

No Reservations:  
Gender Performance in Celebrity Chefs

by  
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Reader: Thomas Abercrombie

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*"We are all chefs, but I am supposed to be something else, too. I am expected to be a champion on the gender cause on top of that. Don't get me wrong: I want to help pave the way to make things better for female chefs in our industry—and for all chefs in general—but I worry that I will always be seen as a female chef first and a chef second. It's a corner I am forever stuck in."*

- Dominique Crenn

### *Hors D'oeuvres*

The construction of gender identity, as a social construct distinguished from biological sex, emerged in the 1970s and has been refined over succeeding decades. During this time, Gayle Rubin coined the gender/sex system, illustrating the political, economic, and social purposes for the relationships between biological sex, gender, and sexuality. Rubin argues that this system helps to “[socialize] the young, and [provide] ultimate propositions about the nature of human beings” (59). Two decades after Rubin’s work was published, Judith Butler complemented this early analysis of gender identity through her exploration of “performativity”. Here, Butler argued that an individual produces their gender identity on the surface of the body through specific, recurring gestures and actions. These most often are thought to reflect biological sex assigned at birth. Researchers continue to explore how gender is created by looking at phenomena such as heteronormativity, hegemonic masculinity and femininity, expected gender roles and norms, and subversive gender identities.

This paper focuses specifically on the gender performances of public figures and how these have the potential to contextualize gender ideologies within their field. Much attention has previously been given to gender performance on the stage and screen, particularly to those whose performances transgress heteronormativity, the expectation that a gender performance reflect an individual’s assigned sex. Given the gendering of cooking and serving food in Western society,

gender has played a significant role in understanding the world of chefs and cooking. Still, researchers have yet to understand how celebrity chefs enact their gender identities and how these might reflect or subvert traditional gender stereotypes within the food industry. Exploring the concept of gender through this lens can provide a better understanding of how gender ideologies are created and maintained within this context and the broad impact this might have on notions of gender and identity within the American public. In this thesis, I explore how the world of celebrity chefs is influenced by gender norms to better understand how gender is understood and portrayed through food and cooking practices.

Throughout the past century, chefs have achieved international fame for their creative, innovative, and often easily replicable recipes. Their status and influence has moved much beyond the kitchen as these public figures, called celebrity chefs, provide suggestions, solutions, and inspiration for more than just cooking. In effect, the celebrity chef produces an example of a healthy and pleasurable lifestyle. More recently, these chefs have also been using their influence to speak out against traditional behaviors and norms found within the food industry, especially after the publication of articles detailing sexual harassment found in professional kitchens.

However, the professional kitchen continues to be a place dominated by gender norms and stereotypes that place men in a role of authority and women at a disadvantage. As recently as 2013, Time magazine released an issue titled “The Gods of Food,” featuring seven professional chefs who “most influence what we eat—and how we think about it”. Of the seven, only one female chef, Aida Batlle, was highlighted. Gender norms surrounding culinary practices are influenced by and have had a direct impact on the socially accepted behaviors of men and women within the world of food and cooking. As of 2018, nearly 80% of chefs and head cooks

are male, leaving only a small percentage of the workforce as female chefs (DataUSA). Since the opening of the first restaurants in Europe in the 18th century, the world of cooking has continued to be a male one. On the other hand, the unpaid labor done in domestic kitchen (in other words, kitchens in the home) has long been—and continues to be—considered the woman's responsibility. Regardless, female and male chefs both produce and maintain specific gender identity performances. This can include everything from the way chefs talk to one another, the clothes they wear, to the foods they prepare. These qualities have affected how gender is understood and created within this space, the obstacles that chefs—mostly female chefs—must overcome to thrive within this field, and the gendered constraints that chefs continue to face. Still, theorists and researchers have yet to produce in depth analysis of the gender identities, performances, and social impacts of celebrity chefs. Few have explored the specific gender performances produced by male and female chefs; even fewer have considered aspects such as language and space.

In this study, I will analyze the different ways that celebrity chefs produce their gender identities through their public performances on mass and social media. I have chosen eight chefs who were born and work primarily within the USA. This list includes: Julia Child, Rachael Ray, Anne Burrell, Giada de Laurentiis, Guy Fieri, Anthony Bourdain, Bobby Flay, and Danny Bowien. For each celebrity chef, I analyze their public performances on mass and social media, in other words, on television, published works, and platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. My analysis includes the ways that chefs dress, their gestures, their methods of communication, and the spaces that they occupy. These qualities point to specific gender

identities that may or may not reflect the pre-established gender norms within the world of professional cooking.

In the first section of this thesis I review the methods by which food, cooking, and chefs have become gendered through tools such as strategic marketing, advertising, and mass media. I also consider how current celebrity chefs engage with and incorporate these gender norms into their own personal performances and brands. Next, I explore the physical gender performances that each chef produces through their public appearances. This includes everything from what they wear to how they gesticulate. In addition to this, I consider language as a form of gender performativity. Here I examine how language has shaped and been shaped by gender norms in the food industry. Finally, I analyze chefs' use of space and how this might or might not be representative of the physical gender divides found in professional kitchens.

Understanding these gender identities can provide clues on how gender is understood and constructed in this space and how, if at all, gender norms within the culinary field have evolved over time. Are celebrity chefs building from pre-existing gender norms and divisions within the food industry? What are the continuing roles of spatial distinctions, such as domestic versus public spheres, as keys to the gendering of activities sorted by them? More importantly, what strategies do celebrity chefs use to produce their public gender performance? Do they comply with, or challenge their audiences' gender expectations? To understand the potential impact on viewers of the gender performativity of mediated chefs, it is crucial to understand the construction and implementation of gender norms and ideologies within the professional kitchen. In doing so, we can better understand to what extent the celebrity chef world is shaped by its

own gender norms and in turn how celebrity chefs have impacted, and continue to impact, the world of cooking and perhaps the values of their audience members..

### *First Course - The Rise of the Celebrity Chef*

Cooking for others is a practice that has been around for centuries. But it was not until the 17th-18th centuries that cooking professionally became a respected profession. Around this time, Marie-Antoine Carême became a prominent chef in France, earning a reputation that would land him in the kitchens of royalty around Europe. Born into poverty in 1783, Carême quickly began a kitchen apprenticeship at a *garotier*, a chophouse, at ten years old (Kelly 2005, 32). A few years later Carême began working as a *patissier* on rue Vivienne in Paris (Kelly 2005, 35). It was during this time that not only the political, but also the culinary world in France was undergoing tremendous changes and debate: was food and cooking a marker of a luxurious royalist past or “France’s greatest democratic art?” (Kelly 2005, 33). In the 19th century, food held a large role within French society. Before his death, Carême was celebrated around Europe for the wedding cake he had presented to Napoleon and his empress, the pâtés he had crafted for the Prince Regent in London, and the banquets he had overseen for the Tsar of Russia; he had even published a collection of recipes and books (Kelly 2005, 11). In addition to his renowned banquets, Carême also published instructional manuals for at-home cooking, a predecessor to the modern cookbook. Carême earned fame throughout Europe due to his culinary and entrepreneurial innovations. His name became synonymous with the lavish feasts of royalty around Europe and a slew of widely popular cooking manuals helped to cement this status. His rags-to-riches tale inspired a movement of culinary innovation around the world. With his huge

fantastical cakes and lavish meals Carême pioneered a new age of cooking and created the figure of the celebrity chef that we are familiar with over two hundred years later.

After C  reme came names like Auguste Escoffier, Louis Eustache Ude, and James Beard, each of which have left imprints on methods of cooking even today. In 1950, a female chef, Fanny Cradock, finally joined the ranks of celebrity chefs. While there had been a few chefs cooking on television before her, it was Cradock who is credited with becoming the first to earn fame from her television show (Independent 2009). Not long after Cradock achieved national renown in Europe, Julia Child would dominate the American cooking scene. After working as a courier for top-secret government files for the Office of Strategic Services during World War II, Child began her career as a chef (PBS 2017) . In 1948, Child and her husband Paul Child moved to Paris, France, where she began classes at the Cordon-Bleu cooking school (PBS 2017). Wanting to make French cooking more accessible to Americans, Child partnered up with fellow students Louisette Bertholle and Simone Beck to publish *Mastering the Art of French Cooking* (1961) (PBS 2017) . Child’s television show, *The French Chef*, premiered in the USA a year after the success of her cookbook and cemented Child’s celebrity status. She was the fifth woman in the world to host her own cooking show (Oulton and Randal 2013). Over the years, Child would produce countless more television shows and cookbooks and still continues to inspire movies, shows, and books even today, like the 2009 film *Julie and Julia* (PBS 2017). Despite these women’s worldwide success as chefs and television personalities, it is interesting to note that while C  reme achieved his status by working in the public professional sphere of cooking, Cradock and Child—though equally, if not more, influential on the modern world of cooking—were confined to home-style kitchen studios, creating meals that the whole family

would love. This was a nod towards traditional gender divisions that saw women cooking primarily in the domestic kitchen while men cooked in the the professional kitchen (i.e a restaurant kitchen). This trend would continue even though more and more women entered the celebrity cooking world. It was not until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, that women would also start hosting cooking shows that venture outside of the domestic kitchen, reinventing new gender norms and spaces for both female and male celebrity chefs. Considering this shift, has the world of food influenced gender norms in American society or have chefs and celebrity chefs had the greatest impact on social norms both within and outside of the kitchen?

Since the launch of televised cooking in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the role of the celebrity chef has grown to encompass much more than the creator of delicious and innovative dishes. Celebrity chefs have evolved into role-models, not only within the industry itself, but to audiences around the world. In a recent interview at OpenTable, NYU professor Anne McBride notes three stages in the evolution of the celebrity chef throughout the last century: the chef as an entrepreneur who owns their own restaurant, the chef as an entertainer through channels like Food Network and the Travel Channel, and now the chef as an expert in which “they have to be very informed about a variety of things beyond cooking. And they are trusted because we think of them as experts” (2015). Since the end of the 20th century, celebrity chefs fall within the final category. In his article, “What’s Cooking, man? Masculinity in European Cooking shows After the Naked Chef” Jonathan Leer comments on the evolution of celebrity chefs as a social and cultural expert, arguing that the “celebrity chef has gained tremendous attention not only as a lifestyle guru, but also as a . . . role model and a political figure” (2016, 73). In effect, the chef does more than merely create and present new recipes, they ultimately provide a guide on how to



attain and live a good life. The increase in spin-off shows, cookbooks, partnerships, and products also denote the larger incorporation of celebrity chefs into our daily lives.

