment and selection of participants for the online questionnaire, interviews, and participant observation sites. These qualitative methodologies were employed to undertake an empirical investigation into the interconnectedness and interdependencies of lifestyle, identity, and food geographies associated with Japanese culinary culture in Toronto. I also include critical reflections of the research through an examination of the design challenges, power relations, ethical issues, and limitations.

This particular combination of qualitative research methods provides a means of accessing and understanding the social world as experienced by social actors themselves. In geographical research, in particular, these specific methods have been extremely effective in exposing underlying power relations and social structures, the nature and scope of human agency in food geographies, and the articulation of difference.

6.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were used to gather information about the behaviours, attitudes, and opinions of people living in Toronto. The methodological objective for using questionnaires was not to collect original data that made any claims to be representative of all Torontonians. Instead, questionnaires were used based on three particular strengths of the method. First, they provided insights into relevant social trends, processes, and opinions in the earliest stages of my fieldwork. Second, it was the most effective and cost efficient method to access individuals across a large geographically dispersed area. The ability to place the questionnaire online and distribute it through various gatekeepers and email list serves helped tremendously in the practicality and efficiency of the method. Finally, their flexibility allowed the questionnaires to be used for purposes other than gaining a precursory overview of trends.

The questionnaires also served as a highly effective recruitment tool for the in-depth interview component of my fieldwork. Roughly 45 percent of respondents indicated that they would be willing to contribute to the research further and provided their email addresses to be contacted for an interview. The data collected from the questionnaires helped draft a working framework for the in-depth interviews, allowing key themes, concepts, and meanings to be teased out and developed. Other studies have combined questionnaires quite effectively with complementary, more intensive forms of qualitative research to provide more in-depth perspectives on social process and context.

To maximize distribution the questionnaire was posted online using *Survey Monkey*, an online, qualitative software used to compose, collect, and analyze questionnaires. Email messages were sent electronically to various gatekeepers, friends, family, and list serves in an attempt to recruit participants. Due to the vast range of potential participants, gatekeepers were chosen from various social, cultural, occupational, and special interest fields in an effort to access a diverse pool of respondents. A brief introduction of the research project was provided in the body of the message along with an embedded link that connected directly to the questionnaire (see Appendix A). The target audience for the questionnaire was simply residents eighteen years of age and older living in the Greater Toronto Area. An attempt was made, however, to collect responses from a range of socioeconomic positions, education levels, occupations, and ages.

The *Survey Monkey* software provided a secure site for the information to be stored as well as some general tabulations that helped with the organization of the incoming data. Although email distribution is not widely used in human geography, the few geographers who have taken advantage of this distribution mode report strong response rates and lengthy commentaries on open questions (Hoggart, Lees, and Davies 2002; Hay 2005).

The questionnaire was broken down into four parts (see Appendix B). The first section covered basic demographic questions concerning age, gender, area of residence, and so on. The Census of Canada was used as a guide to set standard ranges, categories, and terms for the questionnaire. The second section focused on the respondent's

consumer and consumption habits, including their opinions and behaviours around shopping and eating out in Toronto. The third section asked the respondents to offer information about their opinions on Japanese culinary culture in Toronto and therefore was limited to respondents who eat Japanese food. The questionnaire included both open and closed questions. The closed questions used in the four sections included attribute information, category list, rating, and scaling type questions. Two open questions were included at the end of the questionnaire. With the limited number of open questions the questionnaire took approximately fifteen minutes to complete.

In total 167 questionnaires were collected. The majority of people responded in the first two days of the questionnaire becoming available online. Few if any questionnaires were filled out after the first week. Consequently, the questionnaire was taken offline after a one-month period.

6.3 Interviews

Interviewing was the second phase of the fieldwork process and was the principal methodology for my dissertation. While questionnaires provided an appreciation of some of the key issues, opinions, and themes relevant to the research project, in-depth semi-structured interviews allowed an investigation into the complexity of these behaviours and motivations with a level of nuance and detail that other qualitative methods could not provide. Through the interview process I was able to collect a diversity of opinions,

experiences, and meaning from the participants. These exchanges provided insights into how the respondent's opinions differed and what issues drew consensus.

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with two separate sample groups between December 2005 and May 2006. The first group consisted of residents of Toronto who indicated on their questionnaires that they would be interested in contributing to the research project further. In total, fifteen Toronto residents were interviewed, including two food specialists: a food editor for a national newspaper, and an award-winning cookbook author. The second set of interviews was conducted with Japanese Canadian restaurant owners, chefs, and distributors. In total, ten interviews were completed with this particular group. All interview respondents were given a letter of information about the research project as well as a consent form to sign prior to the interview (see Appendix C).

Toronto residents were recruited for the interviews through the questionnaire phase of the fieldwork. The final question posed in the questionnaires asked whether respondents would be interested in contributing to the research process further (see Appendix B). If the respondents showed interest they were asked to leave an email address that would be used to contact them at a later date. A total of 61 respondents declared that they would be interested in contributing to the research process further, thus providing a substantial pool of potential interviewees.

All interview participants chosen lived in the city of Toronto, Ontario at the time of the interview. A curiosity in or taste for Japanese cuisine was another commonality that the respondents all shared. There was one notable exception from a man that

indicated in his questionnaire that he disliked Japanese food and was "turned off" by the idea of sushi. As I was eager to interview someone with a disparate opinion from the other respondents, he was one of the first individuals to be contacted for an interview. Although his questionnaire indicated that he was interested in contributing to the research process, however, further follow-up emails did not receive a reply.

In total fifteen "cosmopolitans" were interviewed over a four-month period. All the interviewees had at least a high school education and more then half had post graduate degrees. The notably high level of education was proportional to the questionnaire respondents as a whole. Though this may seem quite high the numbers are proportional to the questionnaires given that 52. 5 percent held post graduate degrees. The prevalence of highly educated individuals may have been a result of a link between an interest in academic research and those who were willing to take the time to fill out the survey. Further research may suggest that this rate may also be indicative of a link between educational attainment, cosmopolitanism, and a fondness for Japanese cuisine. The practice of eating out and the relatively expense of eating Japanese food may also result in an elevated number of individuals with high education levels as high income is often associated with higher educational attainment.

The occupations of interviewees ranged greatly from students to retirement. Some of the positions represented were an advertising executive, journalist, tradesman, lawyer, bike courier, teacher, engineer, bank teller, and a healthcare worker. The interviews were conducted in the respondent's place of work or in a coffee shop downtown. Typically, the interviews took an hour to complete. There was a relatively easy rapport established from

the beginning as they had all indicated that they wanted to contribute to study and were both curious and excited by my research objectives. In fact, the interviews usually began with the interviewees asking questions about my dissertation and how I was able to contextualize a study on Japanese cuisine in disciplinary terms. After the initial introductory chit chat each interview began with my asking the respondents about their lifestyles, for example, including occupation, residential area, what they enjoyed doing in their spare time, and where they liked to eat out. The questions in this part of the interview varied depending on the types of responses they provided in the questionnaire. The next section of the interview gave the respondents an opportunity to tell me about their opinions on Japanese culinary culture and some of the experiences they have had in Toronto's Japanese restaurants. The questions in this portion of the interview also discussed what prompted them to try Japanese cuisine, when and where this experience occurred, and their initial responses to the unfamiliar cuisine. The respondents commented on the rising popularity of Japanese cuisine in Toronto, issues of authenticity, and what they look for in a Japanese restaurant. The respondents cited specific restaurant as a way to explain what they particularly enjoyed and what they disliked about Japanese cuisine. They not only discussed the food, but also provided a review of the décor, other patrons, uniforms, employees, ambience, and other things they felt were relevant to their dining out experience. The final section of the interview tried to contextualize Japanese culinary culture into the broader discourse of ethnicized food geographies by posing questions about multiculturalism, pluralism, ethnic neighbourhoods, and the unique and dynamic characteristics of Toronto. These questions also provided an opportunity to

expose subtle racism, stereotypes, and xenophobia without using words such as racism and racialization that could potentially impede the progress of the interview.

An interview guide was used for the in-depth, semi-structured interviews (see Appendix D). This method was used to allow the conversation to follow as "natural" a direction as possible but allowed the ability to direct the discussion to cover relevant issues, themes, and areas of the research project. A few carefully worded questions were also placed in the guide in case there was a lapse in conversation. A mix of carefully worded questions and topic headings allowed me to capitalize on the particular strengths of both interview guides and schedules. The more abstract questions were left until the end of the interviews because I found that participants who had begun by answering straight forward questions about personal behaviours and preferences were then better prepared to be contemplative about those tendencies and the broader issue of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto near the end of the interview. A methodological strength of in-depth interviews is that it reveals and probes the discrepancies that may exist between what people say and what they actually do in practice. This issue will be addressed further in the analysis chapter of the thesis.

Upon receiving permission from the interview respondent all interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed. When transcribing the audiotapes I tried to achieve the most accurate record possible. Although it is difficult to determine non-verbal communication, gestures, tone, pitch and emotion in audiotapes, I used the notes I wrote on the interview schedule to supplement this information as much as possible. I recognize that despite trying to provide an accurate record, transcripts can be partial, incomplete,

and selective and that the information they contain is controlled by the researcher. I made a concerted effort, however, to produce transcripts that represent the participants' words as accurately as possible.

An interview with a food editor with one of the city's major newspapers was instrumental in bringing about my second group of interview participants. She provided the contact information for the President of the Japanese Restaurant Association who she had recently interviewed for an article on home-made soba noodles. I had originally hoped that I would be able to gather an insider's perspective of the Japanese food industry by interviewing a few restaurant owners; however, this gatekeeper opened up an entire sample group to which I did not think I would have access.

After sending an introductory email message explaining my research objectives to the President of the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada he agreed to meet at Hiro Sushi on King Street. The informal conversation and subsequent interview established rapport which led to an invitation to the next scheduled general meeting for the association. The meeting was attended by the ten board members as well as a representative from the Japanese consulate. The board consisted of restaurant owners and/or chefs, Japanese food purveyors, sake importers, and a fishmonger. After introductions were made and what I assume was an endorsement by the president (all in Japanese) I was given the contact information of those in attendance and was encouraged to contact them for interviews.

The in-depth interviews were semi-structured and used the aid of an interview guide (see Appendix E). Because each chef or owner had unique experiences leading to

immigration settlement in Canada and eventual establishment in Toronto's culinary scene, it was necessary to allow the interviews to develop spontaneously. Because English was a second language for all respondents, a few carefully worded questions were necessary to ensure that my questions were clear and easily understood. Although there was varying degrees of English proficiency a translator was not used in the interviews. A few times the interviewees would consult computerized or print Japanese/English dictionaries and together we were able to determine what he was trying to convey. Most interviews ran between one and a half to two hours. The first part of the interviews focused on their careers as chefs and what brought them to the Greater Toronto Area. This introductory section was followed by a more theoretical discussion regarding Japanese culinary culture and how they have chosen to translate their personal philosophies to their businesses in Toronto.

6.4 Observational Research

I used observational research to complement and contextualize other facets of the fieldwork process. Corresponding observations were gathered to provide additional descriptive information before and during the questionnaires and in-depth interviews. This method involved eating at twenty different Japanese restaurants across the Greater Toronto Area. As a patron, I observed the cultural landscapes of these establishments, including the menus, décor, music, food, utensils, staff, uniforms, and other patrons. The menus, atmosphere, and dining experience may change based on the day of the week and

time of day visited. While I was unable to make numerous visits to all the field sites I did attempt to vary the weekdays versus weekends and lunch times versus dinner times.

The main purpose was to complement and contextualize my primary and secondary data. Writing notes directly onto a visible notepad was not "out of place" as most other single patrons were engaged in reading or doing some form of work themselves. The aim was not to collect fieldwork data surreptitiously in these sites; however, I did not disclose my position as a researcher to the owners, servers, or other diners.

Many of the restaurants selected as field sites were based on questionnaire results. Question 29 in Section C specifically asked the respondents to list their favourite Japanese restaurant. Of the 120 responses, a number of Japanese restaurants were listed with some frequency and I thought it would be ideal to conduct my observational research at these sites.

6.5 Challenges, Ethical Issues and Limitations

Research as a social process cannot escape the societal structures or context in which it takes place; societal norms, expectations of individuals, and structures of power influence the nature of interactions between the researcher and the researched. Just as qualitative research methods cannot be separated from the structures of society, the converse is also thought to be true. "By asking questions or participating in an activity we alter people's day-to-day lives. And communicating the results of research can potentially

change social situations" (Hay 2005, 19). Throughout the entire research, I considered the interrelations among society, the researcher, and the research project. In the following section I shall address some of the specific challenges I encountered in the collection and interpretation of the data, and my personal interactions with the participants. To advance critical reflexivity and transparency in my research I shall also discuss my own positionality and some of the implications this may have had on the process and results. Finally, I shall review some of the design challenges and limitations of the research.

Some specific challenges that arose during research interactions with the restaurant owners/chefs of Japanese origin will be the focus of the discussion below. This is not to suggest that the interviews with Toronto residents were immune to the difficult issues that qualitative methods raise. Indeed, conducting interviews and interpreting the data with any human subject runs the risk of transforming the voices of the researched as they are mediated though the researcher's own experience and values. Qualitative methods are also subject to a series of uneven relations of power that intersect the research in a number of ways. It is the research gaze of those defined as Other that poses an intractable problem that needs to be recognized in qualitative geographical research even if it cannot be solved.

