DISCUSS AMONGST YOURSELVES: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND A DYNAMIC MODEL OF FOOD AND CULTURE

By

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(Under the Direction of Abigail Borron)

ABSTRACT

Food and culture are inextricably woven. The purpose of this dissertation is to propose a conceptual framework in which critical discourse analysis (CDA) can be applied using two approaches to support and examine the creation of discursive spaces; spaces that serve as formative areas for honoring foodways, acknowledging cultural histories, and addressing injustices. These formative areas thereby constitute and situate the value of a model that can be utilized for understanding the multifaceted relationship between food and culture. Food as a critical component of culture is thus positioned in the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) which is comprised of three independent yet interrelated constructs: *Heritage* (the origin of cuisine and the manifestation of foodways), *Practice* (the representation and interpretation), and *Power* (the structural, systematic, and evocative nature of food and culture). Development of this model is predicated on the following rationale: in order to understand the relationship between food and culture to create formative discursive spaces, one must understand: (1)

the facets related to, and extending from, the origin of the food and culture of inquiry; (2) the way in which food is (mis)represented within, or as an aspect of, or adjacent to, culture; and (3) structural and systematic forces that influence tangible and intangible aspects of food and culture. As a lens of inquiry, Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue, a cuisine central to Southern food culture, is examined through application of the discourse historical approach and dialectical- relational approach, used concurrently with the DMFC, to demonstrate the model for the critical study of food and culture. Through the theoretical tradition of postcolonialism, an interpretation of the data is presented as related to the dialectic relationships of the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*, while attending to the fundamental aspects of critical discourse analysis: critique, power, and ideology. The overall results show that the interconnectivity between food and culture can be determined using paradigmatic methodologies such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) with the DMFC.

INDEX WORDS: food; culture; critical discourse analysis; cultural identity; food studies; Southern food; barbecue

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2023

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August 2023

DEDICATION

I dedicate this to my late Granny Weeze, and those I wish I could have met to at least have shared some Eastern North Carolina barbecue with – my grandfather Herman Jolitz and grandparents George and Lillian Worley.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My father and mother, George and Sarah Worley, are *the primary reason* I am even able to write this acknowledgement section. If it were not for "the book" (my dad knows that refers to the "Harbrace College Handbook"), then I would not have the grammatical wherewithal much less the academic prowess that came from my mom's side of the family… If you ever met my parents, you know it was because of them that I was gifted with sharp wit and hefty sarcasm, but moreover a thirst for always wanting to know and understand *why*. Not only did both of them provide me with exceptional academic guidance and encouragement, they set expectations that were not unrealistic *for me*; they were *an* established norm, not *the* established societal norm. The status quo was not acceptable to them nor to me, and I appreciate having had that foundation in life. I therefore developed a robust and multi-faceted ontology that includes always striving for success, admonishing apathy, and genuinely appreciating differences.

I want to acknowledge my brother Bill Worley who is, and always will be, the smarter one of the two of us. Having this degree really only provides me with a better understanding of that. I have always revered your mind and wished I could understand even an *nth* of the hard sciences that are innate and come so effortlessly to you. Your intellect far exceeds even what is operationalized as brilliance.

I must allow space for Remington, Maggie, and Hachi. Our most important partnerships, those we love, and our family do not have to be confined to those personified as human. Life's challenges, and all I have endured, would never have been

navigated successfully without my equine and canine supports.

Thank you, Kristen Johnson Zeff, for being my best friend for 39 years and seeing me through the rollercoaster of life that included embarking on this journey. You believed in me when I did not think I could *keep* (purposely leaving that middle word out) *going*. Too many things are taken for granted in life – your friendship will never be.

Thank you to my chair and advisor Dr. Abigail Borron, and my committee members Dr. James Anderson, Dr. Nick Fuhrman, and Dr. Brandy Walker. Your leadership and guidance throughout the process made completing this lofty milestone more digestible. And, Dr. Jason Peake, I extend my sincerest thanks for your friendship and mentorship.

Finally, an overwhelming extension of gratitude to all of my family, friends, and University colleagues that encouraged me and were supportive of my goals over the years. As I recite frequently, “In order to know where you are going, you must know where you’ve been.” It was deciding to become a university Extension agent long ago due to a love of horses and food (and not horses as food, to be clear) that led me to this milestone. Hey, Dr. Robert Strong, can you believe it? It seems like just yesterday we were hitting golf balls and I was seeing grapefruit at the end of that driving range in Orlando…

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CHAPTER 1

FOOD AND CULTURE

Introduction

Throughout history, food has spanned and transcended cultures. It has been used as currency, sustenance, domination, and coercion – traded for goods and services, fuel for nourishment, a differentiation between those with and without, and as a means to elicit control (Bentley & Hobart, 2014; Lévi-Strauss, 1966). In national and transnational settings, food can be traced historically to the construction and deconstruction of economies, politics, and culture, and societal norms (Albala, 2014; Engelhardt, 2013; Miller & Deutsch, 2009). The relationship between food and culture thus points to complex areas of meaning, collective identity, as well as privilege and power that are deeply embedded in the fabric of civilization (Anderson, 2005; Kittler et al., 2012).

Food and Civilizations' Rise and Fall

The ability of societies to develop has been attributed to the associative and historical aspects of food (Albala, 2013). Whether due to proximity to environmental resources, such as fertile soil and water supplies, inhabiting areas where temperate climates allowed for vegetation and animals to flourish, or elements used to provide individuals and nations with sources of energy, the nexus between humans and food has played a significant and powerful role in the rise and fall of civilizations (Anderson, 2005; Fraser & Rimas, 2010). In the case of the Mayan empire, intensive farming practices produced an abundance of maize, supplanting the tropical jungles that once

flourished across the landscape of now Central America and supporting its rise and growth. However, the "broken hydrological cycle" that resulted from this growth left the civilization in ecological ruin and subsequent decline due to drought after 750 A.D. (Fraser & Rimas, 2010, p. xii).

The 'rise' and 'fall' that can be used to describe a civilization's development could be viewed as two ends of a spectrum: on one end, the beginning, or 'rise,' and on the other, the 'fall,' signifying the civilization's end, whether due to social, environmental, political, or economic factors. However, the binary of 'rise' verses 'fall,' like other absolutes such as 'traditional,' 'old,' and 'new,' is not only the psychological cognitive distortion of black and white thinking, but also a position that food scholars note as needing to be challenged (Belasco, 2014; Lewis et al., 2019). Dialectical thinking is used to mitigate positions such as these; the idea that disparate thoughts, ideas, emotions, or experiences that seem to be contradictory to one another can indeed be true and co-exist at the same time (Cheng, 2009). An opposition between humans and food occurs in tandem as "food, economics, agriculture, and human empires are all strands of the same narrative" (Fraser & Rimas, p. xiii). Therefore, the inherent complexities around the role of food in society throughout history and in present day leads to the consideration that food is fraught with multifarious and dialectical challenges.

Albala (2014) notes that the great shifts of civilizations are those most notably lauded in history, yet the basic human need for obtaining nourishment has been obfuscated. In describing the human need for food, Freedman (2014) states, "Ephemeral though it is, food is a vivid pleasure as well as a grim necessity" (p. xiv). Yet issues from food injustice and insecurity, to the globalization of food and how it is represented and

discussed, have paradoxically aided in the aspects contributing to both the ‘rise’ and ‘fall’ of the human relationship with food. For example, a nationalized message following World War II, a time when Americans had previously been accustomed to food rations, was communicated to “eat more” as an effort to provide increased awareness of food coupled with governmental support programs to those lacking accessibility (Nestle, 2007, p. 38). This push peaked in 1968 and conversely and sharply shifted to a movement to “eat less” as industrialized food systems grew and nutritional consequences of excess became apparent (Nestle, 2007, p. 38).

More than half a century later, these contradictions continue to destabilize our foodways, food systems, and the relationship between food and culture. Although more food is produced than ever before due to post-humanistic technological advances with the advent of artificial intelligence and increase in use of biotechnology in agriculture, global hunger is increasingly more widespread (Chamara et al., 2020; Rigillo et al., 2022). Moreover, while a seemingly abundant food supply has afforded some humans to eat without abandon, 10% of the global population remains undernourished, consequently leading to an escalation in adverse social, physical, and economic effects for those with and without access (UN, 2022). Subsequently, catastrophic health epidemics such as heart disease, the leading cause of death in the United States, is linked to modifiable and non-modifiable factors from food choices and accessibility, to genetics, thus barraging individuals across all gender, race, and socio-economic strata (CDC, 2022). Therefore, a holistic examination of the human relationship of such cause and effect, evolving from driving forces, practices, and societal norms, can be approached through an awareness and acknowledgement of the dynamic interplay of food and culture.

Food as Communication

Food is a powerful communication medium, with the ability to create community bonds and forge social barriers (Karaosmanoglu, 2011; Kittler et al., 2012; Stajcic, 2013). At the individual level, it communicates aspects of identity and emotion, offers insight into personal preferences, shapes the sacred rites of religious institutions, and provides us with the ability to bring people together for building community relationships (Anderson, 2005; Karaosmanoglu, 2011; Stajcic, 2013). The food choices individuals and societies make, through production, preparation, and consumption, are representative of personal and cultural identity (Kittler et al. 2012; Miller & Deutsch, 2009).

When a food culture is described, it is often done so in terms of geographic, ethnic, or religious borders and bounds. However, the terms food and culture cannot be separated from one another in discourse, nor through the discovery of the contingent other. This separation is impervious as the development of culture is reliant on human existence. Thus food, as a key component of culture, offers insight to places of origin stemming from ancestral heritage, contributing to the formation of cultural identity.

Food used to communicate cultural identity is linked to family and more broadly one's community from before birth, to experiences from child to adulthood. Food "can be the object of nostalgia not just personally, as with Proust's madeleine, but also culturally, as for the meals of one's childhood or the cooking of a distant homeland" (Freedman, 2014, p. xiv). Traditions passed down from generation to generation, written, shown, demonstrated, and spoken, serve as a continuation of one's food heritage and food practices. Karaosmanoglu (2011) notes,

> …food is used as a means to communicate sameness and difference, selfness and otherness, within a broader social field. It becomes a tool in building relationships, (dis)connecting people, and expressing cultural differences. It is also a means of separating the past from the present and of connecting different pasts (p. 39).

It is, therefore, necessary to study what it means to understand food as a foundational component of culture, and culture as the formative structure of foodways.

As with the passing of traditions, the sharing of cultural knowledge has also provided advancements in technology that have allowed humans the ability to increase communication across various mediums. Additionally, an increase in communication channels has resulted in an increase in misinformation and disinformation, particularly as it relates to topics that can be biased and partisan (Iyengar & Massey, 2019). Related to food and agricultural practices specifically, the "monetization of disinformation" has become rampant where information, not necessarily backed by scientific research, has allowed for an increase in the ability to propagate messaging for economic gain, thus debasing the individual receiver's knowledge of where their food comes from, or its historic origins (Ryan et al., 2020). This lack of knowledge and misinformation, coupled with the literal (kilocalorie energy) and figurative (affective) power associated with food, and the manner in which food is accessed, represented, and practiced in society, augments the human perception and consciousness of food's communicative properties (Williams-Forson, 2008).

Food, Discourse, and Discursive Spaces

As a component of culture, food is uniquely situated as the foundation of culinary discourse, and therefore cultural discourse (Karaosmanoglu, 2011). Greene and Cramer (2011) note, "It is through our processes of sharing or discussing food that we can view it as a form of discourse" (p. xii). The study of food and culture in the subsequent chapters uses critical approaches in analysis of the discourse. These approaches are taken to tamper the mere objectification and literal consumption of the subject. In other words, the subject of inquiry (the food and culture lens selected for analysis) is not examined in a binary or regarded at face value, nor only approached as a consumable product offering caloric satiety. Instead, it is positioned for discussion in terms of aspects relevant to the paradox of the once blatant yet now potentially unconscious misattribution for the foundation of a cuisine (Miller, 2021; Williams-Forson, 2013).

The purpose of this research therefore is to create a discursive space that serves as a formative area for honoring foodways and culture, safeguarding history from erasure. The creation of discursive spaces allows for discussion regarding the dialectical aspects of food and culture (Brulotte & Di Giovine, 2016). Moreover, it is relevant for addressing historic injustices and acknowledging the origins of a cuisine – those who first crafted it – ensuring that everyone always has a *place*, yet more importantly *voice*, at the table.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is transdisciplinary in its dialogical approach with disciplines addressing social change issues. This transdisciplinary approach is a holistic analysis where discourse is formed as a result of disciplines integrating to become something completely new or different from dialogue previously communicated.

CDA assumes a variety of methods for the social analysis of discourse (Fairclough, 2005).

From a theoretical communication perspective, CDA combines elements of semiotics, rooted in critical, sociocultural, and rhetorical traditions (Craig, 1999). As Wodak (2015a) notes, “Language is not powerful on its own; it is a means to gain and maintain power through the use that powerful people make of it” (p. 4). Thus, CDA is the qualitative methodology that will be applied to this research in food studies as a means to holistically understand the “rhetoric” of food and culture by creating discursive spaces that allow for multiple viewpoints (Jacobsen, 2004). Without critical thought as an integrated component of community engagement, the status quo can be easily reinforced (Ledwith, 2020).

The Critical Study of Food

The study of food matters, for food, as ingrained in, and inseparable from culture that it is, exists due to it being a critical component of one’s identity (Ferris, 2013; Green, 2011; Latshaw, 2013). Thus, the field of ‘food studies’ is not concerned with the study of food, but more so with why humans eat what they do and what it means to consume something within one’s culture (Miller & Deutsch, 2009). This ‘why’ and ‘what’ is studied beyond the binary of the literal and the figurative; food is not analyzed solely as that which provides nourishment for survival, nor only as an element that evokes emotion. Rather, food studies as a field is “as diverse as food itself,” exploring food through innumerable disciplinary lenses (Miller & Deutsch, 2009, p. 4, 10). Food is thus studied in fields such as communications, sociology, history, folklore, and anthropology to understand it as an aspect of culture (Belasco, 2014; Miller & Deutsch, 2009).

As an interdisciplinary field, research methods in food studies are often varied, drawing from traditional quantitative and qualitative (historical, observational, and material object) approaches (Miller & Deutsch, 2009). While some methods such as sensory testing and dietary recall are unique to the field of food studies, research methods are often enhanced through approaches specific to the study of food, such as the use of food to enhance interviews (Miller & Deutsch, 2009). For example, whereas interviews and oral histories are common qualitative methods, the *charlas culinarias* (culinary chats) were developed by Abarca (2007) specifically for food studies to garner trust between the researcher and participants as food is centralized during the sharing of stories (Miller & Deutsch, 2009).

Although these methodologies and methods are specified for application in food studies, there is an absence of a holistic approach contiguous to the multi and interdisciplinary nature of the field. An opportunity thus exists to establish an essential and original methodology for food studies through combining and applying in tandem previously established critical approaches and qualitative methods with a newly developed conceptual model. Therefore, it is necessary to garner an understanding of how food and culture intersect by considering the interdisciplinary field of food studies from an approach that is critical and dynamic; one where discursive spaces are created through the historical and dialectical examination of context and content using a holistic approach.

Context of Study: Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina Barbecue

Barbecue is represented differently across the South, as well as the nation, with each region laying claim to its historic relevance, stemming from social, environmental,

and economic structures. Barbecue wars are exclaimed between states and regions, and are even represented in popular television food shows, signifying allegiance to one's heritage and food culture (Quine, 2015). While the story of barbecue can be traced and examined to the proverbial dawn of mankind, its origins are quite complex and global; how barbecue has come to be known in the United States, throughout the various regions, has been a long, varied, and tenuous journey (Miller, 2021; Reed et al., 2008; Warnes, 2008).

The operationalization of the word 'barbecue' differs across the various parts of the South as well as the United States. Growing up in coastal rural eastern North Carolina provides one with distinct cultural meaning and adjacent attachment to the word and subject; where I am from, barbecue means pork – a whole hog, cooked over wood coals and chopped. Moreover, the word is a noun, not a verb. As Reed et al. (2008) describe,

> It seems as soon as North Carolinians had a word for the thing, they restricted it to pork. They might have allowed that beef and mutton and sausage and alligator and maybe even vegetables could be *barbecued*, but that didn't make them into *barbecue.* Many perfectly respectable North Carolina barbecue places serve chicken, but you never hear of chicken barbecue (and a good thing, too) (p. 22).

From religious celebrations to political gatherings, barbecue has wielded the ability to bring people together in time and in place, and 'in' and 'as' community. Although it is a paradox that it was once used for control, it has also brought individuals, families, and communities together. Therefore, in and of itself it can be utilized and viewed as a great leveler and equalizer. Barbecue in eastern North Carolina and South Carolina is the "lens" through which Southern food culture is examined for the creation

of discursive spaces. These discursive spaces are to be created for conversations and as places of participation for unity and inclusion, perhaps even over a plate of barbecue.

Research Objectives

To provide for a holistic understanding and acknowledgement of the food and culture topic under investigation, an opportunity exists to create a conceptual model that is dynamic (not linear). This framework will provide for a multifaceted understanding food and culture, allowing for the disruption of the structural and systematic hegemonic discourses that often dominate and permeate society and traditional science communications. Thus, the rationale for the execution of this study is the development and application of a framework as a way to communicate a Southern food culture. To accomplish this, seven objectives have been established to guide this study which are organized and addressed by a designed chapter/article in this dissertation. The objectives of this study are as follows:

Chapter 3 / Article 1

(1) To introduce a conceptual framework for food and culture studies – The *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC), comprised of three constructs, *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* – that will individually and collectively provide for spaces for discourse whereby a holistic awareness and understanding of the topic of inquiry can occur;

Chapter 4 / Article 2

(2) To understand how barbecue as an aspect of Southern food culture has been historically discussed in selected literature as related to the constructs of the DMFC;

(3) To examine Southern food culture from a historical approach using the DMFC, and;

(4) To determine if the DMFC allows for an expansion of voices to foster equality with food being centralized as a means of communication.

Chapter 5 / Article 3

(5) To understand how Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue is discussed and presented in Southern food culture discourse as related to the constructs of the DMFC;

(6) To examine currently established discursive spaces of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue using the DMFC, and;

(7) To allow for the creation of new discursive spaces that help expand the reality, understanding, and acknowledgement of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue in its current dynamic nature.

Organization of the Study

Chapter II: Literature Review

The Literature Review commences with the operationalization and review of the concepts influencing food and culture studies, drawing from a broad scope of food studies literature. Three constructs are introduced subsequently as part of the conceptual model in Chapter III, *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. The constructs are then evaluated in Southern food studies literature within American post-colonial society, revealing how they have thus far been discussed in food and culture scholarship. Topics relevant to these constructs for literary analysis are outlined (Table 1.1). The Literature Review concludes with an analysis of how CDA has been used in the past as a research

methodology in food studies to establish the delineated application of the DHA and the DRA in this study.

Table 1.1

Literature Review Topics of the DMFC Constructs

Heritage	Power	Practice
Origins of Southern food	Commodification of food	Continuity, cultural norms, and the dominant paradigm in Southern foodways
Formation of a Southern cultural food identity	Social (in)justice in foodways	Agency, authenticity, and opposition between preservation and perversion of food culture
Value and relevance of understanding food heritage	Decision of what voices are heard to create the stories	Fusion and unification

Chapter III (Article 1): The Dynamic Model of Food and Culture: A framework for analyzing food as a critical component of culture

The conceptual framework guiding the research is introduced in Chapter III. It is first presented as it relates to its paradigmatic perspective and theoretical foundations. The framework is built upon understanding food and culture as three separate yet interrelated constructs: *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. Within the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC), the constructs are further explored and discussed as they relate to the topics introduced and addressed in the Literature Review. The DMFC is presented as a model for use in the study of food and culture, with implications for

expanded use in the field of agricultural science communications. This research study thus integrates approaches of CDA with the DMFC to analyze eastern North and South Carolina barbecue.

Chapter IV (Article 2): A whole hog historical approach to understanding Southern food culture: Critical discourse analysis and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture

Chapter IV applies the discourse historical approach (DHA) to demonstrate the application of the DMFC to the topic of investigation – barbecue as a cuisine of Southern food culture in eastern North and South Carolina. Historical and material sources for data collection include review of six literary texts (books) by food ad culture academics and journalists, including award winning authors and University scholars. Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue, as the lens of inquiry, is examined in relation to each construct of the DMFC. Qualitative analysis through abductive thematic coding of data is then used to unveil any tensions or dialectical relationships between and/or within the constructs of the DMFC.

Chapter V (Article 3): Can you hear me now? The dialectical-relational approach and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture in analysis of Southern food culture

Chapter V applies the dialectical-relational approach (DRA) with the conceptual model to the topic of investigation – barbecue as a cuisine of Southern food culture in eastern North Carolina and South Carolina. Observations from four barbecue restaurants, textual analysis of two cookbooks by eastern Carolina Pitmasters, and three semi-structured interviews obtained in the form of *charlas culinarias* (Abarca, 2007), are used as descriptive narrative data collection methods. As with the previous approach, each of

the three constructs are examined with eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue serving as the lens of inquiry to demonstrate application of the DMFC. Qualitative analysis of data through abductive thematic coding is then used to unveil any tensions or dialectical relationships between and/or within the constructs of the DMFC.

Chapter VI: Implications and Future Recommendations

The final chapter provides implications of the model as well as recommendations for future research and application of the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* to areas extending beyond that operationalized, researched, and discussed. As such, future discourse is addressed regarding the communication of agricultural innovations and food topics in a context that allows for diffusion and adoption while providing for cultural consciousness in the understanding and acknowledgment of food and culture through application of the DMFC. The chapter closes with a researcher reflexivity statement.

Definitions of Key Terms

The following definitions (Table 1.2) are offered for terms that are introduced in the study as being vital for understanding the conceptual framework, paradigmatic perspective, and methodological approaches applied. Unless noted by a citation or italicized, the definitions are those operationalized by the researcher, specific to the context and application of the study. Whereas the following terms may be repeated or extended in the subsequent chapters, it is to be noted that additional key terms will be offered and defined throughout the manuscript as applicable to the content discussed.

Table 1.2

Definitions of Key Terms

Term	Definition
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)	the examination of inconsistencies and paradoxes within texts, or internal in discourse structures; critical analysis of various semiotic modalities (i.e. language, visual); *the demystification of "discourses by deciphering ideologies" (Wodak, 2009, p. 2).*
Critical Theory	challenging the status quo/hegemonic structures, allows for multiple realities rather than binary opposition, and provides for liberation rather than control; *questioning [as in Freirean pedagogy (Fuchs, 2016)]; a concern for how the past and present influence the future (Bronner, 2011).*
Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA)	*a CDA approach to "understanding of the nature and sources of social wrongs, the obstacles to addressing them, and possible ways of overcoming those obstacles" (Fairclough, 2016, p. 7). Fairclough (2016) defines 'social wrongs' as "aspects of social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being" (p. 7).*
Discourse	*a generalized way of representing the world, and more specifically, "a complex of three elements: social practice, discoursal practice (text production, distribution and consumption), and text" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 6).*
Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)	a CDA approach that analyzes historical content in relation to context; *all discourses are historical (Wodak & Meyer, 2016).*
Dynamic	not static; continuous change/activity/progress (of a system); fluid in action, where elements are considered in accordance to others rather than an independently (as in the "Dynamic Model of Food and Culture").
Heritage	the origin of cuisine and the manifestation of foodways; *all aspects of food and place that have been established, both "material and immaterial", including elements such as etiquette, production, recipes, and preparation, to include heritage foods as those historically tied to a place (Almansouri et al., 2021, p. 791).*

Power	the structural, systematic, and evocative nature; *one of the three components central to critical discourse studies; drawing on the concepts offered by governance theory, governmentality theory, and Foucault, power is social production rather than social control (Taylor, 2007). According to these views, power is 'made' rather than 'done'. Fuchs (2016) states that power is multidimensional, granting humans the ability to guide the development of social systems.*
Practice	the representation and interpretation; the way in which the subject of inquiry is demonstrated, as being discussed, performed, and/or observed in a culture and/or community; *Boyd & Monacelli (2010), in accordance with (Fairclough, 1995), note that discourse practices are shaped by the type of social activity, or genre, that is engaged in/carried out. Further, Fairclough (2010) operationalizations discourse as being comprised of three elements: social practice, discoursal practice, and text.*
Post-colonialism	to critique and challenge the effects of colonialism on political, geographic, economic, and social structures; in this research, post-colonialism is used as the paradigmatic perspective to create spaces for discourse around food and culture linked to Southern colonialism, specifically eastern North and South Carolina barbecue.

Limitations

Limitations to the study include specificity of the topic of inquiry; yet there are common dynamics when a topic is examined through the three constructs presented in the model. This study in not wholly representative of the topic and is not representative of all barbecue or other specific types of food. As such, this study is not generalizable. However, it is a start to better understand topics such as this in a more holistic fashion. Additionally, theoretical limitations of the study include solely placing it in the context of discourse analysis and, moreover, within particular approaches that are situated squarely between the social and textual dimensions of discourse analysis (Unger, 2016).

Subjectivity Statement

Balancing the complex, multifaceted approach to research devised for the study – a conceptual framework for the application of various critical methodological approaches of discourse analysis, all within the context of food and culture – while remaining cognizant of its rigor and being flexible in the process, is necessary. Peshkin (1988) notes that subjectivity can hold both constructive and adverse qualities, therefore balance must be found and maintained as it relates to my positionality to the research topic. I must thus be aware of the tensions, paradoxes, and dialectics that I have unconsciously created in my research design, as well as those that can, and no doubt will arise, to include my subjectivities and position as a researcher throughout the process.

My positionality in relation to this topic is centered on my heritage, and academic and professional career in fields related to agricultural science communications and higher education. I am a Southerner. I was born and primarily raised in rural eastern North Carolina where hog farming is the predominant facet of the agricultural economy, and vinegar-based, whole-hog, pulled pork barbecue is recognized as a regionally definitive cuisine. My identity as a White female, who grew up in an educated and not wanting middle class family, has provided me with both race, class, and socio-economic privilege. My relationship to this study of food and culture takes into account the tensions, similarities, and differences that reside in my familiarity and positionality with the subject, cuisine, place, races, genders, and culture(s), allowing for the illumination of inquiry (LeCompte & Preissle, 2001). My role as researcher could be seen in some regards as an ally, defined in the literature as a person who uses their privilege to advocate for diversity and inclusion; yet, my awareness of my racial identity and

privilege lay at the forefront of my inquiry. I am aware that these differences, though acknowledged, are static.

Freire noted our path to failure is certain if we impose our culture on others (Freire, 1972; Ledwith, 2020). Thus, ethical considerations must include acknowledging inherent biases that could affect my interpretation of the data due my relationship to the place and the cuisine, from which my heritage is tied. Although by some definitions, my culture could be paralleled with those of a different race that are included in the study, our culture is also not the same due to this difference. Even a dialectic resides as an ethical dilemma as it relates to my positionality, one which must be acknowledged and named, but cannot be overcome.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

> …Southern food is more verb than adjective; it is the exercise of specific histories, not just the result. In food it becomes less a matter of location than of process, and it becomes difficult to separate the nature of the process from the heritage by which one acquired it. Southern cuisine is a series of geographic and gastronomic mutations made long ago by people whose fade into the earth provides half of the justification for why their descendants keep the process going at all. Our ancestry is not an afterthought; it is both raison d'etre and our mise en place, it is action and reaction.
>
> –Michael W. Twitty, The Cooking Gene: A Journey Through African American Culinary History in the Old South, 2017

Introduction

The following literature review is organized into three sections, highlighting seminal food and culture literature as related to the subsequent topics discussed. Section I explores food as communication in terms of cultural identity and individuality from the position of the researcher and additionally substantiated by a broad scope of global food studies literature and popular communications. The works presented in this section provide an in-depth understanding of food being an exploration of culture. Because of the relationship between food and culture, throughout this review, the phrases food and culture and food culture are used interchangeably. Three constructs, introduced as part of the conceptual framework in Chapter III for the examination of the dynamic relationship between food and culture are then explored in Section II. Particular attention is given to how those topics, expanded for exploration (Table 2.1), are addressed in Southern food studies and culture literature. The review of the literature concludes in Section III with an

overview of how approaches to critical discourse have been used in interdisciplinary contexts such as food studies. A need for the application of the discourse historical approach (DHA) and the dialectical-relational approach (DRA) to the proposed model in this study for the development of a new critical framework for the study of food and culture is thus established.

I. Food as Communication: Cultural Identity and Individuality

You are what you eat. I recall as a very young child in eastern North Carolina being told by my uncle from Switzerland (who resided in southern California) that if I continued to eat only chicken while the rest of the family was enjoying locally, freshly caught fish from the coast, then I would become a chicken. While I found what he said to be unnerving, I have yet to lay any eggs, and I am the first to correct anyone's grammar when 'lay' and 'lie' are used incorrectly. But food, especially meals shared in the South, is a "culinary language" for finding meaning (Edge, 2017, p. 11).