Furthermore, the prominence of social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram are helping to promote celebrity chefs' social influence. As a matter of fact, the use of social and mass media outlets means that these celebrity chefs can impart much more than lifestyle tips or culinary information as they are also producing and instating specific gender norms and ideologies.

Most notably, in late 2017, many chefs have used their status to bring attention to and promote change within this field, especially in the last year. Celebrity chefs became ever more



prominent in the public eye after the spree of sexual harassment and assault allegations

directed at some of the culinary world's most

influential figures in late 2017, namely Mario

Batali and John Besh. In response to these

accusations, prominent celebrity chefs like

Anthony Bourdain and Tom Colicchio, have

come forward, denouncing and flatly rejecting the inappropriate behaviors and actions often

found in the professional kitchen, especially from male chefs. Not long after accusations against

John Besh came to light, restaurateur and Top Chef judge, Tom Colicchio published an open

letter on Medium calling out the inappropriate and inexcusable behaviors found in professional

kitchens. "Let's start with this," Colicchio writes

Assessing a woman as a body, rather than as a person with a mind, character, and talent, denies the full measure of her humanity. It's wrong and it demeans us all. *Real men* don't need to be told this. They shouldn't need to be told that the high stakes of elite

kitchens don't justify the ugly machismo that runs through so many of them. (emphasis added, 2017)

In his letter, Colicchio reminds his readers of the highly gendered division between the professional and the domestic kitchen, noting that the restaurant kitchen has for too long been a male dominated sphere. At the end of his text, Colicchio pleads with his readers to “reinvent [the] industry as a place where people of all genders feel safe” (2017). Even before these scandals, men and women have been fighting to achieve more exposure, equality, and safe working environments for everyone within the food industry. For example, in her *Rachael Ray Everyday* magazine, Ray published a series titled “ #LikeABoss Women Are Taking Over The Food World One Bite at a Time” which features some of the world's top female chefs who are redefining the food industry. This series is one of many published recently that have brought a new light to formerly unrecognized chefs and the impact their work has had on the cooking. Ultimately, through their public appearances and use of mass and social media, celebrity chefs have gained tremendous influence not only within their field, but with the American public as a whole.

### *Second Course — The Gendering of Food*

Food can be a powerful tool for socializing individuals into a cultural group. Through taste, ingredients, culinary techniques, and discourse around food, an individual can be socialized into their expected social role. Elinor Ochs, Clotilde Pontecorvo and Alessandra Fasulo study this phenomenon in “Socializing Taste” (1996) where they note that food holds an important role in creating and maintaining social and moral order as “gustatory manners are at the heart of the civilizing process” (7). As a result, food and culinary techniques impart important social

information, contextualizing the individuals interacting with them as well as organizing the social space surrounding food production and consumption. This in turn has the ability to illustrate gender roles and norms surrounding food.

Foods have symbolic properties that can not only be ordered into specific social categories, but can also order the individual using them into social categories. In other words, food items and practices are not only gendered in and of themselves but also have the ability to gender those who use and consume them (Manning 2012, 4). The same applies to a wide range of food items and preparation techniques within the culinary world. Social expectations surrounding how we present and maintain our bodies has further impacted how we approach food. Consider a greasy sloppy joe compared to a light kale salad, each of which have gendered properties that help socially categorize the person creating the recipe and the person eating the dish. Effectively, the sloppy joe would correlate to men's eating habits while the salad to women's. Furthermore, the actions and behaviors we take on while eating must also conform to gender norms surrounding eating practices. In his study of taste and social class, Pierre Bourdieu explores the tastes and eating habits considered appropriate of men and women in 1979 in his book, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Bourdieu argues that "tastes in food also depend on the idea each class has of the body and of the effects of food on the body, that is, on its strength, health, and beauty" (1979, 190). Moreover, tastes depend on how we understand the body of a given gender: men must remain muscular while women are more elegant and dainty. Bourdieu gives the example of fish within the working class, arguing that fish is an unacceptable dish for men "not only because it is a light food, health reasons . . . but also because . . . it is one of the 'fiddly' things which a man's hands cannot cope . . . but above all it is

because fish has to be eaten in a way which totally contradicts the masculine way of eating” (1979, 190). Not only is fish too light to sustain a muscular man but the eating actions one must employ is by no means appropriate for men as these are more common for women. Similarly, women must also display appropriate eating methods, which, as noted above, are smaller and more purposeful mouthfuls of food. As a result, the gendered characteristics of food and eating have influenced which foods are appropriate for a male and a female chef to create, and which are appropriate for a male and female consumer to eat. The way and the foods we eat are indicators not only of class but gender along with countless other socially organizational identities.

The properties that influence and enable gendered notions around food in the United States are considered to have begun with the rise of advertisements. Due to strategic forms of



How not to be taken for granted...bake sticky buns from scratch.

It's not every wife who takes the time (and trouble) to bake from scratch. He'll notice. He'll appreciate. Of course you get some help from Fleischmann's Yeast. But the credit's yours.

**BUTTERSCOTCH BUNS**  
 1/2 cup milk 1/2 cup sugar 2 tablespoons salt  
 2 packages Fleischmann's Yeast 1/2 cup butter  
 1 egg 4 cups sifted flour  
 1/2 cup light corn syrup 1 tablespoon water  
 2 tablespoons Fleischmann's Margarine  
 1 cup chopped Flanzen Pecans  
 1/2 cup brown sugar 1/2 cup white sugar  
 1/2 cup raisins

**STEP 1:** Soak milk, stir in sugar, salt and 1/2 cup Fleischmann's Yeast in warm water in large warm bowl. Stir in lukewarm milk, mixture, egg, half the flour. Beat until smooth. Stir in rest of flour to make a stiff batter. Cover tightly with aluminum foil. Refrigerate at least 2 hours or up to 3 days.

**STEP 2:** When ready to shape dough, prepare Butterscotch Topping. In pan combine light corn syrup, water and 2 tablespoons Fleischmann's Margarine, bring to a boil over medium heat, stirring constantly. Remove from heat, add the brown sugar and stir until melted. Spread butterscotch mixture over bottom

**STEP 3:** Divide dough in half. On lightly floured board, roll each half into a 9 x 12-inch rectangle. Brush each rectangle with melted margarine and sprinkle with half the brown sugar and raisins. Roll each rectangle up tightly from 9-inch side as for jelly roll. Seal edges.

**STEP 4:** Cut each roll into nine 1-inch slices; place, cut side up, over butterscotch mixture in pan. Cover; let rise in warm draft-free place until doubled, about 1 hour. Bake in  $350^{\circ}\text{F}$ . oven 30 to 35 minutes, or until done. Makes 18 butterscotch buns.

advertising over the past 50 years, food and food preparation techniques have reflected the gender norms and divisions that are expected of the individuals that use and consume them. In the mid 20th century, advertisers began focusing their efforts to promote food sales among a very specific demographic—women (Parkin 2011, 12). Elite men created advertisements that would reinforce the domestic role of women by directing them back in to their role as caretaker of the home in order to boost sales of household goods (Parkin 2011, 12).

They did so primarily through the idea that “women could earn their family’s love by serving certain foods,” the foods they were advertising (Parkin 2011, 30). Of course men played their role as well as advertisers reinforced man’s dominant social status by presenting him as the judge of his wife’s ability to perform her domestic duties properly and create meals that were up to his standard. This helped to promote men’s entitled social role while simultaneously reminding women of theirs, especially in relation to her husband.

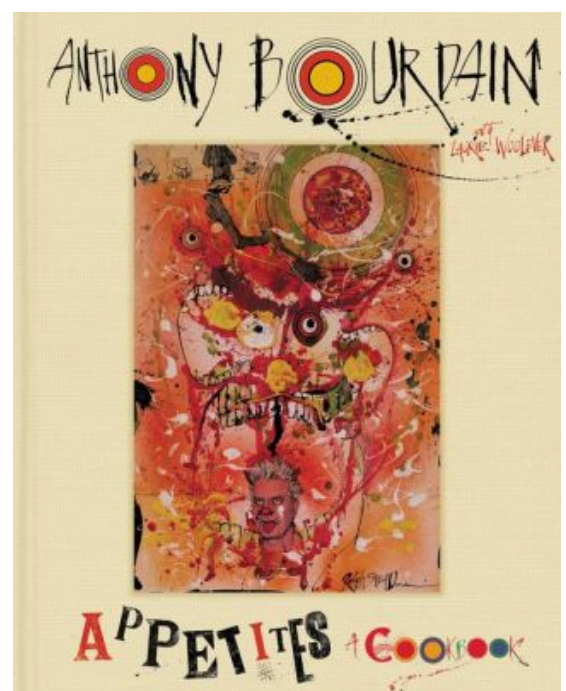
Another tactic from the 1950s was the cunning use of cookbooks to promote the same social norms for boys and girls that advertisers used to increase sales of household items. “Cookbooks do more than teach how to grill a steak or bake a cake,” author Sherrie Inness states, “They demonstrate to boys and girls the attitudes that society expects them to adopt towards cooking” and, of course, their social roles (Inness 2001, 120). Though cooking was a domestic “even national responsibility for women,” cooking for men was mostly a hobby, not a profession, which becomes even more interesting when considering that for years women were



barred from cooking outside of the domestic sphere while the professional kitchen quickly became—and continues to be—a male dominated space (Inness 2001, 128). In effect, women have long since been expected to follow precise procedures around food, which was reflected in most cookbooks published and marketed towards young girls and women. Women were expected to strictly follow the recipe and produce more feminine, ‘dainty’ foods, men’s

cookbooks had “much less restrictive recipes...with vague, macho directions” (Neuhaus 1999, 65). The language and items used in these cookbooks continue to inform modern associations of gender with cooking techniques. Even now, men and women are expected to engage with food and cooking techniques differently according to the gender norms surrounding food preparation. Consider the barbecue, which continues to be considered a man’s responsibility, while something like baking is a woman’s job. Most importantly, we see these same trends not only in the published cookbooks of celebrity chefs but in their public performances: Giada de Laurentiis (appendix A), known for her at-home cooking shows, began her career working with pastries while her good friend Bobby Flay (appendix F) began his television career cooking outside on a barbecue, something that he continues to do to this day. Ultimately, the gendering of food from the 1950s and even before has continued to influence modern associations of gender and food production.

