

ANTH 1752: Anthropology of Food  
Semester at Sea, Summer 2004 Voyage

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**Lecture Notes, 28 July**  
**Industrialization of Food**

Industrial Food: Towards the Development of a World Cuisine

- some notes on Jack Goody:  
Jack Goody's career spans the entire post-war period in which Africans won their independence from colonial empire and saw their hopes for economic development dashed; and in which East Asia came to be perceived as the likely centre for the next phase of capitalist development. More important, it was the period when for the first time food production became the occupation of a minority and the world took a decisive shift to the city as humanity's normal habitat. Jack Goody is the only anthropologist who has addressed these events on the global scale they warrant; and this book is the clearest expression of what he has been driving at all these years.
- article is excerpt from *Cooking, Class, and Cuisine* (1982, Cambridge U. Press); his main theoretical approach to food: "My own predilection is to try to link the nature of different cuisines to the ways in which food is produced, and to relate the system of agricultural production to the question of 'manners', 'cuisine' and more generally to the sub-cultures and social strata that are differentiated by their styles of life. ... Above all I am concerned with the existence and emergence of internally differentiated cuisines, which I see as related to the contrast between the 'food-ways' of Africa and Eurasia - ... the modes of feeling, thinking, and behaving about food that are common to a cultural group." (Goody 1982:38).
- main thesis: the industrialization of foodstuffs has reshaped the work of food preparation and has made more global the food cultures of the world
- focus is on changes in the distribution of food and the creation of food industries resulting from technological advancements in four areas:
  1. preserving
  2. mechanization
  3. retailing (wholesaling)
  4. transport
- influence of colonialism and military technologies in the industrialization of food

Preserving

- canning: became a necessity with the industrialization of warfare (the mobilization of large armies), especially with Napoleon; earliest industrialized canning efforts initiated by Napoleon to feed his enormous armies
- foods that were canned initially were fruits/vegetables (preserved at the domestic level), but with the industrialization of canning procedures, fish and meat became the primary commodities for canning; condensed milk was also popular in the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century

- allowed for the popularization of foods that were previously unknown; example of the tomato in European cuisine;
- refrigeration also expanded the spread of foods out of its regional areas; although ice and refrigeration were in use for hundreds of years in Asia (in Ming era China, there was already refrigerated shipping), the development of rail and ship transport made frozen foods more readily available (domestic refrigeration was popular in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century);

#### Mechanization and Transport

- the mechanization of food preparation (washers, graders, peelers, corn huskers, cutters, etc.) and the development of large cargo ships resulted in the transformation of the preservation and distribution of food on a mass scale – leading to what Goody refers to as “the industrialization of the domestic diet of the new proletariat” (Goody 1997:347)
- as Counihan concludes for the commodification of bread in Sardinia, this resulted in enormous social changes because now a larger line of groups separated the consumer from the producer of food
- mechanization also “domesticated” foreign food products; prior to the mechanization and development of rapid transport of foods, foreign food products were seen as more suspect due to spoilage and other unsanitary issues; the use of reliable, less risky factory standards for the production and packaging of food resulted in the wider acceptance of foreign foods (like the tomato discussed above): “Mechanization permitted the domestication and purification of foreign foods” (Goody 1997:347).

#### Retailing

- shift from the open market to the close store;
- initially, there was a distinction between “provisions” (butter, cheese) vs. groceries (dry goods – coffee, sugar, spices); but with the industrialization of food products, grocery chain stores developing national reputations started to expand: “Selling a limited number of cheaper goods, the new multiples in turn influenced the trade of the old-fashioned grocer who now had to deal with the appearance of ‘an entirely new style of commodity in the form of manufactured foods’ – tinned goods, jams, powders for custards, grains and so forth. Just as imported goods became cheaper with the new developments in transport, so too manufactured goods and items packaged before sale came to dominate the market. These products were generally branded goods, ‘sold’ before sale by national advertising” (Goody 1997:349)
- advertising and retail stores resulted in a greater homogenization of food consumption, especially among the working class; the development of national cuisines for the masses (we will talk later about *haute cuisine* and national cuisines in our reading on cookbooks)
- “Regional tastes continued to be important ... but these comprised only a small component of a largely nationalized, even internationalized, repertoire” (Goody 1997:353).
- in the household, led to a decrease in the amount of time required for domestic labor (i.e., housewives) to produce family meals; beginnings of the liberation of women from the home and into public spaces (such as the workplace)