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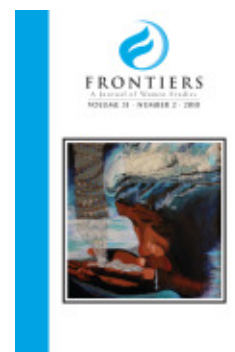
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Recipes for Cosmopolitanism Cooking across Borders in the South Asian Diaspora

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Recipes for Cosmopolitanism

Cooking across Borders in the South Asian Diaspora

SHAMEEM BLACK

Cookbooks yield many recipes, only some of them for meals. In the hands of Madhur Jaffrey, one of the most prominent Indian culinary authorities in the South Asian diaspora, the cookbook becomes an advice manual on being at home in the world during an age of globalization. Jaffrey's narratives of cooking and eating strive to rewrite the dislocations of diaspora and migration into a rooted sense of place, literally domesticating complicated cultural collisions while accentuating the global intersections that inform the domestic sphere. In Jaffrey's cookbooks, the subject who feels most out of place is invited to understand displacement as a new form of belonging.

Born and raised in India, Madhur Jaffrey has spent much of her life in England and the United States. She rose to prominence as a gastronomical expert with *An Invitation to Indian Cooking*, which first appeared in 1973. This book launched her career as a cookbook writer in British and eventually American publishing circles, making her one of the best known figures in the late twentieth-century world of Anglophone Indian cooking. Her celebrity has been bolstered by her work in cinema and television, in particular by her roles in Merchant Ivory films and by her position as a cooking show host for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). A food-inflected memoir of her childhood in India, *Climbing the Mango Trees* (2005), confirms Jaffrey's status as an icon both regal and reassuring in international culinary discourse.

However, while Jaffrey is most commonly described as an authority on Indian cooking, a significant percentage of her books are actually devoted to East Asian, pan-Asian, and international recipe collections. In refusing to limit herself even to the vast and varied archive of culinary traditions that India affords, Jaffrey encourages her readers to consider the significance of culinary otherness. Since, in the West, the privilege to write about others has been fully normalized only for white subjects, Jaffrey's cookbooks represent an important refusal of the limitations placed on writers of color.¹

As texts that confuse any steady alignment between the cultural identity of the cook and the cultural identity of the recipes, these comparative collections prompt inquiry into the meaning of cooking across borders. How should a cookbook best represent the culinary other to its implied audience? To what extent can eating unfamiliar food be considered an ethical act, and what kind of approaches might make it so? What new obligations arise when one eats such food or experiments with new methods of cooking?

Throughout this essay, I explore how these central questions animate Jaffrey's comparative cookbooks. Through the narrative voice of her collections, Jaffrey models a domestic diasporic self that is ethnically and nationally constituted by its engagement with intimate domestic practices from around the world. Through this lens, the cookbooks help to shape the conditions of visibility through which their readers perceive culinary others across the globe. Jaffrey's rhetoric challenges both an identitarian logic of food and a vision of eating as culinary imperialism, even as it is enabled, informed, and constrained by structural inequalities of global circulation. For subjects who do not identify themselves as part of the South Asian diaspora, Jaffrey's narratives provide new experiences of transnational engagement, while they encourage members of the South Asian diaspora to define their identity as much in terms of transnational mobility as in terms of ancestral affiliation. The expanded vision of identity promoted in Jaffrey's cookbooks works in part by promoting the intimacies of home cooking and by subverting a service model of consumption in which consuming culinary otherness resembles the comparatively passive experience of eating in restaurants. As her cookbooks register and direct an audience's inchoate desire to engage affectively with a wider world, they promote imaginative border crossing through the readerly and performative labor of cooking.

By focusing on Jaffrey's comparative cookbooks, I further wish to suggest a broader issue at work: I argue that we might understand the cookbook as a genre with aspirations to promote new forms of vernacular and embodied cosmopolitanism. The rhetoric of cosmopolitanism, as I use it throughout this essay, refers to a mode of attachment beyond the local that implies both an openness and a sense of attentiveness toward different ways of life.² In this respect, cosmopolitanism entails more than a casually touristic approach to culinary difference. Cookbooks appearing in English at the turn of the millennium frequently suggest that learning about unfamiliar culinary practices means more than simply satisfying basic requirements for food; accepting or rejecting the comestibles of others implies an identifiable view of the world bound up with material power and social goals. In the opening pages of the American anthology *The World Is a Kitchen* (2006), for instance, the collec-

tion's editors go so far as to claim that "cooking has become the universal language, an international tongue that allows us to communicate, to resolve every cultural challenge, be it language, custom or belief."³ While we may regard this conviction as wildly optimistic and even impermissibly naive, it reveals how cookbooks can invest their own pages with cosmopolitan ideals. Cookbooks that encourage unfamiliar culinary practices raise important concerns about the pleasures and responsibilities of border crossing. In doing so, they help to imagine a form of cosmopolitanism rooted in intimate sensory pleasures rather than in more conventional abstractions of affiliation and duty.

As an ethos of expansion, in which domestic and bodily interiors make room for new substances, culinary cosmopolitanism would need to distinguish itself from an identitarian logic that equates food with national or ethnic identity as well as from a form of culinary imperialism that reinforces the inequalities of a world shaped by global capitalism. In the first section of this essay, I begin by considering why scholars have been reluctant to understand culinary practices as exemplars of such cosmopolitanism. In the following sections, I explore how Jaffrey's cookbooks shape definitions of, and aspirations toward, a cosmopolitan sense of everyday life. The desire to engage with a world marked as foreign through cooking, of course, well predates Jaffrey's entry into the international cookbook market.⁴ But Jaffrey's comparative cookbooks are particularly useful, I suggest, because they struggle to respect traditional styles of domestic cooking without essentializing those particular forms or concealing how those styles necessarily change in translation from one social context to another. We might consider this struggle as one of the emblematic challenges of cosmopolitanism, which seeks to grapple with difference without transcending or erasing it. In this sense, Jaffrey's cosmopolitan cookbooks represent acts of domestication not as limiting practices but as lively engagements with the implications of crossing borders. The tensions within her overarching vision, in other words, become part of her solution.

ON READING COOKBOOKS

Splattered with oil, marked with notes, and worn with time, cookbooks testify to the links between writing and life. For both the dedicated chef and the fantasy cook, cookbooks hint at forms of not-quite-embodied knowledge in the liminal space between language and labor. They emerge as forms that mediate between oral and written traditions, often in structure and voice seeking to recreate communities of cooks who share experience and expertise. Perhaps even more directly than other genres of print culture, cookbooks work to create imagined communities and shared ideological values among their implied readers.

While literary representations of food and consumption have long attracted attention, the cookbook claims only recent notice as a literary genre in its own right.⁵ Like personal diaries, long dismissed as minor cultural productions, cookbooks have often been ignored because of their historical reputation as a feminized genre. Although professional kitchens have been considered notoriously male-dominated spaces, cookbooks promoting domestic proficiency since the nineteenth century have often been written by and aimed at women. Cooking as domestic labor is often seen as an extension of maternal practices of feeding, tied both psychologically and socially to acts of female reproduction. This association with feminization persists even as more and more men participate in culinary discourse at the turn of the millennium.⁶ Such insistent gendering thus comes to affect how cookbooks are seen to shape group identities. Since practices performed by and upon the female body have often been pressured to uphold traditional notions of cultural integrity, domestic cooking is often perceived to anchor national, ethnic, or regional identities. As a result, modern scholarly accounts frequently present cookbooks as powerful allegories for the formation of particular group ties.

In particular, the cookbook has been privileged as a mode of nationalist discourse.⁷ Such nationalist effects grow especially intense in ethnic minority or diasporic cooking, in which distinctive culinary practices figure important sites of negotiation with surrounding cultures. For some, cookbooks offer a way to assert growing assimilation;⁸ for others, they help to forestall complete incorporation into a new body politic.⁹ Cookbooks also recruit new generations for heritage practices, often appealing to the power of a carefully constructed collective nostalgia. Like nationalism, which claims longevity despite its historical novelty, cookbooks often work to conceal their own modernity in their rush to offer stable food traditions that evoke timeless, or at least venerable, constructions of cultural identity.