I grew up in the South with an abundance of locally sourced food in an area where agriculture is central to the economy of the state. My upbringing, coupled with a long-standing career in Extension in which I endeavored to assist members of the community I worked in with the prevention and management of chronic diseases through diet, was foundational in my commitment to abide by that enduring phrase – *you are what you eat*. While it has been uttered in various ways as it relates to food and health, and donned the cover of the early text by the osteopath Lindlahr (1940) for whom it is attributed, understanding and awareness must be given to individuals regarding who they are, what they eat, and where they are from (Kittler et al., 2012). As such, food is potentially second only to language for social communication (Anderson, 2005). What we consume,

how we acquire it, who prepares it, who's at the table, and who eats first is a form of communication that is rich with meaning. Beyond merely nourishing the body, what we eat and with whom we eat can inspire and strengthen the bonds between individuals, communities, and even countries (Stajcic, 2013, p. 5).

The Politics of Belonging

If I had a desire for sweet tea as a child, I had to go to my best friend's house across the street to drink the cultural Southern beverage staple made by her grandmother; we only had unsweetened in our house, and most often it was unsweetened green tea. Yet as a Southerner, I am often asked questions regarding foods associated with the area such as sweet tea and fried chicken. "Do you have a good fried chicken recipe?" Or even recently at a conference in Georgia I was asked, "would you say this is 'good' sweet tea?" I take pause after assumptions such as these are made, or questions such as that posed. These questions and assumptions regarding people, culture, and food are one of the primary reasons I was drawn to the topic of studying food and culture, and the intersections between the two.

The relationship between food, culture, and cultural identity, influenced by structural and systematic shifts in society, creates this dialectic of understanding oneself and the perception of others (Anderson, 2005; Cosgriff-Hernandez et al., 2011; Masuoka & Junn, 2013). As Greene and Cramer (2011) note, "Increasingly, food has become a means by which we create and manage our identities and how we view the identities of others" (p. xv). A semiotic element of food is cultural identity – one that situates individuals to regions and areas across the globe (Kittler et al., 2012). Thus, the perception of Southern culture and the foods most often associated with being from the

South, such as those in the example shared above, are rooted in an assumption made by others – their assessment of *my* cultural identity. These perceptions and stereotypes are manifested, leading to the belief that just because you have origins associated with an area or reside in a place, then you must enjoy, eat, cook, and be knowledgeable of the cuisine (Anderson, 2005; Bessière, 1998; Kittler et al., 2012).

Eleana J. Kim, an associate professor of anthropology at the University of California, Irvine extends this idea of food and perceptions of identity in her work with the concept of *reimagined cooking*. This concept addresses the paradox that when heritage and community do not coincide, recipes are made in homage of one's personal identity, extending beyond cultural or social identity. Moreover, Kim (2010) continues that preparation of a cuisine does not automatically create belongingness to that culture, even if it is one's country or region of origin. In a story in the *New York Times* about chefs who were born in Korean yet adopted and raised chefs in America, "These chefs are coming to terms with a heritage they didn't grow up with. And they are enthusiastically expressing it through the very public, and sometimes precarious, act of cooking for others" (Inamine, 2022, para. 6) Therefore, food adds to the complexity of existence for people born abroad or in areas where they may no longer reside due to the strong linkage between cultural identity and cooking.

Griffin (2006) shares that "Geography may not be destiny, but neither is identification with the region or as a southerner a matter of unadulterated individual choice for many" (p. 8–9). Expressing where one is from is a common form of self-identity, especially if the individual has not experienced anything or anywhere else (Griffin, 2006). Yet, while food itself serves to substantiate this concept of 'choice' as a

means of individual expression, spaces and places for such rhetoric and communications are often limited due to a lack of acknowledgment or awareness of history, thus impeding future progress and opportunities for equal access. (Greene & Cramer, 2011; Garth & Reese, 2020).

In a contemporary context, just recently (until October 2022), Burger King promoted the tagline "Have it Your Way," a slogan that was a hallmark of international fast-food chain since 1974 (Coley, 2022). The phrase was devised by the corporation as an expression of individuality for consumers, and as an economic strategy in spite of their rival McDonalds who they saw as inflexible in meeting customer preferences (Ignasiak, 2012). Food expressed as a freedom of choice is the case in many dining establishments where one can articulate their individual preferences via ordering even if the entity does not explicitly extend the directive to do so (Yan, 2008). As Kittler et al. (2012) note, food is expressed as self-identity through experiences such as dining out in restaurants. "Researchers suggest that restaurants often serve more than food, satisfying both emotional and physical needs" (Kittler et al., 2012, p. 3). Thus, within cultures, food is defined by individuals, and choice is shaped by self-identity and even family traditions (Fischler, 1988; Kittler et al., 2012).

II. Food as Heritage, Power, and Practice

Food, as reviewed in literature focused on the Southern United States, has been crafted on divisions, boundaries, and binaries in society (Edge, 2017; Griffin, 2006; Warnes, 2013). Edge (2000) notes that "much of what has been written about Southern food" has been done with "no understanding of the cultural milieu we call the South" (p. xii). Foodways of the South depend "upon more than an examination of the food on the

table" (Wilson & Edge, 2007, p. xix). They "only be understood holistically, with just about every aspect of human life taken into account" (Anderson, 2005, p. 7). Thus, semantics (meaning) and dialectics (tensions and paradoxes) are explored as food is described, understood, practiced, and represented both with and without bounds to the social constructions of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*, defined and analyzed in the context of this study as constructs of food and culture discourse. In the subsections below, the topics related to each of the constructs (Table 2.1) are examined.

Table 2.1

Literature Review Topics of the Conceptual Framework Constructs

Heritage	Power	Practice
Origins of Southern food	Commodification of food	Continuity, cultural norms, and the dominant paradigm in Southern foodways
Formation of a Southern cultural food identity	Social (in)justices	Agency, authenticity, and opposition between preservation and perversion of food culture
Value and relevance of understanding food heritage	Decision of what voices are heard to create the stories	Fusion and unification

Southern Food: Food as Heritage

The food and cuisine of the Southern United States are intricately woven into the fabric of the culture. In the study of food heritage, "real or perceived resilience in foodways speak to understandings of the present and imagining of the future thorough reference to a mythic of historicized conception of past eating" (Holtzman, 2006, p. 363).

The construct of *Heritage* provides an understanding of food positioned historically in Southern culture, including the origin of cuisine and traditions, and the manifestation of foodways from an amalgamation of cultural influences, examining areas such as memory, emotion, nostalgia, place-keeping, experiences, trust, identity, and authenticity. Therefore, identifying: (1) the historical origins of Southern food, (2) why food became instituted as an integral part of Southern culture and the cultural identities of Southerners, and (3) the value and relevance of understanding and acknowledging heritage in a community context, are all necessary in order to create discourse around the construct of *Heritage.*

Origins of Southern Food

The foods historically consumed in the South (many which are still consumed) developed from agricultural products that were native to and easily grown in (i.e., fruits and vegetables) and on (i.e., livestock) the land of the region. The integration of availability and accessibility of products and place, coupled with colonialist dogma, created an atmosphere for the earliest formation of a Southern food culture (Ferris, 2014; Mosier, 2007). While Native American cultures practiced food traditions in the Southern region of the United States thousands of years before European settlers arrived, the cuisine we most often identify today as 'Southern' is rooted in 18th and 19th century racial interactions fueled by politics and economics (Ferris, 2014). The adoption of the agricultural practices of Native Americans in growing corn lead to its establishment as a Southern staple eaten by enslaved Africans and White settlers (Ferris, 2014). Early settlers of the Southern region also recognized that similarity in climate to their countries of origin allowed for crops and livestock to be grown in the colonies, and the adaptation

of agriculture methods to grow local species of food products was a variable in the creation of a new food culture (Ferris, 2014).

The economics of food production and consumption was an essential element in the formation of a Southern food culture, stemming from the structural and systematic forces of plantation era culture (Shortridge, 2007). Pork fat, and many of the associated fried foods synonymous with Southern cuisine, became part of the Southern food culture due to a need for calories; slaves needed calories to work, and pork fat was an accessible source. (Ferris, 2014). Warnes (2008) details the impact of African Americans on Southern cuisine, particularly that of barbecue, noting,

> For while much in this history remains unquantifiable, it is certainly true that Black southerners were a good deal more than mere intermediaries or students of this food – were a good deal more than its smiling waiters appointed only to ferry it from its Native source out to the tables of white America. Both before and after Emancipation, on the plantation and beyond it disciplinary orbit, such known and unknown figures were instead the innovators, rejuvenators, and reinventors of the food… (p. 107).

With skill, ingenuity, intuition, and cultural traditions, dishes were created by the enslaved, resulting in Southern food. This food culture was formed from a blending of cultures, ethnicities, and relationships between and among races (Mosier, 2007). Enslaved Africans honed the regional cuisine through the combination of their African traditions with learned techniques from Native Americans and West Indian Natives. Ingredients brought from Africa and cultivated in American, along with those introduced to the colonies by Europeans, were utilized (Harris, 2007; Warnes, 2008). Enslaved men

and women often had culinary responsibilities for the entire plantation household as they were instructed by their masters, and most often mistresses due to their role within plantation culture, to prepare meals for the plantation family (Harris, 2007). Thus, Southern food culture as a whole emerged through the phenomena of culinary despotism (Genovese, 1976).

Formation of a Southern Cultural Food Identity

Place, symbols, memory, and nostalgia, in relation to regionally honored foodways, are components of cultural identity in the South, evoking historical meaning beyond the literal representation of dishes enjoyed in the region (Alonso & O'Neill, 2012; Latshaw, 2009).

> Its sights, sounds, tastes, smells, and touch are thought to evoke reminiscences of childhood, stir up emotions from the past, and aid southerners in creating new memories around the modern dining table. In the hearts and mind of Southerners from the past and present, only one thing could possibly embody such traits and induce such sentiment: Southern food (Latshaw, 2009, p. 107).

Southern chef and author Damon Fowler shares, "Each time a Southern cook hefts a skillet to the stovetop, he or she is not alone. Trapped within the iron confines of these skillets and stewpots are the scents and secrets of a family's culinary history" (as cited in Edge & Rolfes, 1999, p. 129).

Recipes, consumption, and culinary practices passed down through generations are considerations of heritage thus constructing one's cultural identity (Almerico, 2014; Latshaw, 2009). Latshaw (2009) notes that Southern "foodways, like ethnic foodways, might be interpreted as modern-day expression of one's Southern identity" (p. 108).

Further, stories are created and shared with food, and about food, crafting the identity of a culture. Edge (2017) writes,

> Decade by decade, food narratives illumine history. On the long march to equality, struggles over food reflected and affected change across the region and around the nation. Once though retrograde, Southern food is now recognized as foundational to American cuisine. Southern cooks who labored in roadside shacks now claim white tablecloth temples where they cook alongside new immigrants. This ongoing ascent has been tumultuous. And it has powerfully driven national conversations about cultural identity (p. 7).

From its place in gatherings at churches, weddings, and social events, to its place in one's memory, food in the South is a symbol of culture; it serves as a link to heritage (Alonso & O'Neill, 2012; Latshaw, 2009).

Traditional Southern food is not necessarily associated with "a communal Southern identity, but to an enduring African-American identity, serving as a reflection not only of stamina, survival, and inventiveness utilized to persevere through the experience of slavery, but also their cultural separateness… from White southerners" (Latshaw, 2009, p. 109). The importance of Southern food is, for African Americans, a distinct connection to culture and heritage. The lived experiences of African Americans in the South contribute associative meaning of Southern food and the construction of identity (Frechette et al., 2020; Holtzman, 2006). A large number of Southern food traditions developed during colonialism in the United States. These traditions and practices were enduring, and ultimately came to signify a sense of 'blackness' or cultural identity and heritage for African Americans" (Latshaw, 2009, p. 123).

Value and Relevance of Understanding Food Heritage

The aforenoted origins and cultural identity components are crucial in situating the value and relevance of understanding food heritage to this research. “The ubiquity of food in maintaining historically constituted identities owes not only to the properties of food itself, but also to the social and cultural conditions that allow or encourage this to be a space for resilient identities” (Holtzman, 2006, p. 373). Much of the literature regarding the valorization of ethnic food practices focus on concepts of cultural resilience instead of allowing for an understanding of this phenomenon (Holtzman, 2016). Studies of ethnic cuisine has demonstrated how foods can be “vehicles for connecting with a lost past” creating revalorization of food heritage (Holtzman, 2006, p. 372).

A dialectic persists in the expression of Southern regional and cultural identity. This is demonstrated with the present and simultaneous displays of Confederate relics and Civil Rights memorials (Griffin et al., 2005). Presently, as “Southern identity is fragile and the South is becoming increasingly ‘Americanized,’ its traditional foodways have the potential to bind Southerners and to be an accessible medium to use in finding cohesion…the celebration and performance of Southern identity” (Latshaw, 2009, p. 108). Therefore, the path from plantation culture to modern society comprises a storied history that demonstrates why acknowledging and understanding food and culture is important (Edge, 2017).

Southern Food: Food as Power

Food and culture examined as *Power* thus provides a space for analysis of the structural, systematic, and evocative nature of Southern food. This is done so historically and contemporarily to gain an understanding of its prevailing role in our society due to

operational and emblematic forces while examining race, voice, politics, economics, colonialism, access, and perceptions. Ferris (2014) notes, "Throughout Southern history, the politics of power and place has established a complex regional cuisine of both privilege and deprivation that continues to impact the daily food patterns of Southerners today" (p. 1). There are economic, political, social, cultural dimensions to food in the South (Egerton, 1987). Therefore, in order recognize how food acts as power in relation to an examination of food culture in the South, an understanding of: (1) social justice and injustice in foodway, (2) the commodification of food culture, and (3) the decision of what voices are heard in the creation of the stories shared are essential to discourse analysis in relation to the construct of *Power*.

Social (In)Justice

Ledwith (2020) describes Freirean theory regarding racism and socio-economic power structures as "the ways in which social class and poverty intersect with racism to systematically destroy communities, societies and nations by domination, exploitation, colonialism and empire is contained within the racialized culture of class to erode belonging, identity, and language" (p. 132). The particular meaning that Southern food holds for African Americans is attributed to "its association with times of enslavement: symbolizing a cultural pride, ingenuity, and perseverance in the face of adversity" (Latshaw, 2009, p. 124). Thus, the historical relationship between races in the South created an "exceptional" paradox between dispensation and denial (Griffin, 2006, p. 6). Inequalities in natural and built capital were also evident for Black and other non-White farmers in the depletion of opportunities to grow food in the early and mid-20th century (Edge, 2017; Ferris, 2014). Power dynamics waned briefly in the early 1900s when Black

farmers owned more than 15 million acres, yet that amount of property was reduced to less than half (approximately 6 million acres) in 1969 due to precursory enforcement of Jim Crow laws (Edge, 2017).

While Latshaw (2009) notes that "Southern food is the one thing Southerners of all races have shared in the past and can find commonality in today" (p. 119), in the same study of Southern food culture, it was revealed that contextual variables in contemporary society, such as a lack of advanced education coupled with lower socio-economic status, were associated with consumption of traditional Southern foods (Latshaw, 2009; Sauceman, 2007). These findings can serve as a representative indicator of the marginalization of food culture.

> While Southerners as a whole are more likely to consume Southern food than non-Southerners, Southerners of lower income and educational brackets are likely to do it more often than their more privileged Southern counterparts, revealing a persistent association between the affordability/humbleness of Southern food items and economic or social disadvantage in the region. (Latshaw, 2009, p. 117).

Therefore, while individuals may be able to physically consume food, accessibility and acceptability is often constructed due to one's membership within a culture (Freedman, 2016).

Commodification of Food

The Frankfurt School philosopher Theodor Adorno opposed the commodification of anything, especially related to culture, and deemed it damaging to all aspects of society (Fuchs, 2016). A paradox is found within the globalization of food and an expanding food system, and local farm and community-to-fork initiatives as a means to preserve and

acknowledge food heritage (Wright & Middendorf, 2008). Culturally significant food items run the risk of being commodified through increased marketability, particularly when tied to ideological social paradigms that are neither neo-liberal or anti-capitalist (Leitch, 2003). Profitability of food, communicated as the predominant focus through an ideological discourse, results in a detachment from its original cultural context (Dutta & Thaker, 2019). Leitch (2003) considers this movement a "commodification of culture" (p. 451).

Literary analysis reveals however that *foods* common in Southern culture have remained steadfast in light of the commercialization of food *culture* in a neoliberal society (Abarca, 2004; Alkon, 2014; Latshaw, 2009). "With a plethora of national food chains and mass-marketed brand name products, Southern foods remain" (Latshaw, 2009, p. 108). Latshaw (2009) further expresses,

> Moreover, in a time when what it means to be a 'Southerner' is increasingly ambiguous and vast industrialization, commercialization, and in-migration reshapes the Southern landscape, the preparation, consumption, and celebration of Southern food is looked upon as a cultural medium one turns to when expressing a regional identity today (p. 107).

Interestingly though in terms of commodification, one of the primary agricultural commodities in the South that plays a prominent role in the region's food culture is pork (Wilson, 2007). In much of the South, pork is operationalized to mean barbecue.

Decision of What Voices are Heard in the Creation of Stories

The relationship between social constructs such as gender (women particularly), race, and food has also been examined extensively, thereby constructing the notion of

power to create and share memories and stories “through activities that simultaneously index their subordination” (Holtzman, 2006, p. 370). As such, food acts as a “medium for understanding perspectives on modernity often invisible within public debates” (Holtzman, 2006, p. 371). Genovese (1976) maintains that the influence of African slaves on Southern food is central to the development of what is recognized, shared, and shown as Southern cuisine. A sense of empowerment associated with Black women in the antebellum South has been documented by anthropologist Maria Franklin, noting a shift in power dynamics, even among often insufferable conditions. Black women had control in direction and preparation of meals in plantation kitchens, thereby extending their knowledge and traditional African recipes to the White mistresses of the house (Latshaw, 2009, p. 121). However, as voices have been muted in the South due to the structural and systematic forces during pre and postcolonial eras, disputation continues to exist in who has the right to say, demonstrate, recreate, or establish ownership of what defines and thus represents Southern food.

Southern Food: Food as Practice

The construct of *Practice* serves for understanding how food culture exists in the South today through an examination of how, and by whom, Southern foodways are represented, questioning the interpretation and form of their existence in contemporary society. Food and culture examined as *Practice* considers areas such as: consumption, place, space, appropriation, fusion, ownership, perceptions, and symbols. Therefore, an understanding of: (1) how Southern foodways represent continuity in society, revealing cultural norms and their potential to bolster the dominant paradigm, (2) how personal agency and trust are held in those representing food culture, creating the dialectic

between preservation and perversion of Southern food culture, and (3) how the ideas of fusion and unification exist simultaneously and dialectically, must be examined to comprehend insular disruptive factors so that a discursive space for food as *Practice* can be created.

Continuity, Cultural Norms, and the Dominant Paradigm in Southern Foodways

Bessière (1998) describes the continuity of food heritage as a linkage between the past and the present. “Beyond that continuity, beyond that legacy which is passed on, heritage (along with traditional practices) is part of the present, and at the same time holds promises for the future; the problem of the past is a modern one” (Bessière, 1998, p. 26). Freedman (2016) notes that “food-related choices are affected by culturally defined practices passed on from one generation to the next” (p. 138). Further, the relationship between food and memory is acknowledged by Mankekar (2002) in examination of ethnic groups and their ability to communicate with others in areas of commerce specific to their homeland, providing for a continuity in culture. Even for Southerners who no longer reside in the South, food is a continuum for celebrating their identity (Latshaw, 2009).

Marcuse suggested that “capitalism and class-based society’s contradictions condition, but do not determine the future” but rather it is “human praxis that shapes the future” (Fuchs, 2016, p. 211). The concept of cultural conditioning in contemporary society is thus paradoxical in that it prevents aspects and characteristics of a system to materialize, yet the dominant paradigm influences ideology through norms and communications (Fuchs, 2016). The enduring nature of Southern culture, as exemplified through its food representations and interpretations, challenges the norms that have

existed and persisted in the dominant paradigm of modern American foodways and global food systems (Wilson & Edge, 2007; Holtzman, 2006; Reese & Garth, 2020; Sauceman, 2007). Food, as noted by Holtzman (2006),

> …has the uncanny ability to tie the minutiae of everyday experience to broader cultural patterns, hegemonic structures, and political economic processes, structuring experience in ways that can be logical, and outside of logic, in ways that are conscious, canonized, or beyond the realm of conscious awareness (p.373).

Disruption of the dominate paradigm through a critical analysis of the discourse thus provides for space in that all voices are part of telling the story of food (Fuchs, 2016; German, 2011; Karaosmanoglu, 2011).

Agency, Authenticity, and Opposition between Preservation and Perversion of Food Culture

Consideration of personal agency in Southern food culture allows for an understanding of what individuals' have the ability to act upon, access, lay claim to, and influence. Critical theory proposes that ideology superimposed by the dominate paradigm creates environments where individuals lack person agency. Agency is operationalized as being one's ability to make sense of and create purpose in their life (Bhattacharyya, 1995; Fuchs, 2016; Habermas, 1987; Wright & Middendorf, 2008). "In the cultural world, ideological forms of culture are one-dimensional, do not significantly engage people, lack autonomy and therefore often represent partial interests" (Fuchs, 2016, p. 104). Wright and Middendorf (2008) share,

> The examination of agency and structure in contemporary agrifood systems is an important sociological inquiry, because it sheds light on how humans shape something as essential for life as food, and on how the existing food system shapes human action" (p. 14).

Therefore, Almerico (2014) describes an individual's need for understanding food "in a non-epicurean manner" so that it may,

> Challenge us to look deeply into the common daily occurrence of eating and find deeper meaning in this ordinary practice. It can help us understand ourselves and others better. It can help debunk stereotypes and promote acceptance across individuals and groups (p. 4).

Perceptions of authenticity influence individual attitudes about food (Alonso & O'Neill, 2012). Almansouri et. al (2021) note that authenticity is associated with trust along with an amalgamation of elements. "Food authenticity relates to a wide range of elements, such as origin, preparation, ingredients, recipes, and the context" (p 791). Reed (2016) echoes these sentiments in how the compilation of place and method define a cuisine; authenticity is a combination of regionality and preparation.

However, a distinction must be made between the terms authentic and original Abarca (2004). "Those who award themselves the privilege to define authenticity in any ethnic food, whether they are cultural outsiders or insiders, can inflict wounds that either appropriate cultural and personal knowledge or essentialize it causing a stifling of creative growth" (Abarca, 2004, p. 2). "Authentic" is used to describe a dish that is prepared by someone not belonging to the ethnic group for which it is attached creating ideological implications in that cultural is constantly evolving (Abarca, 2004, p. 19); the

"contingent nature of authenticity is that the culture of any social group is in continual flux" (Lu & Fine, 1995, p. 538). Conversely, "original" signifies a historical connection, and "the production always belongs to the person who creates it" (Abarca, 2004, p. 19).

Through the association of representation and "Americanization," Lu and Fine (1995) note a dialectic between what is considered and represented as "authentic" and the "bounds of cultural expectations" (p. 535–536). Lu and Fine (1995) argue that ethnic food that has been "Americanized" does not "deserve the label of being authentic" (p. 538). Consumers are interested in food that is exotic and foreign, but yet it must be presented and represented in a way that is understood and comfortable; one that conforms to one's cultural preferences and heritage (Lu & Fine, 1995; Freedman, 2016). Warnes (2013) echoes this dialectical view in describing the often mutually exclusive use of the words "authenticity and invention", noting that some of the most newly invented commodities, particularly found in the form of food items in the Southern region of the United States such as "spice rubs", are purported as being authentic (p. 346).

An understanding of how Southern food is represented, or misrepresented, in society constitutes the need for discourse regarding acknowledgment of its heritage. Otherwise, opportunities exist that allow for distortions to develop. These distortions are often created by individuals longing for something that one has never experienced, described by Holtzman (2006) as "armchair nostalgia" (p. 367). Bessière (1998) notes that "Eating farm-fresh products, for example, may represent for the urban tourist not only a biological quality, but also a short-lived appropriation of a rural identity. He symbolically integrates a forgotten culture" (p. 25). Therefore, as Alonso and O'Neill

(2012) suggest, regions featuring cultural foods become synonymously and powerfully associated with certain foods.

Discourse around cultural appropriation must also be considered when analyzing the presentation, representation, and practice of what has been operationalized as Southern food. Rogers (2006) categorizes cultural appropriation dependent on context, but overall defines the notion as "the use of a culture's symbols, artifacts, genres, rituals, or technologies by members of another culture" (p. 476). Reese and Garth (2020) share,

> While all kinds of people consume and enjoy foods that are culturally Black, the appropriation of those foods means that members of a dominant or privileged group in society adopt or lay claim to the production of and profits from Black food culture (p. 12).

Therefore, cultural appropriation of Southern food could be viewed by some as a type of reification, alienating the origin and original from the interpreted conceptualization, thereby denying recognition and honor to heritage (Fuchs, 2016). Although Reed (2016) remarks that trends in practice are derailments for the acknowledgment of food traditions noting "something will be lost", he concludes that if it takes presenting cuisine in a new way to unfamiliar individuals excited about a food culture, then "bring it on" (p. 25). Moreover, Edge and Rolfes (1999) and Edge (2017) further discuss the danger in creating dissention over ownership or what constitutes Southern food due to the variations within the food culture itself.

Fusion and Unification

The contemporary interest and fervor regarding fusion cuisine as a recent phenomenon neglects to recognize that our modern foodways are a result of a historic

blending of cultures (Spence, 2008). A distinction must be made however between the often-conflated phrases: *cultural appropriation* (previously discussed) and *fusion cuisine*. Stano (2014) describes fusion cuisine as "a style of cooking, combining ingredients and techniques from different foodspheres" (IASS, abstr.). As noted in the discussion of the construct of *Heritage,* Southern cuisine originated from the merging of Native American, African America, and European food cultures. Yet, a "New Southern" cuisine, exemplified through the merging flavors and use of products, began to flourish in the 2010's with the immigration of individuals seeking employment and integration of their tradition foods into the cultural and culinary landscape (Edge, 2017, p. 10). This rise in what has been classified as "New Southern" cuisine has also been operationalized as that based on 'authentic' Southern recipes but modified from the original versions using modern culinary techniques, trends, or alternate ingredients (Abarca, 2004; Edge, 2017).

Holtzman (2006) notes the ability of food to serve as a medium of sharing through the practice of eating. "Although eating always has a deeply private component, unlike our other most private activities, food is integrally constituted through its open sharing…" (Holtzman, 2006, p. 373). As Chavez and Weisinger (2008) note, the history of food reveals connections to people around the world. Thus, in an effort to maintain a connection to the country from which people came, traditional dishes are brought with them, and they are able to preserve their historical origins through the continued preparation of the dishes and teach others about the history of their culture through the sharing of food (Anderson, 2005).

As with the blending of various flavors and cultures, food in the South is a symbolic way of unifying people from different cultures as well as unifying the past with

the present. “We believe that food is our region’s greatest shared creation. And we see food as a unifier in a diverse region, as a means by which we may address the issues that have long vexed our homeland” (Latshaw, 2009, p. 125). Latshaw (2009) goes beyond what Southern food may represent by stating that regardless of meaning and symbolism, a shared pride for food in the South can create pathways for healing and future progress in the region.

III. The Critical Study of Food

Food studies crosses and combines disciplines that seek to understand the relationships between food and the human experience (Miller & Deutsch, 2009). Critical theory has been used as a paradigmatic perspective in food studies for understanding the relationship between food and culture in various contexts. In this section, I will present how approaches to discourse analysis have been used in previous literature to establish a need to delineate the application of critical discourse analysis (CDA) with the discourse historical approach (DHA) and the dialectical-relational approach (DRA) as particular methodologies, to the proposed conceptual framework and its associated model in this study. This distinction in approaches is important because while the DHA is a critical approach to analyzing historical content in relation to its context, the DRA is a critical approach to understanding the present issues in discourse.

Critical Theory and Food Studies

Applying a methodology central to critical theory provides a significant contribution to food studies in the examination of understanding and acknowledging the relationship between food and culture. “Freirean pedagogy emphasizes both the importance of the social, political and economic context of any transformative practice

and the necessity of collective action in social change" (Ledwith, 2020, p. 90). The development of the conceptual framework is thus based on Freirean pedagogy of questioning through mutual discovery rather than ideas imparted by dominant and hegemonic power structures.

Darder (2015) notes that Freire understood and could communicate the ways socio-economic status intersect with racism, leading to domination, exploitation, colonialism, and erosion of identity. "Food is constituted and performed through communication, and the performance of food is simultaneously a communicative expression. Moreover, discourses of food are closely intertwined with the materiality of food, the practices of food production, circulation, and distribution" (Dutta & Thaker, 2019, p. 28). Like the interdisciplinary nature of critical theory, Hauck-Lawson (1998) notes how a similar approach is taken in foodways research that examines the various ways food and culture are interconnected in life and society. Thus, a critical perspective, as aligned with the postcolonial approach in this study, examines facets that contribute to an alterity of cultural foodways.

An understanding of food as a semiotic element of culture is therefore subject to the consideration of the aspects and the relationships between them (Jacobsen, 2004). Scholars dedicated to the study of food, communication, and culture have defined these intricate associations. Barthes (2008) described food in its ability to contextualize a situation; the practice or performative act of food within a context is exemplary of such. Stajcic (2013) notes how Levi-Strauss and Douglas viewed food as following a similar manner as language in its ability to act as a way of expressing social relationships.

