The Discursive Construction of Class and Lifestyle

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The Discursive Construction of Class and Lifestyle
Celebrity chef cookbooks in post-socialist Slovenia
by Ana Tominc

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Celebrity chef cookbooks in post-socialist Slovenia

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To Mr J.

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Ana Tominc
Edinburgh, May 2017

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Preword

Sociolinguistics of the Slovene language – a very brief introduction

The analysis in this book concerns Slovene (or Slovenian), a language of 2.5 million speakers, which is spoken as the official (majority) language in the Republic of Slovenia; in Italy, Austria and Hungary as a minority language and in countries where Slovene speakers have migrated through the last centuries. The aim of this preword is to introduce especially to readers not familiar with the linguistics of the Slovene language, features of the language's social context, history and policy as background crucial for the understanding of the transformation discussed in this monograph, in particular the relationship between the standard language, its written norm and until recently, the use of non-standardised variants in printed form.

Unlike some other standard European languages, which were created by mainly relying on one (central) dialect, standard written Slovene did not arise out of a single dialect, but was rather constructed "practically *ex-nihilo*" (Rotar 2007: 186) using elements of various dialects with a base on the central Ljubljana/Laibach speech of the time. This was the result of various processes, among them the diversity of Slovene dialects and their subordinate relationship to symbolically more powerful languages such as German and Italian. Although among the smaller languages, Slovene has fifty dialects that can be grouped into eight dialectal groups (Toporišič 2000: 23), a feature which historically influenced the level of cross-dialectal communication, rendering the development of the standard somewhat delayed. An even more important influence was the diglossic relationship of the Slovene dialects towards other languages, spoken in the Austrian Empire, such as the official German (*cf.* Rindler-Schjerve 2003).

From the 16th century on, various versions of spoken Slovene started to appear in print, first during the Reformation through the translations of religious texts, although everyday texts, such as in the areas of midwifery, cooking and agriculture, were only Slovenised at the end of 18th century, during the Enlightenment. At the time, as the Slovene historian Rotar (2007: 181) observes, the Slovene linguistic landscape was still nothing but multilingual, as was characteristic for the majority of the towns in Austria, which most of the Slovene speaking lands belonged to until 1918:

> [l]anguages that were in use, were spoken simultaneously, although uses – of course, apart from the uses in families – were socially and functionally differentiated; these languages were Slovene (also called Windisch or Illyric or Slavonic), German and Italian/Furlan /…/, without taking into consideration an unknown number of fragmented idioms, that derived from the provincial late Latin. (Rotar 2007: 181)

The Slovene standard language (Skubic 2005: 209) was, however, well established by the mid-19th century when it acquired its central place as part of the Slovene nationalist movement and identity and as such, was also subjugated to purist attitudes (for more details of this process, see Orožen 1996). Due to this, the standard (written) language shows a certain degree of archaism and allows elements that cannot be found in the colloquial (spoken) language anymore (Herrity 2000: 1*ff*), for instance, elements from Old Church Slavonic and other Slavonic languages, such as Polish, Czech, and Croatian which were deemed more appropriate than their German, Italian, Hungarian, Friulian and other language equivalents that were (are) source languages for a significant proportion of the vocabulary found in Slovene dialects to date (see Klemenčič 2010). The aim was to create, as Savski (forthcoming) finds in his analysis of the relationship between the establishment of Slovene monolingualism and class through history, an elaborated and relatively homogeneous code, one which was indeed supradialectal, but one which was also distant from the vernaculars spoken by the vast majority of the population.

The process of Slovene language standardisation demonstrates a level of purism and prescriptivism which have remained characteristic of Slovene language policy until recently (*ibid.*; Thomas 1997). Supported by the media and the intellectual establishment (*e.g.* through media language advice, for example, see Scuteri (2015) and Luthar (1992: 179) for television language, as well as various language manuals, *cf.* Verovnik (2004)), standard Slovene was used in all written communication from the mid-19th century on, although a more colloquial variant of Slovene was also developed in the postwar period, a development which could also have been a result of postwar internal migrations (Lenček 1976: 136). In general, the process was similar to what is also known as "dialect levelling" (*cf.* Auer *et al.* 2005), where the new supradialectal standard avoided dialectal features, while still retaining some components of the contemporary spoken language, like vowel reduction, loss of the dual case, the merger of the infinitive and the supine to name just the most frequent ones.