If cuisine has been perceived as a genuine (and often necessary) contribution to nationalist discourse, cooking and eating have often been considered trivial or compromised forms of cosmopolitan practice.¹⁰ Critics frequently describe edible goods as forms of commodity fetishism divorced from the labor and politics of their production.¹¹ In postcolonial spaces, a desire for foreign food not uncommonly reflects a colonial mentality that devalues indigenous foods and esteems imperial or metropolitan ones.¹² In rich countries, eagerness to taste the cuisines of different cultures can be seen as a symptom of the failures of a pluralism willing to claim the virtues of liberal tolerance but reluctant to invest in larger structural changes.¹³ Social scientists investigating ethnic minority restaurants, for instance, note that an exogenous clientele for minority cuisine generally seeks a culinary experience that is differ-

ent, but not too different, from the clients' existing habits of consumption.¹⁴ Culinary experimentation is thus perceived as a mode of bourgeois complacency that assigns minorities to service roles in the larger community. More radically, consumption is sometimes used as a figure for culinary imperialism, in which relationships between the eater and the eaten are seen to replicate the asymmetries of social power in a globalizing world.¹⁵ The globalization of culinary traditions can also provoke broader dystopian anxieties about worldwide homogenization or descents into barbarism.¹⁶ In short, tasting cuisines from different parts of the world and creating new forms of hybrid cooking often appear to reveal the failures of a cosmopolitan ethos.

These readings of the limitations of culinary practice are often very plausible, and many forms of cooking and eating across borders remain within the constraints of a casually touristic, identitarian, or imperialist vision of culture. But the failure to afford cosmopolitan potential to cooking may also bespeak hidden bias at work about the kinds of activities that count as cosmopolitan in the first place. The wide-ranging expansiveness associated with cosmopolitanism has often been aligned with masculine privileges of mobility in the public sphere, while feminized practices of domesticity implicitly serve as the foil against which such mobility gains intensified significance. I suggest that food has often been overlooked as a form of what Bruce Robbins calls "actually existing cosmopolitanism" because of its longstanding association with feminized and domestic labor.¹⁷ This implicit gendering may cause us to wonder, with Ania Spyra, "whether, in general, cosmopolitanism—understood as volitional belonging to many places in the world at the same time—is for women."¹⁸ To avoid ceding cosmopolitan structures of feeling to practices gendered male, it thus becomes crucial to investigate how discourses historically associated with women may navigate multiple forms of belonging and obligation. Considering the cookbook, therefore, may help to bring into focus a cosmopolitan discourse that does not implicitly normalize a masculine subject.

The rhetoric of the cookbook may also help to restore to concepts of cosmopolitanism the importance of sensory and emotional pleasure, qualities that often disappear in discussions of expanded attentiveness to others.¹⁹ While enjoyment of the unfamiliar has often been linked to optics of exploitation, exoticism, or colonialism, reading such enjoyment as automatically injurious produces impoverished portraits of imaginative border crossing. The sensory pleasures of tasting, smelling, and touching new foods, the conversational solidarity of cooks seeking and sharing knowledge, the social bonds of hospitality, and the powerful memories created by new culinary experiences all suggest possible connections that draw strength from embodied experiences. Defending such possibilities, Uma Narayan argues that

gustatory relish for the food of “Others” may help contribute to an appreciation of their presence in the national community, despite ignorance about the cultural contexts of their foods—these pleasures of the palate providing more powerful bonds than knowledge. We risk privileging the mind too much if we ignore the ways in which a more carnal relish may sometimes make for stronger appreciation than intellectual “understanding.”²⁰

While practices of comparative cooking and eating will not make the cook or the eater into a national or an ethnic Other, they may provoke new conceptions of creative labor that expand the borders of what cultural identity entails. They also may help to develop new conceptions of commensality, enlarging the implicit scope of those who partake in shared culinary practices. Such expanded ideas of commensality may be mostly imagined—cooking food from an unfamiliar region does not automatically entail eating socially with others from that part of the world—but, as Benedict Anderson’s classic argument suggests, imagined communities are far from chimerical. Since cookbooks play a role in translating food from one social context to another, they raise the possibility of affective connections and expanded identities that cannot always be reduced to identitarian or imperialist understandings of others. It is to one such possibility that I now turn.

DIASPORIC DOMESTICITY

Madhur Jaffrey’s success as a transnational cooking authority in Anglophone circuits testifies to the increasingly visible South Asian diaspora, for which food has acquired a particularly powerful role as a cultural signifier. While no culture is without its culinary obsessions, an emphasis on food is exceptionally prominent in the construction of South Asian identity in Anglophone discourse. Given the history of the spice trade that enabled links between the subcontinent and the West, South Asia—and India in particular—has been marked in the West as a cuisine-intensive signifier of exotic culinary practices and transformative flavorings.²¹ Scholars drawn to Jaffrey’s work have thus focused on the production of national and ethnic identity in her Indian cookbooks, such as *An Invitation to Indian Cooking* (1973), *A Taste of India* (1985), and *Quick and Easy Indian Cooking* (1996). Reading her nostalgic autobiographical impulses as allegories of multicultural nationalism, scholars such as Parama Roy and Anita Mannur have persuasively linked Jaffrey’s career to the invention of Indian food as a national cuisine in India and in the West, as well as to the reassertion of South Asian identity for many of South Asian descent scattered throughout the world.²²

However, one of the most distinctive elements of Jaffrey's career as an Indian culinary authority is her refusal to confine her work to Indian cooking. While many of her cookbooks focus exclusively on Indian cuisines, her oeuvre also includes *Madhur Jaffrey's World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking* (1981), *Madhur Jaffrey's Cookbook* (1987), *Far Eastern Cookery* (1989), *A Taste of the Far East* (1993), the children's book *Market Days: From Market to Market Around the World* (1995), and *Madhur Jaffrey's World Vegetarian* (1999). These cookbooks are neither marginal to Jaffrey's career nor neglected in Anglophone food circles. *A Taste of the Far East* and *World Vegetarian*, for example, won prestigious James Beard Awards in the United States in 1994 and 2000. Jaffrey's publishing profile thus differs from those of other prominent culinary authorities on Indian cuisine in the West, such as Julie Sahni, whose work remains committed to Indian food. At the same time, it also remains distinct from the approach of younger cookbook celebrities from the South Asian diaspora, such as Padma Lakshmi, for whom Indian food is only one of many culinary traditions featured in their repertoires. Jaffrey's work, in short, both privileges and exceeds Indian cuisine. In this context, to consider Jaffrey only as an expert in the construction of Indian food is to rely upon an identitarian logic that aligns the body of the cook with the body of the nation. It is this alignment, I suggest, that Jaffrey's comparative collections invite us to question.

Reading Jaffrey for articulations of nationalism and for signs of transnational cosmopolitanism is not necessarily a contradictory task. Her cookbooks engage the specific history of colonial encounters, reclaiming the hybridity imposed on South Asians through colonialism and turning it into a sign of Indian tolerance and inventive adaptation. Scholars have pointed to the ways in which her cookbooks embody ideals of Nehruvian pluralism, valorizing different food traditions as safe and appealing ways of describing India as a multicultural nation. But Jaffrey's comparative collections also push beyond the specific history of colonial and independent India, asking what it means for an Indian chef to educate American, British, postcolonial, or European readers in Indonesian or Japanese cooking.²³ Even as Jaffrey embodies specifically Indian ideals, she also transgresses these national signifiers. Her rhetoric thus gestures toward a diasporic identity in which a particular nationality is informed as much by its engagement with other national practices as it is by those considered its own.²⁴ For individuals living beyond the geographical borders of their ancestral homelands, daily life represents a constant engagement with the cultural practices of others. While domestic habits can provide reassuring moments that distinguish a diasporic subject from the dominant surrounding culture, they also provide spaces where individuals can attempt

to embrace new practices and reconfigure traditional ones. Jaffrey's portraits of domesticity normalize diasporic experiences and make them the model even for readers who do not consider themselves diasporic or dislocated. Her comparative cookbooks thus offer a way to frame the discontinuities of diasporic space, literally encouraging her readers—Indian and otherwise—to feel at home by not feeling at home.

A model for such paradoxical comfort emerges through Jaffrey's authorial self-fashioning as a figure of diasporic domesticity. While her comparative cookbooks have been considered less autobiographical than her collections that concentrate on Indian food, these pan-Asian and global cookbooks actually brim with autobiographical narratives that model the self as a culinary traveler.²⁵ Although these texts do not linger as heavily on Jaffrey's childhood, they proffer accounts of her experiences abroad filming on location, researching cookbooks, or visiting friends. The collections expose the traveling pathways through which Jaffrey finds new recipes, resonating with the rapid rise of culinary tourism in the 1990s and 2000s.²⁶ These narratives, moreover, form a powerful part of Jaffrey's appeal. In a review of *World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking* on Amazon.com, a reader from Minnesota declared, "Even if I didn't cook, I would want it for the stories."²⁷

Jaffrey's five main comparative collections attest to the breadth of her culinary range and ambition. *World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking*, with its hand-drawn illustrations, bohemian charm, and image of iconic Indian femininity, speaks to a countercultural audience interested in contesting Western reliance on meat. *Madhur Jaffrey's Cookbook* addresses itself to a harried reader seeking to balance work and family, offering a menu-oriented rather than dish-oriented structure to simplify the process of meal construction. *Far Eastern Cookery*, with its lavish production values, promotes professional culinary sophistication as a new form of leisure. This collection anticipates the more narratively rich *A Taste of the Far East*, which includes extended travel essays and evocative photojournalism as a central part of its ethos. *World Vegetarian*, the most encyclopedic collection, reflects the growing gourmet tastes of an audience increasingly comfortable with diverse cuisines.