One position in the insider/outsider debate is that people are more likely to speak freely to an insider, who is assumed to be more likely to understand what they are saying (Hay 2005, 26). I believe establishing rapport with the restaurant owners and chefs of Japanese ethnic origin would have been much more difficult if I had not been of Japanese ethnic origin as well. In fact, the president of the Japanese Restaurant Association

admitted at our initial meeting that he was eager to set up a meeting because he was curious to meet a Japanese Canadian student studying Japanese culinary culture. Being an outsider, however, also has some possible benefits. For example, people may make more of an effort to clearly articulate their feelings, experiences, or culture. There was definitely a level of perceived inherent knowledge, understanding, or appreciation on the part of the association members because I am of Japanese ethnic origin, even though it became quite clear that this was not always the case. One is never simply either an insider or outsider, "We have overlapping racial, socio-economic, gender, ethnic, and other characteristics" (Hay 2005, 26). Crang declares his weariness of work that divides positionality formulaically into insiders and outsiders (Crang 2003, 496). Indeed, being an insider according to Crang is "good but impossible" and being an outsider is "bad but inevitable" (Crang 2003, 496). What is necessary, he argues, is an examination of the real issues around the relationship of researcher and researched.

An examination of the real issues around the relationship of researcher and researched is necessary in qualitative geographical research as Crang suggests; however, it is necessary to recognize that individual researchers are also embedded in the social, economic, and political context in which they interact (England 1994). Being cognizant of one's positionality as a researcher vis a vis the researched and research context allows biases and assumptions to surface that could possibility influence the research process and outcomes. As a doctoral student researcher I must recognize that my "positionality and biography directly affect fieldwork and that fieldwork is a dialogical process which is structured by the researcher and the participants" (England 1994, 80). While geographers

and other social science researchers often disclose certain characteristics such as disability, gender, and ethnicity, which affect their positionality, few have focused on "their significance and impact on the research findings and presentation in any detail" (Butler 2001, 271).

My identity as a Japanese Canadian woman and my familiarity with Japanese culinary culture can be seen as both a strength and limitation to the overall research process (Kobayashi 1994). Strauss and Corbin contend that personal experience can facilitate and also constrain analysis (1998). They contend that "having insight into, and being able to give meaning to, the events and happenings in data" that experience and increased sensitivity provide, "means being able to see beneath the obvious to discover the new" (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 46). Using one's own experience provides a comparative base to "measure the range of meanings given by others and a beginning list of properties and dimensions that she can use to gain greater understanding of their explanations" (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 48). Previous experience, however, can act as a barrier when the researcher forces an interpretation upon the data. Additionally, Mohammad (2001) questions who is positioned as "authentically" able to speak on behalf of Othered groups in the first place when she reflects on how her skin colour, and assumptions about her identity, gave her access and authority to research and to represent British Muslims. In cases where previous experience or positionality plays a role in the analysis process it is important to check to ensure that the researcher does not privilege their own perception or perspective, what matters, is "how the research participants see events or happenings" (Strauss and Corbin 1998, 47).

Before I discuss the relationships between myself and the research respondents, I should explain how my positionality complicates the messiness of insider/outsider research status even further. Although I identify myself as a Japanese Canadian woman, this is only one half of my ethnic origin. Born to a Sansei father and Irish Canadian mother my positionality straddles the lines of "belonging" to either group. Some may question my authority to speak authentically for a particular ethnicized group. What criteria must be met in order to be considered an insider and what purposes does marking out outsiders have? Crang's weariness of dividing positionality formulaically is entirely justified; indeed, the emphasis *should* be placed on the relationships established between the researcher and researched but how others perceive us in the field will significantly affect the research. Because first impressions and establishing rapport are critical in qualitative research, I shall discuss my first meeting with the President of the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada. This meeting characterizes a few of the ethical and methodological challenges that were raised, namely, insider/outsider issues, as well as language and cultural (mis)understandings.

My first meeting with the President was to take place at a Japanese restaurant on King Street in downtown Toronto. Through email we found an agreeable date and time at which we could discuss my research project in more depth and proceed with an interview. I entered the restaurant and was greeted by a young Japanese server and was seated by the window. She promptly went into the kitchen to tell the President that I had arrived. He strode out of the noren curtains that separated the back and front of the house with a mug of green tea in one hand and the other casually placed in his pocket pushing

back his tweed jacket. He approached the table as I was setting up the audio recorder and looked around confused. Before he cautiously stated my name, "Tanaka-san?" he looked around the empty restaurant one last time. He sat down, his posture relaxed and he lightheartedly admitted that was expecting a man because of my first name, and someone much older, he did not explain why.

During our initial conversation he struggled to describe the Canadian diet. The word he decided on was "democratic" but he paused, shook his head, and then began speaking Japanese. He was dumbfounded when I confessed that I did not speak or understand Japanese beyond the simple vocabulary one may find in a Japanese restaurant. I tried to explain to him that there was a drastic loss in the language retention after the internment of Japanese Canadians during the 1940s and as a result most Sansei, let alone Yonsei, do not speak Japanese. All my interviews and meetings with the Japanese Restaurant Association were a constant negotiation between their expectations of a person of Japanese ethnic origin and my actual knowledge and experience. They were eager to offer information about their thoughts and experiences; however, I believe they felt more at ease allowing a person of Japanese origin into their circle of friends and colleagues assuming that we shared a common understanding or appreciation. Therefore, it was necessary to be judicious as to when I would feign comprehension, nod politely, and try to figure out later what was being stated and when I would confess my ignorance and have them explain further.

Power relations and cultural dynamics played a significant role in my relationship with Japanese respondents and indeed created some specific challenges that must be

addressed as they have the potential to impact the research. First, through the course of my initial meeting with the Japanese Restaurant Association President I realized that his eagerness to discuss Japanese culinary culture in Toronto was couched in curiosity about how my research could potentially further the interests of his association. I was later told that one of the principal aims of their group is to increase awareness about the spirit of Japanese culinary culture in an effort to promote Japanese Canadian chefs who continue to practice the honoured philosophy of Japanese cuisine. Thus, a number of ethical concerns arose around how much I should reveal about the specificities of my research aims, what lengths I should go to in order to try to find a level of reciprocity between my fieldwork objectives and their association's needs and how I might go about achieving these goals without misrepresenting myself, the research, or its outcomes.

Regardless of what I was able to provide for them, the members of the association were always readily available for questions and interviews, and were valuable contributors to the research. Unable to predict the exact results of my fieldwork so early in the research process I simply agreed to provide all the participants with access to my final thesis. In an attempt to reimburse the participants in some way I presented a paper at the Canadian Association of Food Studies on a topic that supported the Japanese Restaurant Association's mission statement. The first two objectives of the mission statement are, "to promote authentic Japanese cuisine and food culture in Canada" and "to educate and inform society and government regarding Japanese cuisine and food culture in Canada." Along with a colleague from York University, I submitted a proposal for a panel at the June 2006 Congress of Social Science and Humanities Federation of

Canada, entitled "Food culture: constructing 'race,' gender, and the Other in Canadian food geographies." My paper addressed the complexities and contradictions of authenticity in Japanese culinary culture in Toronto restaurants.

Chapter 7

Palate and Power: Cosmopolitanism and Japanese Culinary Culture

7.1 Questionnaire Results

The questionnaires were used to gather information about the behaviours, attitudes, and opinions, of people living in Toronto. While a large set of useful data was collected, the main purpose for administering an on-line questionnaire was not to gather information that could make claims about Torontonians as a whole. Instead the questionnaire was designed to provide insights into relevant social trends, processes, and opinions in the earliest stages of my fieldwork. The questionnaires also served as a highly effective recruitment tool for interview participants. In total, 167 questionnaires were gathered over a one-month period. All the respondents who filled out the questionnaire lived in the Greater Toronto Area or in Toronto proper at the time the questionnaire was completed.

The questionnaires reveal a group that consists largely of young, White, single professionals with a mid-range income, no children, and exceptionally high educational attainments. The occupations of the respondents varied greatly, including a lawyer, construction worker, student, environmental scientist, child therapist, events manager, bike courier, accountant, and waitress. The majority held some type of professional

position. A greater number of women, 67 percent, participated in this phase of the study compared to 33 percent of men. It is unclear why there was a substantial difference in male and female responses. The oldest respondent was 64 years of age and the youngest was 25 years of age, with an overall average age of 34 years of age. A third of the respondents checked the box that indicated their total income was between $25,000 and $49,999, and 29 percent checked the box between $50,000 and $74,999. Because of the relatively high level of educational success I expected the overall income of the respondents to perhaps be higher; however, the large number of students who filled out the survey may have affected the results of this question. For more information and specific numbers about the social, economic and educational background of the participants please refer to the following tables.

Table 1. 0 Marital Status of Questionnaire Respondents

	Reponses	Average
Never legally married (single)	104	63. 8%
Legally married (and not separated)	50	30. 7%
Separated (but still legally married)	1	0. 6%
Divorced	8	4. 9%
Widowed	1	0. 6%

Table 1. 1 Questionnaire Respondents with or without Children

	Responses	Average
Have children	29	18%
Do not have children	133	82%

Table 1. 2 Residential Status of Questionnaire Respondents

	Responses	Average
Rent/Lease	92	56%
Own	56	34%
Live with parents	17	10%

Table 1. 3 Educational Attainment of Questionnaire Respondents

	Responses	Average
Less then high school	0	0%
Completed high school	7	4. 4%
Some technical or commercial college	9	5. 6%
Some university	14	8. 8%
Completed university	64	40%
Post graduate degree	84	52. 5%

Table 1. 4 Questionnaire Respondents Total Income From all Sources

	Responses	Average
Under $25,000	43	27. 6%
$25,000-$49,999	46	29. 5%
$50,000-$74,999	45	28. 8%
$75,000-$99,999	11	7. 1%

Overall, most of the respondents were born in Canada and most likely to identify British, Scottish, Irish, or some combination of these origins, as their ancestral background. These results run counter to the demographics of Toronto's population. Indeed, nearly half of Toronto residents are part of a visible minority community and yet two thirds of the questionnaire respondents' ancestral origins are from a Western European country. Two thirds of the respondents were born in Canada and the remaining third were born outside of Canada. There does not appear to be a common place of origin among the respondents who were born outside of Canada. The places of birth include countries from Europe, Asia, South and North America, and Africa. It is not surprising that very few people of Japanese origin filled out the questionnaire, even though the topic is directly related to Japanese culture because of the incredibly small Japanese Canadian population. Less then one percent of the questionnaire respondents were of Japanese origin, which is almost exactly representative of the Japanese Canadian population in Toronto today (Hall 2005, B4). Therefore, it is fair to assume that the results of the

questionnaire largely reflect the experiences and opinions of people outside of the Japanese Canadian community.

The second section of the questionnaire focused on consumer and consumption habits. Included in this section was a question asking the respondents to select traits that they believe best described their personalities, in addition to questions that focused on the subject of shopping and eating out in Toronto. The respondents were asked to indicate the level of significance of various characteristics and activities in their everyday lives on a five-point scale. The respondents on average ranked arts and culture, fitness and participating in sports, dining out, travel, volunteerism, and movies and television as being important elements in their everyday life. Arts and culture was ranked the highest, followed closely by travel. Shopping was ranked the least significant out of all the activities, but the range is not great.

Table 1. 5 Level of Significance of Activities by the Questionnaire Respondents, where 1=extremely important, 2=important, 3=neutral, 4=unimportant, 5=extremely unimportant

	Response Average	Ranking
Arts & Culture	2. 18	1
Travel	2. 19	2
Dining Out	2. 27	3
Fitness/Participating in Sports	2. 36	4
Movies/TV	2. 53	5
Volunteerism	2. 71	6
Shopping	3. 05	7

The presence of ethnicized consumer places is a significant aspect of the city to which the respondents gave priority to in the following scale questions. The results indicate that the respondents consider having a variety of ethnic restaurants as an extremely important feature of the city. This answer was given the highest rating out of the other five possibilities. The presence of diverse ethnic neighbourhoods, such as Chinatown and Little Italy, was also ranked extremely important but received a lower response rate then a variety of ethnic restaurants. Again, shopping and the presence of diverse shopping areas such as Yorkville and Kensington Market was the least important compared to all the other options. Nonetheless, it still received an average ranking of "important."

Table 1. 6 Features of the City that are Important (using a scale from 1 being extremely important to 5 being extremely unimportant)

	Response Average	Ranking
Variety of ethnic restaurants	1. 73	1
Diverse ethnic neighbourhoods like Chinatown & Little Italy	1. 95	2
Friends from different cultural backgrounds	2. 31	3
Various cultural & ethnic festivities like 'Taste of the Danforth and Caribana	2. 33	4
Different shopping areas like Yorkville & Kensington	2. 35	5

Given that the respondents ranked a variety of ethnic restaurants as an extremely important feature of Toronto to them, it is not surprising that more then half said that when selecting a restaurant they tend to choose an ethnic restaurant. Convenience was also given a priority when selecting a restaurant. The importance placed on expediency matches the lifestyle of busy professionals who live and work downtown. It was the recommendation of food critics, however, that received the second highest rating.

Table 1. 7 Restaurant Selection Priorities

	Responses	Average
Whatever is most convenient	57	39. 3%
An ethnic restaurant	78	53. 8%
The newest and trendiest place	17	11. 7%
Something fast and inexpensive	31	21. 4%
A restaurant recommended by a food critic from Toronto Life, NOW magazine, the Toronto Star, etc.	66	45. 5%

Zukin describes cultural authorities such as food critics for popular publications as the "arbiters of taste," telling us what we will like and what we should consume (Zukin 2004, 172). Their "language becomes our cultural currency. We use it because it represents a common ground between producers and consumers, between us and them" (Zukin 2004, 172-173). The vice president of collective bargaining for a downtown firm notes, "My friends and I are always looking in the *Toronto Life* for the top ten restaurants. That's

how we pick where to go." The respondents of the questionnaire are not immune to the influence that food critics have in shaping our culinary decisions and dining out practices.