Even while the restrictions in the spoken norm have been somehow stretching to accommodate the dialectal, regional phonological and vocabulary characteristics, the written norm, especially in publishing, remains controlled by the so called *lektors*, kind of language editors, linguistically trained professionals that normally "correct" any written text before it is published. As Verovnik (2005: 135–136)

explains, this profession was established after the Second World War, when the previous, politically problematic writers were removed and the journalists that replaced them were not sufficiently linguistically trained, causing the language standards of the media to drop. The language editors, who on the other hand were linguists, were supposed to help the journalists until their knowledge of the language improved; however, the temporary solution became permanent. The use of such language professionals remains firmly established especially in publishing and represents a problem, as Vitez (2009) argues, because interventions such as these raise issues of voice, and, to an extent, also provoke questions of authorship, especially since often authors do not feel empowered enough to reject language changes. This has been well demonstrated in the study, conducted recently among Slovene journalists, which shows that journalists in fact do not perceive language to be their concern and responsibility, since they leave it to the *lektors* who are expected not only to advise on the better use of language but are sometimes also supposed to notice and improve language negligence (*e.g.* of rules and style) (Červ and Logar Berginc 2009). The alternative – publishing without the intervention of language editors – might on the other hand result in a poorer language standard, including a significant number of foreign words (*e.g.* Serbo-Croatisms or Anglicisms, depending on the socio-political environment) which given the influence of the media on general language use may not be a desirable outcome (Kalin Golob and Jelovšek 2009).

Such prescriptivism, where professionals correct any non-standard or stylistically inappropriate language use, means that it was uncommon until recently to see dialectal – or other non-standard uses – in written Slovene. With the exception of literature which "remained a space of language freedom", as Stabej (2008: 13) puts it, other forms of language remained "hidden" from everyday written uses.[1] With the access to online media, when language users were able to publish texts in forms of blogs or comment on forums, the Slovene linguistic landscape while seeming to remain prescriptivist with a tendency to normative and purist public language use, did somewhat loosen up, as much academic discussion related to the institutionalized proofreading demonstrates, but also other publications, such as the cookbooks analysed in this monograph prove.

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1. Such diglossia where language users constantly need to operate between a standard language and a more commonly used variant, is also common in some other languages, such as Czech (*e.g.* Neustupný and Nekvapil 2003).

Introduction

Construction of class and lifestyle through the lens of critical discourse analysis (CDA)

In recent decades, lifestyle discourses have increasingly occupied the mainstream media: sitting in front of TV screens, we are continuously being told where to spend our holidays, how much make-up to use, how to paint our living rooms and what to cook for dinner. Indulging in the pleasures of daydreaming that such programming offers, it is easy to overlook the absence of other programming that in turn we see less and less (Brunsdon 2003: 19): as topics, such as food, become stylized – and with that, it could be argued, trivialized – we increasingly become less of an engaged citizen and more of a consumer. Serious food-related issues, such as GM foods, obesity and world hunger, while addressed, are given less and less importance as deregulated global media corporations search for easy ways to increase profit and decrease cost (Miller 2007: 113–143). Through lifestyle media, at the same time cheap and popular, the consumer audience (that is, "we") lets itself be educated and entertained: educated in the art of contemporary living and entertained while watching others transform their own lives, a "vicarious pleasure", as Adema (2000: 113) notes in one of the first critical analyses of the trend.

But even though contemporary media position lifestyle as one of the central categories of today's interests, the concept of lifestyle itself is not new: contextualised first in the "consumer revolution" of the 19th century British middle classes, and the expansion of the British working classes as a consequence of their urbanisation (Bell and Hollows 2006: 6–8; McKendrick *et al.* 1982, in Featherstone 1995: 27), the idea of lifestyle emerges first, most prominently, in the writings of Veblen (2009 [1899]), who, writing about the 19th century US, demonstrated how the American "new rich" built their lifestyle through the conspicuous consumption of consumer goods and services in order to impress others. As a word, "style of life" was however first used by the Austrian psychiatrist Adler in order to describe constructs that define dynamics of personality. The term finally came into more general use in the 1980s as a response to rapidly changing consumer patterns, a broader social change that I will discuss further in Chapter 2.