Additionally, Jacobsen (2004) added that food has the ability to act as a construct in multidimensional identity formation (individual, cultural, and societal).

Belasco (2014) reveals that we really do not know what people thought of food in the past; we can only reconstruct, recount, and represent our interpretation as the researcher of historical data and artifacts, thus when approaching food through a historical approach, one must do so with humbleness. Food policy and charity have been studied through application of the discourse historical approach (DHA), one of the central theoretical approaches within CDA (Kotwal & Power, 2015; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016; Smith-Carrier, 2021). However, the use of this specific approach in analysis of food and its relationship to culture as applied to a conceptual framework has not been expressed in previous literature.

One of the aims of the DHA (and of all CDA) is to "demystify" discourses by "deciphering ideologies" (Wodak, 2009, p. 2); in other words, this approach to CDA helps makes sense of discourses (conversations/topics/subjects) by decoding thoughts and beliefs that dominate or are ever or omnipresent.

> … DHA elucidates the object under investigation. It should also theoretically justify why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid then others. And, of course, our normative positions come into play when interpreting texts and discourses, which need to be made explicit, within their respective contexts (Wodak, 2009, p. 1–2).

Since food serves as a symbolic means of representing culture (Kittler et al., 2012), a study that substantiated the use of the DHA was Boyd and Monacelli (2021). While Boyd and Monacelli's (2021) application of the DHA in the conception of a model critically

examined historical, cultural, social, and ideological expressions of text in the field of 'interpretive studies,' it was done so in a similar manner as that used in this study of food and culture.

Both expressed and apparent in Warnes' (2008) postcolonial perspective, Said's (1978) *Orientalism* was fundamental in his study of food, culture, race, and identity noting, "writing and culture lie at the heart of this dialectical process" (p. 137–138). Although food studies literature has presented the relationship between food and culture from discursive approaches such as textual analysis, used by Fürsich (2014) in examination of ethnic food review discourse, and relational-dialectics, employed by Rogan et al. (2018) in examination of intercultural household food tensions, the use of Fairclough's (2005) dialectical-relational approach remains novel. Fairclough (2005) provides a broad description of DRA as,

> a methodology which is oriented to constructing objects of research through theorizing research topics in dialogue with other areas of social theory and research, and selecting methods which are in part inherent to this version of CDA and in part depend upon the particular object of research (p. 13).

The DRA strives to address "the social 'wrongs' of the day by analyzing their sources and causes, resistance to them, and possibilities of overcoming them" (Fairclough, 2016, p. 88).

While a relationship exists between ethnography and food studies (Freedman, 2016; Miller & Deutsch, 2009) and CDA (Krzyżanowski, 2011), this research study uses critical discourse methodologies in the field, yet not in the traditional constructivist view of ethnography. In traditional or conventional ethnographic research, engagement with

the social environment takes place before establishment of a theoretical (or conceptual) framework. Based on the fundamental ideologies of critical theory, and with the model that is to be tested through CDA in a field-based setting, this study is in part what can also be described as "doing" a critical ethnography while utilizing the aforementioned critical approaches.

The tools for analysis in the DHA are three dimensional: (1) determine macro and subtopics, (2) determine what is the author's aim and/or purpose, and (3) implement a strategy to understand/realize the meaning. The DHA consists of eight recursive steps. Strategies for analysis (to understanding the meaning of the text) can be oriented to five questions; this is done heuristically, applying up to five discursive strategies (Wodak, 2015). In DRA, "analysis is focused on two dialectical relations: between structure (especially social practices as an intermediate level of structuring) and events (or: structure and action, structure, and strategy); and, within each, between semiotic and other elements" (Fairclough, 2016, p. 3). DRA consists of a four-stage, non-systematic process. Ultimately, through the use of both the DHA and DRA, the conceptualized model will provide for the creation of discursive spaces that allow for multiple viewpoints, not for the sake of negating or elevating, but rather for a holistic understanding of the food and culture topic of inquiry.

Conclusion

Food is defined by individuals in communities, demonstrating that the demarcation of food is personal (Stajic, 2013). Based on language, interaction, interpretations, and practices, food displays both agency and cultural identity (Wright & Middendorf, 2008). Cosgriff-Hernandez et al. (2011) express, "Communication scholars

are uniquely positioned to explore tensions that emerge between the desire to express individuality and the need to connect with others" (p. 119). Therefore, as we look ahead to this study, it is through an understanding of the scholarship that came before that significant efforts can be made in examining food and culture through a new methodological approach. This approach can be used to support and examine the creation of discursive spaces that serve as formative areas for honoring foodways, acknowledging cultural histories, and addressing injustices.

CHAPTER 3

THE DYNAMIC MODEL OF FOOD AND CULTURE: A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING FOOD AS A CRITICAL COMPONENT OF CULTURE[1]

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Abstract

Food studies is an interdisciplinary field that examines the relationship humans have with food and draws upon various methods for the collection and analysis of data. The purpose of this manuscript is to propose a conceptual framework to support and examine the creation of discursive spaces; spaces that serve as formative areas for honoring foodways, acknowledging cultural histories, and addressing injustices. These formative areas thereby constitute and situate the value of a model that can be utilized for understanding the multifaceted relationship between food and culture. Food as a critical component of culture is thus positioned in a model comprised of three dynamic constructs: *Heritage* (the origin of cuisine and the manifestation of foodways), *Practice* (the representation and interpretation), and *Power* (the structural, systematic, and evocative nature of food and culture). An absence exists in an explicit analysis of the transmuting, often contested, dialectical relationship with each of these constructs. Therefore, development of the proposed model is based on the rationale that in order to understand the relationship between food and culture to create formative discursive spaces, one must understand: (1) the facets related to, and extending from, the origin of the food and culture of inquiry; (2) the way in which food is (mis)represented within, or as an aspect of, or adjacent to, culture; (3) structural and systematic forces that influence tangible and intangible aspects of food and culture.

Introduction

To study food is a means for acquiring insight into the human experience (Almerico, 2014; Miller & Deutsch, 2009). Food acts as a symbol, representing humans and creating meaning in a communicative way, and all that can be associated with their

perceived and expressed being (Lu & Fine, 1995; Stajcic, 2013). Pioneering food studies scholars such as Barthes, Levi-Strauss, and Jacobsen laid the theoretical foundation for understanding the rhetorical relationship between food and culture of how food is communicated, and additionally, how food acts as a means of communication (Stajcic, 2013). Yet while extensive literature exists in the examination of food, ranging from its connotations of nature, commodity, and culture (Jacobsen, 2004), to the meaning of identity and authenticity (Abarca, 2004), to its association with memory (Holtzman, 2006), an understanding of the present as being rooted in the past must be considered to create future spaces for a holistic awareness of the relationship between and within food and culture (Greene & Cramer, 2011).

Miller and Deutsch (2009) comprehensively address the topic of food studies, describing the field as being both multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary in the examination of food and culture from various perspectives within and across the humanities and social sciences. Various quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies have been applied in the study of food and culture (Miller & Deutsch, 2009). However, a varied and wider breadth of qualitative approaches in food studies research, including analysis of discourse, is necessitated. Moreover, much of the previous scholarship has attended specifically to areas focusing on ethnic, consumer, and national identity, as well as food traditions from and through a singularly focused and often parochial lens (Holtzman, 2006). The study of food has now shifted to capture the entirety of the food system, encompassing the biological, economic, political, cultural, and social aspects of production, distribution, and consumption (Anderson, 2005).

In this shift, Anderson (2005) recognizes this as a "biocultural approach" to the study of food, noting that attention must be simultaneously given to food systems and their relationship to biology, culture, politics, and the economy. Further, a challenge is prompted by Holtzman (2006) for scholars to take a "more deliberate aim to understand the interconnections among the varying aspects of food, the varying phenomena of memory, and their confluences – how these in some senses constitute a whole, albeit a messy and ambiguous one" (p. 374). The connection between food and culture thus must be approached holistically in research, allowing for analysis of the mutable relationship(s) existent within foodways and their corresponding societies.

Conceptual Framework

Research Paradigm Perspective

The paradigmatic perspective underlying and contributing to the development of the conceptual framework combines critical and deconstructivist approaches, aligning with the postcolonial approach, allowing for the examination of aspects that contribute to an alterity of cultural foodways. Through this approach, which includes tenants of the settler and internal colonialism theories, food and its relationship to culture are deconstructed in the examination of history, origin, and erasure (Blauner, 2001; Derrida, 1967; Glenn, 2015). Postcolonialism invites the researcher to critique and challenge the effects of colonialism on political, geographic, economic, and social structures (Lester, 2021; Prasad, 2017; Roulston, 2021). The "post" must occur in a sense in consideration of the continuum of time; this transpires through analysis, acknowledgment, and understanding of what exists after or "subsequent to…all that

came before it" (Lester, 2021, p. 219). Thus, the past, present, and future are held in respect of one another as the food and culture topic under investigation is examined.

Utilizing critical theory as an element in this conceptual development provides a significant contribution to food studies in the examination of food and culture, one which attempts to challenge and examine inequalities within the status quo as determined by the dominant paradigm (Ledwith, 2020). This disruption is not done so as a means to overtly discredit a dominant ideology, but to disturb it as a way to understand the nuances that create "false consciousness," defined as the failure of subordinate groups to question reality, leaving the privileged and associated power structures unchallenged. This is similarly referenced by Adorno as "the 'ontology of false conditions'" (Bronner, 2011, p. 33; Ledwith, 2020 p. 114, XIII). Reality is thus subjective and paradoxical, allowing the researcher to consider multiple viewpoints (Sipe & Constable, 1996). The creation of the framework is additionally guided by the ontological assumption of historical realism and epistemological assumption of subjectivism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The development of the conceptual framework is further based on the Freirean pedagogy of communicating and questioning through dialogue and mutual discovery. Frieire (1972) believed "Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking. Without dialogue there is not communication, and without communication there can be no true education" (p. 65). Freire understood and could communicate the ways socio-economic status intersects with racism, leading to domination, exploitation, colonialism, and erosion of identity (Darder, 2015). At the center of Freirean pedagogy is the concept of "conscientization", or the process of

critically analyzing life's contradictions that are most often accepted or taken for granted as norms (Ledwith, 2020).

Drawing from the same perspective, Belsey (2001) extends the term "differend" from to Lyotard (1983) to examine the linguistics of what does (and does not) exist as a paradox. As such, meaning is found through consideration of differences rather than that associated with a context approached and examined in isolated existence. One cannot examine the present or future without considering the past, and one cannot monocularly examine the past solely through the language and lens of the present. Therefore, analysis of how food is represented in a culture "helps us to understand how that community connects to the past, lives in the present, and imagines the future" (Karaosmanoglu, 2011, p. 40). Thus, in the formation of discursive spaces regarding food and culture, an analysis must consider the complexities associated with origin, representation, and dominant influences of the past and the present, offering potentialities for future cultural awareness.

Theoretical Foundations

A synthesis of theories has informed the development of this conceptual framework. The Culture Centered Approach (CCA) (Dutta, 2008) guides the framework as it relates to creating new discursive spaces. The creation of a structural space of discourse allows for the demonstration of agency among all community members, while also attending to the overshadowed and muted realities, voices, and existence of marginalized and/or subaltern groups. Cultural Identity Theory situates the framework from a communications and multicultural position in relation to these theoretical perspectives (Collier, 1988). Its inclusion offers a basis for examining food through

position, meaning, cultural significance, and relevance – not just simply in analysis of the food in and of itself. Finally, Diffusion of Innovations (Rogers, 2003) is used to guide the framework as it relates to the perceived attributes of an innovation or food, coupled with personal characteristics of the individual, resulting in the impact of its adoption. Collectively, they provide the capacity to examine cultural foodways through the application of a specific aspect of food within a culture, to understand the relationship and tensions that exist among three key constructs that this article will focus on: heritage, power, and practice.

To move toward these three constructs, one should first consider how food is constituted within society. Dutta and Thaker (2019) note that "Food is constituted and performed through communication, and the performance of food is simultaneously a communicative expression. Moreover, discourses of food are closely intertwined with the materiality of food, the practices of food production, circulation, and distribution" (p. 28). An understanding of how food is communicated and conceptualized – the rhetoric of food – is subject to the consideration of the associative cultural aspects, and the relationships between them (Jacobsen, 2004). Analysis through the three constructs thus serves to examine this rhetoric; one that is driven by intersecting power dimensions of ideology, as well as social and cultural practice (Frye & Bruner, 2013).

Like the interdisciplinary nature of critical theory, food studies scholar Hauck-Lawson (1998) notes,

> Foodways research embraces an interdisciplinary approach to studying the relationship of food and culture through multilayered investigations into the ways

> that food functions in the life complex. In a sense, food serves as a voice--a powerful channel for the expression of meaning (p. 21).

Scholars dedicated to the study of food, communication, and culture have supported the intricate association between these areas. “Cuisine constructs and upholds a community of discourse, a collectivity held together by words, by language, by interpretations of the world in which we live” (Ferguson, 2004, p. 8). Barthes (2018) described food in its ability to contextualize a situation; the practice or performative act of food within a context is exemplary of such. Additionally, Jacobsen (2004) added that food has the ability to act as a construct in multidimensional identity formation (individual, cultural, and societal). Levi-Strauss and Douglas viewed food as following a similar manner as language in its ability to act as an expression of relationships in society (Stajcic, 2013). It is thus through an understanding of the scholarship that came before, applied through approaches that examine discourse, that significant efforts can be made in the acknowledgment and understanding of food and culture.

Dynamic Model of Food and Culture

The development of the proposed model in this article is predicated on the foundation that, to understand the relationship between food and culture to create formative discursive spaces, a critical analysis of discourse is needed. This is done through an examination of: (1) the facets related to, and extending from, the origin of the food and culture of inquiry; (2) the way in which food is represented within, as an aspect of, or adjacent to culture; and (3) structural and systematic forces that influence tangible and intangible aspects of food and culture.

Food as a critical component of culture is positioned in a model comprised of three dynamic constructs: *Heritage* (the origin of cuisine and the manifestation of foodways), *Practice* (the representation and interpretation), and *Power* (the structural, systematic, and evocative nature). While these constructs have been addressed separately in the literature, an absence exists in an explicit analysis of the transmuting, often contested, dialectical relationship with each other. Drawing on the work of Almansouri et al. (2021) and Bessière (1998), which focus on heritage food and heritage models respectively, the model proposed in this article – the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) – situates the construct of heritage within the dynamic interplay of practice and power (Figure 3.1). The intended result is establishing an area of discourse in the production of knowledge for holistically understanding food as an integral component of culture. The constitution of the three constructs are subsequently detailed to provide further reasoning for their inclusion in this model.

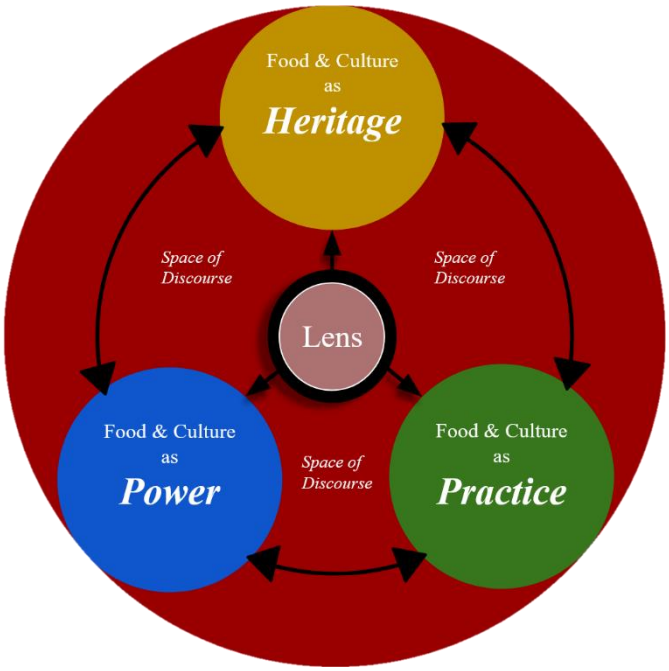

Figure 3.1

Dynamic Model of Food and Culture

Heritage

Heritage encompasses the aspects of *food* and its relationship to *place* that have been historically established; this includes traditional material and immaterial elements such as etiquette, production, recipes, preparation, and foods with specified ties to geographic regions and spaces (Almansouri et al., 2021). “Traditional food is placed between the dimensions of legacy and place because these foods have been transferred from past generations to the present” (Almansouri et. al, 2021, p. 792). In the development of the model, *Heritage* is operationalized as the origin of cuisine and the manifestation of foodways.

Holtzman (2006) describes heritage in relation to food memories; the sense of longing for ones' origin wields a presence of "gustatory nostalgia" that exists among those seeking to preserve their national and regional identity through cuisine (Holtzman, 2006, p. 367). In an effort to maintain a connection to the country from which people originate, traditional dishes are brought with them, and they are thus able to preserve their cultural identities through the continued preparation and sharing of food. Moreover, studying the origins of food and culture thus allows for the sustainment and acknowledgement of heritage, while at the same time providing for the discovery of common global connections (Chavez & Weisinger, 2008). Therefore, positioning food and culture through the construct of *Heritage* provides an understanding of food as it is situated historically and traditionally within culture, including the origin of cuisine, and the manifestation of foodways from an amalgamation of cultural influences.

Power

Power is central to the social sciences and is therefore an aspect of most social theories (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). "Power is human actor's capacity to influence the development of the social systems that affect their lives. Power is therefore not limited to the political system, but has economic, political, and cultural dimensions" (Fuchs, 2016, p. 96). Food wields a latent power to bring people together. It serves a leveler and as a recipe for inclusion, aiding in both the construction of relationships and in dissolving social barriers. In his discussion of the power of food, Holtzman (2006) notes that food has the ability to traverse public and private spaces. Critical analysis of the power that is linked to food as a social component also reveals that various facets of culture cannot be separated in an idealistic view, but all contribute to the makeup of society. Social systems

possess economic, political, and cultural dimensions, but one of these aspects always reigns dominant due to the distinct position food holds in everyday life and the economic, social, and political facets of culture (Wessell & Jones, 2011). Therefore, analysis of *Power* provides a space for examination of the structural, systematic, and evocative nature of food, historically and contemporarily, to gain an understanding of the prevailing role it plays in our society.

Practice

While innumerable ways exist in conceptualizing the relationship an individual, group, or society has in current practice with food, Holtzman (2006) states that much of the literature in food anthropology has attended to how ethnic identities in the United States are maintained, represented, and performed through food. Thus, through this performative aspect, food can communicate preferences and create cultural meaning. Food gives us the ability to bring people together. It "tells us something about a culture's approach to life" (Stajcic, 2013, p. 14). The essence and presence of food can ignite memories, fuse culture, and symbolize history through its dual performative and descriptive nature. Holtzman (2006) notes that food

> …has the uncanny ability to tie the minutiae of everyday experience to broader cultural patterns, hegemonic structures, and political economic processes, structuring experience in ways that can be logical, and outside of logic, in ways that are conscious, canonized, or beyond the realm of conscious awareness (p. 373).

The construct of *Practice* therefore seeks to understand how food is positioned, communicated, and represented in modern society. In examination of the relationship

between food and culture, interpretation of its contemporary, represented form, in juxtaposition to how it was originally presented, is analyzed. The relationship between social structure and social events is described as being social practice, a semiotic element of discourse (Fairclough, 2005). A realist social ontology would position food as a social element, a social practice, and a semiotic element of discourse. Thus, as a semiotic element, food creates and communicates meaning.

Relationships and Paradox

Bessière (1998) argues that heritage, memory, and tradition involve "dialectical arguments opposing the stable and established with the dynamic and ever-changing" (p. 27). Therefore, to foster an understanding of why it is important to examine the role of food as an aspect of culture, outlining the integrated relationship and/or areas of paradox between the three constructs is necessary if there is to be critical dialogue that disrupts the dominant narrative; the dominant narrative was established and is perpetuated by structural and systematic inequities. The DMFC will thus guide the study and provide for the emancipation of food and its associated cultural position(s) through an understanding of the past as it relates to the present and the future.

In the inclusion of *Heritage* as a construct in the model, a difference must be operationalized between the terms culture and heritage, and their connection with memory, origin, and place. Culture is offered by Almerico (2014) as "the beliefs, values, and attitudes practiced and accepted by members of a group or community" (p. 6). Fuchs (2016) expresses the future implications of culture in societal development by describing it as the creation of aspects such as education and humanity that provides a framework for inspiring intellectual and magnanimous individuals. Heritage is broadly defined as

what individuals inherit from culture. However, in this framework, the word heritage is offered as it is related to understanding the origins of food as a critical component of culture.

Examination through the construct of *Power* serves to unveil the relationship and paradox between food and culture and socio-economic systems and structures. While Lukás argues that "economy and culture are identical and non-identical at the same time," these beliefs are echoed by Williams through his notion of "Cultural Materialism" (Fuchs, 2016, p. 24). Culture is material in and of itself when understood as "language, ideas, values, beliefs, stories, discourses and so on" (Fuchs, 2016, p. 28). Thus, culture is produced by and produces economy; one is not separate from the other (Fuchs, 2016).

Humans and their social systems "do not exist outside of history, but are concrete, recurrent social relations in and through which history is made" (Fuchs, 2016, p. 20). The representation and interpretation of food and culture generate the potential for diametric opposition when viewed from historical and current positions. As Bessière (1998) notes, "Some heritage or traditions may be misunderstood, misrepresented or may even be considered as genuinely inherited, when they are in fact recent artificial constructions void of any historical substance" (p. 28). Through the *Practice* construct in the analysis of food and culture, tensions are thus implicit.

Critical Discourse Analysis and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture

The DMFC was developed as a model for examining the discourse of food and culture, and to provide for future spaces of discourse. The three constructs – *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* - reside in a space of discourse and demand an approach that examines it CDA is thus the qualitative methodology that can be applied in conjunction

with the DMFC as a means to holistically understand the discourse of food and culture, while critically and holistically allowing for multiple viewpoints.

Critique, ideology, and power are three components central to critical discourse studies (CDS) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Reisgl & Wodak, 2016, p. 24). In such analyses, language is regarded as "discourse, understood as an element of the social process which is dialectically related to others. Relations between language and other elements are dialectical in the sense of being different but not 'discrete', i.e. not fully separate" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010, p. 1214). Thus, inconsistencies and paradoxes within texts, or internal in discourse structures, are discovered and examined through the method of critique. Ideology denotes the interpretation and communication of events, and how such beliefs not only establish and maintain Gramscian hegemonic inequalities, but control aspects of discourses (Artz & Murphy, 2000). The aim is therefore to "… 'demystify' the hegemony of specific discourses by deciphering the underlying ideologies" (Wodak, 2015, p. 4). Power in discourse is framed as the control between and among groups and how it is legitimized and delegitimized in text; it is demonstrated through linguistics and additionally by means of regulating access to spaces of discourse (Wodak, 2009).

The concept of "recontextualization" is also central to critical analysis of discourse (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Reisigl and Wodak, 2016). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) address recontextualization by noting,

> So the question of power is always at issue, as also is the question of hybridity – the movement of a discourse or genre from one practice into another entails its

> recontextualisation within the latter, i.e., a new articulation of elements into which it is incorporated, a new hybridity (p. 94).

Therefore, the dialectic nature of recontextualization allows for re-emergence; as such, while contradictions in discourse may be suppressed due to recontextualization, contradictions can re-emerge as a result of discursive interactions.

In an extension of the theoretical perspectives guiding the formation of the conceptual framework, recontextualization is presented as it relates to the oppressive structures associated with "colonization," attending to the fundamental CDS aspect of power. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) state,

> The dialectic of colonisation/appropriation is directed towards the movements of discourses and genres from one social practice to another within the network of social practices…Such movements can be construed as one practice colonising (and so dominating) another, or as the latter appropriating (and so dominating) the former (p. 93).

Thus, colonization is described as existing in a dialectical relationship with appropriation (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). In this study, colonization can be, and has led to in some contexts, an appropriation of food in Southern culture; conversely, an appropriation of Southern food culture is thus an act or form of colonization.

While critical discourse studies (CDS) is most typically perceived as a hermeneutic process to describe the field as a whole, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is most often used to describe the various approaches that can be applied for analysis of discourse (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Due to the inter- and multi-disciplinary nature of the study of food and culture, approaches within trans-disciplinary CDS/CDA can be applied

to reveal deeper truths about cultural influences on cuisine. However, in the development of the conceptual model, the use of CDS or CDA is referenced as it is used in relation to the approach being discussed and as designated by the literature cited. Both of the approaches discussed below are categorized as "social-textual" by Unger (2016) since each are concerned with analysis and interpretation of and in social and textual contexts. Thus, it is imperative to note that the two critical discourse approaches, the discourse historical approach (DHA) and the dialectical-relational approach (DRA), are offered as examples that could be used in the examination of food and culture. Further, though the DHA and DRA are detailed, they are not presented with the intent to constrain the use of the DMFC with a certain paradigm; rather, they are offered as entry-point approaches to the critical analysis of food and culture discourse.

Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

Discourses shape, and are shaped by, semiotic structures and material institutions (Wodak, 2015). All discourses are historical, and thus approaches and analysis must be done so in relation to context (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). The discourse historical approach (DHA) is distinctive in that it is interested in identity construction and discrimination, with a focus on the historical aspects and contexts of how discourses are formed (Wodak, 2015). Reisigl and Wodak (2016) describe DHA as an interdisciplinary socio-philosophical approach used for discovery of social problems, that follows a formation of analysis through the centralized CDA concepts of critique, ideology, and power (Wodak, 2009). "The historical context is taken into account when interpreting texts and discourses. The historical orientation permits the reconstruction of how recontextualization functions as an important process of linking texts and discourses

intertextually and interdiscursively over time" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 32). Moreover, recontextualization is one of the guiding principles of DHA.

The process of DHA consists of eight recursive steps, as outlined by Wodak (2015). The steps are presented in an abbreviated manner (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

Eight Steps of the Discourse Historical Approach

Step 1	A review of literature including recollection and reading of previous scholarship and engagement with theoretical knowledge
Step 2	A systematic collection of data and information, with a focus on discourses, genres, and texts
Step 3	Preparing data for analysis by condensing findings
Step 4	Specify research questions and formulate assumptions
Step 5	Initial qualitative analysis – explore assumptions
Step 6	Qualitative (and potentially partially quantitative) linguistic and context related analysis
Step 7	Formulation of critique through the interpretation of results
Step 8	Application and/or proposal of analyzed results.

Adapted from Wodak, 2015, p. 12–13

DHA examines the object, subject, or concept under investigation, making it, as well as the researcher's position and assumptions, transparent, and allows for "the principle of triangulation". This principle serves as a means of creating validity through a

reduction of subjectivity of the conceptual framework through the utilization of various data collection methods, strategies, and theoretical basis, applied to each construct of the food and culture model (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 26). Through the application of theoretical conventions, this historical approach in analysis of discourse provides justification to the validity of interpretation, allowing for why some, or even certain, discursive events are acknowledged and viewed as reality (Wodak 2009). Analysis of literature, media, and artifacts also provides for an explanation of how the findings, based on DHA methods, are valid and invalid in respect to the postcolonial paradigm. Thus, the application of DHA subsequently offers pathways in linking historic causation with suggested outcomes.

In understanding the application of DHA for examining the dynamic relationship between food and culture, making a distinction between genre, text, and discourse is necessary. Wodak (2015) describes genres as being "a socially ratified way of using language in connection with particular types of social activity", while texts are specific to a discourse and "objectify linguistic actions" through oral, visual, or written means (Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2015, p. 5). Within each of the genres selected for analysis, texts are examined. As discourses (text, visual, auditory) are analyzed and data collected recursively, relationships are constructed as common arguments, patterns, and points are discovered within and across genres and texts that reinforce and are reflective of ideological norms in society (Huckin et al., 2012; Wodak, 2015).

The DHA data analysis methods of intertextuality and interdiscursivity imply that some texts are linked to other texts either explicitly in citation or implicitly through subtle implication (Wodak, 2015). In the process of intertextual and interdiscursive analysis,

genres and topics are connected and categorized. Categorization of genres and topics aid in development of how the discourse should be systematically analyzed. The process of triangulation thus allows for the discovery of central topics that connect arguments with conclusions (Wodak 2009). Miller and Deutsch (2009) suggest,

> History is a valuable method in food studies research because it helps us discover how food choices, patterns of commensality, the gendered natured of food, and other important food-related issues are rooted in various cultures. By performing historical food research we can gain a valuable understanding of what, why, how, and where we eat as well as with whom we eat (p. 77).

The study of food and culture through historic literary analysis of food texts and cookbooks is well documented. However, application of the DHA as a potential approach of CDA has been left unexpanded in food studies literature to demonstrate its use with a critically developed model.