Toronto offers a breadth of culinary options from the type of cuisine, to the style of restaurant, to which part of town you want to dine in. Most of the respondents first tried Japanese cuisine a number of years ago. In fact, only two respondents said that they had only sampled Japanese food or sushi in the last year with the majority being introduced to the cuisine in the 1990s or earlier. When selecting a restaurant, 82 percent said that they choose a Japanese restaurant in a typical month, the highest rated amongst the other options such as Thai, Chinese, Italian, and Indian. The cost, location and authenticity of the Japanese restaurant were the determining criteria in which Japanese restaurant to go to. More then three quarters of the participants have never traveled to Japan so it is interesting that authenticity would be high on the list of their dining priorities. What these respondents seek and ultimately consume reflects their perception of what constitutes an authentic Japanese culinary experience.

When asked to state their favourite Japanese restaurant in Toronto, the respondents provided an extensive list of Japanese restaurants across the city. Although the restaurants ran the gamut from cheap sit-down style restaurants to the most expensive omakase restaurants and everything in between, it was the two extremes of the spectrum that were listed with the most frequently. Sushi on Bloor, one of the many Japanese restaurants along what *Toronto Life* writer Bigge refers to as the 'Maki Mile,' was the top choice with ten respondents selecting it as their favourite Japanese restaurant (Bigge 2005, 25). Because cost and convenience were two of the most important factors for the

respondents in selecting a Japanese restaurant it is easy to see why this inexpensive restaurant in the heart of the Annex would be favored. The restaurant is located close to the University of Toronto and is conveniently located on the Bloor subway line. Food prices range from $2. 50 for appetizers to $18. 00 for their "Sashimi Gold Combo." Authenticity, however, was also ranked as a high priority when selecting a Japanese restaurant and Sushi on Bloor is not operated by people of Japanese origin. The restaurant also features a pictorial menu highlighting various "creative rolls" such as "Rock and Roll," "Casa Loma," and "Smoked Salmon," which usually indicates that the dishes have been modified to reflect the tastes of North American consumers. The apparent inconsistencies between what the respondents consume and what they desire in terms of authenticity will be further explored in the in-depth interviews and analysis.

There was a tie for the second most selected Japanese restaurant between Sushi Kaji on Queensway and Katursa in the Westin Prince Hotel. Both restaurants have owners and staff that are of Japanese ethnic origin. Sushi Kaji features a menu that is exclusively high end omakase, while Katsura features a more extensive menu with sushi, teppanyaki, robata bar, and other main dishes. These two restaurants appear to be in opposition to Sushi on Bloor in a number of respects. First, the restaurants are not conveniently located for patrons who live downtown. Both restaurants would require a car and a trip to Etobicoke or the hotel district surrounding Toronto Pearson airport. Second, both restaurants are quite costly. Sushi Kaji offers omakase for at least $100 per person and Katsura, although less expensive, is upwards of $50 for an entrée and more for a preset menu. Arguably, because it is operated by people of Japanese origin it may be

considered more authentic. It should be noted, that while Kaji and Katsura were the second most selected choice for the respondents favourite Japanese restaurant they were listed less then half the number of times of Sushi on Bloor. Half the respondents of the questionnaire eat out once or twice a week and are most likely to choose a Japanese restaurant against the variety of options available to Toronto consumers. So while authenticity may be listed as one of the top three criteria for a Japanese restaurant in Toronto, the regularity of eating out may have placed cost and convenience as a more significant influence on their culinary decisions. It is also unclear how the respondents define authentic Japanese cuisine. Does an authentic experience involve a spectacularized representation of Japanese-ness? Does the food need to be prepared by a Nikkei chef or is an "Oriental Other" sufficient? These issues were explored further in the in-depth interviews and analysis and will be discussed later in the chapter.

Overall the respondents see themselves as cosmopolitan individuals that may have the necessary social experience to review or compare Japanese restaurants. "Adventurous," "worldly," and "cosmopolitan," were the top three traits that the respondents felt others would most frequently use to describe them. "Thrifty," followed by "trendy," were the two traits that the respondents felt others would use the least often to describe them. More then half of the respondents thought that people would describe them as "sophisticated" some of the time, the highest percentage in this category. These characteristics echo the popular conception of cosmopolitans in that they seek multidimensional experiences, live in dynamic cities, and travel extensively.

Table 1. 8 Characteristics the Questionnaire Respondents Believe Others Would use to Describe Them

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Trendy	18%	57%	25%
Cosmopolitan	20%	51%	29%
Worldly	29%	54%	17%
Adventurous	41%	45%	15%
Sophisticated	19%	61%	20%
Thrifty	18%	54%	30%

The section on multiculturalism was included in the questionnaire to provide an early opportunity to examine opinions on ethnic diversity and culture. I deliberately included two open-ended questions to explore the respondents' personal opinions on issues of multiculturalism in Toronto. While the answers to these questions supplied valuable data in and of themselves, the responses were also used to assess how I should structure interview questions that would delve further into issues of xenophobia, stereotyping, as well as racism in its various forms. Racism, racialization, and its manifestations are often sensitive topics that may draw a voluble interview to a standstill. Therefore, it was important to determine possible points of entry to topics that are often off limits.

Three quarters of the respondents selected, "encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross cultural understanding" as the definition that best describes what multiculturalism means to them. Nearly a third believed that it is an effective policy that

promotes full and equal participation of ethnic minorities in all aspects of society. On the completely opposite side of the spectrum, four percent of the respondents believe that multiculturalism gives special treatment and an unfair advantage to ethnic minorities. A large portion of the respondents opted for a more symbolic multiculturalism interpretation.

Table 1. 9 Percentage of Questionnaire Respondents Interpretation of Multiculturalism

	Responses	Average
An effective policy that promotes full and equal participation of ethnic minorities in all aspects of society	38	28. 6%
Gives special treatment and unfair advantage to ethnic minorities	5	3. 8%
Encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding	99	74. 4%
A celebration of diverse cultures through festivals and food	60	45. 1%

With a questionnaire it is difficult to say whether the celebration of diverse cultures was interpreted as an aspect of living in a multicultural country that they particularly enjoy or whether it was a more critical and possibly negative reading of how multiculturalism is expressed and practiced. This ambiguity was an area that I intended to address with the interview respondents.

One of the open-ended questions asked the respondents to comment on Toronto's motto, "diversity our strength." Although many of the respondents stated that they had never heard of the motto before it was created in 1997 to inaugurate the joining of seven

municipalities to form the new City of Toronto (www.toronto.ca), one respondent commented, "Diversity for sure. Strength…maybe," which succinctly sums up the majority of the respondents' opinions. There were, however, three distinct camps that emerged from the responses on the motto. The first group felt that the motto is a true reflection of Toronto. There were a few responses in this group that were more enthusiastic claiming, "I love it!," "It is true, Toronto is beautiful and offers lively ambience largely because of its inclusive multiculturalism," and "I agree wholeheartedly with it. Toronto's image as a world class city with citizens from countries across the world working together creates an image of the ideal city where notions of ethnicity, race or citizenship are irrelevant." The two other groups had a more critical reading of the motto but for different reasons. The first of these two groups felt that the city is indeed diverse but it has not drawn on the strength of that diversity and realized its full potential. "It is not quite a reality yet," "I agree that diversity is a strength…though racism and discrimination are still rampant, both among citizens and within institutions," and "In order for this motto to ring true, diversity policy initiatives must move beyond festivals and ethnic food to address the systemic issues of racism, inequality, and poverty in Toronto and Canada as a whole." The second, albeit much smaller, of the two groups were opposed to diversity and felt it was an impediment rather then an asset to the city. "I'm not entirely sure I agree. I admit I am bothered by the number of Toronto residents who don't speak English, and I don't think this kind of language barrier fosters strength," and "Most real Canadians feel the opposite." What do these comments on multiculturalism suggest in terms of food geographies, racism, and cultural diversity? Do

the criticisms of multicultural practice include the commodification and exploitation of difference and Otherness? These areas deserve a far more extensive and nuanced treatment than is possible with questionnaire results and were explored in the in-depth interviews and following analysis.

7.2 Interviews with Toronto Residents

In chapter five I reviewed the literature on cosmopolitanism and the conceptualization of the cosmopolitan figure. The popular and academic commentaries portrayed a person who lives in dynamic urban communities, enjoys an affluent lifestyle and social standing, desires rich multidimensional experiences, and exercises her or his status by virtue of engagement with the Other. The results of the questionnaire and interview analysis indicate that the commonly held image attributed to cosmopolitans is complex and contradictory and inadequately describes the Toronto residents that I interviewed. It should be noted that cosmopolitanism reflects the interconnectedness and interdependencies of lifestyle and geography that have arisen in major cities across the world. As such, cosmopolitanism is a flexible discursive construction that is negotiated and exercised differently according to time and place. To advance the objectives of my research I present the interview analysis of a small group of Toronto residents. First, I describe the distinguishing characteristics that connect the respondents to one another and that reflect and reinforce their cosmopolitan identities. I unpack the process by which the respondents construct their cosmopolitan identities and explain how this process is not

conditional on class distinctions or financial wealth. The respondents' conceptualization of the Oriental Other is presented as one of the definitive elements in the popularity of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto. Moreover, I explain how cultural difference is made palatable by the presence of an approachable Other in restaurant landscapes and how the constructed image of health makes consuming such difference digestible and non-threatening. Finally, I address the issue of multicultural food by emphasizing how cosmopolitans actually construct a concept of multiculturalism that involves an exotic and racialized Other.

7.2.1 Cultural Curiosity

The need for cultural experiences is tremendously important to the respondents and is consequently a huge contributor to their cosmopolitan identities. A number of interviewees said they enjoyed cultural festivals, museums, operas, symphonies, art galleries, and readings, although their participation in such cultural events was constrained by their busy schedules and was thus largely inconsistent. All found that they could enjoy street level culture, particularly food, on a regular basis. A consultant describes the significance of different food experiences in her everyday life,

> I used to be a member of CanStage and Soulpepper and I used to have a membership to the Toronto Symphony. I was trying to really fill the cultural aspect of my life but I find that sometimes when you are so busy dealing with people all the time that when I go home I don't want to do anything. I

don't want to answer the phone. I don't want to talk to anybody. I just want

to cocoon and recharge.

The abundance of diverse culinary cultures in Toronto allows her to continue to experience cultural activities and discover new cultural forms but in a much more accessible and convenient way.

Dining out is perhaps one of the easiest ways to take part in the social and cultural scene of a city. There is, however, more at play in the restaurant than the simple act of eating. Ethnic food, particularly Japanese cuisine, provides a medium through which Toronto residents can exercise their desire for new cultural experiences while simultaneously strengthening their cosmopolitan identities. Indeed, the culinary decisions of the respondents' are often driven by their cultural curiosity "I don't like to eat just sandwiches," explains a high school teacher "I find them kind of dull. I like to experience other foods from other countries and cultures. Great restaurants or little holes in the wall– it doesn't matter." Ethnic cuisine can spice up more mainstream commercial fare but it also carries a level of social currency that the respondents are consciously aware of when they choose to dine in an ethnic restaurant. A financial planner describes Japanese cuisine as "status food." "Like the thing to do now is go and have sushi on Friday night." Even the respondents who were initially averse to what they thought of as exotic cuisines or the idea of raw fish felt pressured to eat Japanese food not only for the image that it imbues on the consumer but also to thwart any negative connotations that may derive from not participating in this trendy culinary practice. When a coordinator of the annual Pride Parade in Toronto starting dating a sushi aficionado, he knew that he had to get past his

aversion to raw fish. "It was the raw factor and the slime. I was expecting slimy raw fish but I knew that I had to at least try it. Thank god I found it absolutely wonderful." A lawyer at an engineering firm was less taken by Japanese cuisine but eats it about once a month nonetheless. "I don't love it but I'll eat it. If you are single and dating in the city you pretty much have to be open to the idea. It's like you are some hillbilly if you haven't had sushi or won't take a girl to Blowfish or Ki." The Toronto residents I interviewed exhibited a cosmopolitan disposition of cultural curiosity and sought food experiences that would reflect and reinforce their social identities. The respondent's culinary decisions, however, appear to also be motivated by acceptance into a White social circle rather than simply an opportunity to exercise their curiosity in the Other's culture. In Toronto's hurried social scene cosmopolitans are eager to make positive first impressions. The symbolic consumption of Japanese food allows individuals to associate themselves with a set of collective qualities such as social status and distinction and to advance a set of individual qualities such as desirability and attractiveness. The respondents' yearning for cultural experiences is driven by a need to assert their cosmopolitan identities and gain acceptance among their social circle. Indeed, this process is made possible via their exchange with the Other – a way to demonstrate power and distance between their constructed identity as cosmopolitan consumers and the racialized identity of the Oriental Other.

7.2.2 Cosmopolitanism

There are inconsistencies between the Toronto residents that I interviewed and popular conceptions of the cosmopolitan figure. Dining in Japanese restaurants is said to be a socially exclusive activity reserved for adventurous and affluent cosmopolitans. The results of the interview analysis reveal, however, that while the Toronto respondents conform to many of the characteristics of the typical cosmopolitan figure described in the literature wealth does not play as significant a role as prescribed by other academic theories. A review of the literature on cosmopolitanism in the social sciences places affluence as a significant factor in the relationship between cosmopolitanism and culinary cultural practice. Indeed concepts such as the cultural omnivore presented by Warde, Martens, and Olsen (1999) and White food adventurers presented by Heldke (2003) rely on high socioeconomic standing to provide entry into the multiple food economies of the Other. The respondents participate in the social processes to which Warde, Martens and Olsen and Heldke refer in their studies, but they express their cosmopolitan identities without the benefit of a large expendable income. This constitutive process is made possible by the democratization of Toronto's contemporary Japanese culinary landscape.