The idea of lifestyle has been part of televised broadcasts (in as much as television itself was also part of lifestyle, *cf.* O'Sullivan 2005) from the beginning as

this new medium informed audiences about new consumer products through advertising and programmes advising on their use: cookery advice in particular, for example, was not only broadcast on BBC television from its start, but it had already appeared as part of BBC radio programming from 1923 on (Lyon and Ross 2016: 1).

As a concept, then, lifestyle can be defined in relationship to consumerist society where it functions as a differentiating factor between either individuals or social groups, between those that can afford and those that cannot, but primarily between those that are able to demonstrate through their appreciation of certain goods and use of services (that is, through displaying certain tastes) specific cultural capital through which we are able to draw symbolic boundaries (*i.e.* taste) that include and exclude groups and individuals, and through which– although unintentionally – we also create and recreate inequalities. As Lamont (1992: 12) argues, it is these symbolic boundaries that are

> an essential medium through which individuals acquire status, monopolise resources, ward off threats, or legitimate their social advantages, often in reference to superior lifestyle, habits, character, or competences.

Lifestyle – and with it, in and out-groups, such as class – are therefore constructed discursively. The central question of this monograph concerns how this is done through the representation of lifestyle and how such discourse is transformed as a consequence of the spread of the global media. The case study is based on the genre of cookbooks, first on standard cookbooks of the 1980s and 1990s in Slovene that anchor their expert advice on the ideology of scientific nutritionism, and then on the "celebrity" cookbooks of local Slovene celebrity chefs of the post 2000s which, much to the contrary, offer lifestyle advice through the "ordinariness" of celebrity endorsement. Contrasting these old and new style cookbooks, I aim to show, using the methodological apparatus of critical discourse analysis, how, through the construction of language style as lifestyle, representation of social actors and use of various perspectives, such lifestyle manuals not only construct and reflect the contemporary hegemonic representation of food as entertainment for the enjoyment of the middle classes, but also class-specific lifestyle. I show this through the example of Slovenia's post-socialist culinary transformations[1] through genre

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1. Transformation – rather than "transition" – is a concept widely used in anthropological literature related to post-socialism; the main critique of "transition" is its presupposition that "ex-socialist countries will go through a quick and efficient transformation into developed capitalist societies" (after Godina 2014: 102–104; with reference to Giordano and Kostova 2007; Mandel 2007; Hann 2007). Transformation, on the other hand, refers to the "reorganization of socialism" within specific local contexts and histories (*ibid*.). See also Galasińska and Krzyżanowski (2009) for an argument on this.

hybridization by examining the case of first, the translations of Jamie Oliver's The Naked Chef brand into Slovene, and second, of *Ljubezen skozi želodec* [Love through the Stomach], a popular Slovene cooking show that was broadcast on the Slovene private channel POPTV between 2009 and 2011, and its spin-offs, the celebrity cookbooks: A modern family cooking (2010), Following common sense (2011) and Simply Slovene (2012).

1.1   The focus

1.1.1   Class and lifestyle in post-socialist Slovenia: The TV cooking show Love through the Stomach

Jamie Oliver was as popular a celebrity chef in Slovenia as he was in Britain; be it entertaining or inspiring people to cook, he certainly left a trace in the Slovene post-socialist culinary – and even linguistic – landscape; even almost a decade later, when the initial Jamiephoria had calmed down, Vojnović (2009) writes in a newspaper column, discussing new trends in food consumption using *jamie* as a signifier for such a contemporary style of "manhood":

> The fruit and veg sellers in the market have a similar problem with hair-splitting jamies, who no longer simply read their wife's list of ingredients written on a piece of paper, but would like to – with the active participation of their favourite veg seller – improvisingly "collect" the best of her fruit and vegetables on offer in line with the recipe from their new Asian cookbook.

In this passage, Vojnović mockingly describes a new style of life which in the last decade has been particularly prevalent among the urban population in Slovenia and elsewhere around the world; often described as "foodie", this trend sees food as one of the most important aspects of one's identity as food and its consumption, focused on the sourcing of organic and local vegetables – preferably in a farmer's market – become the central concern of an individual's life.[2] Johnston and Baumann (2015: 50), who discuss its often contested use, once as a snobbish trend-setting elite signifier, and on other occasions also as a term that rejects this very elitism, suggest that ultimately "foodie" describes someone who "love[s] good food, and who want[s] to learn about good food."