While the DHA has been used as an approach regarding food justice topics, such as in the work of Kotwal and Power (2015) and Smith-Carrier (2020), this critical approach to analysis of discourse has not been applied through a holistic model such as the DMFC. DHA was previously applied to examine the public debate surrounding food security and India's 2013 National Food Security Act (NFSA) using print media coverage as the corpus for data analysis (Kotwal & Power, 2015), while Smith-Carrier's (2020) application of DHA concerned the analysis of news stories regarding charitable food pantries during the Christmas season in Canada. Use of the DHA has been demonstrated in food studies research such as this, yet the literature is absent of how food and its

relationship to culture, specific to a topic of inquiry, has been historically discussed through application of the conceptualized multi-faceted model.

Dialectical-Relational Approach (DRA)

Fairclough (2016) describes how the operationalization of discourses is a dialectical process with three aspects. Discourses "may be enacted as new ways of (inter)acting, they may be inculcated as new ways of being (identities), or they may be physically materialized" (Fairclough, 2016, p. 89). While Fairclough (2003) expresses dialectics as a method of thinking and analysis, Fuchs (2016) states that dialectics demonstrate how society and its elements are "shaped by contradictions" (p. 10), suggesting that the relationship between the proposed modeled constructs can be viewed as dialectical. The revelation and examination of the relationships within and between the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* thus allows for dialectical-relational approach (DRA) as an approach for data collection and analysis. Use of the DRA with the DMFC can serve to provide a foundation for the creation of discursive spaces around food as being a central component of culture.

The dialectical-relational approach (DRA) can be used to address the "social 'wrongs'" of society through analysis of causation, and additionally through approaches to mitigating and/or preventing them (Fairclough, 2016, p. 88). The DRA is also used as a critical approach to examine contemporary participant discourse around the semiotics of food and culture to potentially reveal any tensions that exist within and between each construct (Fairclough, 2016). Fairclough (2016) views semiotics (or symbols) as being a dialectically related element in societal discourse. Fairclough (2016) further describes discourses as "semiotic ways of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or

mental) which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors" (p. 88). The DRA in concert with the DMFC can provide for how food and culture are being discussed, portrayed, and presented by actors. Further, application of the DRA with the DMFC focuses on a food and culture topic within society, in which detrimental aspects, or obstacles, are embedded within components of the topic as elements of discovery for the formation of a discursive space of resolve (Fairclough, 2016).

The DRA is established as a four-stage approach, centered around the primary focus of a social wrong. The stages and steps associated with the DRA, as adapted from Fairclough (2016), are outlined (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2

Dialectical-Relational Approach Stages and Steps

Stage	**Steps**[a]
1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.	1. Select a research topic which relates to or points up a social wrong and which can productively be approached in a trans-disciplinary way with a particular focus on dialectical relations between semiotic and other 'moments'. 2. Construct objects of research for initially identified research topics by theorizing them in a trans-disciplinary way.
2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.	1. Analyze dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements: between orders of discourse and other elements of social practices, between texts and other elements of events.

	2. Select texts, and focuses and categories for their analysis, in the light of and appropriate to the constitution of the object of research. 3. Carry out analysis of texts, both interdiscursive analyses, and linguistic/semiotic analysis.
3: Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong.	Determine if the "social wrong" in focus is essential. Does it need to be addressed or changed?
4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles.	Develop a semiotic 'point of entry' or focus into the way in which the aforementioned obstacles are resisted, tested, contested, challenged, opposed, and/or reacted to.

[a]Steps are not outlined explicitly in Stages 3 and 4 by Fairclough (2016) but rather summarized here for research intent by the researcher.

Proposed Application

The DMFC is being offered as a new model for examination of the dynamic relationship between food and culture for the creation of discursive spaces. The DMFC can thus be applied in subsequent research studies of food and culture topics (such as a culturally significant cuisine or aspect of a food culture, positioned as the "lens" of inquiry) to such spaces that allow for an illumination of voices. Such examination allows for acknowledgment and understanding of a food and culture topics related to sharing history and heritage, current cultural practices, and social, political, and economic power. Moreover, various qualitative methods for data collection (i.e., *charlas culinarias* and field observations) and analysis (i.e., intertextual and interdiscursive analysis) can be selected to be used in conjunction with the DMFC to derive an understanding of the dynamic relationship between food and culture for the formation of discursive spaces (Abarca, 2007; Fairclough, 2016).

Implications

For the creation of formative discursive spaces around food and culture to occur, an analysis of foodways must consider the complexities associated with each of the constructs depicted in the model. In application of the DMFC for the creation of discursive spaces - spaces where unheard and muted voices are elevated – a more holistic understanding of food as a critical component of culture is thus provided. For example, food spaces that have previously been void of culturally diverse voices; print, social, and televised media can now become places of acknowledgement as a "lens" is placed on an aspect of food culture, highlighting it for analysis via the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. As such, garnering an understanding of the relationships *between* and *within* each construct of the DMFC will pave a path towards application of the model to analysis of the dynamic relationship of food and culture in global contexts, allowing for an illumination of voices, perspectives, and historical acknowledgment in various communication mediums.

While I suggest application of the DHA or DRA with the DMFC, in the future, a synthesis of the two approaches could potentially be tested, positioning any food or cuisine of a culture as the "lens" of inquiry to determine feasibility of the model for a holistic and simultaneous consideration of the constructs. Wodak (2015) acknowledges the concepts used in the DHA are applicable across critical discourse studies "even if their contexts of emergence have generated different toolkits. Still, these approaches draw on each other, thereby reproducing a common conceptual frame while they develop their own distinct orientations" (p. 2). In this respect, the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* could henceforth be seen not only as interdisciplinary but also as

transdisciplinary in its ability to integrate both theory and varied disciplines for addressing societal issues.

To further demonstrate the potential for an integrated application of each of the critical approaches to the DMFC, a study on European higher education policy by Wodak and Fairclough (2010) offered recontextualization as a salient "point of entry" into social change research through the integration of DHA and DRA methodologies. Therefore, a comprehensive application of both approaches sanctions how to most aptly analyze the food and culture "lens" of inquiry as it fits within the conceptual framework through the use of the DHA and the DRA independently.

Application of the DMFC with approaches to discourse analysis also provides for an expansion of cultural intelligence using food as a medium of communication, and a conduit of unity. As communities and nations become standardized (as seen in the European Union), suspending future loss of understanding and acknowledging food as a critical component of heritage is tied to the need for awareness and maintenance of cultural consciousness (Holtzman, 2006). As shown in a study involving muscadine grapes and their role in Southern food culture, Alonso and O'Neill (2012) determined that traditional foodways were abandoned due to a lack of practice and knowledge regarding native products, leading to "culinary impoverishment". These results dictated a "need for education efforts and initiatives to be undertaken to preserve southern culinary traditions and foodways" (p. 224–225). Alonso and O'Neill (2012) suggested that,

> The case of the muscadine grapes could easily mirror the case of many other foods around the world that, if not studied, consumed and 'recovered' from the

> dangers of oblivion, may irremediably become defunct culinary and consumption practices of a distinct past (p. 225).

Further, for food knowledge and traditions to be continued by future generations, a collective exchange of techniques, skills, and materials (such as recipes) is crucial (Almansouri et. al, 2021). Thus, without illustrating the pressing need of acknowledgment and understanding of the relationship of food and culture with policy makers and those who can exercise their power to increase attention to and protection of food culture and local food products, the threat of erasing and losing traditional foodways exists (Alonso & O'Neill, 2012).

Moreover, while the commodification of culture could be viewed as a divergence from the preservation, understanding, or acknowledgment of food culture, the implications are deemed by some as positive for increased economic and cultural development. In an ethnographic study of Japanese food culture, Freedman (2016) describes "local food as merchandise" where products are marketed in relation to place in order to create desire (p. 141). The knowledge, popularity, and image of these local foods are driven by commercialization and the country's economic system (Freedman, 2016). Similarly, Bessière (1998) describes how traditional foods in France are used extensively for tourism, thereby generating income for its various regions, as well as providing for local development. Thus, application of the model for analysis of food and culture relative to socio-economic progress is warranted.

The American palate has been influenced from, and developed by, global communities providing foods for nutritional and cultural benefit (Conflict Cuisine, 2021). Ideas such as "culinary diplomacy" suggest a power innate to food in bridging cross-

cultural divides (Chapple-Sokol, 2021). From this perspective, additional provisions and implications of the DMFC could be in establishing a more distinct understanding and creation of diplomatic connections as various food and culture aspects of global societies are analyzed (Zampollo, 2012).

Finally, while environmental and social impacts of agricultural innovations have been studied in tandem (De Olde & Valentinov, 2019; Swanson, 2006), a gap exists in understanding the cultural implications of modernization. Thus, it is contented that there is a missing link between communicating and adoption of food-based innovations, specifically in a cultural context, potentially hindering the diffusion process. The *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* could be applied through integration of critical discourse analysis to emphasize the relationship between adoption (of agricultural innovation) and preservation (of food culture and heritage). By situating agricultural innovations into each construct, a discursive space could be formed to bring forth awareness of cultural benefits, notwithstanding previous community acceptance and adoption in relation to their food culture. Application of the DMFC therefore provides the foundation for introducing innovations through land grant university research-based organizations such as Extension for understanding food and culture in international contexts.

CHAPTER 4

A WHOLE HOG HISTORICAL APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING SOUTHERN FOOD CULTURE: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE DYNAMIC MODEL OF FOOD AND CULTURE[2]

[2] Worley, B. L. to be submitted to *Food, Culture, and Society*

Abstract

Through the examination of barbecue as a cuisine of Southern food culture in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina, the discourse historical approach was used in conjunction with the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* to demonstrate its relevance as a model for the critical study of food and culture. Six texts were used as material sources for data collection as the eight recursive steps were implemented for the DHA. The research study objectives that were addressed included: (1) to understand how barbecue as an aspect of Southern food culture has been historically discussed in selected literature as related to the constructs of the DMFC; (2) to examine Southern food culture from a historical approach using the DMFC, and; (3) determine if the DMFC allows for an expansion of voices to foster equality with food being centralized as a means of communication. Qualitative analysis through abduction and perspectivization were used to unveil any tensions or dialectical relationships between or within constructs of the DMFC. The model was tested in conjunction with utilizing a critical discourse approach applied to the interdisciplinary field of food studies, resulting in the conceptual model and methodological approach fusing. Through a revelation of inequality of voice in Southern food culture, this study contributes a holistic critical food studies approach for fostering equality.

Introduction

The Study of Food and Culture in the South

Food culture in the United States has been historically regionalized. Despite a national shift in regionalism over the past half century, the evidence of food serving as a

fundamental aspect of Southern culture and its people's identity remains (Egerton, 1987; Ferris, 2014; Griffin, 2006; Tomaney, 2017). As Egerton shares,

> Because it is such an integral part of the culture, Southern food provides an excellent entrée to the people and their times, whether those times look backward to an Old South since discredited or forward to a New South that always seems to be calling just over the horizon (p. 3).

Moreover, a topic of increased debate is what it means to be Southern, classified as a Southerner, or even what area is defined as the South (Griffin et al., 2005; Latshaw, 2009). Questions such as these regarding identity and place are considered important in understanding food and culture, so much so that the 2023 fall *Southern Foodways Alliance* Symposium is titled "Where is the South?" Moreover, while identity and place are regarded as fundamental aspects of Southern food culture, a paradox of old ideologies met by new transformative practices belie Southern food culture, muddying the understanding of this regional cuisine. Thus, to truly understand Southern food culture, one must examine more than what is contemporarily expressed about a cuisine associated with a region that is steeped in tradition and holds a complex and sordid history (Wilson & Edge, 2007).

Southern Foodways and the Birth of Barbecue

Defining Southern foodways is vital to provide an understanding of Southern food culture. Foodways are the ways food intersects with culture. They are "the eating habits and culinary practices of a people, region, or historical period" (Merriam-Webster, 2022). Further used interchangeably with the phrases "food culture" or "food and culture" in this study, foodways in the South developed from European, Indigenous, and African cultures

that historically shaped the regional cuisine (Ferris, 2014). African influences on the regional food culture were fundamental in many of the dishes, ingredients, and preparations associated with Southern cuisine (Ferris, 2014; Harris, 2007; Wilson & Edge, 2007). Through the phenomena of culinary despotism, local ingredients and inherent preparation techniques of those bound by the plantations led to the development of Southern food (Genovese, 1976).

For over four-hundred years, corn and pork have been two primary food staples in Southern food (Egerton, 1987). Hogs could survive and flourish in the coastal lowlands of the Eastern Carolinas. Additionally, the first colonists to the region were from England, so vinegar was a primary aspect of the cuisine for flavoring and preservation. Thus, the availability and accessibility of what could be grown or what could thrive in the earliest colonial settlements – which included the tidewater areas of Virginia and the eastern areas of North Carolina and South Carolina – gave rise to what is known as Southern food, and what is known in the Carolinas as "barbecue."

In the Eastern Carolinas, barbecue as a regional cuisine became a fundamental element of Southern food culture during slavery when Black men (and women) held the culinary responsibilities of cooking the hogs that were plentiful (Edge, 2017; Egerton, 1987; Ferris, 2014; Harris, 2007; Warnes, 2008; Wilson & Edge, 2007). While much of its development as a cuisine arose from the region's plantation culture, current community and media representations of Southern food and barbecue often depict an alterity of culinary traditions, marring historical context and knowledge (Egerton, 1987; Ferris, 2014; Miller, 2021). How Southern food such as barbecue is conveyed,

acknowledged, and understood in contemporary society points to a reconstruction of elements of the cuisine and erases historical facets of the region's past (Miller, 2021).

What is Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina Barbecue?

Since the prevalence of hogs were fundamental in establishing the foodways of the Carolinas, barbecue in North Carolina and South Carolina refers to pork, and serves as a genre of culinary cuisine rather than an activity. In the eastern regions of the Carolinas, barbecue is a whole hog that is cooked over wood with vinegar sauce. How the word 'barbecue' is defined also differs across the various parts of the South and the United States.

> It seems as soon as North Carolinians had a word for the thing, they restricted it to pork. They might have allowed that beef and mutton and sausage and alligator and maybe even vegetables could be *barbecued*, but that didn't make them into *barbecue.* Many perfectly respectable North Carolina barbecue places serve barbecued chicken, but you never hear of chicken barbecue (and a good thing, too) (Reed et al., 2008, p. 22).

Barbecue is also represented and operationalized in practice differently across the South, as well as the nation, with different regions laying claim to its historic relevance, stemming from social, environmental, and economic tangible and intangible forces. Proverbial 'barbecue wars' are often exclaimed between states and regions, as depicted in contemporary media (Quine, 2015).

Researcher Perspective

Being born and growing up in coastal rural eastern North Carolina gave me a distinct cultural meaning and understanding of the word barbecue and the subject of

Southern food. To me, barbecue means pork – a whole hog, cooked over wood coals and chopped. Moreover, barbecue is a noun, not a verb. I am also keenly aware of its economic significance to the region; hog farming is the predominant force that drives the region's thriving agricultural economy. Since I grew up eating this style of barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas, I consider it a prominent facet of my cultural identity. Every time I enjoy a plate or sandwich of Eastern North Carolina style barbecue, I am proudly reminded of who I am and where I am from.

Addressing Southern Food and Barbecue through Discourse

To understand barbecue as a culturally relevant aspect of Southern food in the Eastern Carolinas, examining what has been said, by whom, and from what perspective is warranted. What is known about barbecue stems from representations in current society and what was historically captured in writing. However, what has been written and shared did not necessarily originate from those who were instrumental in developing the cuisine (Miller, 2021; Warnes, 2008; Wilson & Edge, 2007). While food historians and scholars have sought to bring awareness to the forgone knowledge of the origins of Southern food culture and the establishment of its foodways, there is a need to address misinformation and lack of awareness that (un)consciously occurs. This lends itself to a holistic understanding of the heritage of cuisine, current practices of representing cuisine within a culture, and power dynamics affecting food culture must be considered.

An understanding can be established by examining what has been historically offered in what the researcher further operationalizes as Southern food culture and barbecue discourse. Discourses are regarded as structured types of knowledge, open to

interpretation, and based on the researcher's perspective (Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Discourse can be described as an exchange of ideas, much like a dialogue between people. Whereas dialogue is verbalized or even visualized in the form of words or other visual means such as images (photographs), in the context of this study, discourse can additionally be conceptualized (Kuronen, 2015). In other words, concepts and ideas about the subject are formed; when something is read or heard, ideas are subsequently formed from receiving this information and thus become part of the discourse. Moreover, examining the discourse surrounding Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue through a multifaceted and holistic model can provide insight into the perspectives of what has been previously noted, recorded, and by whom. While the origins of barbecue, cultural representations, and forces affecting the cuisine have been examined and addressed separately, this particular proposed framework will more holistically examine them in tandem.

A Conceptual Framework: The Dynamic Model of Food and Culture

The *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) was designed to garner an understanding of the relationship between food and culture (Figure 4.1) (Worley, In Review). The model is comprised of three constructs: *Heritage* (the origin of cuisine, foodways, and cultural identity), *Practice* (the mis/representation or interpretation of food and culture), and *Power* (the structural, systematic, evocative influences of and on food and culture). Situating the topic of investigation as a "lens", analyzed through the three constructs of the DMFC, *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*, provides for a more holistic understanding and acknowledgement of the food and culture topic of inquiry. Subsequently, the "discursive space" is created – one that allows aspects of the topic to

be considered from multiple points of view, with the three constructs providing entry points from which to examine the topic under investigation (Borron et al., 2019; Worley, In Review). Collectively, the three constructs comprise the dynamic interplay of understanding the origins, representation, and the forces that influence the topic, which ultimately offers a holistic and more comprehensive understanding of a targeted area of food within the context of culture.

The multifaceted model was contextually applied in this research study, examining barbecue as a lens through which the facets related to the origins of Southern food culture, the ways Southern food is represented in society, and the structural and systematic forces that influence Southern food culture can be understood and acknowledged. While barbecue was positioned as the topic of inquiry or "lens" in this study, comprehension and perception of the food and culture topic placed under investigation does not have to be confined to a particular narrative or paradigmatic perspective. Therefore, the DMFC can be applied through various holistic and non-binary paradigmatic approaches to examining food and culture as symbiotic aspects of one another.

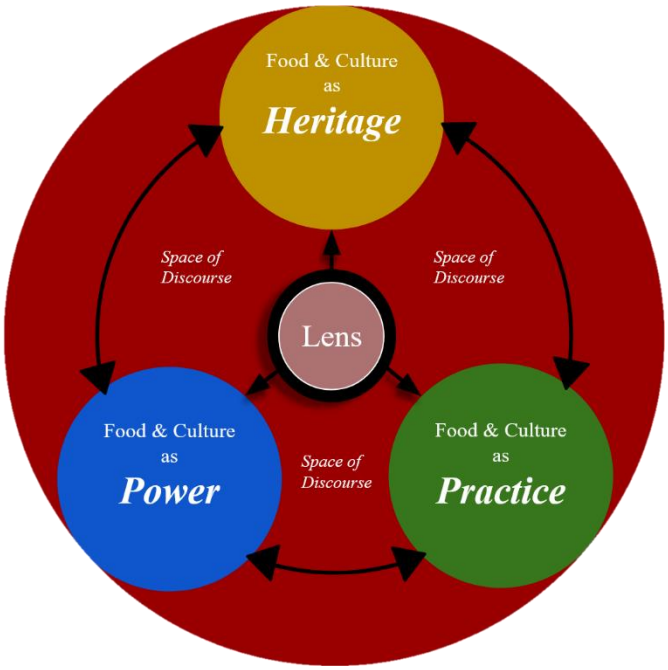

Figure 4.1

Dynamic Model of Food and Culture (Worley, In Review)

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate application of the DHA in the study of food and culture to substantiate the use of the DMFC as a new model in the field of food studies; specifically, in this study, the DMFC was applied to the critical study of food. Therefore, the objectives of the study were established: (1) to understand how barbecue as an aspect of Southern food culture has been historically discussed in selected literature as related to the constructs of the DMFC; (2) to examine Southern food culture from a historical approach using the DMFC, and; (3) to determine if the DMFC allows for an expansion of voices to foster equality with food being centralized as a means of communication.

Materials and Methods

Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) as a Methodology

The focus of this study is on the historical discourse of barbecue as a cuisine central to Southern food culture (Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Application of the DMFC with a critical approach provides a holistic and multifaceted framework for examining the ways ideology is presented in the discourse. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodological arena suggests language facilitates ideology, which represents an individual or shared interpretation and communication of events, and how such beliefs not only establish and maintain hegemonic inequalities but control aspects of discourse (Wodak, 2009). The possible result is an ideology that leads to the establishment of unequal power relations, and a lack of awareness of how deceit could occur among those participating in relevant discourse (Wodak, 2009).

Analyzing the discourse through a historical approach allows for the "hegemony of specific discourses" to be revealed "by deciphering the underlying ideologies" associated with creating, perpetuating, or belying how Southern food culture and barbecue has been communicated (Wodak, 2015a, p. 4). Therefore, in analysis of Southern food culture and barbecue discourse, a CDA methodology known as the discourse historical approach (DHA) was used. DHA is an interdisciplinary, socio-philosophical approach to CDA that entails identity construction, discrimination, while also focusing on the "historical dimensions" of discourse (Wodak, 2015a, p. 2).

Formally comprised of eight steps, DHA is typically implemented recursively when projects are large and have ample social and financial capital (Table 4.1). In smaller studies, however, following all eight steps to include a pilot study and case studies with a

wide range of data is not set forth as an expectation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Most important to understanding application of the steps of the DHA are the three primary stages of data collection and analysis, as outlined by Reisigl and Wodak (2016); in essence, the eight steps have been categorized into three stages (Table 4.2). Due to the limited scope of this study, data collection and analysis using the DHA as a methodology for understanding is described and presented in the three-stage process presented by Reisigl and Wodak (2016).

Table 4.1

Ideal-Typical Discourse Historical Approach

Step 1	A review and reading of literature and engagement with theoretical knowledge
Step 2	A systematic collection of data and information, with a focus on discourses, genres, and texts
Step 3	Preparing data for analysis by condensing findings
Step 4	Research questions are specified; assumptions are formed
Step 5	Explore assumptions through an initial qualitative analysis
Step 6	Qualitative analysis of linguistics and context - a detailed study
Step 7	Formation of critique from assessment/interpretation of results
Step 8	Application of analyzed results

Note. Adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 34

Table 4.2

DHA Stages of Data Collection and Analysis

Stage 1	Identify specific content or topics of discourse
Stage 2	Investigate discursive strategies
Stage 3	Examine linguistic means and realizations

Note. Stages are adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2016

Data Collection and Analysis

In the context of this study, barbecue was operationalized as a genre of Southern food culture in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina. Within discourse, genres are "a socially ratified way of using language in connection with particular types of social activity" (Wodak, 2015a, p. 5). Moreover, a key component of DHA is "triangulation," a systematic collection of data and context information to validate trustworthiness (Wodak, 2009; 2015a). Texts were selected for analysis because through oral, visual, or written means, texts can serve to objectify the context of linguistic actions (Wodak, 2015a).

Six texts were selected for their presence within Southern food and culture discourse, in addition to the researcher's familiarity of the genre of Eastern Carolina barbecue (Kotwal & Power, 2015). While there are a host of texts that could have been selected to include in this analysis, these six selected texts were written and edited by food and culture journalists, barbecue judges, and/or Southern food and culture scholars – all of whom have presence and influence in Southern food culture (Table 4.3). Additionally, the texts were written in relation to Southern food studies by male authors, representing

various racial and cultural perspectives. Several of the texts selected were chosen for analysis at the suggestion of other individuals – individuals differing in race and gender from the White Southern female identity of the researcher.

Data were then organized and prepared for analysis by condensing the information; in doing so, each text was reviewed, noting page numbers, page ranges, and chapters that were relevant to the genre of barbecue in the eastern regions of North Carolina and South Carolina. The entirety of each text was reviewed and then these chapters/areas were selected as being most relevant for attending to and answering the research objectives. Therefore, reviewing and specifying areas of the texts aided in the selection of relevant information for further analysis (Wodak, 2009).

Table 4.3

Materials (Texts) Selected for Analysis

Texts	**Sections analyzed**
The Potlikker Papers by J. T. Edge (2017) Edge, a native of Georgia and resident of Mississippi, is a James Beard award winning author and editor. This text is one of more than a dozen works that Edge has authored or edited, and provides a history of Southern food and culture, paying particular attention to understanding how different aspects of culinary and cultural history have been communicated in current society.	Introduction; Chapter 14

The One True Barbecue: Fire, Smoke and the Pitmasters who Cook the Whole Hog by R. Fertel (2016) Fertel is a documentarian and Louisiana native who traveled through the South to document the practice and traditions of whole hog barbecue. The text includes interviews with pitmasters and recounts of cultural and culinary experiences from the author's journey throughout the South.	Chapters 3-6, 9
A History of South Carolina Barbeque by L. High Jr. (2013) High, a native South Carolinian and barbeque judge, presents the history of barbeque from his perspective, from pre-colonial origins to the current representations of the tradition. The text also addresses what the author poses as myths and misunderstandings of the cuisine, how barbeque is portrayed via television media, the relevance of sauce types, and the competitive events that have become an aspect of barbeque culture.	Introduction; Chapters 1 & 6
Black Smoke: African Americans and the United States of Barbecue by A. Miller (2021) Miller, a barbecue judge and James Beard book award winner from Colorado, details the story of barbecue from the African-American perspective, offering how the cuisine was first developed and shaped by the culinary traditions brought by slaves to the American colonies. The text provides historical accounts and interviews with individuals involved in the culinary tradition. Moreover, it details how the often misunderstood and misattributed historical accounts of barbecue have altered the way it is represented currently.	Chapters 5, 6, 9, 10
Holy Smoke: The Big Book of North Carolina Barbecue by Reed et al. (2008) John Shelton Reed and Dale Volberg Reed are both from Tennessee but lived in Chapel Hill, NC since 1969 where John was professor at UNC as well as a barbecue judge. William McKinney is a native of South Carolina and author. The text acts as both a historical culinary reference and cookbook. Moreover, the book also acts as a resource, providing interview as well as a list that points to other relevant texts and media sources on the subject.	Preface; p. 1-78, 201-226

Savage Barbecue: Race, Culture, and the Invention of America's First Food by A. Warnes (2008) Warnes is a lecturer of American Literature and Culture at Leeds University in England. The text provides historical details of the origins of barbecue, from sociological, anthropological, and etymological perspectives. Moreover, the author presents how the word barbecue is not only used in various ways linguistically, but also can result in misunderstandings depending on the context in which it is being used.	Chapters 3-4

The main discourse topics were identified and established through an initial contextual analysis as being those related to the three constructs of the DMFC (Table 4.4) (Datondji & Amousou, 2019; Fürsich, 2014). In analyzing the data, these topics were then explored primarily through employing the discursive strategy of *perspectivization*. Perspectivization is the perspective or viewpoint from which nominations, attributions, and arguments in the text are expressed by the author or authors. In applying the strategy of perspectivization, the researcher determined the "representation of a state of affairs" (Graumann & Kallmeyer, 2002) from what was presented in Southern food culture discourse, and specifically that related to the discussion of barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas. Across the corpus, the perspectives of the authors, as well as the pitmasters featured in the texts, were considered in the researcher's interpretation of the data.

To take into account the perspectives and associated ideologies presented in the discourse, the discursive strategy of perspectivation was selected to allow for an understanding of the nominations and predications (also referred to as attributions) in the selected texts (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 43). Nominations and predications are relevant

to analysis of the discourse in that nominations are the ways in which the subject materials and actors in the text are referred to linguistically, while predications are the words and phrases used to describe the nominations – the qualities 'attributed' to the actor/subject. These discursive strategies were also considered due to being "integrated into… and subordinated under the persuasive aims of the text(s)" that were examined (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 34). In other words, in using the strategy of perspectivization, predication and nomination are included; examples of these strategies, to substantiate the use of perspectivization, are presented (Table 4.5).

Table 4.4

Discourse Topics as related to the DMFC Constructs

Heritage	Power	Practice
Origins of Southern food	Commodification of food	Continuity, cultural norms, and the dominant paradigm in Southern foodways
Formation of a Southern cultural food identity	Social (in)justices	Agency, authenticity, and opposition between preservation and perversion of food culture
Value and relevance of understanding food heritage	Decision of what voices are heard to create the stories	Fusion and unification

Table 4.5

Nominations and Predications

Discursive Strategy	**Examples from each text**
Nomination: *Who, what, and how actors, objects, actions are referred to linguistically.* Nominations are **bolded**.	Construction of Social Actors, *Objects/Phenomena/Events, Processes/Actions*: "**Mitchell** honed a repertoire of **techniques**, **learning** to **bank his pits** with **charcoal** and, in a twist on **tradition**, **season his** hickory **wood** with **vinegar**" (Edge, 2017, p. 265). "As '**the boss man**,' as **Pop** calls **him**, poses with presidents, the **pitmaster**'s contribution remains unheralded, **his name** unknown to the great majority of **customers** who eat **his barbecue** night after night" (Fertel, 2016, p. 106). "There is another widespread **misunderstanding** about **barbeque** in **America** that is so pervasive it has taken on the **stature** of a full-blown **myth**" (High, 2013, p. 24). "**Ryan** [Mitchell] and **his father** hope that by putting more positive information out about **what** can be accomplished, more **African Americans** may enter the **barbecue field** and **dream** big" (Miller, 2021, p. 257). "As far as **Easterners** were concerned, perfection had been pretty much **attained** Before the War, and (despite some major technological innovations) **their barbecue** now is more or less what **barbecue** was then" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 30). "Indeed, what **Hemmer**'s **photographs** capture is not just the **Jim Crow** exploitation of **black labor** but, in addition, a kind of standing back, a kind of impressed withdrawal of **white authorities** from the vital **heart** of **barbecue creation**" (Warnes, 2008, p. 127).