While distinct and historically specific in their anticipation of particular culinary tastes, these five cookbooks nonetheless share important rhetorical sensibilities. In all of them, we find formal attempts to reconcile domesticity with travel. As micronarratives designed to be read out of sequence, in keeping with the culinary needs of the reader, Jaffrey's stories accrue cumulative effects through their nonlinear resonance. The verbal echoes of singular experiences, often repeated from cookbook to cookbook, come to approximate the habitual practices of daily domestic life. Through these repetitions, the

narratives seek to provide the impression of rootedness that conventional travel narratives might lack. In managing to make a life of travel take on the sedimentation of daily domestic life, Jaffrey's rhetoric complicates the matrix of associations that gender domesticity and travel in opposing ways. At the same time, as we will see, this domestic exploration is occasionally shadowed by antirealist and hyperrealist visions of culinary and social otherness. These images of cooking across borders, therefore, are repetitive and singular, structurally patterned and nonlinear, and attentive to vibrant social detail but not ethnographically systematic.

While the narrative persona of Jaffrey's cookbooks echoes the familiar trope of the colonial adventurer, it rewrites this outward gaze through its emphasis on the dual importance of sensory pleasure and enabling labor. The opening paragraph of *Far Eastern Cookery*, for example, begins with an account that would not seem out of place in a work of travel writing or even in a novel:

The young women stood poised on the craggy black rocks that edge Korea's southernmost island, Cheju, their trim bodies silhouetted against the blue of the sky and the sea. Then, one by one, they dived off and disappeared into the cold waters. Several minutes later they surfaced with a bounty of abalone, oysters and sea urchins.

Provenance becomes a crucial ingredient of the seafood sold to hungry customers on the rocks; the "briny creatures . . . dabbed with a heady sauce made of fermented soybeans, chilies and garlic" rely on an evocative back story as part of their appeal.²⁸ A more elaborate account of this scene, set years later, appears in *A Taste of the Far East*, in which Jaffrey discusses the social and material dynamics that shape the divers' livelihoods. She not only celebrates the taste of seafood freshly caught and consumed but also draws attention to the physical hardships and changing economic factors that make diving less attractive to young women than it was to their mothers' generation. "The workings of wind and weather have etched deep creases in [the divers'] faces," Jaffrey writes. "They complain of headaches, earaches, and chest pains."²⁹ In refusing to romanticize the female labor behind the seafood delicacies, the cookbook encourages a broadened sense of attentiveness to the labor conditions that make such meals possible.

Perhaps not coincidentally, Jaffrey's focus on this particular form of female labor intensifies the possible imaginative alignments among the Korean divers, her female readers, and herself. At one level, the image of diving offers Jaffrey's audiences a metaphor for their own possible experiences; through their culinary explorations, they might come to think of themselves as plunging into new territory to return with unexpected treasures. Yet Jaffrey's nar-

rative also resists exoticizing the act of diving, offering a specific glimpse of its meaning to the divers: “The leader of the diving women will, at the end of the day, sell all the shellfish to the Fisheries Cooperative Union,” she concludes. “Twenty per cent of the money will go to the men [who run the diving boats], the rest will be divided among the women.”³⁰ This emphasis helps both to encourage heightened attentiveness to the divers’ conditions and to remind readers of the economic value of their own cooking labor. This attempt to navigate between what is distinctive and what is similar between divers and readers further informs the visuals of the cookbook. In one striking photograph of a diver in the water in *A Taste of the Far East* (fig. 1), the camera captures the woman both in a moment of defamiliarization (she is almost entirely sheathed in a black wetsuit) but also in a moment of compelling emotion. Confirming Jaffrey’s description of the physical arduousness of the profession, the diver’s expression of anxiety and concern invites empathy and intimacy with the readers who encounter the photograph. Through such an emphasis on the true costs of the extraordinary seafood, Jaffrey subverts the privileged gaze of the colonial male adventurer to emphasize a form of connection between women across national borders.³¹ Her choice of emphasis on Asian cuisines further establishes nonwhite cultural contacts as the template for cosmopolitan encounters, thus contesting another convention of the white male explorer narrative.

Within Jaffrey’s often comforting and celebratory ethos further lies the possibility of an encounter with the grotesque and difficult. As part of a recipe for huevos rancheros in *Madhur Jaffrey’s Cookbook*, Jaffrey writes that the first time she ate this dish, “I was returning from Mexico where I had gone for the dual purpose of doing a film in Cuernavaca and acquiring a speedy divorce in Ciudad Juarez.” For her role as the angel Lucifer in the film, Jaffrey writes of spending six weeks attached to harnesses leaping over the precipices of Hell, “all the time wearing 3-inch long nails and a beard across half my chin.” “By the time I reached Juarez,” Jaffrey records, “I had bruises and cuts all over my body and half my face was red and sore from the wear and tear of daily beard removals. The other divorce-seekers—and there were thirty of us—looked no better.”³² While Jaffrey often makes reference to her acting career, rarely does she offer up such images of herself, and she does not make frequent reference to the marriage that ended in this Mexican divorce. It is difficult to think of an image more out of keeping with her usual references to her husband and three daughters, which conjure images of bourgeois class contentment and link culinary concoctions to gendered images of upper middle-class domestic nurturing.³³ Indeed, *Madhur Jaffrey’s Cookbook*, subtitled *Easy East/West Menus for Family and Friends*, is the most embedded in tales of her domestic and



Fig. 1. Korean diver from Madhur Jaffrey's *A Taste of the Far East*. Reproduced by permission of Michael Freeman.

marital life; it is even dedicated to her parents-in-law, whose recipes feature in many of the menus. Yet it is in precisely such moments as these that Jaffrey's writings work toward a more complex form of culinary cosmopolitanism.

Like the account of the Korean divers, the tale of the Luciferian role and the Mexican divorce hints at the disappointments or deprivations that often attend global food distribution and consumption. While the anecdote is offered in a way that emphasizes its absurdity and comic potential, its imagery adds a new dimension to the ordinarily optimistic form of travel valorized by Jaffrey's cookbook rhetoric. The story confuses the borders between genders and the divides between human and demonic; it connects the manufactured Hell of the film to the all too real pain of the soon-to-be-divorced unfortunates; it envisions Mexico as the staging ground for unearthly celluloid fantasies and for material escapes from North American marital regulations. While in many respects this portrait is compatible with a primitivist optic of othering, I suggest that it also invites its readers to acknowledge how much fantasy is part of the encounter with the culinary other. By foregrounding the very *unreality* of the Mexico it constructs, it asks its readers to eschew the search for uncontaminated authenticity. It also offers up the *huevos rancheros* as an image of Jaffrey's solitary and singular eating that brings into relief the social work of commensality valorized in her cookbooks. "My first positive act as a

freshly divorced woman,” she writes, “was to enter a coffee shop and order a late breakfast.”³⁴ This embedded recipe forms part of a larger meal titled, incongruously, “At Home on Sunday with Friends: A Tex-Mex Brunch.” Introducing this story into her cookbook creates a form of verbal fusion that, in its very singularity, becomes an alternate metaphor for the cuisine she advocates: one in which surprising, unlikely elements can be served into a whole that transforms their meaning and rewrites pain into pleasure. This moment emphasizes the productive power of a sensory cosmopolitan pleasure, linking it to feminist liberation, while it also underscores how such pleasure is haunted by the specters of suffering and solitude. Even the title of the meal, with its emphasis on the fusion category of “Tex-Mex,” works as an allegory for the larger conceptual fusion that makes the pangs of displacement indistinguishable from the pleasures of belonging.

The accounts of the Korean divers and the huevos rancheros gesture toward the productive tensions within Jaffrey’s emerging portrait of diasporic domesticity. The first encourages the reader to acknowledge the material, economic, and physical realities that make the luscious descriptions of fresh seafood possible, while the second invites the reader to acknowledge the importance of cultural alterity as a source of productive sensory fantasy. As Jaffrey refuses to limit herself to the hyperrealist or the antirealist, it is in the tension between these modes that a multifaceted culinary cosmopolitanism begins to emerge.