The social practice of eating in a Japanese restaurant continues to connote cosmopolitan urban sophistication upon its consumers despite becoming a more affordable culinary option. Indeed, Toronto's Japanese foodscape has diversified in the last decade to include an abundance of moderately and even cheaply priced restaurants. The number of establishments run by people of Chinese and Korean ethnic origin in

Toronto has saturated the already sizeable Japanese food market driving menu prices down. A single mother explains,

> It is a big misconception that Japanese food is expensive. People always say well I have to eat fast food because it's cheap. So I want to take my family to McDonald's because I can't afford to go out for anything else. You go to McDonald's and it's like ten dollars a person, a forty dollar meal. You to a Japanese restaurant in Toronto you can feed those same four people good healthy food for the same price.

The diversification of prices has democratized the consumption of Japanese food, thus making it an accessible option to anyone who can afford a hamburger and French fries. As a high school teacher exclaims, "It's not terribly expensive and most of it is fairly reasonable considering the artistry that goes into it. It is really quite astounding that you can get it at such reasonable prices." The interview respondents in my study were able to capitalize on the social currency of consuming Japanese cuisine and the cosmopolitan identity it imbues regardless of their socio-economic status.

A demonstrated knowledge of food geographies, particularly the foodscapes of the Other, is another way the respondents advance their cosmopolitan positionality. Indeed, being well-informed, worldly wise, and erudite are cosmopolitan characteristics that the respondents apply as enthusiastically to culinary culture as they do to their professional careers. A number of the respondents referred to themselves as "foodies." Others admitted that they are "obsessed with food." An executive assistant talked at length about her passion for culinary culture which has become her primary outlet outside

of work. She belongs to a food group that meets once a month where "one person hosts the event and talks about the history of the cuisine and the details of the menu." "I buy a lot of stuff that I will never use" she confesses, "but I just like having them around. It makes me feel good. It's like look at my spice collection. I also collect cookbooks. I have about 500 cookbooks. I take food and wine courses at George Brown on the weekends. All of my friends are really really into food." Not all the respondents were quite as enthusiastic, but all felt quite competent in discussing various food cultures and were eager to learn more about the multicultural cuisines that Toronto has to offer. The simple consumption of Japanese food is not enough for some of the respondents to separate themselves as cosmopolitan people. Acquiring knowledge about the historical, cultural, and social geographies of exotic cuisines provides another means in which the respondents can affirm their cosmopolitan identities. It is, however, the privilege of their social and cultural positionality that supports the commodification of difference and the opportunity to eat the Other. It is from this dominant position that they are able to move freely between cultural realms, consuming, collecting, and commodifying along the way.

7.2.3 Oriental Other

Japanese food has transitioned from a completely foreign cuisine to the most popular of ethnic cuisines in Canada without losing its cultural cache. Today, sushi is an affordable luxury regardless of the social standing of the consumer. Amazingly, while moving its way from the periphery of Canadian culinary culture to the mainstream,

Japanese cuisine has been able to maintain its constructed image as an exotic novelty, a food adventure, and a means to display intrepidity. Western culinary inventions on the Japanese theme, such as the California Roll, allow consumers to seem adventurous and exude cosmopolitan sophistication in what has become a familiar way. "I call it the chopstick revolution," jokes one of the younger male interviewees, "everyone is eating everything with chopsticks." I discussed this phenomenon with an award winning cookbook author over a steaming bowl of udon at a Japanese restaurant on Baldwin Street in Toronto. She believes that part of the popularity of Japanese culinary culture is that it is a controlled ethnic food experience. She maintains,

> It is controlled and exactly portioned out–it is safe. The fish has been expertly selected by the chef; it has been scaled, cleaned, precisely cut and manipulated into its proper shape. It is the ideal food for today's control freaks.

She believes that this need for control is precisely why kaiseki, the most venerated of Japanese cuisine, has not taken off in European or North American cities. "You cannot work your way into kaiseki and sample all the dishes eventually coming away with an understanding of the cuisine after a few visits," she explains whereas in a typical Japanese restaurant in Toronto, "the daily special might change, the rolls might evolve, and the fish might be different according to the market but the major players are all known and established." This level of familiarity allows consumers to cultivate their cosmopolitan identities and exercise their culinary sophistication by virtue of engagement

with the Other without stepping outside of their existing comfort levels. In order for Japanese food to maintain its constructed image as an exotic novelty in spite of its Western adjustments and common place existence in Toronto's culinary cultural scene, the racialized body of the Oriental Other must play a very significant and prominent role.

The respondents insist on the presence of the Oriental Other to legitimate their Japanese restaurant experience. Overtly racialized performances of Asian-ness are put on display in seemingly "authentic" restaurants while the actual identities of the producers are muddled into a single indistinguishable "Oriental" body. The socially constructed image of the Oriental Other reflects the power of mainstream White culture to create and define the racialized qualities of the Other. Seen in this way, the Oriental Other not only describes a socially and racially constructed identity but is a constitutive part of a much larger process of racialization in Canada's culinary geographies. Although the topic of race was never specifically mentioned in the interviews with the Toronto residents, everyday forms of racism and racialization were implicit in many of the discussions. The undercurrent of racialization was particularly pronounced in conversations surrounding issues of authenticity. A Japanese Canadian woman I interviewed, born just outside of Tokyo but essentially raised in Scarborough, finds the reduction of Asian identities to one indistinguishable Other particularly insulting,

> I think people like that whole cultural stereotype with the bowing women
> and the sushi and the tea ceremony and all that. But why do they put
> Vietnamese and Chinese women in these silly faux kimonos? It's like, well,

do all Asians look so much alike that you can put any Asian in an odd
looking happi coat and pass them off as Japanese staff?

The responses from the other interview respondents suggest that the authentication
strategies that she mentions are in fact quite effective in creating a sense of legitimacy in
Japanese restaurants in Toronto. The racialized body of the Oriental Other and an overtly
"Japanese" stylized restaurant landscape are the two elements that tied all of the
interviews together.

The negotiation of authenticity in Toronto's Japanese restaurants involves
imaginative geographies of the Other and the "Orient." The authentication strategies
employed are a deliberate attempt to immerse patrons into Japanese culture through the
décor, menu, tableware, music, and employees. Racialized stereotypes, myths, and
imagined cultural qualities are paired with exotic food to give legitimacy to their "ethnic"
dining experience. Throughout the course of the interviews it became apparent that when
patrons enter a Japanese restaurant landscape they expect to find specific examples of
Oriental Otherness. Exactly which form the evidence of difference takes is more a
reflection of what the consumer wants to find even if that atmosphere, and the people
who work within it, are not actually "Japanese." The fantasy of authenticity work also
requires the patron to play a significant role in the process of constructing the identity of
the Oriental Other.

The presence of the Oriental Other is the most important element in convincing
patrons that they are receiving an authentic Japanese restaurant experience, however,
most people diplomatically stated that if the chef was properly trained it simply did not

matter who actually produced the food. Their reactions, both spoken and unspoken, indicated that the imagined cultural qualities of the producer and restaurant landscape were in fact quite significant. The only person of Japanese origin I interviewed expressed her opinion on the topic,

> I don't think there is anything wrong with non-Japanese running Japanese restaurants. I think there is a place for everyone, and it is affordable for everyone. I don't think it should only be possible for Japanese people. That is silly. I don't believe that the Japanese are the only people that can make it, like there is something in their genes. I think it is about being Japanese trained. I don't care if you are Sri Lankan or Somali, if you go to Japan for a number of years and you train then I am cool with that.

She admits, however, that she primarily goes to Ematei for everyday Japanese comfort food and Hashimoto Yu-zen for special occasions because "It is Japanese style, Japanese staff, and Japanese clientele." The other respondents agreed that being a chef that specializes in Japanese cuisine should not be the exclusive monopoly of people of Japanese origin as long as they can master the techniques. "I don't think you necessarily have to be born a particular ethnicity to develop the skill set" suggests a high school teacher. A food editor explains her position by using a famous Toronto chef as an example,

> Do you go to Jamie Kennedy's restaurant because you think Jamie Kennedy is cooking? Like do you really think that Jamie Kennedy himself is cooking every meal? No. Jamie Kennedy created the recipes and the concept and he

oversees the kitchen and he has forty people working for him. So he is not
cooking the meals.

This illustration, while accurate, does not recognize how constructed representations of
Japanese culture are being consumed along with the food in Toronto's Japanese
restaurants. Nor does it explain why the respondents were so overwhelmingly
disappointed to hear that their favourite Japanese restaurants may not be run by people of
Japanese ethnic origin.

The respondent's perception of authenticity is so strongly influenced by the
constructed identity of the Oriental Other that they were convinced every Japanese
restaurants they frequented were operated by people of Japanese ethnic origin. The
exceptionally small population of Japanese Canadians in Toronto and the large number of
Japanese restaurants makes this presumption unrealistic. The process of racialization
reduces all "Orientals" into a set of identical bodily characteristics allowing patrons to
apply a Japanese ethnic identity to racialized members of the staff regardless of their
actual ancestral origin. A food editor adamantly insisted, "No, I am pretty sure most of
those little sushi shops are Japanese owned." Others were disappointed, "I guess I always
thought they were Japanese…Really? They're not all Japanese?" said a lawyer. If directly
asked the Toronto residents I interviewed would argue that taste and quality are
paramount and it does not matter who actually creates the food they consume. Their
nonverbal responses and body language show that they would prefer not to know the
imagined geographies involved in the production of their food. Admitting that their
favourite Japanese restaurants may not by run by people of Japanese ethnic origin forces

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the respondents not only to acknowledge their role in the way authenticity is ultimately constructed in Toronto's Japanese restaurants, but also their role in the perpetuation of racialized discourse. Unpacking the negotiations, practices, and meanings of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto disrupts their image of the Oriental Other and their authentic dining experience.

Eating in a Japanese restaurant is a racially charged social practice. Even though the respondents were open to the idea of patronizing a Japanese restaurant run by individuals that were not of Japanese ethnic origin the fact that they still expected an Oriental Other figure makes their desire no less racialized. Indeed, an "authentic" experience with Japanese culinary culture was only met by the presence of a racialized Other. Real or imagined bodily characteristics are constructed in such a way as to suggest that all Asian bodies can be reduced to a single "Oriental" identity. In this sense, the Oriental Other alternates between being on display and being invisible, being stared at or looked through. Although the condition may seem contradictory, they have in common the outcome of racialization and loss of power. The reality that Canadian cosmopolitans continue to be transfixed by such racial stereotypes and gross simplifications illustrates the enduring power of racialization. Indeed, the social practice of eating in Japanese restaurants can have the effect of establishing, sustaining, and reinforcing archaic racialized conceptions of Asian-ness.

The respondent's outward distain for Japanese food produced outside of a strategically authenticated Japanese restaurant and in the absence of an Oriental Other reinforces the significance the respondents place on these factors. All of the respondents

were appalled by Loblaw's attempt to exploit the sushi phenomenon by offering a President's Choice shrimp tempura roll that is flash frozen and unthawed in the microwave. Even pre-packaged sushi from the supermarket deli counter was objectionable to most of the respondents, offending their cosmopolitan sensibilities. "I hate seeing pre-fab sushi being refrigerated–that's so wrong!" said one woman. "It depends on the person," said a man in his early thirties, "But, I mean, *I* wouldn't buy sushi from Loblaws or a Sushi Q." "No, never. I would never" said a young professional woman when asked if she ever grabs sushi from the food court at the base of her office building. She then adds, "I guess it depends what your habits are as a consumer. But I think they get cheated out of a lot of the wonderful aspects of Japanese food." Because it is unknown who the actual provider of the prefabricated Japanese products was what can only be assumed is that the consumer is missing out on a full sensory experience that involves a strategically authenticated restaurant landscape and the cosmopolitan gaze on the Oriental Other.

If respondents are not lured by the convenience and accessibility of Japanese food at their local deli counter, they are even more dismissive of Japanese restaurants managed by large companies or Canadian born entrepreneurs. These types of restaurants do not advance the consumer's identity as a worldly or sophisticated food adventurer because they are widely known to be slick, commercialized culinary variations on the Japanese restaurant theme. They lack the stereotypical interior of what an authenticated Japanese restaurant is expected to look like. Within this new restaurant landscape small wooden sushi bars are replaced with slabs of stainless steel, framed posters of Mt. Fuji are

replaced with elaborate pieces of art, plastic placements decorated with pictures of nigiri are replaced with oversized square plates, and female Asian servers dressed in happi coats are replaced with handsome young White men dressed entirely in black. A retired gentleman listed all of the Japanese restaurants that he has frequented, qualifying his list with the statement, "See I don't go to Bennihana. To me that isn't Japanese." Another woman jokes, "I don't like Izakaya on Front Street. Have you been there? It's on the same strip of restaurants as Spring Rolls—that should tell you something. Ha, ha, ha. It totally sucks." Ki is another restaurant that almost all of the respondents have not bothered to try because it is owned by a steak house chain. "Ki? Never been there. It's owned by the Keg. Enough said," said one self described foodie. A recent immigrant from Shanghai was the only person I interviewed that had actually eaten at the restaurant. He works in commerce in Toronto's downtown core and said that he has been to the restaurant several times on business. This is not surprising as it is conveniently located at the corner of Wellington and Bay Streets with access from inside the BCE building. He describes it as "big and blingy and a little pretentious." Vancouver designer Elaine Thorsell came up with the $7. 5 million dollar concept of vaulted ceilings, wooden tables, and plush red banquettes. To live up to their publicity as being "authentic and innovative, designed to inspire indulgence" (www. kijapanese. com) they recruited Master Chef Shinichiro Aoyama. Despite having a Japanese born and trained chef the respondents were apathetic to all the hype. A restaurant such as Ki may advance the social status of the consumers who are seen indulging in their food, but it does not offer the same type of

adventure, commodification of difference, or engagement with the Oriental Other that more clichéd restaurants provide.

