Leisure and Food

Edited by Heather Mair and Jennifer Sumner



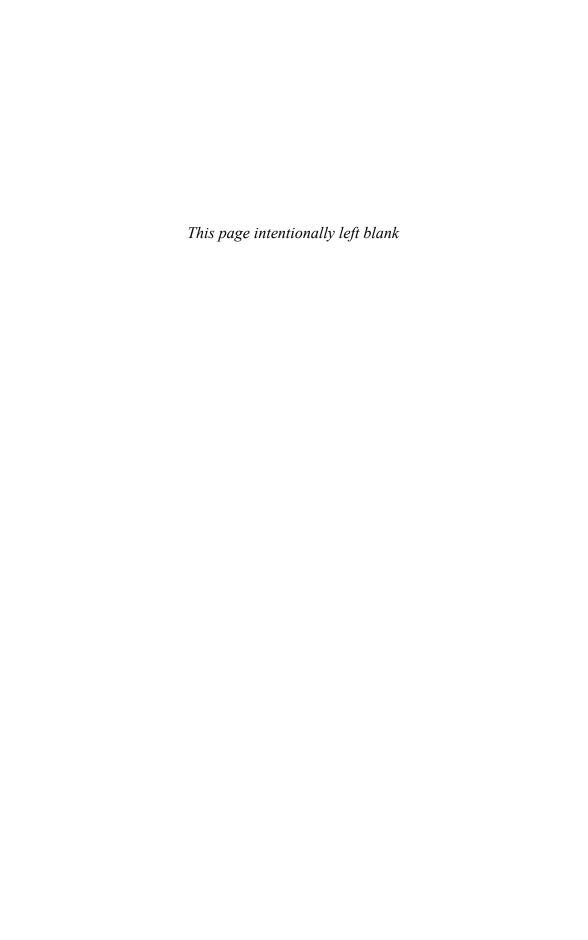
Leisure and Food

Leisure and food seem to be a natural fit, but the recent, unprecedented focus on all aspects of food has not been reflected in the field of leisure studies. This book is the first to combine these vital aspects of human interest by exploring the interface between leisure and food in a number of areas. For example, it examines sports nutrition products, which straddle the boundary between junk and food. It also looks into hosting sustainable meals and what eaters can learn about sustainable food choices and food citizenship. It visits ethnic restaurants and inquires about the authenticity of eatertainment experiences from both the supply and demand sides. And it takes up gardening, while investigating questions of food security, social capital, gardening narratives, and the role of place. The book concludes with a dynamic reflection that sums up these leisure and food practices and sites, and challenges us to continue these debates.

This book was first published as a special issue of *Leisure/Loisir*.

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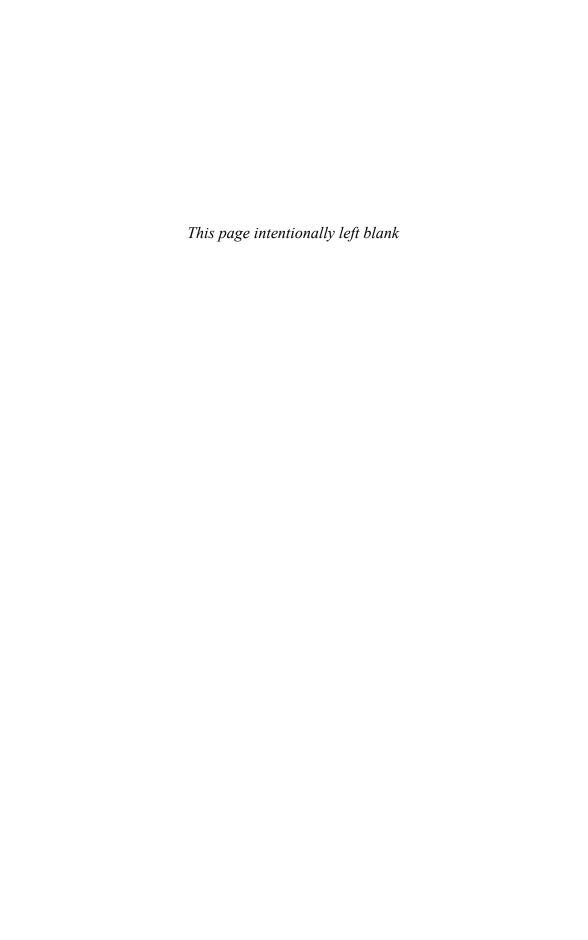
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Critical encounters: introduction to special issue on leisure and food

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The exploding interest in food over the last decade has had dynamic and far-reaching effects on the social sciences and yet its specific influence on leisure studies has been surprisingly limited. In spite of this anomaly, food movements, community gardens, ethnic restaurants, farmstays, wine tours, food festivals and taste trails all testify to the potent intersection of leisure and food. As long-time friends and collaborators, we have always worked towards the goal of bringing our respective fields (food studies and leisure studies) together. Co-editing a special issue on the topic seemed a logical next step. In the call for papers, we stated: "we are viewing the relationship between food and leisure broadly, and seek manuscripts related to all aspects of food as it pertains to the leisure and tourism fields."