REPRESENTING CULINARY DIFFERENCE

When these cookbooks tutor prospective readers in how to become a domestic self in travel, Jaffrey’s microstories raise the question of representational ethics in culinary border crossing. Narratives of culinary otherness frequently provoke anxieties about the theft of indigenous knowledge, the commodification of culture, and (most pervasively for the genre of the cookbook) the workings of class privilege. Marked by references to Jaffrey’s transnational filmic and literary career, the stories in her cookbooks bespeak a powerful sense of affluent mobility that troubles the utopian goal of cosmopolitan engagement. “Celebrations of the ‘cosmopolitan’ can suggest an unpleasant posture of superiority toward the putative provincial,” Kwame Anthony Appiah acknowledges. “You imagine a *Comme des Garçons*-clad sophisticate with a platinum frequent-flyer card regarding, with kindly condescension, a ruddy-faced farmer in workman’s overalls. And you wince.”³⁵ Jaffrey’s rhetoric does occasionally veer toward the condescending generalization, and the audience she addresses is consistently imagined as a middle-class subject based in at least partly Westernized spaces.³⁶

What is intriguing about Jaffrey's ethics of representation, however, is its underlying assumptions about the significance of crossing culinary borders. The rhetoric of her comparative cookbooks seeks to legitimize her culinary explorations by aligning the practice of travel with the practice of family formation. I quote from the beginning of *World Vegetarian* at some length, because this statement encapsulates the rhetorical impulses that work their way through many of her cookbooks.

As I travel around the world, I see that we seem to be heading toward a softening of boundaries between all cuisines. In a way, this has always happened. . . . We live in a new world where each of us not only knows at least a dozen other food traditions—other than the one we were born with—but are on close and easy terms with them. . . . My own family, like so many others, is mixed. I, of course, am Indian. I am married to an American. My children, through their marriages, have brought in Italian, Irish, English, and French blood to those nearest to me, my grandchildren. Two of my daughters studied in China and Taiwan and are complete Sinophiles, at least as far as food is concerned. I, myself, have traveled the world constantly since the sixties, moving from East Asia to North Africa to Australia to southern Europe to Central American [*sic*] and the Caribbean. It is impossible not to pick up good ideas, good recipes and new ingredients as one travels.³⁷

Jaffrey wants to claim both historicity and novelty for this “softening of boundaries”; she associates the substantial commitments of multiethnic and multinational family formation with the casual “picking up” of ideas and ingredients. With its alignment between food purity and racial purity, the passage affords a stronger significance to the sensory melding of tastes, which implicitly figure the sensual melding of bodies.³⁸ The ease with which Jaffrey's rhetoric moves from intermarriage to overseas experience promotes the idea of equivalence between mixings through “blood” and mixings through travel.

If the pleasures of culinary and sexual reproduction appear interchangeable in this description, Jaffrey intensifies this relationship throughout the stories that frame the recipes in the book. One of the great romances of Jaffrey's life is clearly with the erotics of food, which she presents with mock-epic brio: “I was young, straight out of a London drama school, and coming to America for the very first time on the *Queen Mary*. Right there on the high seas, I fell in love with the taste and texture of the artichoke heart.” Eventually, food literally becomes family: “Over the years I seem to have traveled to most corners of the world. I greet young fresh vegetables, wherever I find them, like lost siblings.”³⁹ By making the pleasures of eroticism and kinship so central to her

cosmopolitanism, Jaffrey's rhetoric positions social identity in expanded and collective terms. While the connection between food and family is often metaphorical, Jaffrey also points out causal relationships between the two, noting that intermarriage is one of the greatest spurs to the invention of new cuisines. "The intermarriage between the Malay men and Chinese women in the Straits settlements of Penang and Malacca (as well as Singapore) has led to a new mixed culture," she writes.⁴⁰ What one eats, in other words, is often what others around one eat. Understanding culinary identity in this way allows Jaffrey's work to identify what is particular to her ethnicity and upbringing while also casting this identity in terms of others (like her children and grandchildren) who expand the contours of her imaginative practice. Food becomes the conduit between differently racialized bodies, and while food does not re-racialize those bodies, it uses the pleasures of embodied connections to enlarge the significance of national and ethnic markers.

Jaffrey does not seek to represent foods as divorced from the context of their production in a community. Even as her rhetoric celebrates fusion, her recipes emphasize forms of cooking developed by and within female home communities. "Most of my recipes are traditional; I like the clarifications that time and custom bring. Sometimes the period of time does not have to be long. But local traditions need to be strong and overpowering, not the daily buffeting of rootless fads," she declares.⁴¹ While this may seem like a constitutive contradiction of Jaffrey's abovementioned interest in translation and intermixture, it is her very commitment to a comparative globalized optic that produces her interest in the idea of traditional cooking.⁴² In constructing this intimacy between the traditional and the invented, Jaffrey's rhetoric seeks to respect the particularities of "time and custom" while recognizing how new customs come into being.

As you turn the pages, you will find old traditional recipes and newly created ones, recipes where new and old ingredients are combined and recipes from one nation that may be made with ingredients from another. That seems to be the kind of world we are living in today.⁴³

This doubled vision provides one of the cornerstones of her contribution to representations of culinary otherness, working toward what Appiah has called a "rooted cosmopolitanism."⁴⁴

If recipes allow Jaffrey to represent culinary difference as both historically formed and capable of reinvention, food itself is modeled as the ultimate vernacular cosmopolitan. "Rice is such an amenable grain," Jaffrey rhapsodizes with characteristic enthusiasm.

It can be elevated to an almost hallowed position when it is served in lacquer bowls. . . . It seems equally comfortable combined with millet by a Korean peasant, or brightened with saffron and orange rind for a Persian banquet, or stir-fried with eggs and scallions for a Chinese snack.⁴⁵

In learning to cook in different ways, Jaffrey's readers are invited to model themselves after the transformative versatility that Jaffrey displaces onto culinary staples. This vision of food begins to mirror Jaffrey's emphasis on multi-ethnic families. "If a French crepe were to marry an American 'English' muffin, the couple would probably become the proud parents of a Sri Lankan hopper," she writes.⁴⁶ When Jaffrey encourages her reader to become a "seasoned culinary 'collector'" of ingredients and techniques, the pun on "seasoned" casts her readers as a form of food itself.⁴⁷ Readers become not just consumers of food but transformations of food, invited to step into a metaphor that brings together two forms of cosmopolitan pleasure: a gustatory relish in the idea of eating rice "brightened with saffron" or "stir-fried with eggs," and an aspiration toward the very comfort with other cultures that Jaffrey attributes to culinary staples. To be cosmopolitan, as the cookbook rhetoric implies, is to become as amenable to change and adaptation as the grains of rice portrayed in its pages.

This idealization of food as the originary cosmopolitan informs not only Jaffrey's exuberant rhetoric but also the formal structure of her cookbooks. The organizational practices of *World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking* and *World Vegetarian* provide recipes by main ingredient, featured alphabetically. This approach allows the dishes to emphasize comparisons across national borders, different from the atlas-style approach in *A Taste of the Far East*, which sorts recipes into national sections. In works like *Far Eastern Cookery* and *World Vegetarian*, the recipes sharing a main ingredient are attributed to particular national cuisines, but these national designations do not govern their order. Recipes for cabbage, for example, are sequentially attributed to China, Japan, India, India, India, and Japan.⁴⁸ The labels also note when a dish exceeds national borders or originates from migrant cuisines. By refusing to subdivide the ingredient sections into national groupings, the construction of these cookbooks intensifies its comparative form.

Jaffrey's descriptions also insist upon the pleasures of the idiosyncratic and unique that defy national or group identification. The section on eggs in *World Vegetarian*, for instance, includes a detailed ethnography of her father's egg-eating habits, inviting her readers to marvel at the intensity of his ritualistic consumption of fried eggs.

He would work all around the egg yolks, eating first one white, then the second. When only the yolks were left, glistening yellow orbs dotted with

my mother's salt, he would ease his fork under one, pick it up whole, and deposit it in his mouth. He chewed slowly and long. . . . More chewing would follow, with the veins near my father's temples throbbing all the time.⁴⁹

Jaffrey and her siblings, watching their father with rapt fascination, offer models for the readers who are similarly invited to behold the spectacle of the intense, almost ecstatic absorption within this gustatory pleasure. Part of the cosmopolitanism encouraged by the cookbook, thus, involves apprehending pleasures one is not necessarily invited to mimic. Taking pleasure in the pleasures of others becomes part of the cosmopolitan ethos of openness and attentiveness. While it is often assumed that legitimate cultural belonging emerges more keenly through restrictions, prohibitions, and taboos than through practices that generate pleasure, Jaffrey's writing suggests the limitations of constructing legitimacy without regard to the sensory and the embodied. As these descriptions make eating seem uncannily similar to sacral observance and even to erotic pleasure, they work to establish the seriousness of the pleasures of eating.