In fact, over 50 years later, this trend continues to shape notions of gender surrounding food and food preparation choices that individuals make, especially celebrity chefs. *Guy on Fire: 130 Recipes for Adventures in Outdoor Cooking* featuring dishes like bacon wrapped hotdogs or brandied green peppercorn hanger steak. Similarly, Anthony Bourdain’s *Appetites* is filled with recipes like Korean army stew or pepper sausage heroes. These differ significantly from female chefs’ cookbooks like Giada de Laurentiis’s *Giada’s Italy* with recipes for grilled swordfish with candied lemon salad or asparagus with



grilled melon salad. Even Anne Burrell's "Cook Like a Rock Star" features lighter dishes like baked ricotta with rosemary and lemon or pumpkin soup with allspice. The recipes that these celebrity chefs create and publish represent the brand and persona they have created and commercialized based on a specific identity present in their public performances. These food choices help to illustrate the gender identities surrounding each of these public personas. These publicized gender identities in turn help to promote gender norms of food and food preparation techniques.

### *Third Course - Physical Divisions of Gender*

Historically, the public sphere has been a space where discourse and debate occurs while the private sphere encapsulates the family and home life. Sociologist Jürgen Habermas noted that throughout the 18th century the rise of coffee shops and public spaces gave way to public debate among men—a realm from which women were constantly excluded (Crossman 2018). As a result, women created their own realm within private spaces, an association that lingers to this day (Crossman 2018). In her study of the semiotics of private and public spaces, Susan Gal notes that "the public/private dichotomy is best understood as a discursive phenomenon that, once established, can be used to characterize, categorize, organize, and contrast virtually any kind of social fact" (2002, 81). Within the context of this essay, the public sphere refers to culinary spaces that occur outside of the home or home-like film studios. As such, public is used interchangeably with professional sphere to refer to spaces such as restaurant kitchens, competitive cooking shows, traveling shows etc. On the flip side, the private sphere refers to all domestic spaces such as at-home kitchens and home-like film studios. Similarly, private is used

interchangeably with domestic. Throughout this section I will explore the physical divides of gender identities both within the public and the private sectors.

Before the rise of haute cuisine and restaurant culture, cooking was a domestic task usually performed by women. When cooking became a more respected career with the rise of icons like Carême, men were quick to enter this workforce while their female counterparts were left as caretakers of the home and family. As men earned a living in this field, their work became seen as more important than the unpaid labor of working in the home (Harris and Giuffre 2015, 20). Women's cooking became a natural and domestic duty while "men's cooking has long been viewed as more high status and important" (Harris and Giuffre 2015, 19). This early differentiation in roles and tastes (home cooking versus professional cooking) created a long-lasting hierarchy within the world of cooking. The professional world of food and cooking became the man's domain.

As men continued to shape the professional kitchen, women who strived to earn wages as chefs were constantly barred from both culinary programs and jobs in professional kitchens. Instead female cooks found themselves cooking at more humble establishments like family-owned restaurants or inns (Harris and Giuffre 2015, 26). Women did not have the same opportunities to learn, grow, and showcase their abilities and ultimately held little to no influence in shaping the world of professional cooking. Early justification of this exclusion argued that "women's presence would distract from the food, which should be the true focus of dining" (QTD Spang 2000 in Harris and Giuffre 2015, 26). Others claimed that women could not afford to work in a professional kitchen both financially and socially as their time was meant to be spent raising children and maintaining the home. More recently, chefs and restaurant owners



point to the emotional and physical strain that working in a professional kitchen demands: from being considered “too emotional to work as a chef” and handle both the stress of the dinner rush and the critiques of executive chefs to being incapable of navigating the extreme temperatures, weights, and sharp objects that are constantly moving around the kitchen (Harris and Giuffre 2015, 88). Anthony Bourdain’s *Kitchen Confidential* reflects a similar pattern as he describes the women working as line cooks in his kitchens:

Women line cooks, however rare they might be in the testosterone-heavy, male-dominated world of restaurant kitchens, are a particular delight. To have a tough-as-nails, foul-mouthed, trash-talking female line cook on your team can be a true joy—and a civilizing factor in a unit where conversation tends to center around who’s got the bigger balls and who takes it in the ass. I’ve been fortunate enough to work with some really studly women line cooks—*no weak reeds these*. (emphasis added, 58)

To be a woman cooking in a professional kitchen one must be as aggressive as her male coworkers, but only to an extent as she must also embody a feminine diplomacy by becoming the “civilizing factor” in a kitchen full of men. This paradox of gender personalities that women must embody no doubt significantly reduces the pool of women considered able to cook in a restaurant kitchen. As men dictated the atmosphere and personalities that could be present in professional kitchens, they left little space for ‘feminine’ personalities.

Cooking on television reflects a similar physical divide between the feminine and the masculine, or in other words, the domestic and the professional. While women more often than not cook in home-style kitchens, men are seen in either competitive, professional studios or outside of the studio completely, traveling the globe as they learn about international food cultures. Through the specific use of space, celebrity chefs promote specific gender norms surrounding how men and women occupy the kitchen: women remain in the domestic sphere, while men are free to partake in the public world of cooking.

### Case Study: Women's Use of Space on Cooking Television

There is no denying the sociopolitical power and influence of women like Martha Stewart, Anne Burrell (appendix D) and Rachael Ray (appendix G). These women, like countless others, have worked tirelessly to achieve their success. Yet this influence and power is not always reflected in spatial context of their television shows. In a recent article on the gendered aspects of cooking shows, Phoebe Chao points to Martha Stewart, the role model of powerful women in cooking noting that “the question is whether she's merely a "crank[ed] up" version of Woman as patriarchy would have her, a perfect role model in the Home” (Chao 1998). Her entire brand is, in effect, focused on the domestic world. The at home cooking trend started as early as Julia Child. The woman known worldwide not only for her cooking abilities but also for her strong character and humorous, rational, and lighthearted personality was constantly seen cooking in her home, preparing meals for the whole family—both figuratively and literally as she always placed the final dish on her family dining table for everyone to enjoy. Despite influencing a new culture of cooking and food appreciation by bringing highly sought after French foods and culinary techniques to the American frontier, she still promoted the domesticity of female cooking and women in general. Half a century later, women are still more often than not found cooking in home-style kitchens. Modern examples of this are internationally recognized names like Ree Drummond and Nigella Lawson, who are filmed in their homes as they prepare easy to follow recipes. Actually, almost all female celebrity chefs—even those who cook on competitive cooking shows—have cooked within a domestic space at some point during their careers. Similarly to the cookbooks marketed towards young girls in the 1950s, it was—and continues to be—a woman's duty to continue engaging in these domestic tasks for both her

family and society as a whole. These women might occasionally step outside of the kitchen but more often than not they are seen within a domestic sphere, upholding traditional norms surrounding where and how a woman is able to cook.

However, there are a select few who have also been able to take their brand beyond the domestic sphere. Rachael Ray began her televised cooking career teaching quick and cheap meals on *30 Minute Meals* right from her home-style studio kitchen. The show was set in a domestic kitchen, which featured neutral colors such as yellow walls and wood paneling in combination with seemingly endless quantities of floral arrangements adorning her kitchen. Her 1950s Smeg appliances also served more of an aesthetic purpose as opposed to featuring professional grade cooking accessories like those seen on shows like Bobby Flay's *Barbecue Addiction*. However, unlike her fellow female chefs like Giada de Laurentiis, Ree Drummond, and Paula Deen, Ray briefly stepped out of her home studio to shoot the financial and lifestyle centered *40\$ a Day*, in which she travels to locations like Antigua and New York to discover the cheap and delicious food scenes around the world.

Anne Burrell provides another example of women who have worked outside of the domestic cooking film studio. While Anne also hosted a home cooking show—hers being much more pink and 'feminine' than Ray's—she is more popularly known for her roles as a judge, mentor, and often co-host on competitive cooking shows. Much like her often conflicting gender performance, Anne's home cooking television show *Secrets of a Restaurant Chef* presented a similar clash in traditional and subversive gender norms. While Burrell spent the majority of her show in the domestic kitchen, she would also make appearances in a professional restaurant kitchen setting, appearing in a crisp white chef's uniform as she simultaneously cooks and talks

about specific cooking techniques, such as when she explains and demonstrates braising in her second season of the show. At the present, Burrell co-hosts her *Worst Cooks in America* and regularly judges competitive cooking shows like *Beat Bobby Flay*. These television appearances have helped to cement her status as a knowledgeable and influential chef as it is her taste, opinions, and experience with food and cooking that often dictates the outcomes of these competitive shows. However, what is important to note here is that Burrell, though she works in a more competitive atmosphere, is constantly joined by other hosts and judges, usually other men. In her *Worst Cooks in America*, Burrell initially hosts with Beau Macmillan, Robert Irvine, Bobby Flay, and Tyler Florence. It was not until the 7th and 9th seasons that Burrell finally hosts with female chef Rachael Ray. There is yet to be a female chef's competitive cooking show on which she is the primary host or judge.

#### Case Study: Men's Use of Space on Cooking Television

Now let us consider another side of the celebrity cooking world. The traditional domestic gender norms often associated with women's cooking are offset by those seen in male celebrity chef's television shows. From Bobby Flay to Guy Fieri (appendix B) to Andrew Zimmern to Anthony Bourdain, there are countless men who have thrived off of shows that step completely outside of the domestic kitchen and show a different side of food that is rarely seen on other celebrity chefs' television shows. Even when these chefs do work within a domestic context, their shows ensure that the masculine image surrounding men and cooking is present in these home cooking-style shows. Consider Emeril Lagasse's 1997 cooking show, *Emeril Live*. Here Lagasse cooked in a home-style kitchen that was surrounded by a live audience. This gave a more thrilling and competitive atmosphere to the cooking show as his foods were immediately

judged by the audience members. Though Lagasse is technically within a domestic kitchen, he too masculinizes his kitchen through these small but powerful techniques that differentiate his cooking show from other at-home cooking shows.

Perhaps a more obvious example is Bobby Flay's home cooking television show. In *Barbeque Addiction*, Flay is technically cooking "at home" however two aspects of the show differentiate it from most home cooking shows: the first is that Flay's kitchen is outside of the house presumably in the backyard, a physical representation of Flay literally stepping out of the domestic kitchen; secondly, his kitchen is comprised of only barbecues, the ultimate symbol of masculinity. The set designers on this show seem to have simply moved a kitchen outside and added 7 barbecues in order to promote the manly aspect of Flay's cooking show. Many of the foods he makes are also similar to those found on shows like de Laurentiis's or Burrell's who use stoves and ovens to produce their meals, here Bobby recreates stoves and ovens in his countless barbecues. Flay is in effect masculinizing the same culinary preparation techniques found not only on women's cooking shows, but in restaurant kitchens around the world. When Flay is not grilling, he is either competing for his Iron Chef title or working on his own competitive cooking show, *Beat Bobby Flay*. As opposed to female celebrity chefs, who more often than not are either guest judges or co-hosts on competitive cooking shows, Bobby Flay not only hosts but is the main competitor on his *Beat Bobby Flay*. This is a common trend among many male celebrity chefs like Guy Fieri, who hosts his show *Grocery Games* or Gordon Ramsay's *Masterchef*. Male celebrity chefs are given more opportunities to take their cooking outside of the domestic sphere and into a more professional setting on national television. Male celebrity chefs embody a

preexisting culinary gender norm that allows men to engage in more public work and activities than their female counterparts.