Predications: *Qualities and features attributed to above actors, objects, and actions.* Predications are underlined.	Positive and/or Negative Characterizations/Descriptions: "Mitchell honed a repertoire of techniques, learning to bank his pits with charcoal and, in a twist on tradition, season his hickory wood with vinegar" (Edge, 2017, p. 265). "As 'the boss man,' as Pop calls him, poses with presidents, the pitmaster's contribution remains unheralded, his name unknown to the great majority of customers who eat his barbecue night after night" (Fertel, 2016, p. 106). "There is another widespread misunderstanding about barbeque in America that is so pervasive it has taken on the stature of a full-blown myth" (High, 2013, p. 24). "Ryan [Mitchell] and his father hope that by putting more positive information out about what can be accomplished, more African Americans may enter the barbecue field and dream big" (Miller, 2021, p. 257). "As far as Easterners were concerned, perfection had been pretty much attained Before the War, and (despite some major technological innovations) their barbecue now is more or less what barbecue was then" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 30). "Indeed, what Hemmer's photographs capture is not just the Jim Crow exploitation of black labor but, in addition, a kind of standing back, a kind of impressed withdrawal of white authorities from the vital heart of barbecue creation" (Warnes, 2008, p. 127).

The discursive strategy of argumentation also falls below perspectivization. Therefore, arguments about barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas by the authors (from their perspective and that of the actors represented in the text) were considered. These arguments included origin, representation/acknowledgement of those instrumental in the development of the regional cuisine, paradox of preserving tradition, and by whom and how barbecue should be communicated and represented. Finally, through abductive

thematic coding, phrases were then categorized with the established DMFC constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. This allowed for an interpretation of the texts using the DMFC "within the social, historical, and political context of the discourse(s) under consideration" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 55).

Results

In application of the DHA to the DMFC, the results of the study are presented based on the researcher's interpretation of the texts through the discursive strategy of perspectivization; this is done in consideration of the researcher's knowledge of the context as it relates to the three constructs of the DMFC, taking into account the fundamental aspects of social critique, as well as the way the critical aspects of power and ideology are expressed in the discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). An interpretation of the data using the DHA with the DMFC is presented, discussing the dialectic relationships of the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*, attending to critique, power, and ideology. The predominate themes, discovered intertextually and interdiscursively, are discussed with phrases from the texts presented as supporting elements. Within each phrase, nominations are bolded, and attributions are underlined, respective to the discursive strategies, to show how the authors presented, positioned, and described each actor and the subject.

The themes discovered were:

- *Heritage* - An understanding of the origins of barbecue
- *Heritage* - Barbecue as a fundamental aspect of Eastern NC and SC cultural identity

- *Power* - Established and accepted norms of the dominant paradigm in Eastern NC and SC barbecue culture
- *Power* - Commodification of Eastern NC and SC barbecue culture
- *Practice* - Preservation verses perversion of barbecue culture
- *Practice* - Eastern NC and SC barbecue as a medium of unification

An Understanding of the Origins of Eastern Carolina Barbecue

People are passionate about barbecue, yet knowledge and recognition of its origins remain elusive and paradoxical. The authors present diametrically opposing views on the origins of the regional cuisine. Therefore, the Southern food culture is affected by how Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue heritage is understood and acknowledged.

A concise phrase summarizing the tension that belies this subject of heritage is offered by Reed et al. (2008).

> "Perhaps especially in **North Carolina**, **barbecue** is not a subject for the conflict-averse" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 7).

High (2013) overtly states his perspective, detailing that the origins and understanding of barbecue culture has been confounded by myths, tales and misconceptions.

> There is another widespread **misunderstanding** about **barbeque** in **America** that is so pervasive it has taken on the **stature** of a full-blown **myth**. That **myth** is that **Southern blacks** invented **barbeque** and **we** have all heard that **myth** so many times that one wonders if it can ever be corrected. The origin of the **myth** is simple. **Southern blacks** worked on the **plantations** and did almost all of the heavy lifting that means **they** learned to cook **barbecue** in the same way **they** learned to become cabinet makers or blacksmiths: somebody needed the job done and showed **them** how to do **it** since **food** is loved by all and many **blacks** are naturally good **cooks**, **they** took to the art of **barbeque** quickly and well (p. 24).

Opposite to High (2013), Warnes (2008) and Miller (2021) offer their concurring perspective that African Americans are responsible and should be acknowledged for their contributions to the development of the craft and cuisine.

> Given that the spatial and economic organization of **pit barbecue joints** has long undervalued **black labor** and **craft**, it is particularly important that **we** look beyond this grassroots **mythology** to account for those elements of this reinvented **tradition** that reveal **it**s new **African** and **African American** influences. For while much in this **history** remains unquantifiable, it is certainly true that **black southerners** were a good deal more than mere intermediaries or students of this **food** – were a good deal more than its smiling waiters appointed only to ferry **it** from **its** Native source out to the tables of **white America**. Both before and after **Emancipation**, on the **plantation** and beyond **its** disciplinary orbit, such known and unknown figures were instead the innovators, rejuvenators, and reinventors of the **food**…these figures did not belong to **barbecue** – **barbecue** belongs to **them** (Warnes, 2008, p. 107).

> "Quite simply, while **barbecue** remains extremely popular and profitable, I want **African American barbecuers** properly acknowledged, celebrated for **their** contributions, and sharing in the **barbecue** prosperity" (Miller, 2021, p. 239).

Fertel (2016) and Edge (2017) offer examples detailing Ed Mitchell which support and demonstrate the interconnectivity between the historic relationship of barbecue and race.

> "**Mitchell** would expound on **his belief** that the **histories** of **race** and **barbecue** in **America** were intertwined" (Fertel, 2016, p. 199).

> "It mattered, too, that **Mitchell** was a **black man**, working with **black farmers**, cooking the way **his black forebearers** had" (Edge, 2017, p. 268).

Barbecue as a Fundamental Aspect of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina Cultural Identity

In the following excerpts, barbecue is analyzed and described as a "badge of identity" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 45). Barbecue, unveiled as a fundamental aspect of heritage, origins, and the formation of cultural identity of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina, is demonstrated in the discourse in the identity of the pitmaster, and in its literal and figurative ties to religion as a facet of regional culture.

> As home to three of the country's last dozen or so **whole-hog establishments** that still use **wood**, **smoke**, and **fire**, Pitt County, **North Carolina**, could not be better named, for it is the literal and spiritual **capital** of **whole-hog barbecue** (Fertel, 2016, p. 35).

Fertel (2016) describes pitmasters in the Eastern Carolinas as being regarded and viewed as influential members of the community.

> …nowhere in **America** do the great culinary heroes stand taller, are more lionized, then in the **barbecue business**. These great **pitmen** and **masters** transcend **space** and time by breaking from **their** limited, not to mention provincial, spheres of influence to become first regionally renowned, then nationally and internationally worshiped (p. 37-38).

The cultural stature and community importance of the pitmaster is extended in descriptions of Rodney Scott and Ed Mitchell.

> "In tiny **Hemingway** [South Carolina] **he** stands as a barbecue giant" (Fertel, 2016, p. 178).

> "In the early years of the twenty-first century, **Ed Mitchell** of Wilson was America's favorite **pitmaster**" (Edge, 2017, p. 265).

Fertel (2016) expresses the cultural relationship between barbecue and religion in the following passage.

> "**I've** met dozens of **pitmasters**, and most, if not all, are professed God-fearing Christian **men** and **women**, churchgoing followers of **Jesus**" (p. 67).

Fertel (2016) continues describing the religious context of barbecue in the following excerpt regarding a restauranteur.

> "It's not that **Shirley** and the **others** are hell-bound heathens. It speaks more to the fact that **their customers** demand **barbecue** every day, even the Lord's Day - following church service, of course (p. 91).

Expanding the predication of Ed Mitchell as pitmaster to 'The Pitmaster', Fertel (2016) advances the religious context with the word 'cult'.

> "**The Pitmaster** had reached cult status among **barbecue** aficionados nationwide" (p.199).

Reed et al. (2008) describe the Jones' family as "The Fundamentalists" in the title of a section overviewing the family's barbecue heritage (p. 203). The authors describe themselves, and their perspective and position to the subject as being,

> "… fairly fundamentalist about cooking with **wood -** more so than many leading **purveyors** of **North Carolina barbecue** these days" (p. 3).

Intertextually, the term 'fundamentalist' not only references the cultural identity of the Jones' as multigenerational pitmasters, but also imparts a religious connotation.

> But it is **their** unwavering faith in the righteousness of another, thoroughly unholy trinity that speaks to **their passion** for **barbecue**, a **passion** that may best be described as fundamentalist. **Wood smoke**, **chopped hogs**, and **vinegar**: this is **barbecue**. As defined by the **Jones family**, throughout **eastern North Carolina**, and across four centuries of **American history**: this is **barbecue** (Fertel, 2016, p. 48).

The ties to heritage and the origin of the craft of barbecue, as an aspect of the cultural identity of the pitmaster, is expressed in the following descriptions of it being a long-standing tradition.

> "Cooking **barbecue** is a **craft** handed down from **generation** to **generation**" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 226).

> "[Ed] **Mitchell** was new to the **business**, but **he** was not new to **barbecue**" (Edge, 2017, p. 265).

> Quoting Stephen Grady: "**I've** always known how to **cook** a **pig**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 125).

> "Here the meat not only speaks for **itself** but boastfully asserts **it's** historical import and culinary prominence in a stubborn East Carolina drawl" (Fertel, 2016, p. 45).

> "From an early age, **Pete** liked to say that **barbecue** was in **his** blood, and under the tutelage of **his uncle Emmett**, **he** learned the **craft** of **his mother's family**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 40).

As an aspect of Southern food heritage, Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue establishments are lauded for being foundational in the region.

> "The **Skylight** was founded in 1947, but founder **Pete Jones** came from a long line of **barbecue men**" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 203).

> "**Skylight** served as a **place** for reflection, a **shrine** to **family** and permanence" (Edge, 2017, p. 256).

Established and Accepted Norms of the Dominant Paradigm in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina Barbecue Culture

The discourse is visually examined (attending to words and photographs) in relation to the established norms perpetuating social, structural, and systematic inequalities in barbecue culture due to colonialist and hegemonic ideologies. As Williams-Forson (2013) notes that photographs assist with developing one's own ideas about the past through the interpretation of the actions and moments captured in an image. Moreover, photographs of food and cooking help to tell the story of its association with the moment and the actor in the image.

Warnes (2008) details the developmental impact of African Americans on this cuisine, as expressed through photos.

> [Hemmer's photographs] confirm that the dominant **culture** of 1940s **eastern North Carolina** often delegated the work of **pit barbecue culture** to **black cooks**. But **Hemmer**'s gaze, and the way it mirrors the gaze of those it captures, also implies that there was more to this delegation than raw **Jim Crow** economics. **They** suggest that, while middle-class **southerners** no doubt bequeathed the **preparation** of **pit barbecue** to **black cooks** because such work was dirty and onerous and uncivilized, at another level **they** did this because the **food** struck **them**, if not as wholly **African**, then certainly as less than **European** in **origin**. Inflected by contemporary racist ideology, these **white North Carolinians** yielded ground to leave a **space** in which forms of **African cultural knowledge** could flourish (p. 130).

Miller (2021) and Edge (2017) elucidate similar perspectives regarding barbecue's inherent social injustices due to a dominant narrative.

> "Where does one draw the line between apprenticeship, appropriation, and theft? Far too many **white barbecue restaurants** owe a debt to an **African American** who trained **cooks** and permitted the use of **his** or **her** personal **recipes**" (Miller, 2021, p. 141).

> "unsung players in the **Southern** pageant, previously denied their roles in the definition, reinvention, and redemption of the region" (Edge, 2017, p. 4).

The dynamics of labor and race are acknowledged in the discourse, evidencing the power of the dominant paradigm.

> "There was a rough division of **labor** along racial lines. Although a few respected **black pitmasters** opened **their** own **place**s, most of these **restaurateurs** were **white**. On the other hand, most of the **cooks** were **black**…" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 63).

> "Not all great **Southern pitmasters** have been **black**...But in **plantation** towns, from Wilson, **North Carolina**, to Eutaw, Alabama, to Tyler, Texas, **black men** often did the smoky and infernal **work** that **white men** did not want to do" (Edge, 2017, p. 260).

Edge (2017) and Fertel (2016) convey how societal power dynamics perpetuated social injustices, as one pitmaster strove to preserve barbecue culture.

> "**Mitchell** was too early to the market...Supporters argued that **Mitchell**, a **black man** enjoying success in a **business** that had long been controlled by **whites**, was the victim of age-old prejudices and prosecution" (Edge, 2017, p. 268).
> "Petty jealousies" and "**his** bank, commercial pork **purveyors**, and the **local white barbecue establishment**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 201).

Fertel (2016) and Warnes (2018) describe those that are named but unknown, and conversely, seen but often unnamed, expressing the power differential that is emphasized by the dominant paradigm in barbecue culture.

> "As '**the boss man**,' as **Pop** calls **him**, poses with presidents, the **pitmaster**'s contribution remains unheralded, **his name** unknown to the great majority of **customers** who eat **his barbecue** night after night" (Fertel, 2016, p. 106).

> "Exploitation" and not "far off from the documentation left behind from **Hemmer**'s visit to the **Braswell barbecue**, some seventy years ago" (Fertel, 2016, p. 107).

> "Indeed, what **Hemmer**'s **photographs** capture is not just the **Jim Crow** exploitation of **black labor** but, in addition, a kind of standing back, a kind of impressed withdrawal of **white authorities** from the vital **heart** of **barbecue creation**" (Warnes, 2008, p. 127).

Additionally, authors, as both actors in the establishment and communication of Southern food culture, can aid in perpetuating hegemonic structural and systematic inequalities. This is shown by the perspectives of Fertel (2016) and High (2013), highlighted by the following excerpts.

> "**I** couldn't immediately decide if this was a charming quirk or a hint of some deeper lust for fame" (Fertel, 2016, p. 192).

> "Television programs about barbecue always seem to mention that it is a subject of much **passion** that stirs up many **arguments**. Thankfully, most of these **arguments** are of the benign, fun sort… However, as time has progressed, some of these **arguments** and differences have actually turned into stubborn dogma. These opinions, sometimes fraught with too much heat and not enough reason or knowledge of **history**, have given rise to some remarkable **misunderstandings**. These **misunderstandings** seem to grow and grow until some of **them** turn into a full-fledged **myth**s" (High, 2013, p. 13).

Commodification of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina Barbecue Culture

An understanding of the forces that impact the cultural preservation of barbecue as a cuisine central to the Eastern Carolinas is realized in analysis of barbecue as an aspect of *Power* in Southern food culture. Barbecue serves as a way for individuals to harness and transform influence despite historic inequities. Thus, the notion of commodifying culture is perceived and described across the texts both positively and negatively. Miller (2021) shares the sentiment expressed by Ryan Mitchell in that knowledge and the sharing of information allows for actualization of success.

> "**Ryan** [Mitchell] and **his father** hope that by putting more positive information out about **what** can be accomplished, more **African Americans** may enter the **barbecue field** and **dream** big" (Miller, 2021, p. 257).

Additionally, barbecue culture is discussed in terms of its social and economic value.

> "It could always be said of **Pete Jones** that the **man** knew how to sell **barbecue** and sell **himself**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 40).

> **"Sam Jones** proved that **barbecue** was worthy of high dollar investment and entrepreneurial drive" (Edge, 2017, p. 271).

> "**Barbecue King Adam Scott**'s entrepreneurial achievements should also be considered revolutionary" (Fertel, 2016, p. 110).

> At Bums, "**history** is the main selling point" (Fertel, 2016, p. 67).

Finally, Ed Mitchell is designated by Reed et al. (2008) as "**The Visionary**", with the pitmaster and his Raleigh barbecue restaurant described as, "an atmosphere somewhere between '**barbecue** joint' and 'urban upscale'" (p. 220). This description offers that barbecue has the power to be transformative and progressive while still remaining true to culture.

Preservation verses Perversion of Barbecue Culture

Tensions exist between past, present, and future in the preservation of barbecue culture, through the sharing and representation of the cuisine. Across the texts, authors illuminate old traditions meeting new innovations and techniques, while often bound to the illustrative ideas of authenticity and expectations; foodways are being preserved through some current practices, by various actors, demonstrating the dialectic in the practice of "new" Southern food juxtaposed with traditional technique.

Reed et al. (2008; 2016) acknowledge the characterization of traditions by others, yet their perspective is that this representation should be accounted for and operationalized.

> "**We** have no problem with **barbecue places** that exemplify **other traditions**, as long as they're clearly labeled" (p. xii).

> "The **whole hog** is the best **barbecue**; if **it**'s anything less than that, **you** need to call **it** something else because that's false advertising" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 211).

Opposition in representation, between what is *good* verses *bad* as experienced by those both inside and outside the Carolinas, further creates a dialectic of preservation and perversion, especially as technique is deviated from that previously established in the foundational development of the cuisine.

> "For outlanders in search of authentic **North Carolina barbecue**, **Mitchell** was the go- to-guy" (Edge, 2017, p. 265).

As Reed et al. (2008) detail in an interview with Ed Mitchell, preserving food culture is hindered when what is offered is not representative of heritage.

> "**We're** trying to preserve this art. If **you** walk into a **place** that **cooks** over **gas** or on a rotisserie and **it** has the name "**Barbecue**" on the front and **you've** never had **it** any **other** way, then **it**'s pretty good, **I** guess. But how do **you** really know what's good if **you've** never had **it** cooked the right way?" (p. 225).

Miller (2021) expresses this notion of "bad" as it relates to misrepresentation in that,

> "**I** think **eastern North Carolina barbecue** gets a bad rap because most **people** outside the state are probably getting served a really bad version of **it**" (p. 167).

In a discussion with Fertel (2016), Larry Dennis of Bums remarks on his competitor, the Skylight Inn regarding what locals and "others" may be drawn to due to representation.

> "**One**'s for **locals**, the **other**'s for **tourists**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 67).

High (2013) describes how a longing for barbecue is due to the move away from whole-hog pit-cooking over wood, noting that this technique, and the cut of meat used, creates a different taste, resulting in feelings of nostalgia.

> As the old-time **barbecue** houses, the **family** owned favorites **we** all had, were closing down or being passed down to **sons** and **daughter**s, the newer **generation** had a tendency to convert the **wood-fired pits** to **gas pits**. The reason is simple: **wood** takes lots of **work** and skill, while **gas** is easy. So for years, as one great **barbecue** house after another passed into new hands, the quality dropped and it became a regular thing to bemoan the passing of something great (p. 112).

> "**Whole hog** meat tastes different from the butts and hams that most **barbecue** houses now use…That is what **people** are missing now - the type of cooking that imparts a different taste" (p .112–113).

Reed et al. (2008) share their perspective that Mitchell and Jones are honoring tradition – that the traditions of barbecue are of the region are steadfast, Fertel (2016) offers an excerpt regarding Mitchell's tribulations in working to preserve the culture.

> "**Our heritage** is safe in **their** hands" (Reed et al., 2008, p. xv).

> "**Preservation** often comes with a price; **celebrations** are expensive" (Fertel, 2016, p. 202).

Edge (2017) shares how these two pitmasters have taken a turn from tradition (though he notes those outside the State turn to Mitchell for authenticity).

> "As far as **Easterners** were concerned, perfection had been pretty much **attained** Before the War, and (despite some major technological innovations) **their barbecue** now is more or less what **barbecue** was then" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 30).

> "**Mitchell** honed a repertoire of **techniques**, **learning** to **bank his pits** with **charcoal** and, in a twist on **tradition**, **season his** hickory **wood** with **vinegar**" (Edge, 2017, p. 265).

> Jockeying between the two **restaurants**, **Sam Jones** straddled the past and the future. Each time **he** stepped into the **smoke**, **he** faced down that dichotomy. So did a whole **generation** of **pitmasters** who, beginning in the early years of

> the twenty-first century, thought enough of **barbecue** to gently reinvent **it** (Edge, 2017, p. 257).

Fertel (2016) offers a dialectical view of "tradition-sticking **pitmasters**" Sam Jones and Rodney Scott as the food culture of the region is fixed in tradition and undergoing change (p. 179). Of the Jones' establishment, Fertel (2016) notes:

> "**Skylight**'s emphasis on antiquated **barbecue techniques**" (p. 47)
>
> "**belief** rooted in **history** and **tradition**" (p. 49).

Fertel (2016) and Edge (2017) offer a similar perspective in the discourse regarding Scott's representation of barbecue as being something traditional yet offered in the present.

> "**Rodney** [Scott] represents the future of barbecue" (Fertel, 2016, p. 178).
>
> "[Rodney] **Scott's** promised a taste of the past in the present" (Edge, 2017, p. 269).
>
> "**Rodney Scott** showcased the new relevancy of old ways" (Edge, 2017, p. 271).

Moreover, the tension between old tradition and new practices is described, with Warnes (2008) referencing customer dissatisfaction with the *McDonaldization* of barbecue, followed by Edge (2017) detailing the preservation of culture via memory.

> "**Customers**…in the **South** no more wanted the Texan marriage of **barbecue** and tomato sauce than the **barbecue** aficionados of East Texas hankered after the **vinegar**-based sauces of **eastern North Carolina** or the dry spice rubs of Memphis (Warnes, 2008, p. 100).
>
> "…remembering through **food**, an attempt to gather sometimes lost narratives to tell old stories in new ways" (p. 4).

Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina Barbecue as a Medium of Unification

Across the Eastern Carolinas, pitmasters such as Rodney Scott of Hemingway, South Carolina and Ed Mitchell of Wilson, North Carolina have sought to share

barbecue, while keeping it true to its heritage. In the *Practice* of barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas, pitmasters share the craft and cuisine as a way of bringing people together, simultaneously accounting for the origins and forces affecting its representation within Southern food culture. Thus, the dynamic food and culture relationship influences how barbecue is experienced, creating spaces for diversity and unification.

> "**Mitchell's** bright shining dream for the **whole hog**: a rainbow of **people**s breaking bread over **barbecue**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 205).

A paradox rests in barbecue; it was served in restaurants, developed by Black cooks, and enjoyed by both races, before and after Emancipation. Whole-hog barbecue was,

> "a **traditional plantation** feast on the state's **eastern** fringe, cooked by **blacks** and eaten by both **blacks** and **whites** during fall tobacco harvests" (Edge, 2017, p. 265).

Following desegregation, restaurants no longer had to legally have separate eating areas – the structural racial divide that had been instituted in barbecue. Reed et al. (2008) thus describes barbecue restaurants as places of diversity and inclusion.

> "Appetite for good **barbecue** transcended the color line" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 63).
>
> "just a whole lot of hungry **people** from all walks of life" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 72).
>
> "offer an indoor continuation of the **community**-**barbecue tradition**, serving all sorts and conditions of **men** and **women**" (Reed et al., 2008, p. 73).

Fertel (2016) provides further detail regarding barbecue as a means of unification, first in describing Rodney Scott and an inclusive atmosphere.

> "**Everyone** around these parts knows that **anyone** and **everyone** is invited to **his** party" (Fertel, 2016, p. 177).
>
> "**This** is utopian **barbecue**, perfected at **Scott's**, where **everyone** is welcome, **everyone** belongs" (Fertel, 2016, p. 186).

Barbecue is then highlighted for its communal aspect – as a physical place with the element of fire. As such, it is recounted as an abstract social construct.

> "fireside **gatherings** define **barbecue** more than meat and sauce... For **him**, **barbecue** as a **place**, a **space** for **people** to commune. When asked for his definition of **barbecue**…**Rodney** offered a twist. **Barbecue** is 'a **gathering**'" (Fertel, 2016, p. 184).

> "What better **fire** tonight, to bring the **community** together, then a **whole-hog fire**?" (Fertel, 2016, p. 186).

> "**This** was **barbecue** as social theory, **barbecue** as something deeper than **barbecue**…a **pitmaster** moving toward the development of a philosophy of **barbecue**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 184).

> "**This** is open-source **barbecue**, **barbecue** as social leveler" Fertel, 2016, p. 185).

Barbecue is further detailed as a place, space, and ideology, as well as having demonstrative power, showing its ability to unify.

> The **barbecue** was us. Each and **every one** of us **gathered** there that day, like all the parts of the **pig**: a **whole hog** of **barbecue**. **Everyone** enjoying **food** and drink, music and **one** another - everything the world has to offer. This was peacekeeping **barbecue**. **Barbecue** as utopian vision. A secular gospel of **barbecue**. **Barbecue** that could save the world (Fertel, 2016, p. 210).

> "But **he** also believed that only **barbecue**, and war, could heal the scars and traumas of **history**… for **Mitchell**, **barbecues**, whether owned and/or patronized by **black** or **white Americans**, existed because of a common measure…The commonality of the **pig**" (Fertel, 2016, p. 199).

Discussion

The objectives of the study were: (1) to understand how barbecue as an aspect of Southern food culture has been historically discussed in selected literature as related to the constructs of the DMFC; (2) to examine Southern food culture from a historical approach using the DMFC, and; (3) to determine if the DMFC allows for an expansion of voices to foster equality with food being centralized as a means of communication. Six themes were

discovered through abductive analysis of the selected texts, with the researcher categorizing two themes under each of the three constructs of the DMFC. Through the application of the DHA, the dialectic tensions that exist between, and within, the three constructs of the DMFC were discovered and analyzed. The themes are color coded and positioned adjacent to their corresponding DMFC constructs and organized in a circular pattern, such as seats around a table, thus substantiating the dynamic relationship of *Heritage, Power,* and *Practice* in the study of barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas for the formation of discursive spaces. The resulting dialectic relationships are presented between *Heritage* and *Power*, *Power* and *Practice*, and *Heritage* and *Practice* (Figure 4.2). Thus, a foundation can be established for the creation of discursive spaces for an expansion of voices to foster equality with food being centralized as a means of communication.

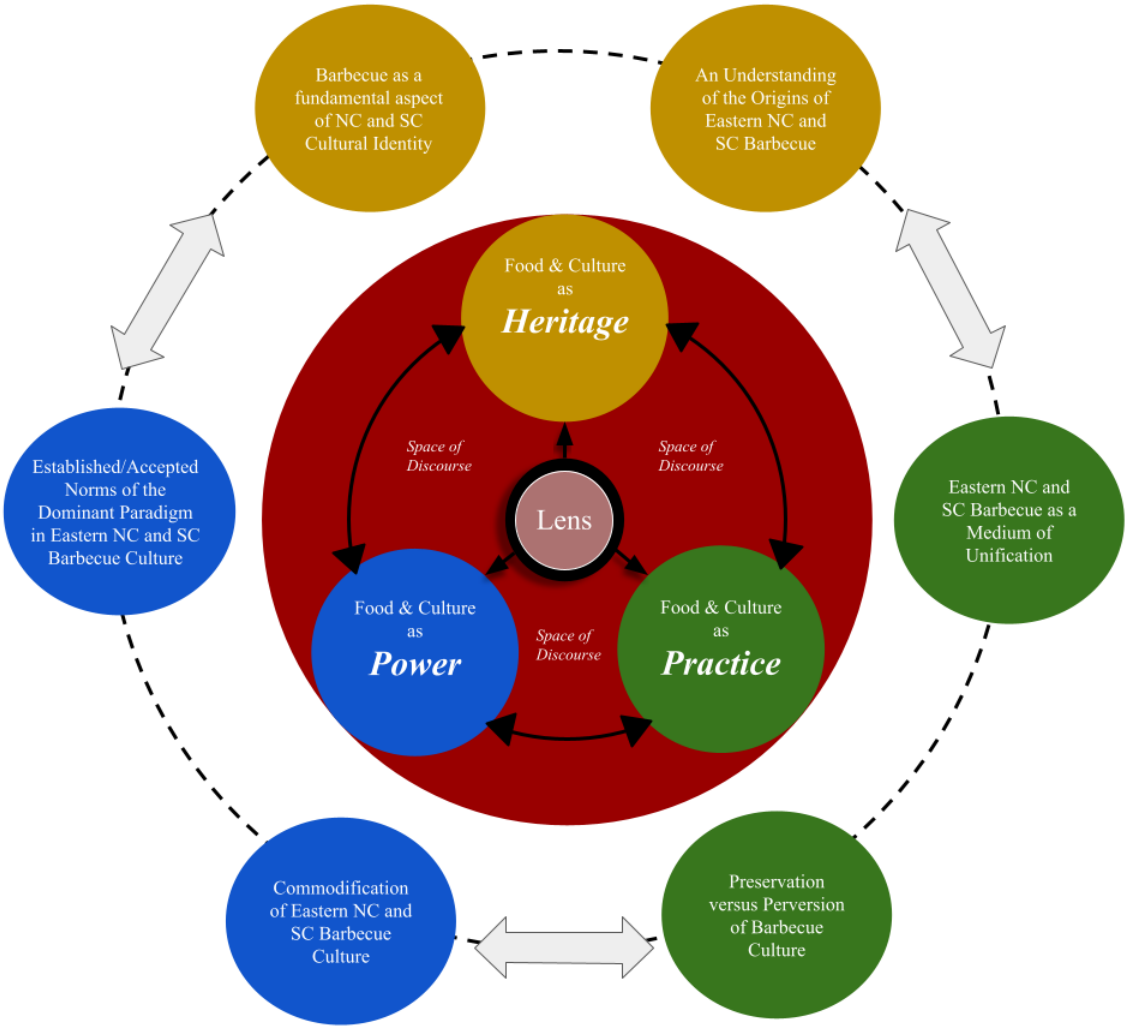

Figure 4.2

Dialectic Relationships between Constructs of the DMFC using the DHA

In analysis of the dialectic tensions among the three constructs of the DMFC, a need is substantiated for a multifaceted discussion of food and culture to be opened. It is first important to note that the tensions that were discovered were not seen as existing in a specified period of time. For example, the dialectic between *Power* and *Practice* could be viewed as forces that previously (in the past) impact current (present) representations of barbecue culture. Further, while the themes were positioned in relation to the constructs in Figure 4.2 as a result of the researcher's interpretation of the corpus, these positions are not inherently static. The operationalization of terms, depending on a researcher's frame of reference and field of study or discipline, could impact how each theme is categorized in relation to the DMFC constructs. Due to the dialectic and dynamic nature of the relationship between and within the three constructs of the DMFC, and in consideration of the researcher's interpretation of the data using the discursive strategy of perspectivization, themes that were predominately associated with each construct could be examined from another viewpoint (Bondarouk & Ruël, 2004). For example, while the theme "An Understanding the Origins of Eastern NC and SC Barbecue" is associated with *Heritage*, it could also imply *Practice*, and thus is situated in the dialectical relationship between *Heritage* and *Practice*.