In the call for papers, we relied on Reardon (2000) who conceptualised food as

... sustenance ... a symbol, a product, a ritual object, an identity badge, an object of guilt, a political tool, even a kind of money. Food determines how tall we are, how healthy, the extent of our civic peace, the sorts of jobs we hold, the amount of leisure we enjoy, the crowding of our cities and suburbs, what we look for in life, how long we look to live – all of that and much more. (p. 1)

More than 25 authors answered our call for abstracts and what has resulted is a collection of seven papers that captures some of the first forays into bringing leisure scholarship to bear on issues of food. Specifically, 17 scholars from three countries have produced six research papers and one summary piece. The collection also incorporated insights from 12 anonymous reviewers, whose careful reading of the manuscripts helped us produce a special issue of which we are both very proud.

Our primary purpose with this introduction is to present the papers and to highlight what we think are key insights provided by the work showcased here. However, we first take the opportunity to provide some background into the field of food studies (with which we are assuming not all readers of this journal are familiar). This discussion sets the stage for our consideration of the seven papers, which we discuss first in light of their epistemological and methodological insights and second in terms of key themes and conceptual understandings. Last, we discuss the potential of this collection as a kind of stepping-stone from which to set out the path for future scholarship in this area. Indeed, this is all part of our continual effort to *carve out* scholarly space for what can only be considered a *fruitful* partnership between leisure and food studies. (Warning: we are not always able to resist the food-related metaphors!)

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Introducing food studies

Although people eat every day, food is more than just fuel we put into our bodies. It is also "a source of sustenance, a cause for celebration, an inducement to temptation, a vehicle for power, an indicator of well-being, a catalyst for change and, above all, a life good" (Sumner, 2011, p. 63). Disciplines have traditionally focused on a cross section of activities, processes and sectors dealing with food, but without capturing its complexity:

For example, nutrition has focused on the role of different nutrients in human health, and the causes and consequences of malnutrition, but left the relationship between malnutrition and poverty, or obesity and the food industry, to social scientists. Agricultural economics has focused on optimal approaches to increase food production, but avoided the problem of simultaneous hunger and food surpluses or the role of the agri-food industry in the obesity epidemic or the farm crisis. (Koc, Sumner, & Winson, 2012, p. xiii)

What distinguishes the interdisciplinary approach of food studies from disciplinary or multidisciplinary approaches is the awareness of a need for a synthetic approach that would utilize "every conceivable method for studying the historical, cultural, behavioral, biological, and socioeconomic determinants and consequences of food production and consumption" (Berg, Nestle, & Bentley, 2003, p. 16). The growing acceptance of interdisciplinary fields of inquiry paved the way for the emergence of food studies, which can be understood as

a relatively new field of research and scholarship that focuses on the web of relations, processes, structures and institutional arrangements that cover human interaction with nature and other humans involving the production, distribution, preparation, consumption and disposal of food. (Koc et al., 2012, p. xiv)

And following Kroker's (1980) invitation to a critical encounter with different perspectives, Berg et al. (2003) propose that food studies can be considered to constitute a new movement, not only as an academic discipline but also as a means to change society.

At its best, food studies incorporates

a critical perspective in perceiving existing problems as consequences of the normal operation of the food system and everyday practices. This critical inquiry examines how patterns of social inequalities, institutional arrangements, structures and organizations such as the patriarchal family, corporations, governmental bodies, international treaties and the media contribute to the farm crisis, hunger, the obesity epidemic, eating disorders, food insecurity and environmental problems. (Koc et al., 2012, p. xv)

In other words, food studies offer a critically constructive approach to a wide range of food issues, helping us to understand how our current food system works and to envision an alternative food system that is more sustainable and just. It also offers an entrée into larger issues – all of them requiring interdisciplinary investigations themselves – such as globalization, sustainability, community development, social justice and, of course, leisure.

An introduction to the collection on leisure and food

Epistemological encounters: unpacking methodological insights

The articles in this collection present an intriguing range of epistemological and methodological approaches. Since epistemology is concerned with the study of knowledge – or

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how we know what we know (about leisure and food) – these papers can be read in terms of what they offer both to our current ability to know leisure through food and food through leisure and to future researchers interested pursuing similar lines of inquiry.

In "'Just' desserts: an interpretive analysis of sports nutrition marketing," Joylin Namie and Russell Warne take a critical interpretivist stance as they assess marketing media and the social construction of food and drink items, which are marketed as sport nutrition products (albeit comprised of salt, sugar and carbohydrates) and by association as healthy snacks for athletes and non-athletes alike. The authors use interpretive text analysis to evaluate a variety of marketing materials (product packages, websites and commercials) and concentrate their discussion on those sports nutrition products most closely linked to athletic success.