Much like Flay, the set for Guy Fieri's home-cooking show *Guy's Big Bites* reflects Fieri's masculine identity. The kitchen actually only forms one part of the set as viewers can also see the drum and guitar set in the far corner of the room next to a fully stocked bar, a pool table, and a flat screen TV that is always running clips from Fieri's family adventures (often images of white water river rafting). This alone creates a heavy male atmosphere within the show. To top it off, Fieri also uses appliances that have been tailored to fit the masculine tone of the show: his refrigerator is red with racing stripes and the number five and his standing mixer is light yellow with fire painted onto the sides. Eventually, Fieri moved his show outside and, much like Flay, primarily uses his barbecue to do all the cooking. Sometimes Fieri will even construct completely new barbecuing structures like a chicken rotisserie on wheels that fits what seems like 20 chickens, spinning slowly within the smoke that is billowing from the barbecue. As previously noted, barbecues have long been a symbol of masculinity within the world of domestic cooking. We see this more clearly when actress Brooke Shields joins Fieri on his show to make fish tacos. During the episode, Fieri becomes her instructor, showing Shields how to use his tools and produce delicious meals from barbecuing—almost as if teaching a woman how to do a man's job. Fieri also works outside of the studio on his show *Diners, Drive-ins and Dives*. Throughout the show, Fieri's spatial context is constantly shifting as he visits up to four different location per episode. This helps to demonstrate Fieri's comfort navigating all aspects of the public sphere of professional cooking. Fieri further demonstrates this as he once again changes his working environment from the restaurant scene to studio sets for his countless other shows

including the competitive show *Guy's Grocery Games*. Here Fieri once again shows his comfort navigating all aspects of the public world. Bourdain and Fieri are just a couple among dozens of men who have thrived off of their involvement in the public world of food and cooking.

In effect, many male celebrity chefs often step outside of the television studio, entering the most public sphere available, the world. Of the 25 top traveling food shows, 23 of them are hosted by men. That leaves the other two to be hosted by women. While the men leave their homes to work around the globe, women stay closer to home. In 2002, Anthony Bourdain (appendix C) began his global eating career with *A Cook's Tour*. Since then, Bourdain has launched *No Reservations* on the Travel Channel, *Parts Unknown* on CNN, *The Layover*, and *Mind of a Chef*. Each of these shows step outside of the domestic world and into the public sphere. The quantity of shows hosted by Bourdain alone demonstrate the opportunities more readily available for men to work in the public sphere as opposed to the domestic. In addition, Bourdain does more than merely eat on camera in tropical destinations. As previously noted, he learns about and then teaches his audience about the historical, cultural, and political context that the food he eats and the public figures that he interviews find themselves in. Bourdain once again embodies the notion presented by Sherry Ortner and countless feminist theorists that men cultivate culture as he literally brings the culture to our homes, giving us a glimpse of the world outside. On the other hand, the quantity of shows and the constant changes in network themselves illustrate the influence and power that Bourdain has over his career: not satisfied with the editing and storytelling techniques on his early Travel Channel shows, Bourdain quickly set about finding a network that would show the places, food, and people exactly as he envisioned. Now, Bourdain has more control over the messages being presented on his *Parts Unknown*. Not

only has Bourdain flourished within the public sphere, but he also determines the work and activities he engages in, changing aspects of his work when they do not suit his preferences. Compare this to female celebrity chefs, whose professional careers are often shaped by the norms and expectations around female cooks. Female chefs cooking on television are usually placed within a domestic setting, even if they strive to work within more competitive or global spaces.

While female celebrity chefs have on occasion stepped out of the ‘domestic’ sphere both in their professional and public appearances, it is more common to see male food show hosts in positions that are completely unassociated with domestic cooking and life. It seems that chefs like Bobby Flay, Anthony Bourdain, and Guy Fieri are always found in spaces that reflect the popularly held roles of male chef around the world, the professional public sphere—even if these roles are occasionally found within the woman’s domestic sphere. However, it is important to remember that a small percentage of female celebrity chefs have also been able to cook in a more professional setting, whether this is on competitive cooking shows or on traveling food shows. Still, there is a domestic cooking prerequisite in place for female celebrity chefs that male chefs are not always expected to engage in. Consequently, female celebrity chefs perform both traditional gender roles by cooking at home while simultaneously presenting a new norm for women as they have cultivated a space for women to thrive in the professional cooking world of television.

The restaurant kitchen has for many centuries been an exclusively masculine place, dominated by male identities and gender performances. On mass media there is clear distinction between home-cooking shows and those that are produced in public spaces (such as competitive



cooking shows and traveling). This difference reflects traditional associations between women in a domestic capacity and men in the public. However, there have been some clashes in this as some women cook competitively or work as traveling show hosts while some men do in fact cook in their home kitchen. Still, the women few women working outside of the domestic space are often accompanied by men while men working in a more domestic capacity are seen with masculine objects that differentiate the tone of their cooking show from their female counterparts. These performances and occupation of space help reinforce gender norms concerning women and men's appropriate social roles.

Furthermore, in the highly gendered world of cooking, there is ambiguity surrounding where gender non-conforming individuals fit in. "Queer in the Kitchen: Gender Politics Take Center Stage," published after the spree of sexual harassment charges made in late 2017, quotes New York University professor Jennifer Berg, who notes that queer women cooking in professional kitchens face a unique challenge, for "they're often excluded from pastry work, but still discriminated against for being female in the realm of executive chefs" (Huang 2017). On the other hand, Berg also comments that queer and trans men are also expected to perform masculine roles that may clash with their chosen gender identities and personalities (Huang 2017). Within the world of celebrity cooking, however, queer chefs have had a different experience. Most queer celebrity chefs earned their status through their participation on competitive cooking shows like Top Chef and Chopped. After cooking on these shows, queer chefs like Kristen Kish and Anita Lo have continued to publicly promote not only their personal cooking brands but also provide discourse surrounding the LGBTQ community through social and mass media. Most of these chefs were 'out' during their time on competitive shows. While

there is some representation of queer individuals on television, there are only two queer women who have managed to really thrive within this field. Anne Burrell and Cat Cora are two of the most influential women on television with their regular appearances across a variety of shows. Both of these women manage to work primarily outside of the domestic sphere and in the professional setting of competitive cooking. However, apart from these two women and the occasional appearances of other queer chefs there is a serious lack of queer representation on television. Other than Burrell's brief home cooking show, very few other queer individuals have had their own recurring show on national television. When considering how gender has influenced the world of (celebrity) cooking, how does the representation—or lack thereof—of queer individuals influence how these people and identities are perceived both in professional kitchens and in society as a whole? Though queer representation and identity is important when discussing the intersection of food culture and gender identity, I focus primarily on televised properties of norms surrounding the gender binary. There is more research that must be done to understand where individuals who do not fall within this binary fit in to the heavily gendered world of celebrity chefs. And even more importantly, as many queer chefs have noted their discomfort working in restaurant kitchens, there are opportunities to conduct more research to better understand if the world of queer and non-queer celebrity chefs can influence this sector of professional cooking to create a space that is inviting and accepting for all.

#### *Fourth Course — Performing Gender*

Understanding how gender identity is constructed and reflected publically can be a daunting task: how does an individual reproduce their identity in a way that is easily grasped by

others? Are qualities that encapsulate an individual's identity a product of social norms surrounding gender and sex or is it our public performance of gender identity that influences ideologies about gender? One method of understanding an individual's gender identity is through their physical performances. This ranges from apparel to the way they walk to their gestures. Each of these qualities points towards a very specific gender identity.

Gender identity is usually understood as a binary system in which there are traditional qualities and behaviors attributed to male gender identities and female gender identities. Though women have often occupied a secondary status to men, their social roles and treatment varies greatly among cultures (Ortner 1972, 6). In her 1972 study of women's social roles, Sherry Ortner explains the traditional association of women with nature and men with culture. Due to women's biological functions, she is understood as being closer to nature which "confine her universally to certain social contexts which in turn are seen as closer to nature" (Ortner 16). In other words, as her body has been built to reproduce, woman is biologically built for her domestic duties of conceiving and caring for the children, family, and of course, the home. Men on the other hand, lacking the same physical make-up, must create artificially "through cultural means, and in such a way as to sustain culture" (Ortner 1972, 16). Additionally, though there are varying forms of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity has often influenced popular understandings of male gender identity. Hegemonic masculinity was defined by authors R. W. Connell and James M. Messerschmidt as, "the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women [and subordinate men] to continue" (2005, 832). These antiquated understandings of femininity and masculinity have continued to influence gender norms and performances even today. Dominance, authority,

and confidence are qualities often associated with men as women are expected to be more elegant, sophisticated, and dainty. Some female celebrity chefs easily embody traditional gender identities while others have begun to combine both the masculine and the feminine. This could be due to the male-dominated atmosphere of professional cooking environments or perhaps a marker of change of gender norms in professional kitchens. Regardless, as Judith Butler also argues in her own work, the varying quality of gender performances complicates strictly held ideologies and expectations surrounding gender, creating space for new identities to emerge alongside traditional ones.

In her *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler argues that a person's identity—and more specifically their gender identity—is created and maintained through a “stylized repetition of acts” (1990, 179). The identity created from an individual's acts is, as is noted by José Esteban Muñoz “produced at the point of contact between essential understandings of self . . . and socially constructed narratives of self” (2015, 6). There is a repertoire of specific gestures, acts, and behaviors associated with particular identities. For example, in women, this would be considered things like swaying the hips when walking, wearing high heels, sitting with crossed legs etc. For men, we would consider things like playing sports, moving the shoulders when walking, spitting, wearing suits etc. These various actions, as noted by Muñoz, are socially predetermined, usually being assigned to an individual based on their biological sex. Butler argues that by properly repeating these motions an individual is then identified as pertaining to a particular social category, male or female. Similarly we can assign specific actions and qualities to a variety of ‘identities’ ranging from social class to race.