Ideology

Use of the DMFC with the DHA provided a means by which the discourse of Southern food (and thus any underlying ideologies propagated through language) could be historically examined. In other words, the overlay of DMFC on DHA allows for a cuisine or food culture to become the medium by which the complex nature of discourse can be meticulously examined. Analysis of the selected texts also allowed for ideologies

in the discourse to be unveiled as nominations and predications were noted through means of bolding and underlining. The notation process provided for an illumination of how actors were referenced and described. In doing so, the perspective of the author, as well as the perspective of the actor being described or interviewed by the author, was examined, providing the researcher the ability to interpret inequalities communicated in the discourse.

Noted Absence: Inequality

When conducting research through the application of DHA, noting the absence of information is as telling as its presence (Hu, 2020). Images as a form of communication were also visually examined in the discourse as a facet of using DHA, as presented in the dialectic of *Power* and *Practice* in the discussion of Hemmer's photographs (Richardson & Wodak, 2009; Wodak & Forchtner, 2014; Wodak, 2015b). Therefore, the researcher noted the presence of racial inequities depicted in some of the texts through both the photos and written words offered by the authors, as well as how the topic was omitted from the discourse in others.

For example, while the text by Reed et al. (2008) provided an in-depth written perspective of the history of barbecue, the discourse was vacant in addressing race in the context of the culture and cuisine. While the text is paradoxically laden with historical photos from archives illustrating Black pitmasters, much of what is shared regarding race and barbecue fails to reference through words what could be examined in the relationship between *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* existent among these unnamed figures. Of note in the text by Reed et al. (2008) is a two-page photo spread of a Black man standing by a burning wood pile with the title "The People" positioned in an upper corner of a page. A

caption on the following page names the restaurant but provides no acknowledgement to the man in the photo. In the absence of in-depth intertextual or interdiscursive analysis that takes place using approaches such as the DHA, an erasure of history could ensue (Irvine & Gal, 2000). Presenting information in such a solitary manner leaves the historical representation subject to a monocular interpretation. Thus, it is through application of a holistic model and historical approach that provides for an illumination of absent voices when award-winning works are dominant in the discourse.

Conclusion

Through the DHA, Southern food culture, examined as barbecue of the eastern regions of North Carolina and South Carolina, was revealed as a symbolic and communicative object of understanding tensions related to the DMFC constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. Applying the discursive strategy of perspectivation allowed the discourse of each text to become more salient as barbecue was examined for understanding what has been historically shared in Southern food culture discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). The researcher was able to infer the "writer's point of view" through examination of the texts (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 43). Themes were abductively discovered in analysis of the corpus, demonstrating dialectic tensions between and within the constructs of the DMFC, thus delineating a need for a critical approach to the study of food and culture in providing future spaces for discourse.

While the DMFC sets forth a model, concurrent application of the DHA advances the use of the framework through its historic approach to understanding origins, facets of power, and (mis)representations in the understanding of food and culture. Consequently, heritage is linked to this analysis of historic discourse, through a focus on

acknowledgment of origin. Thus, the DMFC contributes a multifaceted model to the process of the DHA in providing an in-depth understanding of food and culture. Implications of this study include the proposal of a new food studies framework for analysis of food and culture discourse with the use of the DMFC in conjunction with the DHA. This novel framework will allow for a dynamic approach, without negation or elevation of any DMFC construct over another, while concurrently providing for cultural consciousness in the understanding of food culture through spaces of discourse. Further recommendations include application through integration of additional approaches to discourse analysis as other topics central to the study of food and culture are examined.

CHAPTER 5

CAN YOU HEAR ME NOW? THE DIALECTICAL-RELATIONAL APPROACH AND THE DYNAMIC MODEL OF FOOD AND CULTURE FOR ANALYSIS OF SOUTHERN FOOD CULTURE[3]

[3] Worley, B. L. To be submitted to *Food and Foodways*

Abstract

Barbecue as a cuisine central to Southern food culture in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina was examined through application of the dialectical-relational approach, used concurrently with the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC), to demonstrate the model as being relevant to the critical study of food and culture. Three interactions as a form of *charlas culinarias*, four restaurant observations, and textual analysis of two cookbooks were used as sources for data collection as the four stages were implemented for the DRA. Through the theoretical tradition of postcolonialism, an interpretation of the data was presented as related to the dialectic relationships of the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. Abductive thematic analysis was facilitated, guided by the questions established *a priori* with each construct of the DMFC. The themes discovered: (1) *Knowledge and Learning*, (2) *Legacy of Tradition*, (3) *Race Relations*, (4) *Business of Barbecue*, (5) *Community and Unification*, and (6) *Authenticity*; these were then categorized according to actor and with the constructs of the DMFC. This analysis resulted in identification of *obstacles* to addressing the 'social wrong' in focus, as exploration of the *dialectical relationships* within and between the DMFC constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* occurred. Thus, a need is substantiated for a new critical approach to the study of food and culture in establishing spaces for discourse so that all voices are provided room for expression.

Introduction

Food communicates emotion and cultural identity (Almansouri et al., 2021; Holtzman, 2006). It has the power to evoke nostalgia for places and times once known or create hunger and yearning for moments never experienced (Holtzman, 2006). It acts as a

voice that allows meaning to be transferred through its tangible and intangible facets, serves as the foundation of culinary discourse, and links “the economic, social, and political circuits of culture” (Ferguson, 2004; Hauck-Lawson, 2004; Wessell and Jones, 2011, p. 57). However, culinary discourse is now globalized in contemporary society due to the dispensation of technology via various forms of media and media channels, providing an increased ability for the cultural and affective aspects of food to be communicated (Lindenfeld, 2011). Thus, as food is universally communicated, understanding the relationship between its origins, societal representations, and aspects of influence provides a foundation for the acknowledgment and sustainability of this dynamic relationship.

Food is nostalgic. Memories are central to the present and future understanding of food as central component of culture. In his study of food and memory, Holtzman (2006) poses the following: how “does real or perceived resilience in foodways speak to understandings of the present and imaginings of the future through reference to a mythic or historicized conception of past eating?” (p. 363). A statement of similar context, “If you don’t know where you come from, you don’t know where you are going”, is uttered in the culinarily-centric Netflix documentary series featuring a poignant collection of food and culture stories from around the world (Salleh, 2017). Each feature in the series presents the centralized cuisine, communicated as both an action and a dish. How the cuisine is understood and represented across cultures, as well as how it is emblematic, linguistically situated, and performative in sustaining cultural practices, is highlighted. Film and television media such as this illuminate the relationship between heritage and cultural practices (Lindenfeld, 2011). However, a call is established for discourse

concerning the knowledge and understanding of food in this heritage-practice relationship, while concurrently acknowledging what an absence of preservation of heritage could suggest for future representation and historic recognition.

While those participating in food and culture discourse cannot be specified to one "foodie" or food enthusiast identity (Johnston & Baumann, 2015), what is communicated across media channels and in food spaces is often strategic, done so to allure targeted viewers, subscribers, followers, readers, or patrons depending on the ideological perspective from which the information is being presented; such communication conceived in a linear manner allows for social injustices to be manifested and perpetuated by ideologies (Craig, 1999; Fürsich, 2014). Craig (1999) notes that this "basic 'problem of communication' in society arises from material and ideological forces that preclude or distort discursive reflections" (p. 147). Asking 'can you hear me know?', borrowed from a popular telecommunications ad campaign, begs the question of who is being heard or not in spaces of Southern food culture discourse (Minge, 2021). Thus, a need exists to create inclusive spaces of discourse so that the stories and knowledge of food and culture held by those who have been overlooked by dominant ideology(ies) can be voiced and discovered (Ledwith, 2020).

Issues in Southern Food Culture and Barbecue Discourse

Discourse and dialogue are two words, often used interchangeably, that offer distinct meaning in the context of this study of Southern food culture. Discourse can be defined as written, spoken, or conceptualized communication surrounding a specified topic, whereas dialogue is conversation regarding the topic. As such, dialogue around foodways topics in the South are often housed within silos due to discourse embedded in

rhetoric controlled by power structures (Jacobsen, 2004; Lather, 2006). The discourse around barbecue, a cuisine representative of Southern food culture, has been shaped by historic ideology, formed from a (mis)understanding of its origins, its contemporary representations, and the social, political, and economic influences that established it as a fundamental cuisine of Southern food culture (Edge, 2017; Ferris, 2014; High, 2013; Lathsaw, 2013; Miller, 2021; Nestle, 2007; Warnes, 2008; Warnes, 2013). Therefore, understanding barbecue as a relevant and inherent cuisine of Southern food in the Eastern Carolinas warrants examining present-day conversations, representations, and perspectives as material aspects of the culture. In this study, the researcher examines what is being communicated about barbecue in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina, further operationalized as Southern food culture and barbecue discourse.

Moreover, when individuals link cultural, political, economic, and social issues with their experiences around food, critical connections are formed, providing for collective approaches to understanding and resolving such concerns (Ledwith, 2020). Contemporarily (and historically) laden with issues concerning culture, politics, economics, and societal meaning, barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas is centered as a "lens" for analysis in this study for understanding food as a communicative aspect of Southern culture. Thus, to abate perpetuation of ideology and/or unequal power relations, the intersections between the origin, representation, and influential forces associated with barbecue as a cuisine central to Southern food culture must be considered through a multifaceted approach, rather than linear or monocular methods.

Dynamic Model of Food and Culture: A Conceptual Framework

In understanding food as a critical component of culture, a holistic perspective

must be taken. This holistic perspective presented as meaning, “no single aspect of human culture can be understood unless its relations to other aspects of the culture are explored” (Peoples & Bailey, 2012, p. 1). The *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) serves as a viable model for examining the topic of inquiry and its relationship to culture through three interrelated yet distinct constructs: *Heritage* (the origins and manifestation of foodways), *Power* (the structural, systematic, and evocative nature), and *Practice* (the representation and interpretation) (Figure 5.1) (Worley, In Review). While the topic of barbecue in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina is analyzed through each independent construct, concurrent analysis accounting for all three constructs, due to their interrelated nature, ‘points’ to an area of understanding food as a means of communicating Southern food culture. Food and culture topics such as barbecue can thus be situated for understanding and analysis through this holistic and dynamic approach (Peoples & Bailey, 2012).

Due to the power of both food and language for communication, application of an approach that considers more than one aspect of the discourse (rather than examining the discourse through a solitary or monocular view) can shed light on how the use of language in communicating about food and culture “contributes to the domination of some people by others” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 1; Greene & Cramer, 2011). Thus, in the examination of barbecue of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina as a cuisine central to Southern food culture, this study applied a holistic and multifaceted model. The model was used as part of a framework for the analysis of food and culture for the creation of discursive spaces; these are spaces created for stories to be shared by those who have been marginalized or subordinated which “elevates a diversity of knowledge”

to open up the ontological space that was once narrow in scope (Ledwith, 2020, p. 103).

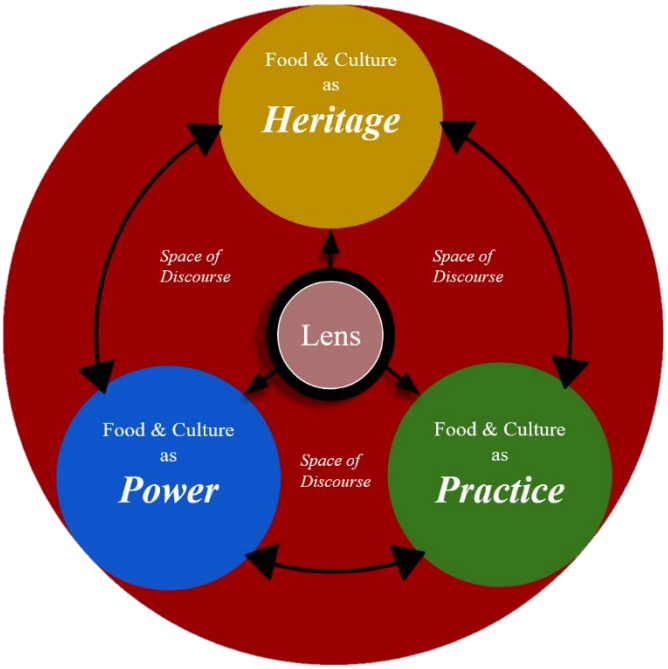

Figure 5.1

Dynamic Model of Food and Culture (Worley, In Review)

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the application of the dialectical-relational approach (DRA) with the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) to verify the model as part of an innovative framework for the study of food and culture. The objectives of this study are: (1) to understand how Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue is discussed and presented in Southern food culture discourse as related to the constructs of the DMFC; (2) to examine currently established discursive spaces of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue using the DMFC, and; (3) to create new discursive spaces that help expand the understanding and acknowledgement

of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue in its current, dynamic nature.

Materials and Methods

Through the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) – the study of written or spoken language in relation to its social context – everyday experiences such as the interdisciplinary topics of food, foodways, and food and culture of the South are questioned through a critical approach. As such, exposing contradictions, paradoxes, or *dialectics* within Southern food culture discourse provides the ability to change what is occurring in current society that could be hindering future progress (Fuchs, 2016; Ledwith, 2020). To examine these contradictions, CDA is used in this study through the dialectical-relational approach (DRA) as a means to examine how elements of society – language, social practices, and power structures – shape discourse. The DRA is a critical approach to understanding the "nature and sources of social wrongs, the obstacles to addressing them, and possible ways of overcoming those obstacles" (Fairclough, 2016, p. 7). These 'social wrongs' are issues that influence and/or pose challenges in current society (Fairclough, 2010).

The DRA draws from the *systemic functional linguistics approach* of Halliday and Hasan (1985). From this understanding, language is a social event that is communicated as written or spoken or produced or interpreted as an interaction (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Thus, the DRA requires detailed textual analysis of data, including intertextual and interdiscursive analysis (Fairclough, 2005; Wodak, 2009). While interdiscursivity is the relationship between and across discourses, intertextual analysis examines the similarities and differences within or between texts (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2003). Additionally, textual analysis, a method employed by Fürsich (2014)

in the examination of food reviews of ethnic restaurants, draws from “interpretations of cultural output” based on critical theory and qualitative research traditions (p. 1). Fairclough (2005) further notes, “What data is selected, how it is collected, depends upon the project and object of research” (p. 5). Therefore, for this study, the data that is selected and collected is analyzed using textual and intertextual analysis.

Although the DRA is a four-stage approach, Fairclough (2016) opposes any view “which seeks to neatly match methods, methodologies to fields or text types, or cultivates the view that researchers need to seek the ‘right’ method for their data and research questions” (p. 5). He further notes not wanting to “limit in advance the fields of application of the dialectical-relational approach” (Fairclough, 2016, p. 5). Thus, the researcher has identified the need for a holistic critique of food and culture considering ideological, rhetorical, and strategic perspectives to gain a stronger sense of potential social wrongs; this multifaceted approach is one that examines the discourse in a way that is not confined to a strictly prescriptive method.

Barbecue, as the lens of inquiry for discursive analysis, has often been housed within contentious discussions in Southern food culture discourse because of its (mis)representation in historic and current society. Using the DRA as a methodology to identify and examine a social wrong in barbecue discourse is thus substantiated with the use of the DMFC; the three constructs are taken into account concurrently as the discourse of barbecue in current Southern food culture is analyzed. Moreover, using the DRA with the DMFC is not meant to obliterate or deconstruct a topic for the purposes of identifying all of the wrongs in society. Rather, use of the DRA with the DMFC allows for an acknowledgement and examination of what is often identified as a social wrong.

Therefore, in using the DRA with the DMFC, an issue or a topic regarding food and culture can be examined more comprehensively in all of its reflective or associated phenomena. By identifying the varying phenomena, new discursive spaces are thus created that can potentially address social wrongs.

A Study of Eastern Carolinas Barbecue

In the DRA, consideration is concurrently taken for the relationship between various actors (Fairclough 2016; Peng & Sun, 2022). Detailed in the comparison with the use of discourse analysis across media platforms, as analyzed by Bouvier and Machin (2018), Peng and Sun (2022) note that the consideration of various actors allows for the "opportunity for unveiling the dialectical relations between top-down and bottom-up societal processes" while "considering the interactive pattern of discursive practice" (p. 3). This approach is followed through discourse analysis of various social actors within barbecue culture. The actors in this study included pitmasters, defined as those who operate barbecue pits to make barbecue, and barbecue restaurants as places where barbecue is prepared and served in a geographical region of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina (from Charleston, South Carolina, to Rocky Mount, North Carolina, with I-95 and the Atlantic Ocean serving as the western and eastern boundaries) (Figure 5.2).

Note. Pitmasters (*charlas culinarias*) are indicated with a fire symbol, cookbooks (text analysis) with a star, and restaurants (field observations) with crossed flatware.

Figure 5.2

Area of Barbecue Research

Because food plays an important role in most cultures (Miller and Deutsch, 2009), food-oriented stories are central to social change and for the preservation, acknowledgement, and understanding of food heritage (Greene & Cramer, 2011; Prasetyo, 2017). Abarca (2007) established the *charlas culinarias* (culinary chats) as an ethnographic approach for data collection through "free-flowing conversations" for gathering stories "through the lens of food" based on three tenants: (1) providing a space for traditionally "muted" or marginalized individuals to have voice; (2) preventing

erasure of grassroots and practical knowledge, and; (3) *confianza* (trust) between the researcher and the participants (p. 189). Based upon the narrative food studies methodology of *charlas culinarias* (Abarca, 2007), the researcher engaged with three pitmasters (one from North Carolina and two from South Carolina) in semi-structured interviews. These interactions allowed the pitmasters to vocalize their food heritage, practices, and traditions of barbecue (Abarca, 2007).

Interviews were conducted via Zoom with pitmasters Dr. Howard Conyers[4] of South Carolina and Marvin Ross of South Carolina due to both individuals being (1) at a distance from the researcher, and (2) both individuals having time constraints involving their professional responsibilities. An in-person interaction was held with pitmaster Ryan Mitchell of North Carolina. All three pitmasters were selected for inclusion in the study due to their visible position in current Southern barbecue culture discourse and food media. These three *charlas culinarias* took place in December 2022.

Two cookbooks by contemporary Eastern Carolina pitmasters were also selected for document analysis due to their visible position in current Southern barbecue culture discourse and food media; *Rodney Scott's World of BBQ* (Scott & Elie, 2021) and *Whole Hog BBQ: The Gospel of Carolina Barbecue* (Jones & Vaughn, 2019). The cookbooks were written by pitmasters Rodney Scott of South Carolina and Sam Jones of North Carolina, offering two distinct autobiographical perspectives and culinary memoires of the

[4] In qualitative research, names and places are often anonymized for confidentiality purposes (Reyes, 2018). In this research to provide voice in spaces of discourse, and as more literature has come forth regarding the subsequent issues due to an absence of data transparency, the names of the pitmasters were not "masked" (Ellersgaard et al., 2002; Jerolmack & Murphy, 2019; Reyes, 2018; Walford, 2018). Express consent was garnered from each participating pitmaster.

regional cuisine. (Karaosmanoglu, 2011). Rodney Scott is a Black male, lifelong pitmaster, restaurateur, and has received national recognition including being awarded the James Beard Foundation award for Outstanding Chef Southeast in 2018. Sam Jones is a White male, third generation pitmaster, restaurateur, and has received national media recognition for his work in barbecue.

Observations of four barbecue restaurants in eastern North Carolina between May 2022 and December 2022 were also included as methods and sources. Observations were done on four separate days for approximately 60 to 90 minutes. Each observation occurred at different times of the day, on different days of the week, to allow for the data to be collected during various dining times. An observational field guide was used to frame each encounter; the research questions for the overall DRA study and those that are asked in the semi- structured interview were centralized as the researcher observed the space and those within it (positioning themselves as a participant-researcher).

The places for observations (Figure 5.2) were identified by region and city, and were selected using the following criteria: (a) familiarity to the researcher (due to their positionality as being from and living in the region) as being "Eastern" North Carolina style barbecue restaurants (meaning whole hog preparation with a vinegar sauce); (b) are routinely regarded in barbecue discourse as serving this regional style, and; (c) have been in operation over multiple generations, all having been established between 1947 and 1986. Restaurants in South Carolina were not included for observation due to travel limitations of the researcher during the time of data collection and analysis.

The observations were used as a means of "contextualizing the textual material" from the cookbooks and *charlas culinarias* (Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski, 2008, p. 189);

incorporating ethnographic approaches as methods of data collection can provide insights into the relationship between discourses, rhetoric, and reality of the topic under investigation (Fairclough, 2005). Expanding the jottings taken to field notes (just as recordings are transcribed) allowed for analysis of observational data (Emerson et al., 1995; Wodak, 2009).

Stages and Steps of the DRA with the DMFC

In establishing a novel framework for the critical study of food and culture for the formation of discursive spaces, the DRA stages with associated steps, as outlined by Fairclough (2016), are contextualized within the constructs of DMFC. The steps in Stage two were adapted from Peng and Sun (2022) rather than following the order as outlined by Fairclough (2016); data were analyzed recursively as textual, discursive, and dialectical. Moreover, while steps are not outlined explicitly in Stages 3 and 4 by Fairclough (2016), they are established here for research intent.

Stage 1: Focus upon a 'social wrong,' in its semiotic aspect.

Focus is drawn to how the social wrong is identified and symbolized in the discursive space of barbecue in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina, examined through the use of the DRA with the DMFC; barbecue is positioned as the medium for understanding the identified social wrong. While society may not see a need for a social wrong, without awareness of the wrong, ways to address it will not be discovered; as such, the wrong remains silenced and muted in the discourse. Therefore, within the scope of this examination, a specific social wrong (in relation to barbecue as the "lens" of inquiry) is identified, allowing for how the DMFC constructs work amongst each other to either perpetuate such wrongs or to help address potential opportunities.

Step 1. A food and culture research topic was selected that pointed to a 'social wrong,' one that could be approached through the transdisciplinary and multifaceted DMFC, focusing on dialectical relations between and within the origins (*Heritage*), current (mis)representations (*Practice*), and forces (*Power*) affecting the topic of inquiry. The selected research topic of barbecue as a cuisine in Southern food culture pointed to the 'social wrong' of a communicative void or absence of voice among marginalized voices – those responsible for the creation of the cuisine in Southern food culture. This 'social wrong' was deductively determined to exist due to historic and contemporary discourse (Brown & Brown, 2001).

Step 2. The DRA and the DMFC were determined to be used in tandem to unveil and analyze the tensions between the three constructs of the model. Beyond the research objectives that were established, guiding questions associated with each construct of the DMFC were deductively formulated and centralized to the topic of inquiry, based on theoretical understandings and knowledge of extant literature (Davidson et al., 2019).

Table 5.1

Guiding Questions for each Construct of the DMFC

Heritage	Power	Practice
1. Where did what we know as Southern food today originate?	1. Is heritage preserved only when it can be commodified?	1. Who has the right to say, demonstrate, recreate, or establish ownership of what Southern food culture is?
2. Why is food such an integral part of the Southern cultural identity?	2. Does the commodification of culture perpetuate hegemonic, structural, and systematic inequalities?	2. What is currently being done to preserve Southern foodways? Barbecue in eastern NC and SC?

3. Why are/were specific foods consumed?	3. Why are/were specific foods consumed?	3. Is the perversion of "new" Southern food an aspect of the dynamic nature of culture, or is it a form of erasure?
4. Who has the right to say, demonstrate, recreate, or establish ownership of Southern food culture?	4. Who has the right to say, demonstrate, recreate, or establish ownership of Southern food culture?	4. How has the fusion of cultures brought about what we experience as Southern cuisine today?
5. What is the relevance in preserving food culture?	5. What is the value of preserving food culture	5. Does this fusion serve as a catalyst of unification?
6. What factors disrupt the preservation of Southern food culture?	6.What factors disrupt the preservation of Southern food culture?	6. What factors disrupt the preservation of Southern food culture?

Note. Several questions appear across constructs, supporting the theoretical perspective of critically analyzing the dialectical tensions between and within *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*.

Stage 2: Data collection/analysis; identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong

Step 1. Data materials based on food and culture discourse were selected, with attention focused to a central understanding of the dialectical tensions that exist between and within the constructs of the DMFC: *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. The observation and interview guides were established as part of the IRB protocol with questions focused to the three constructs of the DMFC as related to Southern food culture and barbecue.

Step 2. Examination of intertextual patterns within the texts and across the data sets focused on rhetoric related linguistically and semiotically to the three constructs of the DMFC, as well as elements of the textual, physical, and social world, focusing on the

positions and *perspectives* of social actors (Table 5.2) (Fairclough, 2001). The data were analyzed through the interpretations of the researcher, accounting for actor positionality and perspective; the researcher remained positioned in respect to the actors as a participant/researcher.

Step 3. Abductive thematic analysis was facilitated, guided by the questions established *a priori* with each construct of the DMFC (Table 5.1). The themes discovered included: (1) *Knowledge and Learning*, (2) *Legacy of Tradition*, (3) *Race Relations*, (4) *Business of Barbecue*, (5) *Community and Unification*, and (6) *Authenticity*; these were then categorized according to actor and with the constructs of the DMFC. This analysis resulted in identification of *obstacles* to addressing the 'social wrong' in focus, as exploration of the *dialectical relationships* within and between the DMFC constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* occurred (Fairclough, 2016).

Table 5.2

Position and Perspective of Actors

Actor/Position	**Perspective**
Marvin Ross – *Interviewee*	Pitmaster, Farmer, Black male from eastern SC
Dr. Howard Conyers - *Interviewee*	Pitmaster, Scholar, Black male from eastern SC
Ryan Mitchell – *Interviewee*	Pitmaster, Entrepreneur, Black male from eastern NC
Sam Jones Cookbook – *Author*	Pitmaster, Entrepreneur, White male from eastern NC
Rodney Scott Cookbook - *Author*	Pitmaster, Entrepreneur, Black male from eastern SC
Dudley Restaurant - *Observation*	Black owned in eastern NC

Wilson Restaurant - *Observation*	White owned in eastern NC
Goldsboro Restaurant - *Observation*	White owned in eastern NC
Ayden Restaurant - *Observation*	White owned in eastern NC

Stage 3: Determine if the social wrong is needed or essential.

After reviewing the research objectives in conjunction with the dialectical relationships of the themes discovered in Stage two, the social wrong was determined to be both needed and essential to the social order; society needs to be aware that a dialectic exists between the dominant narrative and a void/lack of voice.

Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

To move past the obstacles discovered, the DMFC was substantiated as the semiotic 'point of entry' or focus into the way the obstacles are resisted, tested, contested, and/or reacted to (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 2016). The DMFC can thus be used as a model for creating spaces that allow for discourse and exploration rather than stifling, silencing, or dialectically expanding the void.

Results

The themes, discovered through abductive thematic coding, are presented in accordance with the DMFC constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*, each with supporting phrases and excerpts from the text of the cookbooks, transcripts of the *charlas culinarias*, and expanded field notes of the observations. The dialectical relationships *within* each of constructs of the DMFC are discussed. This analysis provides for an

understanding of how Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue is discussed and presented in Southern food culture discourse as related to the constructs of the DMFC, as well as an examination of established discursive spaces of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue using the DMFC. Then, the dialectical relationships *between* the constructs of the DMFC are reviewed as being *obstacles* to addressing the 'social wrong'. These dialectical relationships are identified to provide for the creation of new discursive spaces that help expand the understanding and acknowledgement of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue in its current, dynamic nature.