7.2.4 Health

"Japanese women don't get old or fat" according to the title of Naomi Moriyama's new book (Moriyama and Doyle 2005). She co-authored the obvious take on Guiliano's best-selling book *French Women Don't Get Fat* (2005) with her Irish American husband who is conspicuously missing from the photograph on the cover or the narrative voice. The book gushes nostalgically about Japanese women, "sporting flaming red apple cheeks and jet-black hair that almost glisten[s]" (Moriyama and Doyle 2005, 33). The title alone is ridiculous so why mention it in an academic study or in the analysis of my interviews? The facts in the book are certainly manipulated and it capitalizes on a romanticized and racialized image of Japanese culture. Nonetheless, it speaks to the constructed process in which the conceptualizations of Japanese culinary culture are presented to Western consumers. Moreover, it illustrates how conceptions of health are also socially constructed and applied to different food geographies.

Health, was the overwhelmingly significant reason given by the respondents to explain the exceptional popularity of Japanese cuisine in Toronto. An assistant crown attorney said that she tries to live a healthy and balanced lifestyle by making good food choices. She gravitates to organic produce and subscribes to a company that brings a box of fresh organic fruits and vegetables to her front door every other week. She describes

her exercise regime: "I have run three marathons and the last marathon was in Paris. I usually do the Rideau lakes tour every year, which is a cycling event which starts in Ottawa and ends up in Kingston. I also participate in cross country skiing event during Winterlude." She started eating sushi, "because it had a beautiful blend of carbs, protein and it was low in fat. While I was training for the marathon we used to call it training food." Another respondent said that he is "really into sashimi right now because I am on a low carb diet." Overall the respondents simply believed that Japanese cuisine was intrinsically healthy. "It is good food, its affordable, it's healthy, and it's sort of pure. I think everyone is trying to be more healthy" said one respondent. A mother offers her reasons for eating Japanese cuisine:

> I know if I've had like a bad food week and I haven't been giving my daughter enough fruits and vegetables we go for Japanese food because I know she'll have the plain rice and maybe some avocado and chicken. She might have some edamame and a little bit of salad and all of that is good for her. There is definitely a health connection.

The respondents are able to reinforce their social identities by selecting cuisines that connote a cosmopolitan sensibility for healthy living. But what do they mean when they say that Japanese food is healthy?

Health, like the term "natural," is part of a much more complex process of constructing food geographies. Indeed, the same respondents who valued Japanese cuisine for its healthy qualities had a fondness for tempura, sushi pizza, and spicy salmon or dynamite rolls, all of which are battered, deep fried, slathered in mayonnaise, or a

combination of all of the above. One of the Japanese restaurants I visited as part of the fieldwork process even offered an entire bento box of deep fried items. Depictions of a traditional Japanese cuisine as a diet that promotes health and longevity continue to circulate as Japanese culinary culture diffuses globally.

The image of Asia where health and wellness prevail is not a modern invention. This theme has roots in long circulating legends about the "Orient" and enduring racialized stereotypes about the Others who live there. This idealized and racialized image of Japanese food becomes culinary knowledge as the cuisine takes and makes place in local foodscapes despite any adjustments made to the original ingredients or techniques to meet the tastes of Canadian consumers. It can maintain its constructed image as a healthy cuisine while offering unhealthy fare in much the same way that the romanticized image of the ancient Orient can exist alongside the image of Japan as the creator of ultra-modern technologies.

The current appetite for cultural difference more then compensates for any inconsistencies or leaps of logic. "Its common knowledge that Japanese people tend to live longer. It definitely has to do with their diet," said one woman. "But I guess it's mainly that whole minimalist, zen, yin-yang, simplify your life, feng shui, yoga thing." Her comment is interesting on a number of levels. It suggests that there is a single monolithic Asian lifestyle that it is a more spiritual, peaceful and natural way of life. It also positions the East as simplistic, static, and frozen in time. Such cultural differentiations of the Oriental Other are seductive to Western consumers. The constructed image of Japanese cuisine as one that is synonymous with health relies on

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imaginative social, cultural, and geographical practices of cultural difference. It is not simply about the labels that are applied to particular ethnicized foods, but rather the social identities and meanings that are shaped in its production and consumption.

7.2.5 Multiculturalism

Overall, the interview and questionnaire respondents supported multiculturalism as a concept and as an everyday lived reality in Toronto. They believe the presence of ethnic neighbourhoods in the city is extremely important and they take pleasure in the variety of cultural exchanges that they believe multiculturalism provides. "I think multiculturalism despite conflicts that arise is amazing. It is an amazing part of our city" said one respondent. "I found I could travel through Toronto and it was like traveling the world" said another. Even though the respondents conceptualized multiculturalism positively they were more likely to advocate its symbolic practices. Kobayashi describes the "red boots" of symbolic multiculturalism as public support for the Other's culture that is limited to performances of "folk dancing, cultural festivals and ethnic restaurants" (Kobayashi 1993, 206). The emphasis on the celebration of song and dance suggests that while one may accept the cultural practices of the Other, maintaining the status quo around issues of race, culture, difference and identity is preferable. Japanese restaurants in Toronto present cultural difference and a level of multiculturalism that can be consumed in "non-threatening digestible bits" (Wilson 2004, 255). "Everyone is always hungry so I think food is always a good way to introduce people to a new culture. Not

everybody wants to sit and listen to your poem or dance or song but everyone wants to eat," explains one of the respondents. A journalist clarifies why she believes ethnic food is the most tolerable component of Canadian multicultural life:

> I think food is the most accessible entry point into any culture for people. Everybody loves to eat pretty much. And when you are talking five or ten bucks to get a taste of a culture that's pretty good. You know not everybody enjoys watching dancing or you know the sort of I guess cheesy parts. We call it people with silly hats. You know the events where people drag out their culture–kind of like a caravan and they put on all these costumes that they never wear and they put on this ethnic show. Everybody is sort of tending to reject that and just wanting something real. And when you are eating food that is real.

Japanese cuisine presented in clichéd traditional restaurant landscapes meets the criteria of such limited acceptability. Since "everybody eats" (Anderson 2005), ethnicized food acts as the symbolic equalizer in bridging cultural gaps through experimentation. A courier provides a less controversial explanation why food plays such a prominent role in multicultural events:

> Of all your senses, taste is the first one you think about because it is actually going into your body. It's a very personal experience. You can hear music or watch a dance but you might get distracted, but when you are eating something you can't help but focus on tasting it, feeling it, smelling it. Plus I think people are just curious. I mean who doesn't want to eat. People might find ethnic food weird but most people will try anything once.

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Symbolic multiculturalism and the emphasis on food and festivity tend to conceal the messy business of racialization and cultural inequality that continues to exist in Canada. Engagement with the Other and a commitment to multiculturalism are not necessarily part of the same process or practice. In fact, these cultural practices are often in opposition and illustrate how cosmopolitanism actually constructs a concept of multiculturalism that involves an exotic and racialized Other.

Getting a "taste" of another culture was a commonly used trope in the interviews with Toronto residents. It is a popularly held notion that one can get a glimpse into the complexities of the Other's culture simply by sampling their food. "A Taste of Japan" is a successful fast-food chain in North America whose name capitalizes on the idea that their food presents consumers with a representation or "taste" of Japanese culture. Thinking food court teriyaki connotes Japanese culture may seem absurd but the respondents made similar leaps of logic in reference to food and culture as well as multicultural engagement. A retired man who now runs his own walking tours of Toronto suggests how food can encompass all forms of culture:

> You can experience the culture of ethnic groups. See if I am not in India I can go to Little India and get a little taste of it. I mean if you eat Thai and you have peanut sauce and all the flavorings you get a good shot of what the culture is all about. If you eat Japanese food and raw fish you get a taste of that culture. I think it is like art, it reflects the time and when you serve it at a festival it is reflecting the culture–it upholds the Japanese culture.

This notion holds to a unified and static concept of culture and identities of the Other as fixed sets of experiences, meanings, and practices rather than of identities and culinary cultures as dynamic, fluid, processes.

Eating the Other's food does not necessarily lead to a deeper appreciation of multicultures as a whole. In fact, the cosmopolitan construction of ethnicized food is a way of maintaining space between the Self and the Other. Indeed, it is people whose Canadian identity is assured by their Whiteness who have the power to construct a concept of multiculturalism that involves an exotic and racialized Other. It appears that some of the respondents confuse their desire for cosmopolitan cultural experiences with critical multiculturalism. Japanese culinary culture therefore provides cosmopolitans with an opportunity to engage with the racialized Other which does not necessarily confront enduring racial stereotypes and imagined cultural qualities. One respondent optimistically asserts, "People that really want to know about a culture will use food as way in. It might start with something simple like how it is prepared, what area it originated from, the history. But at least it's a start." He then adds, "But I also have friends that will go and eat sushi and think yeah I know all about Japanese people and Japanese culture because I go to Japanese restaurants a lot." This example illustrates the contradictions between cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism. Indeed the approachable Other is sought out in order to affirm a cosmopolitan positionality; however, whatever difference the Other inhabits is eradicated in the exchange displacing the multicultural significance of the Other's culture through a process of decontextualization.

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7.3 Conclusion

The interviews with Toronto residents explore the varied processes by which cosmopolitanism is constituted in the imaginative geographies of Japanese culinary culture. The analytical gaze is turned from a traditional emphasis on racialized minorities to include how cosmopolitan identities are geographically grounded and embedded in the consumption of ethnicized foods. The respondents exercise their cosmopolitan identities by virtue of their engagement with the Oriental Other. Indeed, the respondents favour restaurants that display exaggerated and often racialized representations of Japanese-ness. Simply put, "it has to have a Japanese feel," said one of the respondents. Any such claims to "authenticity" according to the respondents must therefore include the racialized body/face of an Oriental Other. This static racialized conception of Japanese culture allows Japanese restaurants in Toronto to maintain a particular cultural caché and therefore continue to offer consumers an opportunity to appear worldly, adventurous, and culturally sophisticated. Toronto's Japanese restaurants become accessible and readily available places to search for evidence of cultural difference and the performance of Otherness. The respondents claim to value the multicultural diversity of Toronto's foodscape; however, their principles tend to conflict with their cultural practices. The cultural curiosity of the respondents and the pleasure they take in the Other's food appears to be more of a performance of their cosmopolitan identity then it is about engaging a different aspect of Canadian culture. Cosmopolitans are able to consume the Other through food without acknowledging the complex histories, power relations, or

Other identities intrinsically tied to Canadian Japanese culinary culture. So while the variety of Japanese restaurants in Toronto may have democratized access to Japanese food, its consumption continues to reinforce the power and privilege of cosmopolitanism; that is, the power to control the differentiations being constructed in the production and consumption of Japanese cuisine.

Chapter 8

Interviews with Toronto's Japanese Chefs

The second group of interviews was with members of the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada. All of the respondents were formally trained chefs, restaurant owners or restaurant suppliers born in Japan. They immigrated to Canada with the hopes of establishing successful restaurant businesses. Most of the members made the transition from Japan to Canada in the 1970s and 1980s and have therefore witnessed first hand the transition of Japanese culinary culture from an exotic luxury to an everyday feature of Toronto's cultural life. Upon settling in Canada they were met with both subtle and overt barriers as they attempted to move their "ethnic" cuisines from the margins of mainstream culture to the heart of public acceptance. Through the course of the interviews, the men chronicled their formal training, professional journeys, and settlement process. I shall briefly review the common conditions that the men shared to situate their perspectives on Japanese culinary culture and provide context for their opinions on its localization in Toronto. The interview analysis for this group focuses, however, on their (re)conceptualizations of Japanese culinary culture as it takes and makes place in Toronto. To do so, I shall describe their shared cultural ideologies and how they are reflected in their culinary philosophy and practice. I then discuss how they negotiate the enduring identity of the Oriental Other and the challenge that issues of

appropriation, authenticity, and cultural (mis)understandings pose for chefs of Japanese origin in Toronto.

8.1 Background

The process of becoming a chef is a long and arduous journey. This aged ritual has been rooted for centuries in the traditional apprentice system. Young men would begin their training by simply washing dishes, eventually taking on the responsibility of making tea and washing rice after a few dedicated years. They cannot officially take on the respected title of "chef" until they have completed ten years of study under the tutelage of a master sensei. The owner of a kaiseki restaurant explains that the entire process is not simply about learning to prepare food: "it is more emotional training, mental training and spiritual training" he asserts. "Apprentice is the hardest relationship between boss and pupil," explains a chef with a popular restaurant in the city's downtown core, "it is old fashion Japanese. But it is a wonderful culture. I still believe that."

Although the chefs value and respect the time honoured process, they all sought to break away from the confines of Japanese custom to advance their careers in Canada. "The relationship is more heavy than blood relationship, more than family," continues the chef, "it was a hard life. I couldn't learn any detailed technique. Still washing dishes and floors. I was 26 or 27. I couldn't be patient and stay there. That is why I escaped." Another chef moved to Canada with the hope of releasing himself from the customary obligation to his aging sensei. "If I stay in Japan and I open my own restaurant there and something happens to my master I would have to close my restaurant and go to my

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master to help him. Even if I have a family" he emphasizes. "So I was thinking if I move a long ways away maybe my master won't call me."

After completing their formal training in Japan the enterprising chefs all wanted to open their own restaurants. "It was my ultimate dream. It is every chef's dream. Everyone same dream." The chefs all believed for various business and personal reasons that Canada would provide them with the best opportunity to achieve their goals. Upon immigrating most of the chefs took on positions in existing restaurants and operated small catering businesses on the side eventually managing to establish their own restaurants in the Greater Toronto Area.

Years of training and experience have allowed the chefs to hone their skills and offer Toronto consumers the highest quality of Japanese cuisine. The chefs believe it is their respect of the culinary process and their techniques that set them apart from other chefs seeking to capitalize on the cuisine's rising popularity. A chef in the city's west end declares the importance of maintaining his culinary philosophy.