Sometimes Jaffrey's challenges to identitarian visions of culture are most noticeable in what the cookbooks choose to leave out. In keeping with her own construction of a traveling self shaped as much by other cultures as by the practices of her upbringing, Jaffrey does not provide national attributions to her own inventions in *World Vegetarian*. "Soy Sauce Eggs with Rosemary," or "Risotto with Spinach, Golden Raisins, and Pine Nuts," appear as dishes that cannot fully be subsumed into existing categories. Created by an Indian living in America, featuring ingredients associated with Chinese and Italian culinary traditions, these dishes complicate even the nature of indigenization that is at work. Should they be considered American? Indian? New forms of Chinese or Italian? In refusing to make a choice about where to categorize these creations, Jaffrey's cookbook leaves open the possibility of them all. This undecidable tension lies at the heart of her cosmopolitan representations of food.

RESTAURANT, MARKET, HOME

The ethical possibilities of Jaffrey's cookbooks, however, are not just representational; they also encourage a critical attentiveness to the transformative role of domestic labor in a globalizing world. As Parama Roy argues in her reading of Jaffrey's work, Jaffrey habitually disdains Indian restaurants in favor of food cooked in and for the home. Since Jaffrey grew up in a household with strong culinary traditions, this aversion to commercial food is an easy one for Jaffrey

to assert.⁵⁰ Eating in ethnic restaurants, as many have argued, can exemplify the limits of a liberal gastrotourism that exacerbates the commodification of culture within a service economy. In the restaurant, the liberal subject is quite literally waited upon, and often the dishes cater to the palate of the dominant culture or the tourist industry. Yet, in her travels across the world, Jaffrey must by necessity rely on restaurants at least part of the time for her research into new dishes. Indeed, *Far Eastern Cookery* is in large part a restaurant collection, attributing nearly forty of its recipes to restaurants, hotels, and clubs. How, then, is it possible to cope with culinary difference when it is confronted not only in the world of domestic hospitality but also in the realm of commercial exchange? What possible relationships can be established among the producer, server, and consumer of food in a global context? What happens when the autobiographical self is unavoidably a creature of the international tourist economy?

One of the dominant rhetorical moves of Jaffrey's comparative cookbooks strives to reconfigure restaurant experience, which emphasizes consumption and service, into a version of domestic experience, which emphasizes labor and creativity.⁵¹ Note the elision of commercial culture in this microstory of Jaffrey's time in Japan:

One very cold winter day, when I was scouring Kyoto for vegetarian dishes, I walked into a tiny macrobiotic shop on the outskirts of the city. There I was offered warming tea and, as we talked, told of many simple dishes that are not a part of Japan's haute cuisine but are, nonetheless, very tasty and nourishing.⁵²

It is important in the story that Jaffrey drinks only tea in the shop; her consumption is really a consumption of information about food that establishes a noncommercial bond between herself and the shop workers, and which redirects attention from the realm of the restaurant to the world of the home. The nourishment in this passage is as much social as it is culinary, creating the illusion of commensality in a space actually devoted to commercial activity.

One effect of this interest in the recreation of family structures is that Jaffrey's writings imagine a cosmopolitanism that is enabled by, not defined against, discourses of kinship. Jaffrey's writing, for instance, often notes her familiarity with the cooks beyond their public performances in the restaurant. "Some of the best food in all of Bali is to be found at the Wawo-Runtu's home and at their charming Tanjung Sari restaurant, both located on fashionable Sanur Beach," she writes. "One of the Wawo-Runtu daughters is a vegetarian and the version of *sajur lodeh* that I was served is one that the family has adapted for her."⁵³ The restaurant, here, is legitimated because it replicates

home cooking and offers Jaffrey an opportunity to emphasize transnational hospitality rather than the workings of Bali's lucrative tourist trade.

While cooking is never free from the global economy that enables it, and indeed an entrée into foreign homes enhances Jaffrey's own commercial allure, her work yearns to afford a more substantial relationship to the production of food through the creative labor of cooking. Jaffrey does play with a curatorial discourse; as she writes in *World Vegetarian*, "it is so easy and natural to turn into a seasoned culinary 'collector' as one learns more and more about the craft."⁵⁴ Yet her very decision to place the term "collector" in ironized quotes also underscores a certain distance that her rhetoric takes from such an acquisitive model. This cosmopolitanism is market-enabled but not market-confined; rather, it imagines a cosmopolitanism at the productive points of contradiction between the imperatives of the global market and the idealizations of the family table. Rather than encouraging her readers to make their labor invisible, as the model of the restaurant suggests, Jaffrey emphasizes the way in which the labor of cooking shapes the identity of the cook.

This shift away from the restaurant further leads Jaffrey to push her readers into new economic spaces that resist such decontextualization. For instance, she exhorts her readers to explore ethnic markets and to purchase items that may be unfamiliar to them. In encouraging readers to step into spaces where they may not have previously ventured or to look for items previously ignored, the cookbooks encourage new terms of visibility for immigrant and diasporic groups. "Have you ever wandered through a Chinese grocery store and stared with curiosity at lotus roots, which look like stiffened link sausages or brown sugar cane, and wondered what on earth you could do with them if you took them home?"⁵⁵ It is in these moments that the visual precision of Jaffrey's prose becomes most compelling: "If you ever see a vegetable that resembles a hairy pod, ask if it is a soy bean and do buy it."⁵⁶ Jaffrey's directorial mode is not outside the workings of global capital—indeed, far from it—but this particular engagement with the marketplace through anticipatory cooking encourages inventive agency rather than passive consumption. This directive serves to mark Jaffrey's commercial power—indeed, Jaffrey has been associated with the marketing of convenience products like curry powder—but it also seeks to encourage tactile discovery in markets where her audience may not shop on a regular basis. One reader of *World Vegetarian* in Calgary writes of his "enjoyable visits to local ethnic food stores," while a reviewer of *Far Eastern Cookery* reports using the ingredient photographs in the book to surmount language barriers in such markets.⁵⁷ Jaffrey's writing encourages a kind of visual attentiveness to the aesthetic and formal qualities of food that takes her readers beyond what they can name, gesturing toward a space where

individuals connect through the sensory properties of food. Jaffrey's recipes promote an ethos that inspires her prospective cooks to complement an experience of service with an experience of production.

Jaffrey's approach to cosmopolitan cooking is not, of course, without its limitations. As a genre promoting taste of the literal and metaphorical variety, the cookbook will perhaps necessarily be a production bound to particular middle-class aspirations, even when it reaches into the eating practices associated with rural or lower-class communities in different parts of the world. Jaffrey's recipes reflect what is available to her target audience as well as implied assumptions about its preferences (offcuts of meat, for example, appear only sparingly). She does not always encourage her readers to develop a more substantial political consciousness of the networks of global capital and divisions of labor that enable foods to travel across borders. Like the vision behind most cookbooks, her vision relies on unstated assumptions about social privilege, including the privilege of money and time to travel, purchase ingredients, prepare foods, and cultivate knowledge about different kinds of cuisines. Cookbook consumers in affluent parts of the world are always part of deeply unequal structures; as Richard Wilk argues, "the producers are dependent on rich consumers in a way that we are never dependent on them."⁵⁸ Indeed, as Wilk goes on to suggest, the very diversity of culinary practices and ingredients can desensitize reader-cooks to the politics of production. If one kind of food suddenly becomes expensive or unavailable, its producers lose their livelihoods, but a new recipe will easily replace that product in the repertoires of consumers.