Table 5.3

Relationships within and between the DMFC Constructs

Relationships within the Constructs	**Relationships between the Constructs**
Heritage:	Dialectic between *Power* and *Heritage*:
Knowledge and Learning & Legacy of Tradition	Race & Business VS. Knowledge & Legacy
Power:	Dialectic between *Practice* and *Power*:
Race Relations & Business of Barbecue	Community & Authenticity VS. Race & Business
Practice:	Dialectic between *Practice* and *Heritage*:
Community and Unification & Authenticity	Community & Authenticity VS. Knowledge & Legacy

Heritage

The *Heritage* of barbecue in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina was analyzed through the written and spoken perspective of the pitmasters and observations of

the researcher. The themes discovered via the DRA related to this construct were *Knowledge and Learning* and *Legacy of Tradition*.

Knowledge and Learning

The knowledge of barbecue traditions as an aspect of one's heritage is central to Eastern Carolina barbecue culture. Across all three data sources – cookbooks, *charlas culinarias*, and observations, barbecue culture and heritage are preserved via the knowledge extended from more experienced pitmasters and practitioners. The *charlas culinarias* and observations revealed that this knowledge and learning is sustained among families and communities due to curiosity of younger generations.

As noted in the texts by Scott and Elie (2021) and Jones and Vaughn (2019), the traditions are passed from those familiar with the craft, on to others to learn.

Text:

"…he probably knew I was ready because I had been watching him for years by then. And I wasn't just watching. I was always asking questions. I was learning" (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 18).

"My family taught me everything they know about cooking whole hog barbecue, but they weren't very good at the teaching part…Just because you've been doing something for a long time doesn't mean you were doing it right" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 6).

Pitmasters Ryan Mitchell of North Carolina and Howard Conyers of South Carolina both shared during their individual *charlas culinarias* how family and community interactions is integral to the knowledge and learning of barbecue traditions.

Charlas culinarias:

"Southern food is a combination of heritage and family interactions based around the culture of the home" (R. Mitchell).

People who know the true stories, they don't really talk about it. Like people who I learned from, my father and other people in my community, they don't talk about it. They

know the culture. But they only talk about because I asked about it (H. Conyers).

During an observation in eastern North Carolina in November 2022, a young man working at the barbecue restaurant noted he was unfamiliar with the craft and opportunities until he began working at the barbecue restaurant. He shared that being able to work at this restaurant, and with this pitmaster, provided him with knowledge and learning opportunities that he previously never knew existed.

Observations:

I asked the young man, who offered to give me a tour of the kitchen and pits, how he became involved in the restaurant. He started the job several years ago as an acting student at a local university, but then realized how much opportunity there was in the world of barbecue and stayed on to learn the craft, even having the chance to travel throughout the country for events. He shared his knowledge of the craft expressing that they were one of the few left who still do whole hog barbecue using wood (Ayden Restaurant).

Legacy of Tradition

Barbecue as a fundamental aspect of Southern food culture in the Eastern Carolinas is communicated through a continuation of multigenerational traditions. The theme of *Legacy of Tradition* was presented distinct ways across the data sources. Whereas in the cookbooks the heritage of barbecue is inferred as related to internal or personal discourse, the *charlas culinarias* revealed that the heritage is not part of the larger discourse. Providing a further distinction of the theme, the observations more obviously presented tradition from a superficial vantagepoint, attending to the physical spaces and structures rather than the social composition of the establishments.

In each of the cookbooks, the pitmasters describe their inherent relationship to barbecue, thus providing their basis of understanding its origin and identification with the cuisine as an aspect of heritage.

Text:

"That's how my family, the Joneses, have been doing it at Skylight Inn in Ayden, North Carolina since 1947" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 1).

"I'm a product of that barbecue, having eaten it all my life. I'm also a product of my community and my state" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 2).

I had an advantage. I grew up in it. I saw my father and my great-uncle doing it for years before they let me do it on my own when I was eleven". I had years of my father telling me to be careful about this or don't do that. You can't boil those years down into a quick conversation (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 9).

In the conversations with Marvin Ross and Howard Conyers, these pitmasters shared that while barbecue traditions are passed on through generations, the origins of those traditions, stemming from slavery, are not part of the collective discourse.

Charlas culinarias:

"I'm the fifth generation to farm this land…and continue the traditions through hosting events at the farm" (M. Ross).

"I grew up in a barbecue culture and a community that practiced whole hog barbecue continuously through slavery, going back into slavery, where people were cooking hogs in the ground up until like the 70s, early 80s" (H. Conyers).

"[They're] just not many people who still know the traditions that go with cooking… people know the mechanics of cooking barbecue, but they don't know the culture and the heritage" (H. Conyers).

Each of restaurants shared a similar worn aesthetic, revealing that barbecue maintains a sense of tradition by not including any frills or opulence perhaps associated with other cuisines.

Observations:

Two wooden benches were on either side of the front doors and a sign on the window stating that they have been in business over 70 years… On each table there was a ream of paper towels [and] a bottle of Texas Pete…The barbecue was nestled in the small red and white paper trays on a larger plastic black tray lined with wax paper donning the restaurant's logo

with the 70 years tagline… As I ate, I noticed photos that are evenly spread and of the same size that were pictures that had been printed, juxtaposing old with new. (Ayden Restaurant).

The table was covered in a red checkered pattern plastic tablecloth. Bottles of Texas Pete (a native NC product) and [the restaurant's] own barbecue sauce…The interior was a juxtaposition of new and old, featuring updated décor and remodeling to look rustic (including new tin paneling on the front of the bar) within the old original space where the restaurant began in 1962. A chalkboard with drawn designs of menu items and agricultural items (such as a cartoon-like hog) hung on the wall behind the buffet. Photos of farm scenes and family were hung purposely on the walls. The floor looked original and was titled with large burgundy and white alternating laminate tiles. The wood paneling on the walls also appeared to be original. Large exposed wooden beams ran across the length of the ceiling with newly remodeled chandeliers (Goldsboro Restaurant).

Power

The inherent and associative *Power* of barbecue in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina was analyzed through the perspective of the pitmasters and observations of the researcher, revealing the themes of *Race Relations* and *Business of Barbecue.*

Race Relations

Acknowledgment of those responsible for the conception of the cuisine, and the power it yields in fostering relationships, is central to the understanding barbecue in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina. The racial dynamic present in barbecue was expressed in the data from the cookbooks, *charlas culinarias,* and observations. While the relationship of barbecue and Black culture is explicitly present in the excerpts from the cookbooks and *charlas culinarias,* its absence is noted in the observation.

Text:

"So many of the great barbecue restaurants in this country have historically been in Black neighborhoods that I like the ideas of taking the food back to its roots. That's become something of a goal for us" (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 56).

As a fundamental facet of Southern food culture, Mitchell and Conyers note the relevance of race in the development of the cuisine.

Charlas culinarias:

So that was my first time though, as a young man understanding that we, as a family as Black folk who had been cooking barbecue in the South for generations, had our hands on not only a skill set, but a historical reference and authenticity (R. Mitchell).

"Barbecue is the perfect conduit. It's probably the first meal in this country where a political decision was made even during slavery. And it's the only dish that could feed thousands of people during those time periods" (H. Conyers).

While several of the restaurants had a diverse clientele, an imbalance in racial dynamics was observed in the makeup of those who owned and operated the establishments.

Observations:

I noticed at that moment all of the employees were White males. The men at the front door were older. The man behind the counter was middle-aged, with another young man at the cash register. All of the waitstaff were college-aged men. As I continued scanning the restaurant, I saw one Black young man, who was a server, scurrying by in the same fashion as the other servers, busing tables and delivering food orders. I then was drawn to what was and what wasn't in terms of race and gender and noticed that all of the employees donned that same white uniform (Wilson Restaurant).

Business of Barbecue

Across the discourse, the role barbecue plays as a means of capital (economic) power in the Eastern Carolinas was shared, either in text or verbalized, and observed. Similarities and differences in what barbecue meant both cognitively and affectively as a business was revealed in the cookbooks and *charlas culinarias*, whereas the *Business of Barbecue* was observed in the restaurants from a cognitive perspective.

The family barbecue business was innate and almost expected of Jones to carry forth. However, there was a turn in the life Scott in approaching barbecue as a means of financial sustainability.

Text:

"You see, my family is known for barbecue. I'm the third generation of Joneses to own a barbecue joint" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 2).

We've been doing it this way all along because it's what we believe to be the right way even though it also happens to be the hard way. Another family member may come along after I'm gone and find that cutting corners is worth the extra sleep or the extra profit. That's not gonna happen while I've got a hold of this torch (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 35).

"I was seventeen when I started cooking full time. It took a couple of years for me to stop seeing it as just drudgery and to start actually like the work, or at least some aspects of it" (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 25).

The words 'supply and demand' and 'capitalize' were in my head for some reason…I started to ask myself, how could I capitalize on my skills and create something for which there would be more demand? ...What I could do was cook barbecue (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 27).

It was not until after Mitchell spent time in the corporate world that he came to terms with creating barbecue; now being a pitmaster could be financially lucrative as it was a matter of choice, rather than necessity or force.

Charlas culinarias:

[We] had a little corner grocery store, that was for the community and then we got into the commercial side of actually cooking the meats in the early 90s. So at that point in time, you know, there was the connection between it feeding us nutritionally and the connection of it feeding us financially…[it] was almost like a merger (R. Mitchell).

When I graduated high school, I swore to God, I'm never coming back. I told the family that I'm out of here and never coming back. I'm never dropping a piece of chicken and I'm never cooking another nothing here because I grew up with it as a chore…this is a lifestyle (R. Mitchell).

The observations showed barbecue as a place of economic strength in a modern

capitalistic society. Each of the four barbecue restaurants – Ayden, Dudley, Goldsboro, and Wilson - was teaming with activity; their parking lots were full of cars, regardless of the day or time visited.

Observations:

The restaurant sits in the ‘v of an intersection in the rural area of Wayne County south of Goldsboro, near the town of Dudley. It is only open from 10am to 2pm four days a week - Wednesday through Saturday. I turned into the full parking lot at 11:15AM to find the back door, greeted by the smell of wood and the sight of the gray plump billowing out of the smokehouse adjacent to the restaurant. As I walked around the white cinderblock building and entered the front doors on the opposite side, I was met with an intense warmth in indoor temperature that automatically made the harsh bitter cold that was beyond the doors a distant memory. I was almost taken aback by the quaint coziness of the restaurant, the warmth adding to the feeling, but also from the layout of merely 7 tables for dining in, two of which were two tops. The tables were original with pale ecru Formica tops and mustard yellow built in bench seats. I joined in line behind several other patrons, mostly White men, who were standing at the counter to order, chatting softly with one another, many of them appearing to be family and acquaintances. I looked around the room, seeing where I might take a seat. The room was adorned with Christmas decorations and the walls were proudly lined with the accolades the restaurant has rightly earned (Dudley Restaurant).

I pulled up to the restaurant at 12:45PM and it's one of those places that you'll never miss because on top of the brick hexagon shaped building is a large dome shaped like the one at the nation's capital. The parking lot was full of cars, but I managed to find a space that was within a reasonable walking distance to the front door. Before even getting out of the car, you could smell the smoke coming from the smokehouse and see piles of wood. A Black couple was walking out of the restaurant, greeting me and my mother as we were walking in (Ayden Restaurant).

Practice

How barbecue is represented in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina resulted in two themes associated with the construct of *Practice*: *Community and Unification* and *Authenticity*.

Community and Unification

Across the data sources, barbecue was revealed as a means of unification and an

aspect of community. The cookbooks and *charlas culinarias* expressed the practice of joining together for barbecue creates unity. Moreover, the observations showed how the cuisine brings families and friends together, as well as how sitting down over a plate of barbecue can serve as a medium for bringing people together.

Text:

"Barbecue has always been about community for the Jones family…That's the power of whole hog" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 9).

"One of the great things about cooking whole hog is that it takes so long to do it, that you just naturally gather around the pit with food friends and fellowship while the meat and wood do their thing" (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 10).

In the *charlas culinarias* with Conyers, he shared how barbecue is proven to bring communities and races together.

Charlas culinarias:

Barbecue is tried and true, it has a proven track record of bringing people together across all races. Even when America was most segregated, you'd find people crossing over the tracks to get barbecue made by black hands and vice versa. More times you'd find White families going into Black neighborhoods to get great barbecue during the segregated hours. And so barbecue has a resounding power to unify people. And to me, it means a lot (H. Conyers).

I as a participant-observer found that the busyness of one restaurant offered the opportunity for me to join another diner.

Observations:

As I stood in line patiently with the other patrons, and jotting notes, two men behind me were discussing eating in. Seeing as the only two seats that were available were at a small two top, I noticed an older black gentleman sitting alone. After ordering my meal I turned it to the men behind me and said, 'you guys can take the table… I'll ask if he will allow me to join him'… Almost as quickly as I ordered, the food was ready and available for me to pick up from the pickup window. I made my way over to the black man who was quietly eating his food and appeared to be on his lunch break as he was wearing a bright orange vest over his navy-blue clothing. I asked the man if he minded if I sat down with him. He paused and looked at me, I think a bit bewildered, and then smiled and said of course. I didn't get his

name but I had the loveliest lunch with the man who allowed me to join him (Dudley Restaurant).

…groups of people, seemingly families and friends, are seen congregating around the end of the long green faux grass carpet covered ramp that leads to the front door (Wilson Restaurant).

Authenticity

The pitmasters in the cookbooks and *charlas culinarias* shared their notions of 'authenticity' of what barbecue is, how it is operationalized, and how it is prepared in the Eastern Carolinas. As a participant-observer, and due to my positionality and subjectivities related to the subject of Eastern North Carolina barbecue, the observations made contained pre-existing knowledge and biases. In relation to the theme of *Authenticity*, the observations were grounded to what was similarly expressed in the cookbooks and *charlas culinarias*.

Text:

"…in my mind, barbecue is whole hog cooked over wood. I say that because I was raised in eastern North Carolina, and that's all we've ever done. East of Interstate 95, that's the expectation" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 1).

"In eastern North Carolina, more so than anywhere else in the country, the definition of barbecue has historically been pretty simple: a whole animal cooked over wood, or coals" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 2).

As Mitchell and Ross shared, barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas is a noun, not a verb, and moreover, a cuisine that can bring people together.

Charlas culinarias:

Barbecue is, first of all, it's a dish. It's an item everybody likes…it's not the cooking, it is an actual dish. And so specifically in our home, you know it is inclusive of the entire animal, barbecue, the whole hog and we use vinegar-based barbecue sauces; apple cider vinegar, fresh red pepper, salt and pepper are the seasoning profile that goes into Eastern Carolina barbecue. So when you say barbecue to me, that's what I'm expecting (R. Mitchell).

When Bourdain came down to film *Cook's Tour*, in 2002, he looked me in the face and he told me, he said, I'm here because not only are you guys, what you're doing is great, but he said, I'm here because the person's name who's on the building is also the person who's doing the damn cooking (R. Mitchell).

*"*Barbecue is whole hog and barbecue also is a thing, a meal to bring the community together" (M. Ross).

Of the four restaurants that were observed, three of those – Goldsboro, Dudley, and Ayden – were still using wood; this is what I as the participant-researcher knew as 'authentic' Eastern North Carolina barbecue[5].

Observations:

Before pulling into the lot or even opening the car doors, the smell of wood smoked used to prepare the barbecue permeated the interior of the car (Goldsboro Restaurant).

I parked and got out of the car, noticing an absence of wood smoke in the air that I have smelled at other restaurants and associate with barbecue (Wilson Restaurant).

I turned into the full parking lot to find the back door, greeted by the smell of wood and the sight of the gray plump billowing out of the smokehouse adjacent to the restaurant. As I entered the front doors of the white cinderblock building on the opposite side, I was met with an intense warmth in indoor temperature that automatically made the harsh bitter cold that was beyond the doors a distant memory (Dudley Restaurant).

Dialectic between Practice and Heritage

Community and Authenticity verses Knowledge and Legacy

Examination of the discourse suggests there is historic knowledge one can glean about a culture. A conflict exists however in representing culture without having the skills associated with years of work and practice, allowing for opportunities of misrepresentation to occur. Therefore, a dialectic exists between *Practice*

[5] Post observation, I was able to confirm that one of the restaurants had in fact switched their preparation method from using wood using electricity.

(*Community and Unification* & *Authenticity*) and *Heritage* (*Knowledge and Learning* & *Legacy of Tradition*).

The discourse from the text of the cookbooks demonstrates this dialectic between *Practice* and *Heritage*. Scott expresses that while his actions are progressive, homage is given to the past for understanding and awareness. "I like to think of myself as looking forward, as moving forward. But sometimes it helps to look back to understand a thing" (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 13). In the excerpt offered by Jones and Vaughn (2019), *Practice* is inferred to be a result of *Heritage;* one could not exist in the absence of the other. "Cooking whole hog barbecue was part of the Joneses' identity" (Jones & Vaughn, 2019, p. 101).

In a *charlas culinarias*, Ross notes that what is represented (*Practice*) in barbecue culture is being done by individuals who are removed from the origins and of it being part of one's cultural identity (*Heritage*). "What's being said is being done by those who haven't lived it" (M. Ross). Moreover, tensions reside in what should be represented or interpreted as authentic both inside and outside the community of origin if traditions are not acknowledged, accounted for, or given homage. These tensions between *Practice* and *Heritage* are shared in the *charlas culinarias* of Conyers and Mitchell noting that misrepresentation of culture is not only miscommunication, but that part of correcting such misinformation/misrepresentation of food culture is everyone owning their role; then, unification can occur.

> Being inclusive [is] part of owning the things that we create…food is too subjective. You know, everybody has a taste - what it is they like and don't like - so misrepresentation usually falls into the hands of a specific area. And when it does that, then we all have to, Black and White, take ownership of that together (R. Mitchell).

> Real food culture will survive the test of time, and fake and fad food culture won't last… when it is misrepresented it hurts because the work I do is built on like trying to illuminate the true food culture. There's so much misinformation out there (H. Conyers).

A dialectic exists between *Practice* (*Community and Unification* & *Authenticity*) and *Heritage* (*Knowledge and Learning* & *Legacy of Tradition*) as observed in all four of the barbecue restaurants. While each of the four spaces provided for community and unification, with barbecue centered as the 'common' denominator, only three of the four served barbecue operationalized in the discourse as authentic to the tradition and heritage of the cuisine by using wood. Moreover, while the Ayden and Dudley restaurants exemplified each of the themes addressed in *Practice* and *Heritage*, the *Practice* of barbecue was singularly apparent in the Dudley restaurant because those whose *Heritage* (the origins and manifestation of foodways) were representing the culture.

Dialectic between Practice and Power

Community and Authenticity verses Race and Business

The discourse shows that capital gains have been actualized through the commodification of what those of a certain race contributed to the food culture. Coupled by a lack of acknowledgement, food culture is often represented as authentic, with accolades discussed in texts or materialized on display in restaurants, thus creating tensions for the business of barbecue to serve as a space for community. A dialectic is present in the discourse between *Practice* (*Community and Unification* & *Authenticity*) and *Power* (*Race Relations* & *Business of Barbecue*).

While the cookbook by Scott and Elie (2021) indicates that Rodney Scott's relationship with barbecue is driven by entrepreneurial success, the authors describe how

Scott first began with a desire for acknowledgement.

> And I told myself that one day I wanted the world to see me and hear me. Much later, I realized I could do that through food. I never imagined the success I'm having now. My dream was to possibly see the world and to possible be in charge of the family business and let the world know who I was. It feels good now to be living in a reality that's bigger than my old dreams (Scott & Elie, 2021, p. 17).

The tensions between *Practice* and *Power* are further demonstrated as Scott and Elie (2021) note how there was a shift in the business focus - one driven by "looking for good food with Southern roots that would appeal to our customers" rather than representing the dishes Scott "grew up on" (p. 56). Additionally, in a *charlas culinarias,* Conyers shares that as a Black man, sustaining the culture through current (mis)representation of barbecue has led to what he operationalizes as commodification. While this could in some ways be analyzed as being contrary to what is shared by Scott and Elie (2021), the sentiment offered by Conyers substantiates the *Practice* and *Power* relationship demonstrated by Scott.

> …but when you look at who's in those pitmaster conversations, like these association meetings, no Black people there. So that's the reason it's commodified. Do I feel glad? Do I dislike it? Yeah, dislike it. But if you understand history, understand America, you have to come up with. We only remember one day, the dollar. That's our history. That's what our country is built on. The saddest part about the whole situation is the people…[in] the towns are not the people whose families or ancestors created it…it's really extracted (H. Conyers).

In another *charlas culinarias,* Ross offers that while his local agricultural community is supportive of one another, the desire for local food is the topic of discourse in the community at large, comprised of a larger majority that is removed from understanding or acknowledging the agricultural roots tied to food systems, and moreover, barbecue. "They say they want local and farm to table and we have it but then it's not supported" (M. Ross). A disconnect thus exists between the discourse and actual commercial

patronage of local foods and products.

The dialectic relationship between *Practice* and *Power* was also observed in the barbecue establishments. Individuals of all races were observed in the restaurants seemingly for the purposes of sharing in the ritual of eating barbecue, as well as for the spaces of fellowship that the restaurants provide. Moreover, all of the restaurants, both Black and White owned and operated, donned local products. It was observed that the Goldsboro, Ayden, and Dudley restaurants offered restaurant specific merchandise for sale including t-shirts, hats, and barbecue sauces, thus adding additional elements of both commerce and commodification of culture. However, while the Wilson Restaurant was lively with a racially diverse patronage on a Sunday afternoon, it appeared to focus on commerce related to dining rather than selling merchandise or serving authentic barbecue representative of the Eastern Carolina tradition.

Dialectic between Power and Heritage

Race and Business verses Knowledge and Legacy

Similar to the dialectic between *Power* and *Practice*, analysis of the discourse shows that there is a disconnect between race and the business of barbecue, and the continuation of barbecue traditions as rooted in its origins. Knowledge of the craft and acknowledgement of traditions exists in the binary. Race is attached to barbecue in the discourse by way of historic marginalization and thus barbecue is racialized in the dialectic. Therefore, a dialectic is present between *Power* (Race Relations & Business of Barbecue) and *Heritage* Knowledge and Learning & Legacy of Tradition).

The cookbook by Scott and Elie (2021) and *charlas culinarias* of Conyers both noted the importance of acknowledgement and understanding of origin (*Heritage*), but

with varied approaches and rationale related to the commercialization and commodification of food culture (*Power*). Scott and Elie (2021) note it being a goal to take barbecue "back to its roots" where many of the restaurants have "historically been in Black neighborhoods" (p. 56). Conyers notes that due to historic systematic and structural racial forces, commodification of culture is a way he sees the culture being preserved and heritage acknowledged.

> I realized when looking at some of the White barbecue restaurants in South Carolina in particular, they became legitimate powerhouses or have been saying the first family of barbecue because they had businesses…And so if you attach a dollar to a product, and keep the culture with it, then the culture could get remembered. But if you can't connect the dollar to it, sadly, the people who made the contribution, who made the culture won't be recognized. So that's the reason why I had to turn it into a business (H. Conyers).

Mitchell expressed a progressive approach to this dialectic of *Power* and *Heritage,* noting that acknowledgment and existence in a capitalistic economy do not have to be mutually exclusive.

> I felt that for a long time because my relationship with the food was totally different from my relationship with the kind of environments that we weren't even allowed to go to... I had to get over that and I had to consider myself the mission of making sure not just my family, but culturally, we developed something to be proud of, so that even if I don't if I get here, maybe somebody behind me will get to another level as far as putting our arms around a cuisine and erasing some of the things that were initially made it and made us feel less than and taking those steps [in] creating something that we can fully own and be proud (R. Mitchell).

Barbecue provides for spaces of inclusion, as shown in the cookbooks and *charlas culinarias* discourse, and by what could be interpreted as an appearance of community and unity in the observations, as evidenced in a somewhat diverse patronage across the four restaurants. Yet, a disproportionate lack of diversity in staff was observed, with race and gender composition of employees appearing similar to the ownership of each

establishment, except as seen in the Ayden Restaurant.

> An older Black woman came out from the kitchen with an apron and sat down to talk to some White customers…In the kitchen, I was introduced to the lady that made the cornbread. [She] was an older Black lady, the one I had noticed before in the restaurant. She smiled and said hello before continuing to work (Ayden Restaurant).

Discussion

Critical theory is in and of itself dialectical. "A critical theory is therefore not a closed universe, but an open endeavor that cross-references other critical approaches" (Fuchs, 2016, p. 3). As such, engagement in conversation about food and culture operates in spaces of popular culture due to the inherent nature of conflicting discourse (Fiske, 1987; Hall, 1997). Add an additional layer of cultural differences or perspectives to food conversions, and tensions magnify, even within communities (Rogan et al., 2018). It is through analysis of how food is represented in a culture that "helps us to understand how that community connects to the past, lives in the present, and imagines the future" (Karasmanoglu, 2011, p. 40). Thus, in order to make changes in the world, one must be able to explain changes that need to be made (Fairclough, 2010). Awareness of the 'social wrong' is essential for future change to create new discursive spaces that help expand the understanding and acknowledgement of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue in its current dynamic nature. This acknowledgement of a void or absence of voice among those who were responsible for the development of the cuisine was addressed via application of the DMFC with a dialectical examination of the discourse of the actors (texts, *charlas culinarias*, and observations).

The objectives of this study were: (1) to understand how Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue is discussed and presented in Southern food culture

discourse as related to the constructs of the DMFC; (2) to examine currently established discursive spaces of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue using the DMFC, and; (3) to create new discursive spaces that help expand the understanding and acknowledgement of Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina barbecue in its current, dynamic nature. The discourse of cookbooks, *charlas culinarias,* and observations was examined through application of the DRA with the DMFC to understand what is being expressed currently regarding barbecue in Eastern North Carolina and South Carolina. The DMFC provided a model for understanding food as a medium of communication for the expansion of voice through dialectical analysis of barbecue in relation to the three constructs. Aligning themes that were discovered with the constructs allowed for an interpretation "within the social, historical, and political context of the discourse(s) under consideration" in order to determine obstacles to addressing the social wrong of the historic absence of voice in Southern food discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 55).

Through application of the DRA, barbecue was revealed as a symbolic and communicative object of understanding tensions related to the DMFC constructs. Thus, while barbecue communicates community and cultural identity, discursive spaces must be created through holistic critical approaches that allow for inclusion where misrepresentations have occurred. When attention is drawn to or acknowledgement is made of a social wrong, through a holistic examination of an aspect of food and culture such as barbecue, that in itself creates new discussions where voices can and are heard.

Race was not operationalized for specified analysis in the objectives. However, race *is* the practice of heritage and power. Therefore, the differing racial perspectives of the actors provided relevance to substantiate a need to identify who is missing in the

established discursive spaces. The findings suggest a need to delve deeper into the dialectic between the three constructs as it relates to the perspectives shown by the actors, such as those represented in this study. Moreover, barriers to equitable representation in print media also exist in food and culture discourse (Lindenfeld, 2011; Miller, 2021). Analysis of the discourse of barbecue in the Eastern Carolinas showed that finances operated as both a barrier and as motivation, thus presenting a dialectic. Therefore, while cookbooks and entrepreneurial spaces such as restaurants are avenues that can allow for inclusive discourse, future application of the DMFC in using the DRA could examine socioeconomic and social equality obstacles in consideration of these areas.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Food is a performative and symbolic way of expressing and constructing identity (German, 2011; Holtzman, 2006). As a representation of identity, food cultures (and thus foodways) evolve as a result of what is accessible and available (Jacobsen, 2004). This is often determined by more than what is subject to natural environmental factors, but to the social, political, and economic bounds that affect obtainability. Further, the cultural role of food within foodways is associated with community members' perceptions and acceptability (Lefler, 2013). However, an increase in abandonment of food traditions and knowledge of foodways has dictated the need for awareness and understanding of food and its relationship to culture (Alonso & O'Neill, 2012).

The connection between food and culture is not only multifaceted, but the study of this relationship is interdisciplinary, approached from various fields within the humanities, agricultural sciences, and social sciences (Kittler et al., 2012; Miller & Deutsch, 2009; Rhoades & Booth, 1982). Therefore, this dissertation was as complex as the study of food and culture. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was established as the methodology. The *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) was developed to be substantiated using CDA to draw an understanding of the communicative role of food in Southern culture. Two approaches to CDA, the discourse historical approach (DHA) and

the dialectical-relational approach (DRA), were tested against the DMFC. In this study of Southern food culture, both the DHA and the DRA remained two distinct and suggested approaches applied to the DMFC, each framed through research questions used for the analysis of selected data sources, and analyzed using the systematic method of triangulation.

Across the articles that were presented in this dissertation, barbecue as a cuisine central to the culinary identity of the eastern regions of North Carolina and South Carolina was positioned as the lens of inquiry. Analysis of the complexities between and within the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* of the DMFC provided a foundation for the creation of formative discursive spaces around food and culture for the understanding of food in a Southern food culture context.