#### Case Study: Giada de Laurentiis

We can better understand Butler's argument through an example of celebrity chef Giada de Laurentiis, who produces a performance highly representative of feminine gender identity. After formerly working in restaurant kitchens, de Laurentiis now hosts *Giada's Weekend Getaways*, *Giada in Paradise: Capri and Santorini*, *Giada Entertains* and *Giada at Home*. She has also published seven cookbooks.

Through her public performances, de Laurentiis produces a rather traditional performance of woman. In a recent photo shoot with Esquire Magazine, Giada de Laurentiis posed in front of a table with crushed tomatoes in a skin tight white dress splattered in red as she threw her head back and laughed. Though a quite obvious performance of femininity, de Laurentiis produces countless more similar performances on her various television appearances. De Laurentiis's most blatant performance of femininity comes through her self-presentation on her shows. De Laurentiis is a thin, small woman, constantly smiling and inviting her viewers to join her on her culinary journeys. Maintaining the elegant and sophisticated tone of her shows, she always appears on set fully made-up from head to toe as her hair, makeup, and clothes have been professionally and purposefully selected. More often than not, de Laurentiis will wear pastel or soft-colored outfits, usually consisting of fitted pants and loose blouses made from materials such as satin and silk. Her hair is either pulled loosely out of her face or blown-out and curled, always looking clean and well kempt. De Laurentiis also wears delicate jewelry such as small, thin necklaces and bracelets and stud earrings. We see the small, yet important details of her self-presentation during close-up shots, showing that the de Laurentiis and her production team have considered every detail of her outfits: when chopping or mixing ingredients we see de Laurentiis's professionally painted nails and the cameras show her carefully applied makeup

when she tastes her foods. As a result, de Laurentiis' outfits help promote her image as an elegant and refined woman who effortlessly creates delicious meals for the various soirées she hosts.

In addition to her self-presentation, de Laurentiis uses elegant gestures and movements when working with food. While sometimes large, these movements are by no means similar to the often jagged movements that male chefs use. Instead, de Laurentiis keeps her motions very close to her body, as though attempting not to take up too much space. For example, when pulling a piece of meat out of her pan to taste, de Laurentiis keeps her elbow glued to her side and gently lifts the spoon her to mouth using only her thumb, pointer finger, and middle finger while her other arm is bent and close to her chest with her palm down. Her movements are reminiscent the graceful movement of ballerina dancers, as she primarily sticks to circular, 'dainty' motions when talking to the camera and moving around her kitchen.

De Laurentiis reflects the expected behavior of young women in 20th century American society that was illustrated in cookbooks from the 1950s through her precise measurements and adherence to recipe requirements. Unlike some chefs who use approximations or palm-fulls of ingredients, de Laurentiis always uses measuring cups, or exact, pre-measured quantities of her ingredients. In each of her shows de Laurentiis has most often pre-measured her ingredients and placed them into glass jars, announcing the exact amount that she puts into her dishes. More recently, de Laurentiis has included more 'healthy', 'light', and 'fresh' meals into her repertoire, a much more feminine style compared to the heavier, meat and starch heavy meals often produced by other celebrity chefs, particularly male chefs. De Laurentiis's most meat heavy meals include sophistication with recipes like Italian meat stew or single pieces of a rack of lamb

topped with mint pesto. More often than not, de Laurentiis creates what Bourdieu noted as “fiddly” and “dainty” dishes that are attributed to women’s eating practices with recipes like chive wrapped cruditées with tarragon aioli or oysters with caviar and champagne. The recipes and culinary techniques that de Laurentiis produces on her shows and in her published cookbooks further help to situate her within the realm of women, specifically a female domestic chef.

Finally, de Laurentiis also embodies the role of the perfect hostess on her television shows. This is most apparent on her *Giada Entertains*, in which de Laurentiis cooks meals for special events during each episode while simultaneously planning a party theme, decorations, and personalized gifts. During the show, de Laurentiis takes times to explain to her audience specifically how they can curate an atmosphere and set the mood for their parties, giving advice for color palettes, lighting, and venues (the show is usually in her home). Most of her decorations and gifts are “do it yourself” projects that can be made at home in the days leading up to the event. In her “Girls Game Night” episode, de Laurentiis finds wooden boxes shaped as books and fills them with dice, playing cards, and notebooks, to commemorate the experiences and memories of the evening. As a result, de Laurentiis’s entire brand is strongly associated with the feminine domestic sphere.

#### Case Study: Guy Fieri

Compare this performance of femininity to that of Guy Fieri, who portrays a hyper-masculine gender identity. After winning the second season of Food Network’s *Food Network Star*, Fieri is known for hosting *Diners, Drive-ins, and Dives*, *Guy’s Family Road Trip*,

*Guy's Ranch Kitchen*, *Guy's Grocery Games*, and *Guy's Big Project*. In addition to his various show, Fieri also owns three restaurants and has published six cookbooks.

During the introduction scenes for his *Diners, Drive-ins and Dives*, Fieri cruises into the shot in a red convertible, sunglasses perched high on his nose, one hand on the steering wheel and not even looking at the road as he yells out the local destinations he is visiting during that episode. The inclusion of Fieri's 1967 Chevy Camaro SS within the first few minutes of the show brings a boyish tone to the series. His apparel choices also help to maintain the casual and masculine aspect of the show. In effect, his physical presentation on TV significantly differs from female celebrity chefs like de Laurentiis or Rachael Ray's elegant appearances. While many female chefs have their hair, makeup, and clothes styled by professionals, Fieri does not adhere to the same standard of looking 'put together': along with his signature frosted tips, Fieri regularly sports oversized t-shirts or button-up shirts along with baggy cargo shorts and sporty sunglasses.

While his physical appearance helps place Fieri as masculine, it is his large gestures that help cement his masculine gender identity. Unlike de Laurentiis's small, elegant gestures, Fieri's are large as he opens his hands and arms up wide as opposed to keeping his movements closer to his body. Fieri is also constantly pointing to his audience using his pointer finger and thumb, an authoritative gesture that helps boost Fieri's confident and often dominant personality. Fieri often throws his ingredients around, like the pork in the episode "Queen Korina Salad" of his *Guy's Big Bites*, which he tosses into his hot pan as opposed to most chefs who are more controlled when placing ingredients into their pans. In another episode ("Pizza! Pizza!") Fieri and his guest Stretch Rumaner toss an onion around the kitchen, making trick shots under their



legs and behind their backs. Fieri takes up much more space in his kitchen than his female counterpart de Laurentiis. Fieri also seems more physically in control of his kitchen as he throws objects or moves around quickly without harming himself or bumping into cooking-ware and ingredients. This is an interesting contrast to de Laurentiis' mostly stationary and small gestures as Fieri's confidence and comfort in his kitchen seems to reflect stereotypes that only men can maneuver the chaotic restaurant kitchen line.

Throughout *Diners, Drive-ins and Dives*, Fieri constantly makes his presence known both verbally and physically, placing himself in the center of the action. As a result, Fieri reflects a similar social role surrounding food to what Parkin notes in her analysis of the role of men in food advertisements in the 1950s: men depicted in food advertisements in the '50s served to judge the quantity and quality of food produced by their wives, cementing their authoritative position over women. On *Diners, Drive-ins and Dives*, Fieri illustrates this message as he is constantly overseeing and judging the food being made for him—this is, in effect, the entire premise of his show. In some episodes, Fieri merely watches as the chefs prepare their dishes; however, more often than not he actively participates in the cooking process. On the first episode of season 20 “California Cruisin,” Fieri visits the Monterey Fish House where he helps the head chef place the pre-prepared ingredients into a sauce the chef is making, Fieri then goes on to stir the sauce while joking, “How about I assist you, doctor.” There are many moments like this throughout the show, where Fieri's interactions with the chefs and customers reflect Fieri's sense of place and self-confidence within this public and professional space. In a later episode, “Stuffed and Twisted” (season 20 episode 2), the head chef at American Grill and Tavern prepares their signature stuffed bread with marinara. However, after taking a couple bites of the

bread Fieri asks for mustard, telling the chef “*this* is how you do it” as he dips the bread into the mustard. Interestingly, while on *Diners, Drive-ins and Dives* Fieri usually treats both male and female chefs alike, there is a distinct change in his tone when he invites male guests or female guests onto his *Guy’s Big Bites*. While with men Fieri is almost hyper, making jokes about his guests and bossing them around his kitchen, Fieri becomes much more calm when women visit his set, taking time to explain the processes and teach them what to do. On one of his episodes where Fieri is joined by Brooke Shields, we see him calmly teaching her how to oil a grill before placing fish skewers onto it, a tone he holds throughout the episode.

Through his physical appearance and his social interactions with the chefs, owners, and customers on his shows like *Diners, Drive-ins and Dives*, Fieri embodies many of the gestures, acts, and behaviors that are representative of ‘man’: he is authoritative, instructional, comfortable navigating ever-changing public spaces, and does not hold himself to the same standard of self-presentation that is seen in female chefs’ public performances. By constantly reproducing these same behaviors and gestures, Fieri solidifies his gender identity by repeating the masculine character traits that correspond to his assigned gender identity.

#### Case Study: Another Side of Masculinity, Anthony Bourdain

Anthony Bourdain also brings a similar masculine identity to his public performances. In his books and his shows, Bourdain has cultivated a ‘bad-boy’ reputation, from bragging about heavy drug and alcohol use to constant video footage of him partying with locals during his travels. Bourdain combines this attitude with a physical performance of masculinity. Despite embodying this persona, Bourdain illustrates another image of masculinity that contrasts significantly with that of Guy Fieri. Unlike Fieri’s casual self-presentation on his shows,

Bourdain always presents himself in carefully selected masculine attire (pants and button-ups for the most part), keeps his hair short, and walks with a distinct swagger as he makes his way through his destinations slowly and calmly, exuding confidence and authority. Similarly, his gestures, while large, are much more controlled than Fieri's and he either holds his arms close to his body or stretched along the seats he is using. Here, Bourdain calmly manipulates the space around his body to impart a sense of authority and confidence of self within any and all social contexts. His social interactions relay a similar sense of authority as do his public communications via social media platforms like Instagram and Twitter. Bourdain constantly produces eloquent and purposeful messages to his followers that reflect the same journalistic tone as his books and his shows. Bourdain is not merely traveling the globe and eating delicious foods, he is researching and analyzing unique culinary cultures around the world, teaching his audience about the histories and traditions of a social group. Though Bourdain has previously spoken out against gendered divisions of food and the food industry, his highly masculine gender performances help reinforce male gender norms within this field. However, Bourdain's performance of 'man' complicates the notion of innate, organizing gender identities as his contrasts with that of Fieri, showing that the production of a gender identity is unique and intentional.