However, despite these fundamental constraints on what Jaffrey's oeuvre can accomplish, her work offers a vision of affective connection that displaces the normative subject of whiteness, instead encouraging an expansion and indeed creation of group identity in diaspora through engagement with the culinary practices of the globe. Cooking the foods of others will not necessarily lead to political and economic change, but it helps to shape the visibility of others in ways that may make such material concern more likely. If advocacy for greater equality of power relies on ideas of justice and fairness within a defined group, shared culinary talismans may help to generate some of the affective richness that enables an expanded sense of community. Jaffrey's emphasis on sensory pleasure helps to envision a cosmopolitanism that is not a fully rational creation, visualizing engagements with otherness that are bottom-up rather than top-down in their approaches. Through these embodied affects that begin at the most elemental levels of taste, sight, and smell, this image of attentiveness to alterity speaks precisely to the problems that critics have

identified with abstract conceptions of cosmopolitanism. Dutiful concern for distant others, these critics claim, will never engage the emotions of individuals in the manner that makes smaller group commitments rich and real.⁵⁹ Books like Jaffrey's implicitly argue that cosmopolitan outreach does not need to start with abstractions of rights, justice, and equality, but instead can productively approach those qualities through the most intimate of sensual practices. If foods, particularly foods eaten in childhood, serve as powerful sources of memory and nostalgia for group ties, a generation raised on the eating practices that Jaffrey encourages will find themselves nostalgic not simply for the cuisines associated with their own social group but also for those affiliated with very different parts of the world. Will such nostalgia push against exclusive visions of social identity and encourage new kinds of openness toward other cultures? Such a claim is far too grandiose to support with any real assurance, and only the most optimistic would attribute significant changes in geopolitical behavior to any literary genre or single cultural phenomenon. But I suggest that it is plausible to think that the beginnings of cosmopolitanism may arise from the sensory and embodied, and that such seemingly apolitical and feminized activities may—precisely because of their basis in self-interest and pleasure—prove more enduring for individuals than the demanding abstract schemes of rights-based cosmopolitanism. These “soft” bonds may exist primarily in the minds of their practitioners, but imaginative work (as Arjun Appadurai convincingly argues) should also be recognized as significant social labor.⁶⁰ Food-oriented campaigns for social justice, such as the Fair Trade and Slow Food movements, bespeak this enlarged sense of community by effectively aligning concerns for taste and pleasure with concerns for human and environmental well-being.

Considering cookbooks as cosmopolitan discourses, particularly as those that construct ethnic and national identity through active engagement with what is not considered one's own, may allow us to read images of the culinary with a renewed sense of interpretative possibility. Gastropoetics are often discussed in the language of authenticity and fraudulence, read as ways of inventing ties to an ancestral imagined community or as performances of fakery that exploit the enhanced social capital associated with the foreign and the novel. Jaffrey's intervention in this debate, I suggest, is to construct an expanded sense of her own Indianness (and, implicitly, of other ethnic and national affiliations of her readers). Jaffrey does not make claims to *being* Chinese or Malaysian or any of the other cuisines she enthusiastically explores, but she does allow for the emergence of more intimate relationships—erotic, familial, domestic, commercial, and performative—to arise through foods beyond one's upbringing. While her cookbooks are partly elaborations of cre-

ative indigenization, they also resist a mode of thinking that would automatically label a culinary practice with a pregiven group identity (to say, in other words, that any dish cooked by an Indian is “Indian”). Instead, these practices come to signify a space in between the national or ethnic identity of the reader-cook and the national or ethnic attribution of the recipe, not wholly reducible to either signifier. This mediating space allows Jaffrey’s cookbooks not only to serve as allegories for Nehruvian secular nationalism and American and British multiculturalism, as scholars have previously argued, but also to offer allegories for cosmopolitan modes of inhabiting the world. These aims are not contradictory but mutually enabling.

This approach is one that not only enthusiastically embraces private pleasures but also seeks to reshape individual engagements with the changing global marketplace. Works like Jaffrey’s partake in the rise of a culinary tourism that makes narrative as central to its goals as cooking. Though a form of travel that is, like many other kinds of voluntary exploration, structured in political asymmetry and economic privilege, culinary tourism may nonetheless be capable of generating experiences that do not inevitably reify the idea of a fixed culinary Other who can be easily consumed. Indeed, culinary tourism is often distinguished by its ambition to contest the passive or casual approach to otherness evoked by the word “tourism” itself.⁶¹ Perhaps the best example of such possibility appears in the highly narrative collection *The World Is a Kitchen*, where a personal essay on how the writer learned to cook a particular dish precedes each recipe. One features an American traveler in the town of Xiaguan, located near the tourist mecca of Dali in southern China, who travels to learn about Chinese food but ends up teaching a Xiaguan chef, upon request, how to make American-style southern fried chicken. The culinary Other, therefore, is recognized as more than a fossilized repository of traditional practices; culinary tourism becomes a means of informational exchange, albeit one in which the givers and receivers are positioned differently within the global economic order. Such reciprocity might be seen as the core of Jaffrey’s cookbook oeuvre, which links her collections that concentrate on Indian food with those that move beyond the borders of South Asian cuisine.

Paradoxically, these culinary narratives that emphasize cosmopolitan modes of affiliation circulate in a Western publishing context that has also seen a rapid rise in anxiety about the very diversity it ostensibly embraces. Without the migrants who establish restaurants and grocery stores, import foods from their homelands, provide an initial base of customers for these products, and direct others in how to prepare these foods, the support system for a cosmopolitan palate would not be possible. Without the ability to ship food supplies from one part of the world to another, defying the logic

of growing seasons and geography, many of these recipes could not be performed beyond their existing geographical reach. Although liberal commentators often welcome immigrant entrepreneurship, the globalization of food is also hotly contested by many activists who advocate the virtues of locally produced ingredients. In the first years of the twenty-first century, a spate of books appeared on the environmental dangers of the globalized food supply and the virtues of eating foods produced by local suppliers during traditional growing seasons.⁶² While many of these books present themselves as progressive stances on the politics of food, their emphasis on the local—often described in lovingly anthropological terms—could also be read as a new mode of xenophobic resistance to ingredients not producible within particular local economies. In this sense, cooking across borders highlights a paradox within liberal attitudes toward the related effects of global movement. Far from being apolitical modes of privatized discourse, Jaffrey's cookbooks speak to intense debate about the politics of domesticity, cuisine, and consumption. Jaffrey offers excellent culinary instruction, but the most important of all may be her suggestive recipes for a domestic, sensory, and feminized cosmopolitanism.

NOTES

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1. The cookbook author Jessica B. Harris, speaking specifically about pressures on black writers in the United States, articulates the force of this perception. "How many cookbooks about cultures other than those of the African Diaspora do you see by people from the African Diaspora?" she asks. "And the answer is probably pitiful few. I can give you examples of white writers who were given the opportunity to learn about cuisines of cultures they knew nothing about nor did they speak the language of the culture. Everything they know is learned. But there is some kind of disconnect mentally in the American psyche that does not allow people to assume that black folks can learn about anything other than other black people. I don't think that's true, but you call me the next time you see a Chinese cookbook written by a black American or for that matter a European cookbook written by a Chinese American." Baltasar Fra Molinero, Charles Isidore Nero, and Jessica B. Harris, "When Food Tastes Cosmopolitan: The Creole Fusion of Diaspora Cuisine: An Interview with Jessica B. Harris," *Calaloo* 30, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 299.

2. Surveying the broad literature on cosmopolitanism is beyond the scope of this essay, so I will simply note that my definition here is indebted to Kwame Anthony Appiah's formulation, which argues for two historical strands associated with cosmopolitan ideals. "One is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch

beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind [*sic*], or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship,” Appiah claims. “The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance.” Appiah goes on to argue that “cosmopolitanism shouldn’t be seen as some exalted attainment: it begins with the simple idea that in the human community, as in national communities, we need to develop habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living together, association.” Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), xv, xviii–xix. This understanding of cosmopolitanism as both a social and an ethical posture should be distinguished from accounts of cosmopolitanism that stress its formal property of familiarity with a geographically expansive world, as exemplified in Kristin L. Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 14.

3. Michele Anna Jordan and Susan Brady, *The World Is a Kitchen: Cooking Your Way through Culture Stories, Recipes, and Resources* (Palo Alto, CA: Travelers’ Tales, 2006), xvi.

4. Kristin Hoganson, for instance, examines the role of international cookbooks in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century America, arguing that these recipes tutored their readers in ethnographic and geographic information while they recruited them into the practices of a globalizing market economy. Hoganson suggests that these practices served as a form of mystification, using the novelty of imported foods to conceal how urban consumers were gradually alienated from locally grown commodities. She further interprets these recipes as an elaboration of imperialist exploitation that privileged the pleasures of middle-class consumption at the expense of labor and environmental costs. While many telling continuities exist between the world Hoganson describes and the world Jaffrey inhabits, I will suggest that Jaffrey’s work need not be completely assimilated to the imperialist and dystopian vision that Hoganson sets forth. See Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*, 121.

5. For a defense of the cookbook recipe as a form of literature, see Susan J. Leonardi, “Recipes for Reading: Summer Pasta, Lobster à la Riseholme, and Key Lime Pie,” *PMLA* 104, no. 3 (May 1989): 340. Leonardi argues that recipes are rarely severed from narrative transactions; instead, she presents them as a form of “embedded discourse” that “implies an exchange, a giver and a receiver.” An elaboration of this defense can be found in Janet Floyd and Laurel Forster, eds., *The Recipe Reader: Narratives—Contexts—Traditions* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2003).