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2. Another such example is the Slovene actor Klemen Slakonja's enactment of Oliver's 30 minute meals in his series where he parodies famous personalities for the show *Zadetek v petek*. He picks on Oliver's British accent, use of hands in cooking and Oliver's dynamism while cooking. With him in the studio is Bojan Emeršič, an actor who in 1999 participated in the show *Čari začimb* (see Chapter 6) (Slakonja 2013).

Such love of food, however, does not only relate to food *per se*, but foremost to the disposition that an individual shows towards it: Bourdieu, whose theory of distinction supports much of this monograph's underlying assumptions about class and style of life, explains such an inclination towards food, and the manner in which it is approached – as a topic of discussion, consideration and appreciation – as part of one's taste and as such, as a class-related matter (in Johnston and Baumann 2015: 52).

Vojnović's (2009) passage, reproduced above, therefore describes shopping for vegetables in the stylized markets as one of the characteristics defining the new Slovene middle class. Luthar (2014: 20) explains how such cultural distinction plays an important role in post-socialist Slovenia due to the general economic egalitarianism, characteristic of socialist and post-socialist Slovenia which positions non-material markers of status, such as knowledge and interest in food, as one of the distinguishing signifiers of one's social position. In such a context, then, lifestyle (food) media, and especially TV chefs as cultural intermediaries, play a crucial role as they act as mediators between the global taste makers and the local audience, between fashionable and aspirational taste and those who are eager to acquire such cultural (or culinary) capital.[3]

Love through the Stomach, the television cooking show referred to in this monograph, is one such show, which, while perhaps not intentionally aiming to "elevate" tastes, certainly does educate people about what it means to be new middle class in Slovenia today: a recent large study into class, taste and distinction in Slovenia links interest in this show explicitly to those described as "health-aware and socially-responsible hedonists" – a group of people among those surveyed with high economic and high cultural capital in general who much like Johnston and Baumann's (2015) foodies in their US sample, like to cook and are inclined to eat both "exotic" as well as "traditional Slovene" cuisine at the same time; they are interested in the purchase of organic and local foodstuffs as well as vegetarianism and avoid fast-food chains (Kamin, Tivadar and Koprivnik 2012: 105).

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3. Before proceeding, it may be worth clarifying briefly what I mean by the term "new middle class," a syntagm which in mainstream sociological literature usually comes opposed to the "old middle class". Following Giddens (1995: 103), the term middle class in general represents a core characteristic of modern society that emerged since the 19th century, mainly in Europe and the US. It refers mostly to the petty bourgeoisie (*i.e.* what was called the "old middle class" in the 19th century). Against this background the term "new middle class" generally came to refer to professionals, managers, teachers etc. In post-socialism in particular, as Geciene (n.d.) notes, such a definition may, however, not be suitable due to different developments post-1991. Here, the term "new middle class" refers to those professionals and entrepreneurs, "that did not exist during the state socialist period on the same scale" and that could also be called an emerging middle class (Smith *et al*. 2015: 5).

1.1.2   Media globalization, lifestyle programming and post-socialism

One of the central perspectives through which these cookbooks are studied in this work is that of the transformation (or diversification) of local discourses as a result of the global media interventions in a post-socialist space. This, however, is not primarily just an example of a post-socialist case in the time of globalization, but can be also seen as a case study for other contexts.

This is largely because "post-socialism", which as a term applies to many different contexts across European East and Centre (not to mention other parts of the world), is by no means a "naturally" occurring phenomena (see Mihelj 2008). This suggests that the countries that are commonly grouped under this term should no longer be either treated as one common (monolithic) block, or as separated from the rest of Europe. Both concerns have increasing backing through empirical data, as scholars recognize the individuality as well as the commonalities of each specific case, which, as Caldwell (2009: 4) recognizes, have "unraveled in so many different ways" post 1989 but also, as scholars of the *longue durée* would argue, originally entered socialism in 1945 with very diverse kinds of prior historic experience. Galasińska and Krzyżanowski (2009) similarly advocate a move away from an understanding of Central and Eastern Europe as a somewhat separate entity from the rest of Europe; this is, however, true not only for post-socialism, but even for socialism itself. Mihelj (2012; 2014), for example, demonstrates through her comparative study of socialist media how despite general state agendas, socialist media did from early on in fact borrow much programming from the West hence arguing against clear-cut "cold war dichotomies" (see also Imre 2016).