\* \* \*

Though believed to originate from a natural internal essence, the performances that constitute an individual's gender identity are created and reproduced on the surface. Butler notes that the repetition of acts produced by an individual "are internally discontinuous...[so that] the appearance of substance is...a constructed identity, a performative accomplishment which the

mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform” (1990, 179). In other words, the organizing qualities of identity are created exteriorly and then internalized as opposed to originating as an innate essence that expresses itself through identity performance. “All this,” Butler comments, “helps to create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core, an illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality” (1990, 173). This is more easily seen when an individual falls outside of the norm and thus incorrectly or inappropriately reproduces an act and gender performance.

#### Case Study: Julia Child

Julia Child played the part of the loving wife producing meals for the family, however, she also initiated a new understanding of the female chef during the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. During her time cooking on *The French Chef*, Child maintained some traditional gender norms: she wore skirts and loose blouses, used smaller controlled gestures, and made dishes for the family to eat. While she adhered to her role as a woman in the 1950s, she simultaneously produced some gender performances that did not conform to the norm. Standing over six feet tall, Child physically dominated her kitchen, breaking free of the dainty femininity that women of her time period found themselves in. She took this a step further when she persisted in her attempts to attend and graduate culinary school, eventually being let in to a formerly all-male program in France. Furthermore, Child “took things in stride and managed to be wife and cook and public person all at once” (Chao 22). In each of these aspects of her life, Child succeeded. Child always maintained a cool attitude when in her kitchen, casually chopping onions or butchering whole fish. She was not hesitant when making a dish that involved getting dirty in the kitchen and put

in some serious muscle into prepping ingredients. In one episode, Child acknowledges the physical demand of working in a kitchen, dabbing napkins across her forehead quickly muttering, “I have so many burners in here I’m getting hot!” But even this did not slow her down. Still, while Child managed to break out of the traditional role of women at the time, we cannot forget that Child still worked within a domestic context, at once reinforcing and rejecting traditional gender roles for women.

Most notably, when faced with problems in her kitchen, Child always remained calm and collected in her behavior, gestures, and language. In one instance, after having dropped half of her potato pancake onto the stove when trying to flip it in the pan, Child remarks that to succeed you just need to have “conviction and courage” before once again flipping a potato pancake. She made it that time. Throughout the entirety of her show, Child never stops moving, constantly prepping ingredients or putting together dishes—even when faced with disaster, Child continues to cook, always managing to get a full meal on the table by the end of the show. Child quickly proved to the public the not only could women survive within the cooking industry, but they could thrive. Though conforming to many social norms at the time, Child also managed to revolutionize the meaning of home cooking and the role that women could have within both public and private kitchens. As a result, she presented a completely new aspect of femininity through her public performance.

#### Case Study: Anne Burrell

Anne Burrell presents a clearer clash between gender identities as her performance of ‘female’ often incorporates character traits or behaviors commonly associated with men. Burrell began her celebrity cooking career as a sous-chef for chef Mario Batali on Iron Chef. Later, she

launched her *Secrets of a Restaurant Chef* before hosting on *Worst Cooks in America*. She has since appeared as a host and judge on a variety of competitive cooking shows, recently opened a restaurant in Brooklyn, and has published two cookbooks.

On each of her shows, Burrell constantly presents the same hyper-feminine fashion style: a loose long skirt, brightly colored clogs, a chef's coat and her infamously wild, short platinum blonde hair. Immediately, we see a subtle clash between her female attire and the crisp, white chef's coat symbolic of the male-dominated professional kitchen. In her domestic kitchen on *Secrets of a Restaurant Chef*, Burrell often skips around her kitchen and will sometimes speak in a sing-song voice about her ingredients and the final outcomes of her dishes. Here, Burrell produces girlish performances that alone help to identify her as a woman, but when combined with her appearance seems to cement this identity.

However, Burrell contradicts this feminine performance by constantly using large 'manly' gestures and movements when cooking or referring to food. She waves her arms wildly over boiling pots and pans, usually ending these movements by bringing down her arms, bent at the elbows, to her sides as her hands ball into a fist—a fraternity brother-esque dance style move that she finishes by baring her teeth and scrunching up her nose. Burrell embodies an even more masculine identity on her competitive cooking show as she becomes increasingly more aggressive, disciplined, and extremely competitive in her desire to have her contestants win the challenges. On this show, Burrell embodies the role of the stereotypical hostile, no-nonsense chef de cuisine, constantly yelling at sous-chefs and line cooks to cook meals faster and better. Burrell will sometimes literally push her contestants around the kitchen, running behind them as they fetch ingredients or deposit chicken into the ovens to finish cooking them off. Furthermore,

Burrell stands on a lifted platform in the studio, watching over both teams as they cook and yells down advice, directions, and sometimes even insults. Here, we see Burrell physically placed in an unique light as she is both symbolically and literally above the confused and inexperienced contestants. Burrell physically takes on a position of power and judgement.

Even these performances of masculinity, competitiveness, and power juxtapose with her exactness when cooking as her perfect measurements and precise cooking techniques are, like de Laurentiis, reminiscent of the 1950s cookbooks in which young girls were taught to adopt a disciplined and often limiting attitude not only towards cooking, but to their social roles as well. For example, in the second episode of the show's fourth season, Burrell shows her contestants how to make Chilean sea bass with a grapefruit salad. While producing her dish, she makes sure her contestants are taking notes on each step Burrell takes to make sure they reproduce the exact same flavors, textures, and appearance as her perfectly measured dish. Burrell becomes demanding in this disciplined action, something that is often seen in her own cook show as she often has more precise measurements of her ingredients.

What is also important to note is Burrell's queer sexual orientation. Her sexual orientation can in turn influence the gender identity she produces and how she chooses to perform her femininity. Burrell's public performances encapsulate all aspects of her identity, an identity which incorporates a variety of gendered acts, gestures, and behaviors. Though Burrell dresses herself up in a feminine fashion, her gestures and social interactions with others expose the 'masculine' traits that also comprise her public persona, ultimately complicating her gender identity performance.

#### Case Study: Danny Bowien

The most blatant example of incongruous gender identity occurs in the recently aired sixth season of *Mind of a Chef* featuring Mission Chinese founder and head chef, Danny Bowien (appendix E). Bowien is known primarily for his daring and creative Szechuan-inspired culinary creations from dishes like chorizo stuffed chicken or warm egg custard with duck confit and sea urchin. While Bowien has been revolutionizing flavor profiles and combinations with his innovative dishes, he is also shaking up ideologies surrounding pre-established social norms through his queer gender identity performance. Bowien's appearance on the sixth season of *Mind of a Chef* is in and of itself a strange and revolutionary act as it is the first time that the show—one of the first shows formerly broadcasted on national television—has taken to this free social media platform. In the show, Bowien travels between the U.S. and most of Asia, meeting celebrated chefs from around the world in a quest to not only tell his own story but to discover his heritage. Before the show in 2013, Bowien attended the annual James Beard Awards Ceremony in New York City. Though he took home the award for Rising Star Chef, it was his outfit that caught the attention of the media: Bowien combined feminine and masculine attire in an all-white suit, Jordan 11 sneakers, a floral top, with long dyed-blue hair in a messy bun. Years later, his flamboyant style has expanded to include pieces that are commonly associated with female fashion, from crop tops to soft pink hues to wildly painted nails.

In *Mind of a Chef*, Bowien is constantly seen holding more 'feminine' postures as he haunches his shoulders slightly over his chest, pops his hip when standing still, and crossing his legs when sitting down in a way that significantly shrinks his form. This performance contrasts with more 'masculine' identity as, for example, Bowien also sports facial hair, combines his 'feminine' clothes with traditionally male clothing like baggy jeans and oversized jackets.



Bowiens gestures and movements also lack the elegant gracefulness that most female chefs have though they are still smaller and often close to his body.

Bowien poses a series of juxtapositions between his various identities, beginning with his American and Korean identities as he goes on his journey of self-discovery through food. At the same time, Bowien constantly shifts between a ‘male’ and a ‘female’ identity, reproducing ‘stylized acts’ that draw from both the masculine and the feminine. In doing so, Bowien produces a queer identity that effectively blurs the divide between the masculine and the feminine, demonstrating that these ‘identities’ are not inherently found within each individual, but rather they are cultivated with the purpose of reproducing a specific gender identity performance. This creates, in a sense, a revolution of gendered expectations and behaviors within the professional and celebrity world of cooking. Bowien is by no means the only example of this as other celebrity chefs like Anne Burrell, Rachael Ray, and even Julia Child, just to name a few, reproduce gender performances that cull from both feminine and masculine performances.

\* \* \*

The social use of gender identities for organizational purposes has had a long-lasting impact placing individuals within a social hierarchy based on the qualities associated with their particular form of gender identity. Judith Butler and José Esteban Muñoz argue that there is a danger to the “essentialized understanding of identity” in that it “must reduce identities to lowest-common denominator terms” (Muñoz 1994, 6). This creates expectations surrounding who can cook and how, placing pressure and limitations on the career opportunities and public performances of chefs. The hierarchy of these acts and identities create a social order that continues to be promoted by enforcing gender norms upon individuals. This occurs both in

professional and televised kitchens as men are more often depicted in the high-energy, stressful, and dangerous kitchen and women in the calm domestic kitchen—though some women have been able to break into the world of competitive or professional cooking. Stereotypically, men are seen as innovative, disciplined, and hardworking chefs while women are more often than not seen as merely domestic cooks or as unable to handle the pressures and danger of working in a professional kitchen. On television, many of these same gender norms are reflected. Only on very rare occasions is this performance subverted with personalities like Danny Bowien, who has adopted the identity performance beyond merely that of a man. While there are other subversive performances like that of Anne Burrell and even Julia Child, these television personalities continue to be seen in a manner that reflects traditional gender norms surrounding men and women chefs. The inclusion of more diverse chefs—though there are still very few represented on national television—has influenced the expectations and the space in which chefs can produce their gender identities. On competitive cooking shows, we now see a greater variety of individuals with vastly different backgrounds, nationalities, sexual orientations, gender identities and much more. Though traditional gender norms are very much present in these spaces, even these have begun to shift slightly within the world of celebrity cooking.