Namie and Warne then use conceptual tools from critical sociology to consider their findings, and what follows is a revealing and complex assessment of marketing efforts, which aim to convince consumers that eating nutrition-poor snacks makes them more like athletes (and thereby healthier). This project offers future researchers the tools not just to ask and assess how food is marketed to consumers for use in leisure but also to investigate the very processes of the social construction of food (and healthy food) more broadly. Leisure here is positioned as the context for food consumption.

In "Promoting sustainable food and food citizenship through an adult education leisure experience," Alan Warner, Edith Callaghan and Cate de Vreede use an action research approach, also broadly critical interpretivist, to engender learning about food and sustainability in their community in Nova Scotia, Canada. Their project invited volunteers to host a sustainable meal in their homes for friends and was designed using tools to foster critical reflection and dialogue in the hopes of spurring a commitment to future food citizenship. Using participant observation, surveys and qualitative interviews, the authors assess the impact of these meals on participants and use their results to engage in a wide-ranging discussion about the role of radical adult education in fostering citizenship and social change through food experiences. Warner, Callaghan and de Vreede actively engage the leisure context in their research and clearly articulate leisure as a space where reflection on the issues that affect us all can be fostered and transformed into meaningful actions for social change.

In "Epitomizing the 'other' in ethnic eatertainment experiences," Deepak Chhabra, Woojin Lee and Shengnan Zhao take us into the construction of authenticity as demonstrated in so-called ethnic restaurants. Arguably closer to a post-positivist approach than the other papers in this issue, the authors use a variety of methods: including netnography to examine online reviews by patrons of five popular Indian restaurants in a metropolitan area of Arizona, in the United States; an evaluation of marketing materials of these restaurants; and interviews with owners. The goal of the research is to assess customer perceptions of authenticity in the context of these five restaurants as well as the efforts of restaurant owners to project some kind of authentic eating experience. Chhabra, Woojin and Zhao's work helps us to generate a deeper understanding of the intersection of food and leisure in particular contexts as they argue restaurant eating is a complex composite of service, expectation and experience.

Three papers situate the intersection of food and leisure in community gardens. In "Gardening in green space for environmental justice: food security, leisure and social capital" Rob Porter and Heather McIlvaine-Newsad use ethnographic methods such as participant observation, journaling, focus groups and semi-structured interviews to better understand people's access to community gardens in rural settings. Working from an environmental justice perspective, the authors find that leisure is the crucial nexus of the

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garden's success, and that access to green space for growing food provides both food security and leisure opportunities while also creating social capital among new migrants from the city and long-time rural residents. This work sets the stage for future community garden research, which is avowedly both critical and constructionist and as such actively encourages future researchers to ask essential questions about the growing prevalence of community gardens and the role they (might) play in social change.

Rudy Dunlap, Justin Harmon and Gerard Kyle move the intersection of food and leisure to an urban setting in "Growing in place: the interplay of urban agriculture and place sentiment." Drawing on social constructivist understandings of place, the authors explore how becoming involved in agricultural activities contributes to shaping the sentiment and meaning people ascribe to places in the urban landscape. They used a qualitative approach that encompassed participant observation and semi-structured interviews and reveal two dimensions by which participants constructed place meanings: through physical interactions and social interactions. Dunlap et al. thereby broaden and deepen the current scholarly conversation regarding leisure and community gardens as they position their discussion within the more fertile aspects of the social construction of place debates. By growing food – in place – people are cultivating more than vegetables. The authors argue that they also cultivate social capital, meaning and sentiment anchored in place in an era of alienating placelessness.

In "Tending to the soil: autobiographical narrative inquiry of gardening," Michael Dubnewick, Karen Fox and Jean Clandinin employ autobiographical narrative inquiry to investigate the intersection of food and leisure in a series of gardens frequented by Dubnewick. Unlike more linear, temporal and thematic forms of narrative inquiry, their approach sheds light on the complex nature of daily gardening practices and "highlights multiple threads while emphasizing the phenomenon of experience as stories always in the making." In this way, they hope to disrupt the dominant discourse of gardening as community development in leisure studies with alternative stories from the multiple experiences of one of the authors in dialogue with the other two, who form a response community. As a result, they came to understand that community is always in process and learned how to "love" in Lugones' terms, placing themselves alongside other stories and turning a loving gaze on hidden stories. In addition, the authors learned about the importance of creating multiple stories in order to see both dominant and marginal ones, so that "the power, with its benefits and harms, of leisure in all its forms can be seen and understood."

Thematic encounters: unpacking major concepts

Knowing food through leisure

In a special issue on leisure and food, it is hardly surprising that a discussion of food itself might emerge. However, the papers in this collection take us into the complexity of thinking about food as they provide conceptual tools, built on the methodological insights described above, to advance our thinking about just what food is when it is understood through leisure. What is food when known through leisure in these ways? Is it a way of knowing the world? Can it be a path for sharing knowledge about the world? What happens when we think of food through leisure by foregrounding its social construction and asking who benefits and who loses?

Chhabra, Lee and Zhao develop ways to assess the authenticity of the dining experience within the context of restaurants offering "ethnic" cuisine. Their work sets out to