6. See Bob Ashley et al., *Food and Cultural Studies* (London: Routledge, 2004), 133.

7. Considering the Anglophone cookbook in India, Arjun Appadurai contends that the emergence of a postcolonial national cuisine can be understood through the dialectical links among emerging ethnic, regional, and specialty publications. Arjun Appadurai, “How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India,”

Comparative Studies in Society and History 30, no. 1 (January 1988): 3–24. Expatriates missing the foods of their homelands sometimes work to export the concept of national cuisine back to their country of origin, helping to create and codify distinctive food traditions into a recognizable source of group identity. Richard Wilk describes this phenomenon in his study of food in Belize, where the concept of a distinctive national culinary tradition took shape in part through the efforts of Belizean migrants. See Richard Wilk, *Home Cooking in the Global Village: Caribbean Food from Buccaneers to Ecotourists* (Oxford: Berg, 2006), 168–73. Especially in parts of the world where culinary practices are more likely to be passed down through oral traditions rather than through written discourses, the creation of a national cuisine can often reflect the concerted work of states, national elites, diasporic subjects, and citizens of other countries. On such multiple actors who help to shape the idea of African national cuisines, see Igor Cusack, “African Cuisines: Recipes for Nation-Building?,” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (December 2000): 208.

8. Anne Bower, for instance, shows how members of immigrant groups in early twentieth-century America used cookbooks to assert their own assimilation into dominant American culture and to distance themselves from more recently arrived migrants. See Anne L. Bower, “Our Sisters’ Recipes: Exploring ‘Community’ in a Community Cookbook,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 31, no. 3 (1997): 145.

9. Carol Bardenstein reveals how diasporic cookbooks frequently seek to reconfigure food traditions interrupted by the dislocations of exile and migration, where premigration cooking acquires the authenticating aura associated with childhood and allows a displaced generation to honor memories of disrupted, if idealized and even imaginary, forms of life. Bardenstein shows how these cookbook authors often reconfigure class and gender identifications through food memory as they cope with the experience of displacement. See Carol Bardenstein, “Transmissions Interrupted: Reconfiguring Food, Memory, and Gender in the Cookbook—Memoirs of Middle Eastern Exiles,” *Signs* 28, no. 1 (Autumn 2002): 353–87. Scenes in which minority characters learn to cook the foods of their ancestors proliferate in minority literature; the characters often bespeak the search for roots in an unwelcoming hegemonic state. In Frank Chin’s novel *Donald Duk* (1991), for example, ethnic pride requires eating ethnic food.

10. I understand cuisine in the terms that Peter Farb and George Armelagos set forth as the social practice constituted by the combination of available ingredients, techniques of preparation, patterns of flavoring, and rules for consumption. However, unlike Farb and Armelagos, I do not understand cuisines to be necessarily conservative. See Peter Farb and George Armelagos, *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), 190.

11. See Ashley et al., *Food and Cultural Studies*, 98–102.

12. On such colonial preferences for imported or foreign foods, see Wilk, *Home Cooking*, 16–17.

13. Abdul JanMohamed and David Lloyd exemplify this kind of critique when they contend that multicultural “pluralism tolerates the existence of salsa, it even enjoys Mexican restaurants, but it bans Spanish as a medium of instruction in American schools.” Abdul R. JanMohamed and D. Lloyd, eds., “Introduction: Toward a Theory of Minority Discourse: What Is to Be Done?,” in *The Nature and Context of Minority Discourse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 8. Their claim of Americans “tolerating” salsa may seem somewhat dated in 2010, when salsa is the most widely used condiment in the nation, but their fundamental critique remains widespread.

14. Shun Lu and Gary Alan Fine describe this preference as self-congratulatory and capitalistic, arguing that “through the consumption of ethnic cuisine we demonstrate to ourselves and others that we are cosmopolitan and tolerant: our character is expressed through our behavior in the market.” Shun Lu and Gary Alan Fine, “The Presentation of Ethnic Authenticity: Chinese Food as a Social Accomplishment,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 36, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 539.

15. Lisa Heldke offers the concept of “cultural food colonialism,” arguing that the impulse to cook foods coded as exotic replicates the logic of Western colonial dominance. She claims that cookbooks reiterate such colonial practices by relying on unacknowledged collaboration, in which the author of the published cookbook takes credit for recipes provided by (usually) nonwhite or non-Western cooks. Lisa Heldke, “Let’s Cook Thai: Recipes for Colonialism,” in *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food*, ed. Sherrie A. Inness (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 175–98. Evaluating the concept of fusion cuisine, Anita Mannur argues that such hybrids often reinforce existing social hierarchies while they obscure the histories of labor that enable these tempting confections. Mannur shows how the celebrity shows of Ming Tsai and Padma Lakshmi on the American television channel Food Network testify to the social hierarchies that enable the category of “fusion cuisine.” “While it is encouraging that Lakshmi and Tsai offer strategies that allow Asian cuisine and flavor to be thought of as nonforeign,” Mannur contends, “it is also important to ask about the terms on which fusion is made possible, and by extension, when fusion is rendered difficult, if not simply impossible.” Mannur argues that fusion, in the context of twenty-first-century global capital, tends to require the inclusion of foods associated with whiteness (black-Asian hybrids that inform Caribbean cooking, for instance, are not elevated as “fusion cuisine”). It also relies on the unacknowledged structures of migrant labor that sustain the gentrified interest in purchasing foods from a variety of culinary traditions. Anita Mannur, “Model Minorities Can Cook: Fusion Cuisine in Asian America,” in *East Main Street: Asian American Popular Culture*, ed. Shilpa Davé, LeiLani Nishime, and Tasha G. Oren (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 87.

16. Sarah Sceats, for instance, reads images of culinary fusion in literature as producing “on the one hand homogeneity of choice and on the other progress—or regression—to ‘uncivilized,’ unsocialised manners with the expectation of instant gratifica-

tion.” Sarah Sceats, *Food, Consumption, and the Body in Contemporary Women’s Fiction* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 185.

17. Bruce Robbins, “Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism,” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 1–19.

18. Ania Spyra, “Is Cosmopolitanism Not for Women? Migration in Qurratulain Hyder’s *Sita Betrayed* and Amitav Ghosh’s *The Shadow Lines*,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 27, no. 2 (2006): 3.

19. In this sense my work again builds upon Appiah, who, more than other modern retheorists of cosmopolitanism, insists on its capacity to provide pleasure. My approach also shares a sensibility with Rebecca Walkowitz’s study of cosmopolitan style, which emphasizes the importance of attitude, posture, and stance to cosmopolitan philosophical principles. See Appiah, “Cosmopolitan Patriots,” in *Cosmopolitics*, 91; Rebecca L. Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 14–18.

20. Uma Narayan, “Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity, and Indian Food,” *Social Identities* 1, no. 1 (February 1995): 80.

21. While the obsession with what Parama Roy calls the “gastropoetics” of South Asia has often appeared as a projection of the West, standing in for a host of larger perceived social differences, it has also served as a strong signature for writers from South Asia and its diaspora who publish in English. Such culinary metaphors emerge in many parts of the world, including the United States, the Caribbean, Great Britain, and South Africa. Salman Rushdie, Sara Suleri, Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni, Shani Mootoo, Amulya Malladi, Amitav Ghosh, Bharti Kirchner, Sujata Bhatt, Anita Desai, and Roopa Farooki are only a handful of the writers who deliberately foreground the importance of food in their novels, memoirs, stories, and poems. In this light, Jaffrey’s cookbooks emerge as a part of a larger discussion in which food forms a privileged site of negotiation for South Asian identity.

22. In her study of Jaffrey’s gendered gastropoetics, Parama Roy notes that Jaffrey’s work illuminates the need for a cosmopolitan form of nationalism modeled on Nehruvian ideals of secular pluralism. Anita Mannur concentrates on Jaffrey’s expatriate nostalgia, showing how her desire to recreate forms of authenticity in the kitchen bespeaks the desire for an untroubled space outside the pressures of the present that recreates the taste of childhood. Through this search, Jaffrey’s cookbooks implicitly seek to recreate the child’s obliviousness to structural inequalities and oppressive practices that diasporic life brings to consciousness. See Parama Roy, “Reading Communities and Culinary Communities: The Gastropoetics of the South Asian Diaspora,” *positions: east asia cultures critique* 10, no. 2 (2002): 480–84; Anita Mannur, “Culinary Nostalgia: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Diaspora,” *MELUS* 32, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 14–18.