> For me this is a free country. People do what they want but in here I have to make sure that when somebody eats our food they think, hmmmm, that is good quality food. Those are the kinds of reactions I need, I want. It's not like 'oh that is different.' Customers are like, 'can you make something new, different, some crazy roll?' No we cannot. We can make good quality food. It is important. It is not a show. It is a serious thing.

During the interviews all the chefs exhibited a heavy emotional response to the influx of Japanese restaurants in Toronto and how the image of the cuisine has changed. "How has

it come to this?" a restaurant owner near the airport rhetorically asks? "We are definitely struggling. What are we to do?" questioned another chef. All the members of the group cite spiritual, ideological, philosophical, or historical reasons why they cannot simply evolve with the contemporary manifestations of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto. "I have to close my eyes to other businesses" said one man, "and if my food is found to be the best then maybe the customers will accept my food over Korean or Chinese Japanese restaurants. They have the luxury of doing what they want. They do not have any responsibility to the culture."

In addition to following the cultural ideologies of food production, the chefs I interviewed pride themselves on adhering to traditional techniques and long-honoured culinary practices. A chef explains how seemingly similar Japanese dishes are improved by using traditional Japanese equipment and methods.

> A Canadian strainer is made of metal, Chinese one too. But my strainer is made of horsehair. The food can be made more smooth, more delicious. For example, if I make wasabi I need to use a grinder. A Canadian grinder is made of plastic or something like that. A Japanese grinder is made of shark skin. Again, more smooth, more delicious. Even something like a potato will have totally different flavour and taste. It is because of the Japanese technique.

The chefs hope that their time-honoured skills will win over Toronto consumers in the face of hundreds of other Japanese culinary options. The secretary general of the Japanese Restaurant Association is confident that people will eventually be able make a distinction between a restaurant managed by a Japanese trained chef and one managed by

someone with less experience with the complexities of the culinary culture. "Of course for everyone taste comes first," says the secretary general, "The expertise of a Japanese chef is so clear. You can taste it. You cannot expect the same nutrition, texture, and taste from a chef who tries to imitate." Indeed their dedication to the customs and traditions of Japanese cuisine have made their restaurants into some of the most popular culinary destinations in the city and three of the members were listed by James Chatto, acclaimed food critic, as being among the top twenty chefs in Toronto (Chatto 2006, 56). The same cultural ideologies and culinary philosophies that have brought them critical acclaim also complicate things as they try to negotiate issues of authenticity, Orientalism, and cultural (mis)understandings.

8.2 Oriental Other

It has been argued that it is not until the "Others" culture is appropriated and interpreted by mainstream society that it is valued (Henry 2000, 266-267). Japanese cuisine, for example, did not achieve its extraordinary success until it was transformed and reinterpreted to meet the palate of Canadian consumers. Only two of the men that I interviewed begrudgingly included California rolls on their menus. "It is not real taste," said a Japanese restaurateur. "If I like the food or not it is where the market is moving so I cannot totally ignore it because of the business." The other chefs refuse to compromise their cultural position toward Japanese food by advertising its availability, despite the fact that so many Japanese restaurants in Toronto will. In fact, hundreds of the Japanese

restaurants in Toronto have based their entire business on modern interpretations of Japanese cuisine with tremendous success. Recall the questionnaire results that listed Sushi on Bloor as the respondents' preferred Japanese restaurant in Toronto. Housed inside an authentically staged restaurant, creative rolls and deep fried delicacies take on the constructed image of traditional Japanese cuisine. Indeed, authenticity work relies upon imaginative geographies of the Oriental Other and its representations of Japanese-ness. The president of the Japanese Restaurant Association, however, does not think that consumers will be so easily deceived, "An imitation is just the imitation of the looking appearance. They are not imitating the philosophy, they are not following the real meaning so that imitation is just imitation. The heart and the mentality and mind is not there." All the chefs make varying degrees of adjustments to the dishes they produce in order to please the tastes of Canadian consumers; however, there are apparent limits to the extent they are willing to change.

The image of the Oriental Other and the Westernization of Japanese cuisine successfully marries the desire for an authentic culinary experience with the Other's culture while staying within the confines of palatable forms of difference (Cook and Crang 2002). As a result, these restaurants pose a significant threat to the Japanese chefs' business and the responsibility they feel to adhere to their cultural ideologies toward food. Japanese restaurants in Toronto act as a cultural landscape that exaggerates and spectacularizes cultural differences, allowing the identities of the Other, the Orient and the cosmopolitan to be constructed and performed. The chefs are cognizant that they represent the image of an approachable Other when standing behind the sushi bar. "I

know I am on stage, I am on display" said one chef. "If I say no thank you and want to go unnoticed people put me on the stage anyway." Indeed, consumers need the Oriental Other with all myths and imagined cultural qualities the image carries in order to reinforce their own cosmopolitan identities. The members of the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada are also aware that the constructed image of the Oriental Other is extended to other ethnicized groups. "Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese. It doesn't matter. To most–Asians are Asians are Asians, no difference" claims a chef in the restaurant business for over 25 years. These sweeping racializations make it difficult for chefs of Japanese origin to stand out among hundreds of Japanese restaurants in Toronto. A restaurant supplier points out,

> I bet almost three quarters of the mainstream consumers who are out there don't know if they are going to a Japanese, Korean or Chinese owned restaurant. I see the Japanese owners struggling. They want to have their consumers know they are Japanese—this is my way, but there is a lot of pride in the Japanese chef community. They are a small voice. They only catch the people that come into their net.

The chefs actively contribute to the reification of racialized images and the construction of a single "Oriental" identity by employing an entirely Asian staff. By playing into the racial stereotypes and imagined cultural qualities of the Other, the chefs become willing collaborators in the highly racialized exchange between producer and consumer.

The image of the Oriental Other can be consumed in Japanese restaurants without acknowledging the constructed identities and relations of power that are tied to the

culinary culture. The chefs I interviewed are uncertain what this new reality means for the future of their businesses and how they will approach the issue as a collective association. The chefs attempt to carve out their position in Toronto's Japanese culinary scene by engineering their own conceptions of health, authenticity, and the Oriental Other. The dishes the chef's of Japanese origin create, however, are also part of an ongoing culinary process subject to the social, political, and cultural forces of everyday life. In order to separate themselves from the masses and claim their exclusive authority over the Japanese food industry the chefs of Japanese ethnic origin must also rely on the static and racialized perceptions of Japanese culture. They use these fixed conceptions of authenticity and ethnic Others to justify charging higher prices and advance their status within the Japanese restaurant industry. Therefore, the chefs also contribute to the contested and negotiated meanings of authenticity and the Oriental Other and how these concepts play out on a local stage. Health, like authenticity, is a contested and negotiated social construction that the chefs turn to when trying to separate their culinary traditions from other restaurateurs seeking to capitalize on the popular image of Japanese food.

8.3 Health

The renewed interest in healthy living was cited by the restaurant owners as the impetus behind the sudden increase in the number of Japanese restaurants in Toronto. The men conceptualize health and its connection to Japanese culinary culture on two levels. On the surface the chefs spoke of the romanticized image of Japanese culture and

cited the healthy features of the cuisine. "I think people are just looking for a healthy alternative other then the fast food–you know hamburger chains. I think healthy alternative is the main momentum or force that gave rise to the popularity of sushi," said a young Japanese chef. An older chef acknowledges the importance of sustained health,

> Health is the basis for everything. Priority number one for everyone is health. Japanese are known to be healthy I think. Because of obesity they are starting to realize that their eating habits and their day to day lifestyle is wrong. They look to Asian culture.

Japanese cuisine is also constructed as healthier then other ethnicized food options. "The Japanese are known to be very healthy. So I think its part of that healthy food eating trend. It is thought if you eat Japanese food you are very healthy" rephrases a Japanese apprentice. He adds,

> If you compare it to Chinese food which is oilier and greasier you will notice how healthy and lean it is. A lot of people think Chinese food is not good for you whereas Japanese nori, seafood, rice, and small portions is very healthy.

At this level the sentiments of the members appear to echo the popular and often highly racialized conception of Japanese culture as intrinsically healthy.

For the chefs, health connotes more than the types of food you ingest or how active your lifestyle is. They conceptualize health as a life in balance with nature. The secretary general of the association explains:

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For the Japanese, nature is part of ourselves and part of the universe. We need to live in harmony because we are all connected. It is all one. Most people say 'I am here and nature is outside the window.' Nature is an object to be conquered. Western styles and philosophies is always like that. But Japanese way is that nature is not an object to be conquered–it is a subject, something that we live with, together.

He uses the practice of eating fish to illustrate the different conceptualizations of health that exist between Canadian consumers and the Japanese chefs:

We never throw the head or tail of the fish into the garbage. We try to use every part. Think of the living fish as a whole universe…if you cut off the head and tail and you only eat the fillet you are only getting part of its nutrition. If you only eat the fillet you are not balanced–you are not in harmony with nature's structure. We try to live together in harmony with the universe so that is the real secret to health. It is not just 'healthy looking' but real health I think. It is the natural way to be healthy.

Another chef offers a shorter explanation, "We have a simple way of cooking. The cooking has to be connected with nature. Our bodies have to be in balance to be healthy." The chefs realize the considerable influence that the popular image of a healthy Japanese cuisine has on Canadian consumers. Indeed, they too recited the constructed and accepted qualities of Japanese cuisine and its connection to health. Their spiritual conceptualization of health appears to reflect their actual opinion on the subject and is an example of one of the cultural (mis)understandings of Japanese culinary culture as it is

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localized and reinterpreted in Canada. Like authenticity, health is a socially constructed process that gets lost in translation as new practices and meanings are negotiated between the producers and consumers.

8.4 Multicultural Food Geographies

Sushi, the most popular of all Japanese cuisine, became the most significant site of struggle and cultural (mis)understanding for the Japanese chefs. Such misunderstanding formed the rationale that compelled them to form their association. The men all expressed confidence in the notion that their cultural ideologies and culinary culture would be accepted and valued in such a multicultural and diverse city as Toronto. They were blindsided, however, by the reality of democratic racism, as those who hold the power to control and shape cultural life in Canada sought to challenge their particular mode of cultural production. In September 2004, the provincial health authorities sought an amendment to the Health Protection and Promotion Act whereby all sushi chefs would be forced to serve only frozen seafood to their patrons. Dr. Karim Kurji, Ontario's associate chief medical officer of health, admitted that "the regulations were not prompted by any immediate health threat," but were brought about "in the interest of public health" (Ferguson 2004, F3).

No such regulations on sushi exist anywhere else in North America. Nor has there been a single documented case of anyone getting seriously ill from eating sushi in Toronto. So what was the impetus behind the new laws? The struggle over the issue of

raw fish is not simply a matter of health and/or safety, but rather an example of contemporary practices of cultural racism and (mis)representation. The anthropologist Levi Strauss made much of the binary between "the raw" and "the cooked" as a construction between nature and culture (1970). He postulates that the raw/cooked axis is characteristic of all human culture, with elements falling along the "raw" side of the axis being those of "natural" origin, and those on the "cooked" side being of "cultural" origin, (i.e., products of human creation. Symbolically, cooking then marks the transition from nature to culture). The chef, in turn, can be viewed as a cultural agent whose function is to mediate the conjunction of the raw product and consumer, the operation of which has the effect of making sure the natural is at once cooked and socialized. The new regulations remove the control over the production of culinary culture from the Oriental Other and place it in the hands of White decision makers. They in turn decide which cultural forms are excluded and whose voices are silenced. A Japanese chef explains how their expertise and opinions were erased from the consultation process:

> We thought that maybe this came about because there was a lack of coordination, a lack of voice from the parties concerned. But no, the government explained that it took three years to complete the study. They contacted the *right* people they said. But they have asked none of us–the Japanese chefs, restaurants owners, or sushi shops. Not one of us has been contacted. They explain that ethnic restaurants are growing very fast and need to be regulated. A type of political approach this one, I think.

Another chef in the Japanese restaurant community talks about being blindsided by the new policy:

> All of a sudden we found an article in the newspaper. By that time the government had already made the decision to amend the laws and ban fresh fish. We were so surprised. It's so stupid. As Japanese we have been eating fresh fish for 1000, 2000, years and on which grounds have they decided it is - unsafe and must be banned. What is the reason? We wanted to know? It can't be a scientific reason. Was it a cultural reason?

The members of the Japanese Restaurant Association of Canada could not follow the government's explanation behind the imposed legislation. Even infectious disease experts could not understand the rationale behind the policies. "Although, I do believe in preventive medicine and public health, I'm not sure why this would be a priority" said Dr. Jay Keystone, of the University Health Network's tropical disease unit. "It baffles me this is an issue when we've never seen a case" (Ferguson 2004, F3). It appears that the policies were an overreaction to a nonexistent problem and were never enforced. The policies did reveal, however, the struggle for power and control over the Others culture and who maintains the authority to stipulate which forms of difference are considered palatable or acceptable for public consumption.

8.5 Conclusion

All chefs I interviewed tried to escape the confines of Japan's traditional culinary apprenticeship system by establishing restaurants of their own in the Greater Toronto Area. By sidestepping the demands of training and obligation, they were free to define their individual culinary styles and approaches. Toronto is a particularly appealing place to the chefs because of its urban mix of cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and cultural diversity. They believe a city bursting with the interplay of cultures and the articulation of difference would value their particular contribution to Japanese restaurant culture. What they found, however, was an elementary understanding of Japanese cuisine and a general indifference to the deeper philosophy and technical skills that set them apart from their competition. In order to stay competitive in an industry saturated with cheaper and more accessible Japanese food, the chefs made adjustments to meet the social and cultural context. Such changes indicate the ways in which authenticity is an ongoing dynamic process subject to the social, political, and cultural forces of everyday life. Indeed, Japan has a long tradition of borrowing foreign culinary elements and incorporating it into their national diet but in a distinctly Japanese way. Authentic Japanese culinary culture should therefore be understood as a flexible discursive construction that is negotiated and exercised differently subject to time and place. The chefs of Japanese ethnic origin still maintain, however, that they are the rightful arbiters of authentic Japanese culinary culture in Toronto. Even though the men appear to be unaware their relocation and rebuilding of Japanese culinary practices in Toronto

exemplify how conceptualizations of Japanese food and authenticity are contested, negotiated, and constantly evolving. These contradictions and inconsistencies have led to a number of cultural and culinary (mis)understandings between the chefs of Japanese origin and Toronto's cosmopolitan consumers.