#### *Fifth Course - Language as a Performance of Gender Identity*

Discourse, methods of speaking, and the varying sounds we make are also forms of performance that can reflect an individual's gender identity. Language is a powerful tool for socialization into a cultural group. Linguists argue that individuals within each group can reflect social norms through their linguistic practices. More importantly, these same practices reveal not

only an individual's gender identity, but also provide insight on the established gender norms within a particular cultural context.

In his 1939 work *The Unconscious Patterning of Behavior in Society*, Edward Sapir noted that all cultural behavior was patterned “as a generalized mode of contact that is imputed to society rather than the individual” (546). Language demonstrates this patterned behavior as the seemingly random combinations of sounds, the strict grammatical forms, the construction of phrases, and all the rules that pertain to language serve to communicate feelings, ideas, experiences, and thoughts. Language shapes our reality of the world around us. However, it is important to note that language “only has value in so far as society has tacitly agreed to see them as symbols of reference” (Sapir 1929, 549). As a result, specific linguistic practices offer insight into cultural symbolism, history, traditions and norms unique to a particular cultural context. While these linguistic patterns serve to identify individuals from or within a particular social group, it can also give clues into the personality and chosen identity of a person. Sapir concludes that “the language habits of people are...unconscious indicators of the more important traits of their personalities” (1939, 17). These personality traits can in turn expose the entire set of identities that make up an individual. By understanding the linguistic practices that arise in specific contexts, we can better understand how a celebrity chef—or anyone for that matter—combines these personalities to create a unique identity.

Linguistics argue that speech practices can demonstrate an individual's gender identity. Elinor Ochs produced a study on language that supports Sapir's argument on the ability of language to reflect an individual's identity and personality. In 1992, Ochs published “Indexing Gender” as a part of *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* (Alessandro

Duranti and Charles Goodwin). In this work, Ochs begins by noting that gender norms, ideologies, and hierarchies are reflected and produced through language. She argues that, “gender ideologies are socialized, sustained, and transformed through talk, particularly through verbal practices that recur innumerable times in the lives of members of social groups” (1992, 336). There are specific tools of communication through which an individual communicates “social meanings at the same time as they are providing other levels of information” (Ochs 1992, 338). Merely pronouncing an otherwise identical word differently can convey different social meanings ranging from gender identity to social class to ethnicity among countless other identities (Ochs 1992, 338).

While social ideologies surrounding gender help to transform linguistic practices, language itself influences conceptions of social gender norms. Social groups not only socialize and categorize individuals through language but also “conceptualize men and women in culturally specific and meaningful ways” (Ochs 1992, 339). Interestingly, Butler also notes the importance of discourse in cementing social hierarchies, expectations, and norms surrounding gender. The methods men and women use to speak, the words they choose to utter, and even the the sounds they make all help to index gender.

In her 1995 article “Gendered Interaction: Masculine and Feminine Styles of Communication,” Julia Wood proposes a series of qualities that define men and women’s speech practices. Wood noted that women primarily used communication to establish and maintain relationships while men used language to “[exert] control, [preserve] independence, and [enhance] status” (1995, 21, 23). These qualities can still be seen in modern celebrity chefs’ speech patterns; however, both male and female chefs use qualities from both categories.

Linguists associate men's speaking patterns with communicating confidence, leadership, and power, especially within professional settings. In effect, men "tend to express themselves in fairly absolute, assertive ways. Compared with women, their language is typically more forceful, direct, and authoritative" (Wood 1995, 23). This practice allows men to establish their identities and ideas "by asserting themselves and challenging others" (Wood 1995, 23). In *Kitchen Confidential*, Bourdain shows his transition from line cook to assertive head chef, who directs and dominates the people and the work being done in his kitchen. Whether this be when interacting with his fellow cooks or demanding his suppliers' deliveries be made on time, Bourdain gives a clear example of a male chef asserting himself within the space of professional cooking. Though more mild on his tv shows, Bourdain continues this manner of speech: one of these subtle moments is in the second season of his *Cooks Tour* ("No Beads, No Babes, No Bourbon Street") when he is heading to a bayou to eat alligator and calmly states to the camera, "Hey, I've been to Cambodia so that sounds fine by me." Bourdain adopts a similar nonchalant, daring attitude towards strange foods whether it is the still beating heart of a rattlesnake or the pungent durian fruit. The combination of his speech and his actions establishes his character while simultaneously identifying him as a practitioner of male speech patterns and thus as a man. We see similar techniques in chefs Bobby Flay and Guy Fieri. On *Beat Bobby Flay*, no matter if he has won or lost against his opponent, Flay will always stand by his decisions and actions in the kitchen. On one occasion, after losing in a taco challenge to his opponent, Brian Tsao, he holds up his taco and asserts loudly, "I stand by my taco." Likewise, Fieri speaks to "exhibit knowledge, skill, or ability" on his shows, whether it is within his own kitchen or in the restaurant kitchens of chefs around the nation. He does this by identifying

ingredients or cooking methods, and anticipating the next steps in a chef's recipe. In one of his episodes on *Diners, Drive-ins and Dives* he is seen instructing the chefs at Sabroso!, a Mexican restaurant in California, to add the water from a jar of chilis into the sauce they were making (which they in fact were planning to do) before then telling them that their sauce was too clumpy and they should strain it before serving (another technique that the chefs had already prepared to do). Though a guest in this kitchen, Fieri retains his authoritative status as he dictates the actions and recipes being prepared. The combination of speech practices and actions establishes each of these chefs' characters while simultaneously identifying them as practitioners of male speech patterns and thus as men.

Women, on the other hand, are known to speak with more tentativeness compared to the authoritative speech of men. This means that women use more disclaimers and hedges when they are speaking, which helps women create more conversational equality between themselves and whomever they are speaking with (this in turn helps establish and maintain relationships). We would expect to see this in the linguistic performances of female chefs. However, almost all female celebrity chefs also engage in authoritative and confident communication similar to their male counterparts. Julia Child constantly illustrates her confidence and control when cooking in her kitchen. She states the techniques she uses (which she also demonstrates effortlessly), easily recounts information and history surrounding the ingredients and dishes she prepares, and most importantly, she is always calm and level headed. If Child makes a mistake, burns her meal, or drops her food she never loses her cool attitude. As a matter of fact, she uses these opportunities to give her viewers even more cooking options like adding more cheese sauce to her burnt gratin.

Through these techniques, Child showed the American public that she—and any other woman—could confidently and intelligently maintain complete control over her kitchen.

Years later, Anne Burrell reflects the same speaking patterns, relying on aggressive authoritative language to not only establish herself as an experienced professional chef, but also to impart information to both her viewers and the contestants she comes into contact with on various competitive cooking shows. Unlike traditional feminine speech patterns, Burrell by no means strives to support her fellow cooks through her language as she is constantly linguistically challenging those around her. For instance, on one scene of *Worst Cooks in America*, Burrell tells contestant Aadip Desai to “make sure [his burger] is moist because if you serve a dry burger you will be going home” (“Fire and Ice”) Burrell does not speak tentatively; she constantly speaks confidently about her dishes and her culinary skills. On *Secrets of a Restaurant Chef*, Burrell always finishes her episodes with claims like, “Exactly how I knew that would be!” or on one occasion “I have the perfect ratio of sauce and pasta here!” (“The Secret to Spaghetti and Meatballs”). As a matter of fact, Burrell makes sure her audience knows that she is always “cooking like a superstar.” Through her more aggressive communication style, Burrell depicts her serious, disciplined attitude when it comes to cooking. Rachael Ray brings the same linguistic authority to her at-home cooking show, reflecting the same confidence and authority as both Burrell and Child whenever she is cooking. Much like Child, when Ray makes a mistake or drops an ingredient, she quickly laughs it off or uses the accident as an opportunity to use more culinary techniques to save the dish. So while women are believed to be less dominating and linguistically aggressive than men, these women show that female chefs also command linguistic authority within the often stressful environment of professional cooking.

Perhaps most importantly of celebrity chefs' linguistic practices is communicating important or interesting information about different dishes, ingredients, and cooking techniques from around the world. In addition, due to their role as a public figure, celebrity chefs also impart with important lifestyle tips, providing new insights and solutions to problems ranging from creating a fun and unique theme for 'girl's night' to discussing international political conflict. In effect, celebrity chefs use language "to accomplish instrumental objectives". In Bourdain's work, he constantly meets with influential members of society like Barack Obama, Iggy Pop, and Aung San Suu Kyi. Staying true to the journalistic tone of his shows, Bourdain often covers sensitive topics ranging from the after effects of wars, personal experiences with government corruption or economic disaster, artistic movements, and of course, the history of food and cooking. Rachael Ray engages in a similar form of communication on both her former traveling show *40\$ a Day* and her current talk show *The Rachael Ray Show*. Through these outlets, Ray also explores the cultural traditions, history, personal experiences and ideas of the individuals she comes across during her travels or during her interviews. In a similar vein, many chefs like Anne Burrell and Giada de Laurentiis offer a different form of instrumental communication as they constantly provide culinary solutions, tips, and information that benefit their audiences. This technique is a linguistic quality that has more often than not been associated with men's speaking. All television chefs, however, engage in a similar method of speaking as it is crucial to the genre of televised cooking that the chefs provide information on methods of cooking—and on issues and topics falling outside of the food industry—regardless of their gender.

Finally, women's speaking often involves personal anecdotes or intimate details that cultivate a personal tone and create a feeling of community between speakers. There are women



on television who engage in this speaking practice, like Ree Drummond who constantly speaks about her life living on a ranch with her family and many farm animals. With the ubiquity of technology and social media, almost all celebrity chefs give some peeks into their personal lives through tweets that share their personal opinions or current projects, pictures that include family members or a look into their homes, and other outlets that give the whole world access to personal details about each chef. Anthony Bourdain and Guy Fieri have included stories and images of their families both on their television shows and their social media accounts. Bobby Flay, on the other hand, does not provide many personal anecdotes or intimate details on his shows as other male celebrity chefs. The same can be said for Anne Burrell. While Burrell produces a stream of information about ingredients, cooking techniques, and dishes, she mostly focuses her words and talking around the world of food. Rarely does Burrell divulge personal information about herself. Still, for most of these chefs the majority of private information they share with the public comes through modern forms of communication, primarily through social media platforms that help chefs engage with their audiences and promote their personal brand. Nonetheless, like most of the distinct men and women's linguistic practices, this 'feminine' linguistic trait is not as prevalent in only women's public performances and can be seen spanning across a variety of different performances.