With reference to Slovenia as a post-socialist case study, there are two contexts to be clarified at this point which concern the purpose of a study focusing on lifestyle: first, Slovenia's socialist past as part of the Yugoslav federation; and second, its post-socialist development as a sovereign state. The first context to be considered concerns the development of consumerism in Slovenia from relatively early on. Until its independence in 1991, the Slovene speaking lands[4] had formed part of various European multilingual, multireligious and multinational state formations – first the Austrian Empire, then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and after 1945, socialist Yugoslavia, with smaller parts of Slovene-speaking lands also belonging to other state formations. It was liberated in 1945 from Nazism and Fascism by its own pan-Yugoslav partisan resistance movement, led by the Communist party. Since the

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4. The idea of Slovenia – and even of Slovenes as a nation – needs to be placed in the context of the 19th century rise of nationalism; prior to this, the lands that form present-day Slovenia mostly formed part of Austrian and Hungarian hereditary lands. Even to this day, not all Slovene "ethnic" lands are in Slovenia.

Yugoslav communists emerged from the war "as the engine of the resistance movement", as Luthar and Pušnik (2010: 6) put it, the initial alliance between the Yugoslav leadership, most visibly Josip Broz Tito, and the Soviet Union, broke up in 1948 as a result of disagreement over the countries' spheres of political control. As a consequence, Yugoslavia's early distancing of itself from the Eastern bloc resulted in a greater openness to the West, including a greater liberalization of the economy that gave name to a particular type of socialism, "self-managing socialism", developed by Tito in Yugoslavia and generously supported by the West (Luthar and Pušnik 2010).

The 1960s brought political reforms, which resulted in greater decentralisation and international mobility, including the abolition of all visas for travelling in and out of the country for Yugoslav and foreign citizens alike, which also meant greater cultural exchanges with the West. As a result of this development, uncharacteristic of other countries behind the Iron Curtain, the cross border streaming of ideas, desires and even goods caused the development of a hybrid form of consumerism from the mid-1950s on, relying on Western patterns of consumption, yet restricted by internal socialist ideas. In the 1960s, Yugoslavia was already a consumerist society where buying and selling no longer related to simple fulfilment of basic needs: it was now also linked to people's imagination of self and to status (Patterson 2011: 12). In a society where class – following a major post-war redistribution of land and the abolition of private property – was no longer the dominant category of social stratification (Tomc 1991: 131), such distinction was still symbolically able to contribute to the social differentiation of society based on the symbolic value of goods.

Apart from advertising and the media that brought a piece of the desirable new Western dream to Yugoslav households (*cf.* Vezovnik and Kamin 2016 for a study of advertising between 1960s and 1990s in Slovenia), many were also able to "entice" in the new products and practices by seeing them abroad: either by travelling on holidays or by going shopping to the nearby cities from the 1970s onwards, such as Trieste and Udine in Italy and Graz in Austria, travels that included smuggling in forbidden goods (Mikula 2010: 216–7; Luthar 2006; Švab 2002). Improved economic conditions and the ability to purchase foreign currency in Yugoslavia, and at an even cheaper rate abroad, meant such "cross border shopping" was booming. Despite the increasing availability of goods to choose from in Yugoslavia itself as a result of its economic development, such trips offered even more choice, while Western goods symbolised a Western lifestyle (Mikula 2010). Especially in the late 1970s and early 1980s, due to the economic crisis, many foodstuffs (*e.g.* coffee, chocolate and other imported products) were lacking, so such trips abroad would often also help provide these (Godina Golija 2008: 101–2). In the late 1980s then, on the eve of independence, Slovenia was to an extent already a consumerist society, although limited and lacking many characteristics of its Western neighbours,

such as Italy and Austria. Through the 1990s, its transformation to capitalism was somewhat unique, and unlike that in Poland and some other post-Socialist countries, also gradual (Crowley and Stanojević 2011).