8.6 Chefs and Cosmopolitans: Connections

The interviews suggest the cosmopolitan respondents and chefs of Japanese ethnic origin share a number of commonalities in their conceptualization of Japanese culinary culture. They both emphasized health, authenticity, and Japanese-ness as critical factors in the popularity and success of Japanese restaurants in Toronto. The two groups, however, appreciate these social constructions in different and often incompatible ways. For example, both groups advance a racialized image of Japanese cuisine by insisting on the presentation of "authentic" imagery and the presence of "Japanese" staff. The chefs offer a static and stereotypical presentation of Japanese culture as a business strategy to meet the tastes and preferences of North American consumers and are adamant that as Japanese chefs they are the true arbiters of authentic cuisine. The cosmopolitan respondents, on the other hand, desire authenticity and the engagement with the Oriental Other because it adds legitimacy to their ethnic dining experience and allows them to exercise their cosmopolitan identities. Indeed, the convergence of cultures creates a degree of cultural (mis)understandings between the producers and consumers. The result

is a juxtaposition of separate but equally important stories about the construction of Japanese culinary culture and identity practice.

Chapter 9

Food for Thought

'Oh my god you guys, she's actually going to eat it!' He slid his sandwich of processed cheese, bologna, and mustard across the desk as if the mere proximity of my rice and crisp black seaweed would contaminate his food. Mocking me he covered his eyes while I ate, peaking through the spaces of his fingers simultaneously curious and repulsed.[1]

By the power of the world wide web these memories came flooding back when, let's call him "John," tried to add me to his list of Facebook "friends." I had not seen or heard from him since elementary school but I distinctly recall the torment of being singled out among my peers. According to his profile, John is now an information technology specialist who lists cooking, traveling, Asian culture, and snowboarding among his interests. He settled in downtown Toronto after a few years of teaching English in Taiwan and traveling through the neighbouring countries. For all intents and purposes, John is cosmopolitan; he epitomizes a global outlook, relatively high socio-economic status, elevated educational attainment, privileged detachment, and yet is uniquely adapted to appreciate the plurality of the Other's culture. I use the example of our seemingly inconsequential exchange and John's present-day profile to illustrate how

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[1] This narrative is an example of everyday racism that I experienced while growing up in a small rural town about an hour north of Toronto. As the only person of colour in my class I was often the target for schoolyard harassment.

cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and racism not only simultaneously exist but are also constitutive parts of my cultural food geography research and therefore critical to its understanding and analysis.

This thesis explored the ways that Torontonians define and construct their cosmopolitan identities by consuming Japanese cuisine while simultaneously constructing a new image of the "Oriental Other." A range of academic commentaries analyze "ethnic" food geographies that combine such things as globalization and tomatoes (Barndt 2002), French beans and food scares (Freidberg 2003), or the social lives of tortillas (Lind and Barham 2004). There has, however, yet to be a geographic study that specifically addresses Japanese culinary culture in Canada. There was, therefore, a pressing need for Canadian academic research that examines the cultural geographies of this immensely popular cuisine. This research was designed to fill that gap. Like the scholars mentioned above, I try to discover the ways in which culinary culture is revalued, reworked, and reinvented in different times and places. My aim is to expand the field of cultural food geographies to not only include a discussion of otherness and difference but to explore further the normative ideologies of Whiteness, multiculturalism, and racism and unearth the more explicit issues of racialization, exoticization, and exploitation entangled within these stories of food. In this sense, I have crossed the disciplinary threshold into what Freidberg refers to as "new cultural geographies of food" (2003, 4). The research provides an empirical deepening of previous work through the use of on-line questionnaires and interviews with both the providers and consumers of Japanese cuisine in Toronto. Of particular note are the ways

that the empirical findings directly explore the constructed meanings and social processes that are performed and attached to culinary experiences. I achieve this by engaging Japanese food culture, not simply as a fixed set of culinary practices, but as a fluid discursive field where the production and consumption of food is constantly negotiated, contested, and rearticulated. Moreover, my research contributes to understanding Japanese food as a complex cultural practice through which images of the Orient are reproduced and in which both the producers and consumers are engaged in social construction and identity discourse based on a global circulation of myths and imagined cultural qualities.

9.1 Research Outcomes

The expression "Let's eat Japanese" still carries meaning to both the producers and consumers of Japanese food in Toronto. Notwithstanding the complexities and contradictions involved in the constructed image of ethnicized foods, referring to a dish as "Japanese" still signifies something in an outward-looking sense. Admittedly, in a time of intensified globalization and multiculturalism it is difficult to delineate the culinary constellations of national cuisines; all are so thoroughly influenced by ingredients, dishes, and techniques from a number of other places that change over space and time. Why an essentialized image is constructed and how its application influences the local foodscape can easily be dismissed if we simply focus on the mobile process of culinary hybridization. "Japanese" food represents an unchallenged constructed classification

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reflecting how the chefs promote their cuisine to a Canadian audience and how the cosmopolitan respondents frame their culinary choices. In this sense, food, places, people, and cultures come together but remain secure in their difference. Through this process, cultural differences are mapped out, allowing food to become an accessible and readily available place to search for evidence of ethnicity or the performance of Otherness. To "eat Japanese," therefore satisfies the Western appetite for exotic experiences and allows respondents to affirm their cosmopolitan identities by virtue of their engagement with an approachable Other. Ironically, it is in the multi-ethnic cosmopolitan city, such as Toronto, that ethnic cuisine is most likely to become a fully self-conscious product designed to indulge the cosmopolitan hunger for exotic culinary adventures.

A cosmopolitan city is often viewed as one catering to urban elites enjoying a cosmopolitan lifestyle that is provided, in part, by visible minority groups who work to produce the goods, services, and cultural attractions that add to the city's diversity. I have presented a concept of cosmopolitanism that is geographically grounded, historically situated, and embedded in the material everyday practices of people living in Toronto. Eating the Other illustrates how such cultural practices are built upon unequal social and cultural relations in the city. The research findings suggest that racialization, exoticization, and commodification of "authentic" Japanese restaurants undermine the opportunity for genuine cultural exchange. The interview analysis suggests that the respondents prefer ambivalence to the biographies of Japanese food production. The popular consumption of Japanese food is taken by the cosmopolitan respondents as a proxy for

multicultural inclusivity, whilst perpetuating an unequal power relationship. In other words, their proclivity for superficial and symbolic forms of difference over deeper forms of cultural engagement illustrates how their principles concerning multiculturalism can conflict with their actual practice of diversity acceptance. Indeed, one of the contradictions of the cosmopolitans' seeming endorsement of multiculturalism was that they construct a concept of multiculturalism that involves an exotic and racialized Other.

Cosmopolitanism is not the reserve of heterosexual, professional, urban dwellers as the diversity of the respondents in this study illustrate. Nonetheless, their social positions are infused with multiple forms of power and privilege. Many of the respondents believed their ability to move comfortably between cultural worlds is evidence of their cosmopolitan identity, however, they fail to recognize how their positionality allows them to eat the Other. By interviewing the Toronto respondents the analytical gaze is turned from an emphasis on racialized minorities to include cosmopolitan groups whose invisible privilege can also reveal the varied processes by which difference is constituted. The cosmopolitan respondents, despite exhibiting a sense of risk or adventure in crossing culinary boundaries, maintain a location of structural advantage from which to explore and consume the Oriental Other. The Toronto respondents' appetite for ethnic culinary experiences affirm their identity as intrepid, adventurous, and cosmopolitan people and reinforces their own positionality as the norm against which other cultures are defined as exotic or foreign.

The respondents' conceptualization of the Oriental Other is a critical element in the immense popularity of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto. Indeed, the presence of

an approachable Other shortens the social distance between the foreign setting and the cosmopolitan consumer legitimizing their Japanese culinary experience. The respondents appear to be transfixed by enduring ethnic stereotypes of Japanese-ness. They assume that the many Japanese restaurants in Toronto are operated by people of Japanese origin when in fact the vast majority are represented by people of Chinese and Korean ethnic origin. The imaginative production of Japanese cuisine by one undifferentiated Asian identity has homogenized and more importantly essentialized cultural difference from a distinct Japanese cultural commodity to one represented by an Oriental Other. This cultural (mis)understanding reifies enduring racial stereotypes and threatens the distinct positionality of Japanese chefs vis à vis Japanese culinary culture. This process, while unequal, does not simply run in one direction emanating from the dominant culture. The chefs are actively involved in the constructed image of Japanese cuisine by engineering their own constructions of "authentic" Japanese culinary culture. Regrettably, their attempts to separate themselves from other Asian food providers perpetuate a static and stereotypical conception of Japanese culture that actually gives legitimacy to Japanese restaurants that promote racist images and imagined cultural qualities. All imaginaries of authentic Japanese food reproduce a sense of a static and bounded culinary culture even though the performance actually relies upon flows that cut across boundaries.

The interview analysis suggests a disconnect between the intended meanings and identities associated with the production of Japanese food by the chefs and the actual perception and consumption of Japanese cuisine by the residents of Toronto. Both groups highlighted the same discursive features of Japanese culinary culture but had remarkably

different interpretations of how these constructions are practiced, articulated, and ultimately understood. For example, both groups valorized Japanese food for its healthy image, however, the constructed image of health differed in two ways. First, Japanese cuisine's image maintained its nutritiously sound status for the Toronto residents regardless of unhealthy modifications or deviations from more traditional fare. Second, the Japanese-origin chefs' conceptualization of health also included a spiritual connection between the food consumed and nature. They believed that the health of a cuisine is constituted by and contributes to a life in balance. The most basic evidence of cultural (mis)understandings was shown in the ways the two groups conceptualized the authenticity of Japanese cuisine. To the Toronto residents, authenticity can be found in appropriately staged Japanese restaurants with an obligatory Asian-looking staff. The chefs, on the other hand, conceptualized authenticity as an adherence to centuries-old techniques, philosophies, and customs. Indeed, something is lost in the translation of Japanese culinary culture in Toronto between the chefs and the Toronto residents. What I hope to have provided is a possible way to work through some of these complexities and more fully understand the differentiations being constructed to stage the production and consumption of Japanese cuisine in Toronto.

My research offers new insights into cultural culinary geographies by focusing on the often neglected issues of racialization, multiculturalism, Whiteness, and Oriental Otherness in the exploration of ethnicized foods in Canada. Like any doctoral student who nears completion of their thesis, I, however, have my share of "what if's" and "should have's." How would the research findings change if I were to interview Japanese

restaurant chefs of Korean, Chinese, or another ethnic origin? What differences and what similarities would be found? How would the research findings change if I were to conduct the research in a different Canadian city? Would the research outcomes be different if a geographically bounded community of propinquitious Nikkei existed? To what extent does the ethnic origin of the Toronto respondents influence perceptions of Japanese culinary culture? To what extent do other social dynamics such as age, gender, or education, influence perceptions of Japanese culinary culture? These misgivings point to new research possibilities extending from the work that I have presented here. For now, that remains a different kettle of fish.

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Appendix A

Glossary of Japanese Food Terminology

Bento Traditional boxed lunch.

Bonito Fish that is boiled, dried, and then shaved into flakes. Used as a seasoning to enhance flavour.

Daikon A large, white, carrot shaped Japanese radish.

Dashi A soup stock made from kelp and fish. A base for many Japanese dishes.

Edamame Fresh young soybeans.

Gobo Burdock root. A long, stick-like root vegetable.

Gochisosama deshita A polite Japanese phrase said at the end of a meal to express appreciation. In English it translates to "thank you for the meal" or "it was a wonderful feast"

Gohan The formal word for rice. The word also means "meal."

Gyoza Chinese style dumplings of meat or vegetables.

Fugu Blowfish, a highly prized sashimi delicacy.

Futo maki Large oversized rolls.

Hashi chopsticks.

Izakaya Izakaya are drinking places that offer a variety of small dishes, such as robata (grilled food), salads and finger food.

Kaiseki ryori Elaborate Kyoto style cuisine.

Konbu Giant kelp seaweed, sold dried as dashi-konbu.

Maki Rolled.

Makisu Sushi rolling mat.

Matcha Powdered green tea.

Menuri Noodles, often used in soups.

Mirin Sweet rice wine used for cooking.

Miso Fermented soybean paste.

Misoka soba Traditional Japanese soba noodles consumed on New Years Day.

Nare-zushi The finished edible produce from the ancient Japanese method of preserving fish.

Natto Fermented soya beans.

Nigiri-zushi Raw fish over small molded pieces of vinegared rice.
Nori Dried, paper-thin seaweed.

Noren Split curtain placed in door entries. Commonly found in eateries.

Ramen Thin egg noodles.

Robatayaki A restaurant specializing in grilled foods.

Sake A traditional rice wine for drinking and cooking.

Sashimi Raw fish and shellfish sliced thinly and served without rice.

Soba Buckwheat noodles. A favourite served both hot and cold.

Somen Very thin, white flour noodles. Often served cold in the summer time.

Sukiyaki Beef fried in a soy based sauce.

Tamago Egg.

Tataki Used to describe food that is finely chopped.

Tempura Batter-fried shrimp and vegetables.

Tofu A coagulated soya bean protein.

Tonkatsu A pork cutlet coated in panko (Japanese bread crumbs) and fried.