Language has long been a powerful tool for understanding not only the gender performances, but the norms surrounding gender identity and behavior. Through language, an individual can produce their personalities and identities. Patterns of speaking and communication expose a culture's ideologies surrounding gender norms as a person learns to speak according to the gender they have been assigned at birth. This comes through a variety of methods ranging

from vocal pitch to the inclusion (or exclusion) of hedges and disclaimers to dominating the conversation. Each of these qualities point towards a specific gender identity. However, when it comes to celebrity chefs, the linguistic distinction between male and female chefs becomes more difficult to distinguish as they share many of the same practices. Linguistic qualities exhibiting confidence, authority, independence and control are prominent within the world of celebrity chefs. This ultimately complicates the boundary between female and male gender identities specifically within this sphere. However, while chefs occasionally reflect “feminine” speech patterns such as providing personal information, asking questions to further conversations, and creating a sense of equality between speakers, more often than not the linguistic styles present in celebrity chefs’ communication show “masculine” qualities. This could be because of the masculine-ly driven atmosphere of the professional kitchen. Training and working within this environment has most likely socialized these chefs into new linguistic practices based on masculine speaking practices. Becoming a chef requires that a person assert themselves with confidence and authority, be knowledgeable and able to communicate this knowledge to others, and create quick solutions for the countless problems that surface when running a bustling kitchen. As said by Bourdain, “genteel sensibilities are unwelcome” (2000 94). Perhaps the men and women working within this world have adopted a more or less similar communication style because of the innate masculinity of this space. On the other hand, celebrity chefs are placed within a unique context as their social and professional role is to provide information about the world of food and cooking. As their influence has extended beyond the kitchen to encapsulate daily lifestyle mentorship, celebrity chefs must also discuss these topics, exploring themes ranging from party hosting to solving international conflict. This could be why most celebrity

chefs share many of the same speaking patterns as they are all expected to produce a specific form of content for the genre of entertainment they provide. Or perhaps least likely, these men and women might also be ignoring traditional speaking patterns that they were socialized into, subtly subverting gender norms being presented through language. However, this explanation would demand that celebrity chefs be aware of the indexical nature of their communication style and speaking would thus become a revolutionary action and performance in and of itself. As a result, a new linguistic pattern may have arisen from the kitchen that reflects the identity of the professional chef. Due to the nature of their work, it is difficult to understand exactly how the form of communication used by most celebrity chefs has come to be as it is. Regardless, the ubiquity of these speaking patterns have the potential to influence audiences across the nation and around the world as celebrity chefs impart knowledge and norms not only from the things they say but through the way that they speak.

### *Coffee and Dessert - The Implications*

The restaurant kitchen has long been man's domain. A place filled with sharp edges, hot stoves, and heavy cooking-ware. A place where cooks share aggressive and crude language, often at the expense of others. The kitchen is where, by the words of countless chefs and line cooks, there is no place for the faint of heart. As a result, the kitchen has become a place of blatant gender divisions, both tangible and not. This might mean placing men on the firey and stressful line while women supposedly thrive in colder sections of the kitchen. This might mean making hiring decisions based on unfair and untrue gender stereotypes. Many chefs such as Julia Child, Bobby Flay, Rachael Ray, and Anthony Bourdain have received significant recognition

for their innovation in these spaces, moving from chef to public figure as they step into the role of modern celebrity chef. In the present day, the celebrity chef does much more than launch world renowned restaurants and publish best-selling cookbooks. In effect, celebrity chefs offer cooking and lifestyle opportunities. As such, celebrity chefs' influence reaches far beyond the domain of the kitchen and can have a significant impact on our society. More specifically, this group of public figures can have an incredible influence on current ideologies surrounding gender norms. There have been significant changes within the world of celebrity cooking as more men and women have been subverting traditional gender roles, slowly, but surely creating new norms.

Most celebrity chefs engage in traditional physical gender performances. This means wearing clothing, hairstyles, and accessories that are appropriate to the gender assigned to them at birth. These physical performances extend to include gestures and self-presentation. Most female chefs wear 'girly' clothes and gesture much more fluidly and elegantly than their male counterparts. Men, on the other hand, will sometimes look much less physically put together and their gestures appear much more jagged and abrupt. Even in these performances, however, there are outliers whose physical performances do not coincide with their expected gender identities.

These subtle clashes in gender performances extend far beyond chefs' physical appearance and presentation to their public viewers as their communication patterns give further insight into linguistic gender norms within the world of professional cooking. Within the world of celebrity cooking, differences in communication styles have become much more subtle, effectively blurring the divide between men and women's language within this particular space. Male and female chefs share the same forms of communication, which further complicates how

gender identity is produced as it has often been noted that masculine behavior and qualities thrive best within the world of professional cooking while feminine behaviors do not and are thus not seen as often within this field.

Gender stereotypes also affect the spaces that male and female celebrity chefs can occupy. The world of cooking is divided into two major sections: the public and the private. While the public sphere of cooking refers to the professional spaces such as restaurants, the private sphere refers to the domestic spaces, or domestic kitchens. There have long been gendered associations of work surrounding the public and the private spaces. These stereotypes continue to shape the world of cooking as the professional kitchen continues to be considered a man's space while the domestic is the woman's. Gendered norms become especially prevalent on cooking television as women often cook within their own at-home kitchens or in kitchen studios while most male celebrity chefs cook outside of these confines. Even then, however, there are once again some exceptions to this rule as a few women have also managed to thrive off of traveling food shows and competitive cooking shows. While still reinforcing traditional gender norms surrounding gendered divisions of space, these chefs are creating new spaces and opportunities for greater inclusivity of non-male hosts.

Gender identity can be produced, maintained, and subverted through countless means ranging from self-presentation to the use of spaces occupied by an individual. These specific choices can have a powerful impact on how gender is understood within the American public. Personal identity has significantly influenced the world of food and cooking. The professional kitchen started as a space created and dictated by male identity and norms, while those identities that differ from this norm have often struggled to leave their mark on the world of cooking.

Female and queer gender identities have been among the most underrepresented within the world of cooking. But even in the last five years, significant changes have taken place within this industry: from higher rates of queer inclusivity on shows like *Top Chef* or *Chopped* to the newly all-female hosted *Worst Cooks in America*, we are beginning to see important and impactful changes taking place within the world of food. With more representation of individuals identifying outside of traditional social norms, a new standard is beginning to take hold within this sphere. We are seeing new forms of expression on celebrity cooking shows with more women, queer individuals, and subversive gender performances. These underrepresented voices are also beginning to shake-up the food industry beyond the lens of celebrity chefs as influential culinary figures around the world are demanding change one kitchen at a time.

## Appendices

### Appendix A - Giada de Laurentiis

Born in Rome, Italy, de Laurentiis spent her early years playing in her grandmother's kitchen (Food Network). Early into her childhood, she and her family moved to Southern California. Here she graduated highschool and attended UCLA with a major in anthropology. De Laurentiis later studied at Le Cordon Bleu in Paris before returning the the United States to work as a pastry chef (Food Network). De Laurentiis worked in various restaurants in Los Angeles before she was discovered by a Food Network executive who read an article about her work and family in *Food & Wine* magazine (Food Network). Since then de Laurentiis has hosted *Giada's Weekend Getaways*, *Giada in Paradise: Capri and Santorini*, and *Giada at Home*.

### Appendix B - Guy Fieri

Fieri began his culinary career at age ten, "selling soft pretzels from a three-wheeled bicycle cart...called "The Awesome Pretzel Cart" (GuyFieri.com). After spending time in Chantilly, France Fieri graduated from the University of Nevada Las Vegas with a degree in Hospitality Management (GuyFieri.com). Fieri was propelled into the world of celebrity cooking after winning the second season of *Food Network Star*, which granted him the six episode commitment for his *Guy's Big Bite* (GuyFieri.com). From there Fieri went on to create and host shows like *Diners, Drive-ins, and Dives*, *Guy's Family Road Trip*, *Guy's Ranch Kitchen*, *Guy's Grocery Games*, and *Guy's Big Project* (GuyFieri.com).

### Appendix C - Anthony Bourdain

Before gaining fame from his 2000 exposé of the restaurant industry *Kitchen Confidential*, Bourdain attended and graduated from the Culinary Institute of America. He worked in countless kitchens in New York City before his final, and among his most notable, position as executive chef at Brasserie Les Halles in the Financial District in Manhattan (Bourdain). Since publishing this and many more novels, Bourdain has hosted a variety of travel and food shows both on Food Network and CNN. He is currently filming *No Reservations*.

### Appendix D - Anne Burrell

Born in New York, Burrell graduated from Canisius College with a degree in English before starting her culinary career at the Culinary Institute of America then at the Italian Culinary Institute for Foreigners. After cooking professionally in Italy and then New York City, Burrell continuously served as a sous-chef for chef Mario Batali on *Iron Chef*. Later, she launched her *Secrets of a Restaurant Chef* before hosting on *Worst Cooks in America*. She has since appeared as a host and judge on a variety of competitive cooking shows.

#### Appendix E - Danny Bowien

Born in Korea and raised in Oklahoma, Bowien began his culinary career in New York before moving to California to work at restaurants like Blowfish Sushi, Tsunami, and Farina. In 2011, Bowien launched Mission Chinese Food in San Francisco, which quickly earned a reputation as one of the top restaurants in America through reviews in Bon Appetit and GQ magazine in 2011.

#### Appendix F - Bobby Flay

Bobby Flay dropped out of high school at 17 and began working his way through pizza shops, Baskin Robins, and eventually working at Joe Allen Restaurant in New York. Joe Allen paid for Flay's attendance at the French Culinary Institute (now the International Culinary Center). After graduating, Flay continued on to land various executive chef positions before launching his own restaurant, Mesa. Flay began his television career with his show *Grillin and Chillin* in 1996. Since then, Flay has hosted a variety of barbecuing shows and appeared on competitive cooking shows like *Iron Chef* and his own *Beat Bobby Flay*. Flay is known for his boyish and kind attitude on his cooking shows.

#### Appendix G - Rachael Ray

Born and raised in New York, Rachael Ray held a variety of jobs within the food industry before initiating a "30 Minute Meal" class. Her class became featured on a local new channel before then being picked up by Food Network. Since then, Ray has hosted *\$40 a Day*, *Inside Dish* and *Rachael Ray's Tasty Travels*. She has also published *Comfort Foods*, 2003's *Get Togethers* and 2005's *Rachael Ray 365*. Now Ray hosts her talk show *Rachael Ray* as well as a food and lifestyle magazine, *Every Day With Rachael Ray*.



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