Synopsis of Chapters III, IV, and V

Chapter III (Article 1): The Dynamic Model of Food and Culture: A framework for analyzing food as a critical component of culture

The *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) was presented as the conceptual framework and model for understanding the relationship between food and culture. The DMFC was developed due to an absence in the literature of the contested and dialectical relationship that exists between and within three separate yet interrelated constructs: *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. The three constructs are operationalized as follows: *Heritage* is the origin of the food, cuisine, and culture of inquiry, as well as the manifestation of foodways. *Practice* is the representation or interpretation of food within, as an aspect of, or adjacent to, a culture. *Power* refers to the structural, systematic, and

evocative forces that influence material and immaterial aspects of food and culture. Each construct of the DMFC exists as an area for analysis of discourse in understanding food as a critical component of culture; through this analysis of discourse and understanding, each of these constructs provides for the formation of discursive spaces.

A synthesis of theories informed the development of the conceptual framework. The Culture Centered Approach (Dutta, 2008) guided the framework as it relates to creating structural discursive spaces for the demonstration of agency among community members. Cultural Identity Theory situated the framework in a communications and multicultural position in relation to the cultural influences on identity formation (Collier, 1988). Diffusion of Innovations (Rogers, 2003) was used to guide this study as related to the perceived attributes of an innovation, coupled with the personal characteristics of the individual, resulting in the impact of its adoption. Collectively, they were used to build a model to examine the relationship and tensions that exist among *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* for understanding food and culture. Applicability of the model regarding Southern food culture was tested through its juxtaposition with two separate approaches to critical discourse analysis, each demonstrated in their respective chapters (DMFC + DHA in article 2; and DMFC + DRA in article 3).

Chapter IV (Article 2): A whole hog historical approach to understanding Southern food culture: Critical discourse analysis and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture

The discourse historical approach (DHA) was applied in conjunction with the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) in Chapter IV to provide a structured

method for the analysis of how barbecue in Southern food culture has been historically discussed in selected literature, as related to the modeled constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. The purpose of the study was to demonstrate the application of the DHA, an interdisciplinary approach of discourse analysis to reveal social problems, with the DMFC in the study of food and culture, thereby substantiating a new framework in the field of critical food studies (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). In examination of six texts, what was historically shared in discourse was analyzed through application of the discursive strategy of perspectivation. Themes were established abductively, allowing for dialectic tensions between and within the constructs of the DMFC to be discovered. Through this integrated application of the DHA and the DMFC, barbecue in eastern North Carolina and South Carolina was revealed as a symbolic and communicative object in understanding the tensions related to the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*. A need was thus delineated for application of this critical approach to the study of food and culture in providing future spaces for discourse.

Chapter V (Article 3): Can you hear me now? The dialectical-relational approach and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture in analysis of Southern food culture

The dialectical-relational approach (DRA) was applied in conjunction with the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) in to analyze the dialectical relationships between and/or within the modeled constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice* as barbecue in eastern North Carolina and South Carolina was centered as the topic of inquiry. The purpose was to demonstrate the application of the DRA with the DMFC in the study of food and culture to validate the model in the field of critical food studies.

Qualitative textual, intertextual, and interdiscursive analysis of the transcripts of three *charlas culinarias* with pitmasters, observational field notes from four barbecue restaurants, and the text of the cookbooks by two pitmasters, was performed (Abarca, 2007; Fairclough, 2016; Fürsich, 2014). Topics germane to the approach were identified as obstacles to addressing the social wrong – the research topic pointed to a communicative void or absence of voice existing in Southern food culture. Through abductive thematic coding, predominate themes were discovered, revealing tensions between and within the three constructs of the DMFC. Unveiling these relationships demonstrated how the cultural aspects of barbecue communicate community and cultural identity, while also dialectically challenging historic knowledge as Southern food and culture are diametrically represented and interpreted in modern society.

Limitations

Post-hoc, it is more clearly evident that a multifaceted approach for analysis of discourse has been missing in the study of food and culture. As a result of the parameters established for the purposes of this research, a holistic model is thus needed in the study of food and culture. While the limitations of the study as it was underway included face-to-face (in-person verses Zoom) engagement with subjects, constraints to observations of restaurants in South Carolina, and the length of time the two approaches to discourse analysis were employed, these could be reduced in the future through a more extensive and broader study to provide for generalizability.

Whereas the aspects related to heritage and power could be realized in the conversations I had with pitmasters, practice was realized verbally through dialogue in

the absence of observation (visual assessment of practice) of barbecue restaurants in South Carolina. Additionally, some of my choices as a researcher (and participant-researcher during observations) of visible, popular, well-known texts and locations could reinforce the communicative void since this study further provided for illumination in a space of discourse of the selected data sources.

Implications and Future Recommendations

Implications for the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture

Implications include the proposal of the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* as a new framework for analysis of food and culture discourse. The interconnectivity between food and culture can thus be determined using paradigmatic methodologies such as critical discourse analysis (CDA) with the DMFC (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016; Fairclough, 2016). While the use of DHA provides for how the phenomena of food culture has been historically examined, the use of DRA examines contemporary participant discourse created around the semiotics of food culture (Fairclough, 2016). The use of the DMFC in conjunction with the DHA and the DRA could allow for a novel methodology that considers discourse from a historical approach, but also simultaneously and dialectically through the current discourse of the research topic. As such, examination of the interactions between and within the constructs of the model substantiates the dynamic and dialectical nature of food as a critical component of culture.

This use of a combined critical discourse approach in this new methodology is further substantiated by the Jahed et al. (2014) analysis of a synthesis of the DRA, the DHA, and the socio-cognitive approach; all three approaches are central to CDA. That

study found “that a combination of these three approaches can be useful to critical analysis of texts” (Jahed et al., 2014, p. 28). Application of the model serves to provide for an expansion of cultural awareness using food as a medium of communication, and a conduit of unity. Therefore, from the application of the two approaches to critical discourse analysis (DHA and DRA) to the DMFC, the “Critical Approach to Food Exploration” (CAFE) can be established, offering an innovative methodology for examining food and culture in domestic and international contexts.

Future Recommendations

By analyzing the contested intersections that exist between, and within, the constructs of *Heritage*, *Power*, and *Practice*, an examination of how each construct is sustained in the dialectic can be assumed to create spaces of discourse, while concurrently providing for cultural consciousness in the understanding of food and its relationship to culture. As such, recommendations for future research and application of the *Dynamic Model of Food and Culture* (DMFC) are offered to areas extending beyond those provided in Chapter III, Chapter IV, and Chapter V of this dissertation.

(1) Application of the DMFC for enhancing both Community Engaged Research (CEnR) and Extension partnerships for social impact.

University researchers and educators have increased engagement with community-based partners and opinion leaders in dissemination efforts and deployment strategies of agricultural innovations to mitigate food scarcity as the global food crisis draws nearer to reaching a critical juncture (FAO, 2021; Oleas et al., 2010; Strong & Harder, 2011). A longstanding perception of biological scientists is that the research they

are doing is "*about a problem* from a distance, not research to *solve a problem*" (Rhoades et al., 1980, as cited in Rhoades & Booth, 1982, p. 129). However, social scientists are often more equipped to interpret cultural behavior. As such, agricultural and food innovations should be viewed as both a technological and socio-economic endeavor, requiring interdisciplinary approaches and perspectives (Rhoades & Booth, 1982). However, in the absence of acknowledgement of the community needs due to "insufficient capacities," the very institutions including Extension "whose mission it is to support changes can become barriers to innovation" (Knickel et al., 2009, p. 131).

Though Extension works to provide research-based solutions to the communities with which it is engaged, often hegemonic and/or monocular approaches to solving issues are followed. For example, I recently engaged with an Extension volunteer who shared that cultural needs were being accounted for as culturally relevant plants were being grown in a particular community garden in their county. However, when asked who determined what should be planted, the volunteer replied that they, the volunteer, had made this determination based on their own knowledge of herbs used in the cuisine of those utilizing the community garden as related to what grows in the region. The suggestion was thus made that the volunteer should ask the community what they wanted to be planted rather than basing the foundation of the garden on personal assumptions. Otherwise, we must consider if efforts such as these are in actuality doing our audiences a disservice when a top-down approach (while possibility not intentional) does not account for culture (Knowles et al., 2005). Therefore, Extension faculty and volunteers should account for cultural needs to shift conversations and discourse in approaches to

programmatic efforts via engaging with clients to establish change; this change is thus initiated from the community (clients) rather than through a status-quo and hegemonic approach.

Future recommendations also include application of the DMFC for enhancing both community-engaged research (CEnR) and Extension partnerships and efforts, whereby there is a leveraging of social sciences in conjunction with public and private industry for social impact. By situating agricultural and/or food-based innovations into each construct, a discursive space can be formed to bring forth awareness of cultural benefits, notwithstanding previous community acceptance and adoption in relation to food culture and heritage. Thus, application of the DMFC provides the foundation for introducing innovations through land grant university research-based organizations such as Extension in an international context for understanding food and culture. Moreover, through its application, the interdependent components of food and culture can be examined in community-engaged research contexts, creating a dynamic cycle of trust and symbiotic exchange of knowledge that fosters cultural competency.

(2) Application of the DMFC to close the gap that exists in globally expansive cultural implications of post-humanistic modernization.

De Olde and Valentinov (2019) argue a paradox has occurred where corporate social responsibility initiatives (CSR), originally meant to link agriculture and society, have instead led to divergences. This issue of "moral complexity" has arisen with agricultural modernization, leading to suppressing economic and legal institutions in being socially and environmentally responsive (De Olde & Valentinov, 2019, p. 413). As

a result, a paradox and imbalance exist among food movements, agricultural knowledge, and marginalized communities around the world (Giménez & Shattuck, 2011). While environmental and social impacts of agricultural innovations have been studied in tandem (De Olde & Valentinov, 2019; Swanson, 2006), a gap exists in understanding the cultural and heritage implications of modernization. Thus, there is a missing link between communicating and adoption of food-based innovations, specifically in a cultural context, dampening the spaces that exist for formative, emancipative discourse. The DMFC could be applied to emphasize the relationship between modernization and preservation of food and culture.

(3) Comparative analysis of diffusion process models for communicating agricultural innovations, or specified aspect(s) of food and culture, with the DMFC.

Recommendations also include future research that comparatively analyzes traditional models of diffusion and adoption, such as Roger's (2003) Diffusions of Innovations, with the DMFC for communication in areas extending to food studies, agricultural sciences, and social sciences. In such future research, the DMFC can be compared to traditional linear models to examine an emphasized relationship between adoption (of agricultural innovations) and preservation (of food and culture), especially where historical and cultural norms are so strong. This could serve to critique what has been misunderstood in the relationship between innovation and adoption from a cultural perspective.

(4) Application of the DMFC for analysis of food and culture relative to socio-economic progress and diplomatic relations.

Finally, while the commodification of culture could be deemed counter to a preservation of food heritage, the implications, as expressed in the literature and in this study, are viewed by some as positive for economic development and cultural acknowledgement. Future application of the DMFC for analysis of food and culture relative to socio-economic progress while considering cultural acknowledgement is warranted. Moreover, the concept of "culinary diplomacy" suggests that food possesses an innate power in bridging cultural divides (Chapple-Sokol, 2021). Thus, additional application of the DMFC could provide for the creation of diplomatic relationships through a well-defined understanding of food and culture.

Reflexivity Statement

Communicating Food as an Aspect of Cultural Identity

The first time I left eastern North Carolina after graduating high school, I felt much like something I was told by a friend and food scholar recently. They said, "When you grew up in a culture, you take it for granted. When you leave the culture, you realize something special." Consideration of the paths that were not yet taken in relation to who I was, thought I was, or had the potential to be, provided knowledge of what was to be explored in the future. I began to realize from the moment I spent a considerable amount of time outside of the geographical bounds of the culture that the answer to what it means to be a Southerner and what defines Southern food are as varied and conflicted as the region's past (Griffin et al., 2005). Thus, understanding the relationship between food and culture that exists ahead of us, as well as that which is in our presence, is often best found through dynamic and retrospective analysis.

As a researcher in my position, I was able to look beyond an absolute binary of "the other" and "the same" to understand that my position to the subject was often dialectically situated due to race and gender, but also a paradox because of my familiarity with barbecue and heritage of the place where the study was conducted. "The other" and "the same" is detailed by Benson and O'Neill (2007) as the terms relate to ethnographic fieldwork and Levinas's philosophy (p. 32). "What defines this other person is absolute otherness. There is something about the other than cannot be synthesized like any other object, something that eludes the understanding of the self" (Benson & O'Neill, 2007, p. 32). The *same* is everything that can be understood, but perhaps only due to its relationship to one's *otherness*. This *otherness* creates ambiguity in the researcher as they place themselves in face-to-face encounters for field work. Thus, the DMFC applied with CDA in understanding barbecue as communicative aspect of Southern food culture, in all its complexity (both the subject and the framework), made sense in understanding my position as a "cultural-critical" scholar and researcher, existing simultaneously as both *the other* and *the same* (Benson & O'Neill, 2007; Fürsich, 2014).

"Everything it takes to defeat injustice lies in the mind. So, what matters most is how we think" (Dorling, 2010, p. 320). I think that because of what I will now reflexively operationalize as a *past-present-future dialectical thought process* that I held throughout the dissertation study, my positionality regarding the topic of inquiry remained in focus. Despite where I am in this world enjoying barbecue, acknowledging and understanding food as a communicative aspect of culture will forever provide me with a feeling of "in my mind I've gone to Carolina." That is the evocative power of food, whether it is

vinegar-based barbecue, giving rise to memories from one's childhood at their grandmother's house on the Carolina coast to be reimagined, or any other culturally significant dish that ignites feelings of gustatory nostalgia (Holtzman, 2006).

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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

TYPE OF REVIEW – EXEMPTION FROM IRB REVIEW DETERMINATION

****RE-ISSUE DATE:** **April 29, 2022**
Determination Date: March 03, 2022

IRB ID: 9783-ABorron

Protocol: Examination of Southern Food Heritage Preservation Using Dialectical-Relational Approach

Sponsor: University of Georgia

Principal Investigator: Abigail Borron, PhD

****This letter was re-issued to update the PI's name to the correct individual.**

Sterling IRB is in receipt of submission materials for the above-referenced study.

Items Reviewed:

- Exemption or Non-Human Subjects Research Determination Request
- IRB Consent Form no sign 2022
- IRB Interview Guide 2022 (1)
- IRB Observation Guide 2022 (1)
- IRB Recruitment Email 2022
- Research Protocol

Based on the information available to the IRB, the Sterling IRB Chairman (or designee) has determined that:

The above-listed study is exempt from IRB review pursuant to the terms of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Service's Policy for Protection of Human Research Subjects at 45 C.F.R. §46.104(d).

Sterling IRB has determined that the following exemption category(ies) applies:

- Category 2 Exemption (DHHS)

Sterling IRB's exemption determination is based on the study-related information available to Sterling IRB as of the determination date listed above. Should any changes be made to the study subsequent to Sterling IRB's determination, this determination is no longer applicable.

As the project applicant you are responsible for following all policies of Sterling IRB as described in the Exemption or Non-Human Subjects Research Determination Request Submission Agreement which you accepted with project submission. It is your responsibility to ensure this project is conducted in accordance with applicable regulations (local, state and federal) as well as any requirements established by the IRB at the time of the review determination. Refer to the Investigator Handbook at www.sterlingirb.com for details of these responsibilities.

The Board will be apprised of this determination.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Guide for Semi-structured Individual Interviews

(*charlas culinarias* – Zoom and in person)

Can you hear me now? The dialectical-relational approach and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture in analysis of Southern food culture

Introduction:

Thank you for taking the time to contribute my graduate research as I work towards completing my PhD in Agricultural Science Communication.

In this interview, I am interested in learning and understanding your experiences in relation to food heritage preservation. My research includes understanding:

1. How does food communicate community and cultural identity?

2. Can the creation of discursive spaces around the cultural aspects of barbecue through heritage preservation challenge historic knowledge?

Today I will ask you a few questions regarding Southern food and culture, heritage, and barbecue. The interview should only last 60 to 90 minutes. If there is any question you do wish to answer, you do not have to – there is no obligation. If you wish to stop the interview at any time, you may do so – just let me know you do not wish to proceed. Also, if at any time during the interview you need to take a break, please let me know. Do you have any questions or concerns before we get started?

Interview Questions:

1. How would you describe Southern food?
2. What's an experience you have with Southern food?
3. What does the word barbecue mean to you?
4. What is a memory you have from your childhood about food?
5. How are these traditions maintained in your life today?
6. How do you feel when your food culture is misrepresented?
7. What do you think should be done about instances when a reference is made or representation is presented of a particular food from your culture to be, and it is

subsequently attributed to your culture, but yet you do not think it's not a true representation of your culture?

a. What should it be referred to as?

Conclusion:

What other experiences or thoughts have you not yet shared that you had planned to, or would like to?

Thank you so much for participating today!

END

APPENDIX C

OBSERVATION GUIDE

Observation Guide

Can you hear me now? The dialectical-relational approach and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture in Analysis of Southern food culture

Observations will take place at barbecue restaurants in Eastern North Carolina.
The research questions for the overall DRA study and those that are asked in the semi-structured interview (detailed below) are kept in mind and used to frame the encounter as the researcher observes the space and those within it (positioning themselves as a participant-researcher).

Jottings, expanded field notes, and a reflexive memo are included to be included for observations.

The research is intended to determine the following:

1. How does food communicate community and cultural identity?
2. Can the creation of discursive spaces around the cultural aspects of barbecue through heritage preservation challenge historic knowledge?

Interview Questions:

1. How would you describe Southern food?
2. What's an experience you have with Southern food?
3. What does the word barbecue mean to you?
4. What is a memory you have from your childhood about food?
5. How are these traditions maintained in your life today?
6. How do you feel when your food culture is misrepresented?
7. What do you think should be done about instances when a reference is made or representation is presented of a particular food from your culture to be, and it is subsequently attributed to your culture, but yet you do not think it's not a true representation of your culture?
    a. What should it be referred to as?

APPENDIX D

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Study Recruitment Email

Dear xxxxxxx,

I am a PhD Candidate at the University of Georgia in the Department of Agricultural Leadership, Education and Communication. I am working on my dissertation and conducting a study entitled, "Can you hear me now? The dialectical-relational approach and the Dynamic Model of Food and Culture in analysis of Southern food culture."

You are deemed a leader in barbecue culture. I am writing to see if you would be willing to participate in an oral interview that would inform this study, which for me, would be an incredible honor.

I consider that "barbecue" is used as a medium of communication, and in some ways, a conduit of unity. Therefore, the purpose of the overall study is to examine how this culturally significant dish in Southern food culture, originated in the Eastern part of the Carolinas, and the significance it has as it relates to sharing history and heritage, current cultural practices, and social, political, and economic power.

As I know you are busy and your time is extremely valuable, I am more than willing to meet you a location that is most convenient for you to conduct the interview.

Alternatively, due to time, location, and other factors, the interview could be conducted via Zoom or another technology application. The interview will take approximately 60 to 90 minutes.

Thank you for all you do in the barbecue world, and for taking the time to consider my research.

Kindest regards,

Barbara Worley

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE FIELD NOTES

[redacted] Barbecue – May 26, 2022 – Goldsboro, NC – 5:45PM

Upon arriving with my father, the parking lot was busy with cars picking up to-go orders from a drive- under a large white tent. Before pulling into the lot or even opening the car doors, the smell of wood smoke used to prepare the barbecue permeated the interior of the car. I found a parking spot right in front of the restaurant which made it easy for my father to get out and have access for entry. My father and I then made our way up the long, slopped ramp to the doors of the restaurant, still having the same appearance of decades of wear and lacking modernization on the exterior.

As we walked in, a counter style bar with approximately six stools was immediately in front of us. To the left of the bar was a buffet (though nothing was on it as it appeared the buffet was only offered perhaps during certain hours or days). The wait staff were all dressed in [redacted] t-shirts in various colors, printed with a design reminiscent of a baseball jersey on the front. My father and I were greeted by a woman in a [redacted] t-shirt who said, "sit wherever you'd like."

We found a seat to the left in the restaurant and seated ourselves at a wooden take with upright wooden chairs. The table was covered in a red checkered pattern plastic tablecloth. Bottles of Texas Pete (a native NC product) and [redacted] own barbecue sauce were on the table towards the wall. A small stand up sign listed the offering of a few domestic bottled beers. On the restaurant's barbecue sauce bottle is a recipe for turkey barbecue. The sound of "oldies" from the 1960's was playing through the restaurant's speakers. Golf was being shown on the large TV hanging behind the bar.

The interior was a juxtaposition of new and old, featuring updated décor and remodeling to look rustic (including new tin paneling on the front of the bar) within the old original space where the restaurant began in 1962. A chalkboard with drawn designs of menu items and agricultural items (such as a cartoon-like hog) hung on the wall behind the buffet. Photos of farm scenes and family were hung purposely on the walls. The floor looked original and was titled with large burgundy and white alternating laminate tiles. The wood paneling on the walls also appeared to be original. Large exposed wooden beams ran across the length of the ceiling with newly remodeled chandeliers. A large "Got to be NC" agriculture sign rested on the floor against the buffet closest to where we were sitting. Behind the bar were small windows into the kitchen, and a door where the wait staff were in a steady ebb and flow motion through its doors.

Immediately after taking a seat, a friendly and talkative woman in a light blue [redacted] t-shirt came to our table to take our order. Referring to me as "shug" and "hon", she exclaimed that the special of the day was "barbecue beef, fresh rutabagas, and sweet potatoes." The feature of "BBQ Beef" was in fact listed as a "Daily Feature" on the printed paper menu. As the waitress was at our table, I started taking notes. She looked at me in a puzzled way, and I then told her what I was doing. Expressing excitement that I would be researching 'barbecue', she asked

where I was from and where I grew up, and then said that I could keep the menu. As my father and I looked over the menu, the sound of the waitress could be heard exclaiming “come on in, sit wherever you want” as a family walked in the door.

The menu contained an item I had never seen served together – hush puppies with chicken gravy. These hush puppies were served complementary to the table. My father ordered a barbecue sandwich with slaw and a sweet tea. I ordered a barbecue plate with coleslaw and fried okra with a diet coke. The barbecue was chopped, with pieces of crackling showing through the pork. The slaw was finely chopped cabbage and slightly sweet.

As we ate, I noticed that the restaurant lacked diversity in its patrons and waitstaff. Two of the servers, both female, appeared to be Black. The remaining all appeared to be White. All of the patrons (approximately 20 in total) in the restaurant dining also appeared to be White and were predominately comprised of older couples and also families; all of the patrons were dressed very casually. I did notice a few Black patrons in the cars in the drive-up line.

As we finished our barbecue, the server came back, inquiring how we liked our meals. “Awesome” I told her and asked what dessert she preferred? “Pecan pie or carrot cake?”. She responded that all of the desserts were baked daily in house, so I opted for the carrot cake. A few minutes later she returned to tell me that they were out of carrot cake, so I got the pecan pie. It was gooey and delightful. Just as I know and expect pecan pie to be, and that that I have always had from my childhood.

“Can I get y’all anything else?” the server asked as she refilled my diet coke and my father’s sweet tea. “I would love to buy a bottle of sauce!” I exclaimed, noticing that patrons can purchase item’s from “[redacted] Shop” (as listed on the menu).

My father and I paid through a digital credit card machine that the server brought to the table. She returned with the sauce I purchased, brought me another paper menu “in case the first one had gotten messed up” she said, and wished me luck in my research. I picked up the menu and receipts to keep as artifacts. As we left the restaurant, I noticed the [redacted] sauce and the same t-shirts that the wait staff wear are for sale at a register near the exit.

Themes/Highlights:

Smell of wood smoke
Friendly server
Lack of diversity in staff and clientele
Items for sale (sauce, t-shirts)
Variety of menu items – special of the day
Unfamiliar with chicken gravy that was with hushpuppies
Photos of farm scenes
Original building lacking modernization
Casual dress of patrons
“Where are you from?”
Full parking lot
Ramp to front door for accessibility

APPENDIX F

SAMPLE PROCESSES OF DATA ANALYSIS

Sample Processes for Data Analysis (DRA+DMFC – Chapter V)

Transcript of Howard Conyers, PhD - December 8, 2022; transcription was processed via Otter.ai on December 9, 2022

Abductive thematic coding process was employed according to DMFC Constructs of *Heritage, Power*, and *Practice*

Deductive

Code 1: highlight phrases in transcript accordingly to defined DMFC constructs.

Code 2: Research then cleans transcript to only show participant voice. Using guiding construct questions, Past-present-future words/phrases that point to >> Food & culture topics are bolded and color highlighted.

Inductive

Code 3: Code 2 words/phrases are organized under DMFC constructs to arrive at themes across data sets. Themes are then organized/established.

EXAMPLE (Code 1):

Fri, Dec 09, 2022 8:29AM • 1:03:31

SUMMARY KEYWORDS

barbecue, people, culture, food, cooking, cook, year, whole hog, grew, hog, book, community, South Carolina, questions, North Carolina, talk, pit, Black, wrote, White

Barbara Worley
What did you grow up eating? What was your what was one of your favorite childhood memories of something that you grew up eating?

Howard Conyers
And the items that I just listed were the things that I probably enjoyed the most: simple Queen corn is probably one of the favorite things from the garden. Okra. Typically this type of corn. Sweet potatoes from a family grown on the farm was

another thing. But different preparation that they'd always candy out there could have been baked. They could have been kind of like pan fried. But bacon was a really simple preparation that we had a lot. A lot of almost like it was a snack on the table. Yeah. Of course, we enjoy barbecue as a dish. But that wasn't an everyday dish. And when I talked about barbecue for me and my culture barbecue to me was whole hog. It wasn't a rib, it wasn't a chicken. It wasn't a turkey, it wasn't a brisket, it was always whole hog. And it was understood to be whole hog cooked over wood over a pit, or it ended up in a device called a pit.

Barbara Worley
And, that actually moves on to that next question I was going to ask is, so when you think about the word barbecue, what does what did it mean to you and what, what does it mean to you and, and even beyond, and think you could think about it in terms of beyond, you know, what you just operationalized it as you know, noun versus verb, but, you know, what does, what does it mean to you.

Howard Conyers
I mean, barbecue was whole hog barbecue also was a thing to bring the family together. Also the community together, it's sometimes the church, I know, I did operate barbecue, I wasn't in a barbecue restaurant business I was in. I grew up in a barbecue culture and a community that practice whole hog barbecue continuously through slavery, going back into slavery, where people were cooking hogs in the ground up until like the 70s, early 80s. My father last cooked them in the ground in open pit in the ground in the 70s. But the technique that I used was, when I started cooking in the 80s, I wasn't cooking them in the ground, I will cook them and cook them on a whole refrigerator pit. And then my father was a welder. So he started fabricating pits in the late, late 80s, early 90s. Out of steel, just they were just one of those things, but it was always whole hog. We usually some most of the times as a child, we will kill the hog. We bring them from the pen or we'll go get it from another farmer if we didn't have one to a size that was appropriate for barbecue. And we will do the whole slaughter process up until eating. We go from we'll go from live animal 24 hours to eat and the next the next day.

EXAMPLE (Code 2):

Howard Conyers 06:14
I **grew up in a barbecue culture** and **a community** that **practice whole hog barbecue** **continuously through slavery, going back** into slavery, where people **were cooking** hogs in the ground **up until** like the 70s, early 80s.

Howard Conyers 08:02
And we all kind of **participate in the same ritual**.

Howard Conyers 09:57
Yeah, I mean, like even some of the dishes we ate at the barbecue we couldn't, **just no way you could get some of the dishes I ate growing up today. Growing up** like we'd do something called barbecue hash. And the hash I had was called liver likes hash, which **we can't get** likes, because likes is the lungs.

Howard Conyers 11:20
I mean, I will say like the dish **still exists**, but you're **not going to see it in a restaurant**.

Howard Conyers 11:26
You only go see it within a **family or community who still practicing it**.

Howard Conyers 11:31
But what has probably been even more detrimental besides **regulation** is just a number of **people who still farming** it what I mean by that, like, I honestly, I'm probably about a five-mile radius two to five-mile radius of my house, I probably knew 20 families who cooked hogs. It wasn't nothing to find whole hogs barbecuing just one weekend, in the **community that I grew up in**, yeah, what was my family, my neighbors' family, two miles down half a mile.

Howard Conyers 12:06
It was just what it was that one thing that like would **bring people together**.

Howard Conyers 13:31
the **topics** could change in any given moment. It was a **mentoring** kind of session.

Howard Conyers 13:45
Sometimes like the **smell of certain things**, or somebody may come up and they may have a **flashback** to a **certain memory** and they say, Oh, **you remember** such and such *kilt* this hog or **cooked us hog** or you hear about somebody like **legendary**, like barbecue cooks in **your community**.

Example (Code 3):

Heritage grew up/growing up in barbecue culture; community; cooking/cooked; legendary

Power slavery; regulation; people still farming; bring people together**;** topics; mentoring; smell; flashback; memory; you remember

Practice participate in the same ritual; practice continuously; can't get today; exists/not in a restaurant; family/community still practicing it