Udon Thick wheat noodles.

Wasabi A Japanese pungent root similar to horseradish, available as a paste or in powder form.

Yakitori Skewered and grilled chicken pieces.

Yuzu A citrus fruit.

Appendix B

Email Introduction for Online Questionnaire

Consuming the "Oriental Other," Constructing the Cosmopolitan Canadian: Reinterpreting Japanese Culinary Culture in Toronto's Japanese Restaurants

My name is Shaun Tanaka and I am a Ph.D. student at Queen's University in the Department of Geography. My thesis explores food culture in the Greater Toronto Area.
I am particularly interested in Japanese cuisine and eating out at Japanese restaurants as a case study of food culture. I am seeking individuals that would be willing to contribute to the research process by participating in an online questionnaire that will take approximately 10 minutes to complete. The questionnaire includes basic geographic and socio-economic questions, as well as questions that relate to your thoughts on shopping, dining out, and Toronto's multicultural image. The questionnaire is a significant component of my research that will provide insight into the interconnectedness and interdependencies of lifestyle, geography and food. This is an academic study and the information will not be used in anyway outside of my doctoral research. All responses are an important contribution to my academic research and I appreciate your time and effort in choosing to complete the questionnaire.

Please click on the link below to be directly linked to the questionnaire.
-----www.linkwillbeplaced here-----
Sincerely,
Shaun Tanaka
Ph.D Candidate, Dept. of Geography
Queen's University
7snt@qlink.queensu.ca

Appendix C
Online Survey Questions Using Survey Monkey

My name is Shaun Tanaka and I am a Ph.D. student at Queen's University in the Department of Geography. My thesis explores food culture in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The online questionnaire below is a significant component of my thesis and I am looking for people who would be willing to take approximately 5-10 minutes to contribute to the research process. I invite anyone who lives in the GTA and is interested to complete a questionnaire so please feel free to pass this on to your friends, colleagues, or community affiliations. All responses are an important contribution to my academic research and I appreciate the time and effort you have taken in completing the questionnaire.

<u>Section A</u>

In this section I am interested in gathering some basic geographic and socio-economic information. This information will be confidential and will only be used for the purposes of this academic study.

1. In what part of the GTA do you live (e.g., Toronto, Brampton, etc.)?

    _____

2. In what neighbourhood do you live (e.g., the Annex, the Beaches, etc.)?

    _____

3. What is your postal code?

    _____

4. In what year were you born? _____

5. Are you
   - o Male
   - o Female

6. What are the ethnic or cultural origins of your ancestors (e.g., Chinese, Scottish, etc.)? (Specify as many origins as applicable)

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

7. What is your marital status?
   - o Never legally married (single)
   - o Legally married (and not separated)
   - o Separated (but still legally married)
   - o Divorced
   - o Widowed

8. Do you
   - o Rent/Lease
   - o Own
   - o Live with parents

9. Are you presently,
   - o Employed (paid labour)
   - o Employed (unpaid labour)
   - o Employed part time
   - o Unemployed
   - o Student
   - o Retired

10. What is your profession/occupation? _____

11. Were you born in Canada?
    - o Yes

o No

12. If born outside Canada, please specify country _____

13. In what year did you immigrate to Canada _____

14. Education:
   o Less then high school
   o Completed high school
   o Some technical or commercial college
   o Some university
   o Completed university
   o Post graduate degree

15. Total income from all sources
   o Under $25,000
   o $25,000-49,999
   o $50,000-74,999
   o $75,000-99,999
   o Over $100,000

In this section I am interested in exploring your attitudes towards shopping and eating out in the GTA.

16. List the five stores where you would shop for **formal clothes** and the frequency with which you shop in those stores in the table below,

Store Name (eg. Holt Renfrew, Old Navy Winners, etc.)	Often	Sometimes	Rarely
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

17. List the five stores where you would shop for **informal clothes** and the frequency with which you shop in those stores in the table below,

Store Name (eg. Holt Renfrew, Old Navy Winners, etc.)	Often	Sometimes	Rarely
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

18. People have described you as:

	Often	Sometimes	Never
Trendy			
Cosmopolitan			
Worldly			
Adventurous			
Sophisticated			
Thrifty			

19. Please indicate the level of significance the following activities play in your everyday life where 1 is extremely important, 2 is important, 3 is neutral, 4 is unimportant and 5 is extremely unimportant

	1 extremely important	2	3	4	5 extremely unimportant
Shopping					
Arts & Culture					
Fitness/Sports					
Dining Out					
Travel					
Volunteerism					
Movies/TV					

20. Of the following things, please indicate which features of the city are important to you

	1 extremely important	2	3	4	5 extremely unimportant
Varity of ethnic restaurants					
Friends from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds					
Diverse ethnic neighbor-hoods like Chinatown and Little Italy					
Different shopping areas like Yorkville and Kensington					
The various cultural and ethnic festivities around the city like 'Taste of the Danforth,' and Caribana					

21. When selecting a restaurant, I tend to choose

- o Whatever is most convenient
- o An ethnic restaurant
- o The newest and trendiest place
- o Something fast and inexpensive
- o A restaurant recommended by a food critic from *Toronto Life, Now magazine,* or the *Toronto Star*

22. How much do you spend on a typical dinner for two at a restaurant
- o $1-24
- o $25-49
- o $50-74
- o $75-99
- o Over $100

23. How much do you spend in restaurants in a typical week?

- o Less than $25
- o $25-49
- o $50-74
- o $75-99
- o $100-124
- o Over $125

24. How often do you eat lunch at a restaurant

- o Less then once a month
- o Once or twice a month
- o Once or twice a week
- o Three or four times a week
- o Daily

25. How often do you eat dinner at a restaurant

- o Less then once a month
- o Once or twice a month
- o Once or twice a week

o Three or four times a week
o Daily

26. If asked to choose any restaurant in Toronto for your birthday party, what would you choose?

_____

27. In a typical month I will eat the following types of food
o Japanese
o Italian
o Chinese
o Jamaican
o Indian
o Portuguese
o Thai
o Mexican
o Other_____

Section C

If you indicated in the question above that eat Japanese food, can you please answer the next set of questions, otherwise please skip ahead to Section D, question 33.

As part of my research on food culture in the GTA, I am particularly interested in Japanese food and eating out at Japanese restaurants as a case study of food culture.

28. Please rate the level of importance of the following factors when choosing a Japanese restaurant

	1 extremely important	2	3	4	5 extremely unimportant
Cost					
Location					
Ambience/ Atmosphere					
Authenticity					
Trendiness					

29. What is your favourite Japanese Restaurant? _____

30. Where is it located? _____

31. When did you first try Japanese food/sushi? _____

32. Have you ever been to Japan
    o Yes
    o No

Section D

In this final section of the questionnaire and the last component of my research objectives, I am trying to understand how food culture in the GTA is situated within the GTA's image of itself as a multicultural metropolitan community.

33. I think multiculturalism is …

   o An effective policy that promotes full and equal participation of ethnic minorities in all aspects of society
   o Gives special treatment and unfair advantage to ethnic minorities
   o Encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding
   o A celebration of diverse cultures through festivals and food

34. What do you think the city's slogan "Toronto – you belong here" means? What is your opinion?

35. What do you think of the city's motto "Diversity Our Strength"

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36. Would you be willing to contribute further in the research project by participating in a short interview?
    o Yes
    o No

37. If yes, please submit your email address _____
    Your email address will not be used for any purposes outside of this academic

    study.

Appendix D

Combined Information Letter and Consent Form

Consuming the "Oriental Other," Constructing the Cosmopolitan Canadian:
Reinterpreting Japanese Culinary Culture in Toronto's Japanese Restaurants

My name is Shaun Tanaka and I am a Ph.D. student at Queen's University in the Department of Geography. My thesis explores food culture in the Greater Toronto Area. Interviews are a significant component of my research that will provide insight into the interconnectedness and interdependencies of lifestyle, geography and food choices. I am seeking individuals that would be willing to contribute to the research process by participating in an interview that will take approximately one hour to complete. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. You are not obliged to answer any questions that you find objectionable or which make you feel uncomfortable. With your permission the interviews will be tape recorded and later transcribed for accuracy and storage. All responses are kept strictly confidential and your identity will not be disclosed in any written material resulting from the study. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your participation in this study please contact me, 7snt@qlink.queensu.ca or Queen's University General Research Ethics Board at (613) 533-6000 ext. 78281.

After having read the information and details stated above, I have agreed to participate in an interview being conducted by Shaun Tanaka. I have made the decision to participate knowing that the interview session will be tape recorded. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and request any additional details I wanted about this study. All information that I provide will be held in confidence, and I will not be identified by name in the thesis or summary report without explicit consent. By supplying my signature below I am confirming that I understand the expectations and requirements being asked of me. I am also confirming that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to

withdraw from the study at any time. I will keep a copy of this letter and consent form in my records.

Participant Name: _____

Participant Signature: _____ Date:_____

Appendix E

Question Schedule for Cosmopolitans

Section A

Basic geographic and socio-economic information

- Name
- Year of birth
- In what part of the GTA do you live (e.g., Toronto, Brampton, etc.)
- In what neighbourhood do you live (e.g., the Annex, the Beaches, etc.)
- What are the ethnic or cultural origins of your ancestors ?
- What is your profession/occupation?
- Were you born in Canada?
- If born outside of Canada, please specify country
- In what year did you immigrate to Canada?
- Education
- Do you rent, own, or live with your parents?

Section B

Japanese food culture and experiences

- How often do you eat out?
- What type of cuisine do you typically choose when you eat out?
- What is your favourite restaurant?
- What influences your decision in choosing a restaurant (e.g., cost, location, recommendations, restaurant critic reviews, popularity, etc.)?
- What is the first thing that comes to mind when you think of the word 'Japanese'?
- When did you first try Japanese food? What prompted you to initially try it?
- How often do you eat Japanese food?
- What do you typically order?
- What Japanese restaurant do you go to the most often?
- Describe the location, décor, menu, ambience, architecture, staff, other patrons, etc.?
- Is it important for the food to be authentic when choosing a Japanese restaurant?
- Do you have any Japanese or Nikkei friends?

- What do you think accounts for sushi and Japanese restaurant's popularity in Toronto?
- Why do you think a number of the trendy restaurants in Toronto are leaning towards an Asian-Fusion menu?
- Why do you think restaurants that do not specialize in Asian cuisine will have things like chicken teriyaki, dim sum, or stir fry on the menu?
- What do you think of some of the new takes on Japanese food, like sushi pizza, or salad maki?
- Do you have interest in other aspects of Japanese culture (e.g, karate, sumei, origami, etc.)?

Section C

Lifestyle – Consumer attitudes

- Have you always lived in the GTA? If no, where else have you lived?
- Where do you normally shop for your clothes? Why?
- Where do you normally buy your groceries? Why?
- What are some of your interests, hobbies outside of work (e.g., volunteerism, fitness/sports, cooking, theatre, etc.)
- How often do you travel? For work or for pleasure?
- Do you visit the various ethnic quarters in Toronto? Chinatown, Little Italy, Greektown, Little India. If yes, for what purpose – food, cultural activities, shopping, etc.? How often?
- Is experimentation with new exotic foods important to you?

Section D

The GTA as a multicultural and metropolitan community

- Do you participate in any of the city's various cultural activities (e.g.,'Taste of the Danforth,' 'Caribana,' or 'Chinese New Year') If yes, which ones? Why? What do you particularly enjoy about them?
- Why do you think food plays such a prominent role in multicultural activities in the city?
- What do you like/dislike about living in a city with such vast diversity in terms of cultures and ethnicities?
- Do you have friends from different ethnic or cultural backgrounds then yourself?

- What does multiculturalism mean to you?

Appendix F

Question Schedule for Restaurant Owners and/or Chefs

Section A

Basic geographic and socio-economic information

- Name
- Year of birth
- In what part of the GTA do you live (e.g., Toronto, Brampton, etc.)
- In what neighbourhood do you live (e.g., the Annex, the Beaches, etc.)
- What are the ethnic or cultural origins of your ancestors?
- How long have you worked at this restaurant?
- Have you had other occupations besides chef and/or restaurant owner?
- Were you born in Canada?
- If born outside of Canada, please specify country
- In what year did you immigrate to Canada?
- Education

Section B

Japanese food culture and experiences

- How long have you been in the restaurant business?
- Have you always worked in Japanese restaurants? If no, what other cuisines do you have experience with?
- Has your experience as a chef/restaurant owner always been in the GTA? If no, where else?
- How did you choose your restaurant's name?
- Why do you think Japanese restaurants are so popular in North America?
- Do you think there is anything unique about Japanese culinary culture in Toronto?
- Are there different "types" of Japanese restaurants in Toronto? If so, how would you categorize them?
- Do you target a particular "type" of customer? If so, please describe them (e.g., age, occupation, class, ethnicity).
- Is it important to you to serve authentic dishes? Is it important to your customers?
- Describe your clientele?

- In what ways have you modified your dishes to meet the tastes of your customer base in Toronto?
- What was of key importance when establishing your restaurant? (e.g., menu, atmosphere, location, etc.)?
- Do you feel it is important to hire "Asian" looking employees?
- What do you think accounts for the rise in Asian-fusion restaurants? Is it fad or fashion or do you believe it will have longevity in the restaurant industry?
- Why do you think other non-Japanese restaurants are starting to have Japanese dishes on their menu?
- What role do you think restaurant critics and restaurant reviews play in the success of a restaurant? Is it important? What determines the success of a Japanese restaurant? Food, location, atmosphere, trendiness?
- Does the fact that many of Toronto's Japanese restaurants are owned and/or run by non-Japanese, specifically Korean or Chinese Canadians matter? How might the restaurant differ from one owned by Nikkei?
- Why do you think food plays such an important role in multicultural activities and festivals?