23. *A Taste of the Far East* directly addresses multiple constituencies, using three dif-

ferent systems of measurement; *Madhur Jaffrey's Cookbook* also employs both American and metric conventions. *World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking*, *Far Eastern Cookery*, and *World Vegetarian* use American measurement systems only.

24. This vision of what it means to be Indian in the diaspora resonates with Rajini Srikanth's description of South Asian literature in North America, which emphasizes writers' willingness to write about figures and forms not marked as South Asian. "It may be fair to say, therefore, that South Asian American writers' not insignificant contribution to American literature and to the American imagination is the delineation of narratives and spaces that enable the conception of a nation as simultaneously discrete *and* entwined within the fold of other nations," she argues. Rajini Srikanth, *The World Next Door: South Asian American Literature and the Idea of America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 10. For her analysis of South Asian American writing that concentrates on representing other social groups, see pp. 150–201.

25. Parama Roy argues that "unlike her books on East and Southeast Asian cooking and Asian vegetarian cooking, the Indian cookbooks are always already autobiographical ventures." Roy, "Reading Communities," 480.

26. Culinary travel is estimated as the fastest-growing form of tourism, as well as one of the most lucrative, in the 1990s and 2000s. See Janet Chrzan, "Dreaming of Tuscany—Pursuing the Anthropology of Culinary Tourism," *Expedition* 49, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 21.

27. Lubug, review of *World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking*, by Madhur Jaffrey, Amazon.com, January 12, 2002, http://www.amazon.com/review/product/0394748670/ref=dp_top_cm_cr_acr_txt?%5Fencoding=UTF8&showViewpoints=1 (accessed July 30, 2008).

28. Madhur Jaffrey, *Far Eastern Cookery* (London: BBC Books, 1989), 13.

29. Madhur Jaffrey, *Madhur Jaffrey's A Taste of the Far East* (New York: Carol Southern Books, 1993), 66.

30. Jaffrey, *Madhur Jaffrey's A Taste*, 66.

31. In this respect Jaffrey is not dissimilar from elite women writing for American audiences in the early twentieth century, who also cast culinary investigations as forms of travel writing and exploration narrative. However, while many of these cookbook ethnographers recorded the culinary customs of others in ways that often reinforced their own sense of cultural superiority, Jaffrey veers to the opposite extreme in her unflinching enthusiasm for the versatility of foods and eating habits. On these earlier predecessors, see Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*, 123–32.

32. Madhur Jaffrey, *Madhur Jaffrey's Cookbook: Easy East/West Menus for Family and Friends* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 239.

33. Even Jaffrey's memoir of her childhood remains very circumspect about the conflicts and tensions of life in her Delhi joint family. While the memoir brings to light family struggles that almost never appear in the cookbooks, it stops short of fully

elaborating on these dramas. Since the memoir ends with Jaffrey leaving India, it does not reference this early marriage. See Madhur Jaffrey, *Climbing the Mango Trees: A Memoir of a Childhood in India* (New York: Knopf, 2006).

34. Jaffrey, *Madhur Jaffrey's Cookbook*, 239.

35. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism*, xiii.

36. For instance, Jaffrey declares that “more than half of Malaysia’s people, such as these villagers, are simple, god-fearing Muslims” (*A Taste of the Far East*, 81).

37. Madhur Jaffrey, *World Vegetarian* (New York: Clarkson Potter, 1999), viii.

38. Jaffrey is by no means the only culinary writer to associate marriage with food. Vikram Vij and Meeru Dhalwala, Indian migrants to Canada, dedicate their cookbook to their mothers “for setting up our arranged love marriage” and note that “our recipes, developed and refined over the past ten years, are as close to our hearts as our marriage.” Readers of their collection are encouraged to think of their approach to Indian cuisine as a kind of “arranged love marriage.” Vikram Vij and Meeru Dhalwala, *Vij's Elegant and Inspired Indian Cuisine* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2006), 3.

39. Jaffrey, *World Vegetarian*, 126.

40. Jaffrey, *Far Eastern Cookery*, 19.

41. Jaffrey, *World Vegetarian*, 4.

42. The global production of the local can also be seen in the creation of nationalist cuisines, as Richard Wilk describes in his study of Belizean cuisine. “The idea that imported food was ‘better’ than local was still firmly rooted,” Wilk argues. “It took *more globalization* to bring local food out of the kitchen and put it at the center of Belizean local identity” (italics in the original). Wilk, *Home Cooking*, 166.

43. Jaffrey, *World Vegetarian*, ix.

44. See Appiah, “Cosmopolitan Patriots,” 91.

45. Jaffrey, *World-of-the-East Vegetarian Cooking* (Knopf Doubleday, 1981), 115.

46. Jaffrey, *World-of-the-East*, 270.

47. Jaffrey, *World Vegetarian*, viii.

48. Jaffrey, *Far Eastern Cookery*, 12–15.

49. Jaffrey, *World Vegetarian*, 512.

50. On the proliferation of restaurants promoting Indian food in the United States (many run by Bangladeshi migrants), see Joel Denker, *The World on a Plate: A Tour through the History of America's Ethnic Cuisine* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 115–34. Denker notes that many of these migrants hoped to replicate the restaurant successes achieved by Bangladeshi entrepreneurs in London. On the introduction of South Asian food in Britain, see Lizzie Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks and Conquerors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 129–54, 215–43; Panikos Panayi, “The Spicing Up of English Provincial Life: The History of Curry in Leicester,” in *Food in the Migrant Experience*, ed. Anne J. Kershner (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2002), 42–76. On the rise of restaurant culture in India, see Frank F. Conlon, “Dining Out in Bombay,”

in *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in a South Asian World*, ed. Carol A. Breckenridge (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 90–127.

51. Sociologists of restaurant experiences have argued for a gradual convergence between the experience of dining out and the experience of eating in, noting the diminishment of formality in restaurant experiences and the general indifference to power relations expressed by staff and customers (“not only did we fail to find staff exercising power over customers, but we found little evidence of the reverse either”). However, such convergence of formality standards and consensual rather than tyrannical relationships do not erase the distinction between choosing and preparing a meal, nor do they eradicate the distinction between profit-oriented hospitality and relationship-oriented hospitality. These distinctions, I suggest, remain crucial to Jaffrey’s preference for home cooking over restaurant food. See Alan Warde and Lydia Martens, *Eating Out: Social Differentiation, Consumption, and Pleasure* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 132.

52. Jaffrey, *World-of-the-East*, 172.

53. Jaffrey, *World-of-the-East*, 31.

54. Jaffrey, *World Vegetarian*, viii.

55. Jaffrey, *World-of-the-East*, 36.

56. Jaffrey, *World-of-the-East*, 57.

57. Unsigned review of *Far Eastern Cookery*, by Madhur Jaffrey, Amazon.com, July 13, 1999, http://www.amazon.com/Madhur-Jaffreys-Far-Eastern-Cookery/dp/0060963980/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&s=books&qid=1217428027&sr=1-1 (accessed July 30, 2008); James, review of *World Vegetarian*, by Madhur Jaffrey, May 5, 2005, http://www.amazon.com/Madhur-Jaffreys-World-Vegetarian-Meatless/product-reviews/0609809237/ref=cm_cr_pr_link_next_3?ie=UTF8&showViewpoints=0&pageNumber=3&sortBy=bySubmissionDateDescending (accessed July 30, 2008).

58. Willk, *Home Cooking*, 2.

59. For examples of such critiques, see Gertrude Himmelfarb, “The Illusions of Cosmopolitanism,” in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 72–77; Michael W. McConnell, “Don’t Neglect the Little Platoons,” in *For Love of Country*, 78–84; Robert Pinsky, “Eros against Esperanto,” in *For Love of Country*, 85–90.

60. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 5.

61. The collection *Culinary Tourism* is designed to emphasize the broad range of possibilities for engaging otherness and the importance of individual agency in shaping the significance of particular encounters. Many of the essays included thus explore the importance of structural asymmetries but resist automatically designating culinary tourism as hegemonic in form. See Lucy M. Long, ed., *Culinary Tourism* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004).

62. For works that reflect this preoccupation with the virtues of the local, see Brian Halweil, *Eat Here: Homegrown Pleasures in a Global Supermarket* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2004); Barbara Kingsolver, Steven L. Hopp, and Camille Kingsolver, *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle: A Year of Food Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007); Vandana Shiva, *Stolen Harvest: The Hijacking of the Global Food Supply* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000); Alisa Smith and J. B. Mackinnon, *Plenty: One Man, One Woman, and a Raucous Year of Eating Locally* (New York: Harmony, 2007).