This brings us to the second context to be clarified, the point of which is to show that Slovenia's liberalization and privatisation – although occurring a decade later – was in fact quite similar to those that many other European Western democracies, such as France, had undergone as they had embraced free-market reforms from the (mid) 1980s on as a response to their own economic difficulties (Judt 2007: 535*ff*). An example can be found in the media, which, as in Slovenia in the 1990s, have become increasingly privatised and deregulated right across Europe as a result of globalization pressures from the 1980s on (Moran 2005). Mihelj (2012: 25), in particular, urges a careful approach to media deregulation solely in terms of the fall of communism, rather advocating for the view that such changes were in fact "prompted by pan-European and in fact global developments."

Bearing these two contexts in mind, then, the emergence of lifestyle television in the late 1990s and especially in the first decade of the 2000s in Slovenia did not suggest an entirely new concept of lifestyle; something which in fact had already started to appear in the Yugoslav media in the 1970s (*cf.* Kamin and Vezovnik 2016) – even though the majority of lifestyle TV formats, such as celebrity cooking shows, and their contents were *de facto* imported from the West at this time and did represent something new (*cf.* for example Vidmar Horvat 2005). RTV Slovenija's foreign programme acquisition coordinator, Mojca Pengov (p.c., April 2015), explained in an interview how the first season of Jamie Oliver's The Naked Chef series (1999) was in fact bought by Slovene national television to be broadcast in 2002 in order to educate the viewers in the new cookery genres and trends that were globally becoming popular rather than use them as entertainment, as The Naked Chef was originally created for.

However, Oliver's The Naked Chef was considered original even in Britain, when it was first shown in 1999. Writing in 2005, Ketchum (2005: 229–231) for example, classified Oliver's programme as "avant-garde" because of its "unusual aesthetic conventions". Through his brand, which was constructed through playing on sexuality, metro-manhood (later known as "gastrosexuals") and youthful cheekiness, Oliver was part of a new wave of cookery shows that appeared through the 1990s in Britain that focused more on lifestyle than cooking itself, but that had its roots in the 1980s turn in cooking show format towards "flamboyant, energetic presenters and high-concept shows" (Humble 2005: 40) that featured chefs, such as Gary Rhodes, new formats, such as Masterchef, and that ultimately treated food as entertainment.

Perhaps as a consequence of (in many cases) the approach to consumption in socialism and post-socialism which focuses on the similarities in each of these

kinds of societies as a result of similarities in political system, many studies on food in (post-)socialism remain focused on the former Soviet Union and the countries under its influence (*e.g.* Caldwell 2009; some papers in Bren and Neuburger 2012; Jung, Klein and Caldwell 2014). Much less is written on consumption – and especially on its culinary aspects – in socialist Yugoslavia and its succession countries post 1991 as a somewhat specific case among socialist and, due to the not always peaceful dissolution of the 1990s, even post-socialist countries. In this sense, this study aims to fill the gap not only as a study of transformation in terms of lifestyle (and post-socialism), but specifically of transformation from a self-managing socialism to "democratic" "capitalism".[5]

1.1.3   Localizing the global

The Love through the Stomach show, as I hope to demonstrate through analysis of its spin-off cookbooks, matches much of this aspiration of the new middle class to keep in pace with the currently popular global food trends. In fact, its similarity with The Naked Chef was even highlighted in the media when in 2012 the *Finance* newspaper accused the show of being a copy of Oliver's. The accusation was of course swiftly denied by describing Love through the Stomach as "urban family

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5. Some Slovene anthropologists question the development of both "capitalism" and "democracy" in post- 1991 Slovenia; for Kramberger (2003), who develops the concept of a "province" and "provincial mentality" with reference to Slovenia, post 1991 adaptation can only be understood in terms of uncritical acceptance of the non democratic neoliberal doctrine. She shows how Slovene society slid into neoliberalism easily because the mental structure formed during the centuries while the Slovene provinces were part of the catholic Austrian state was similar (inter alia anti-intellectualism, homogenous society, unquestioned hegemony of the Catholic church) to that required for adaptation to neoliberalism. She shows how the Slovene elites, while promoting democracy, in fact are building oligarchy and a punitive state, that through ignoring the human rights of its citizens creates a state that works for the elites while creating greater poverty for those at the bottom (*ibid.*: 88–90). Similarly, Šumi (2012: 169) doubts that Slovenia's system is in fact genuinely Western style democratic, claiming that it "presents a clear-cut case of post-colonial symptoms" since 'Slovenianess', similarly to post-colonial populations in general, "lay[s] critical claim to a difference in origin" (*ibid.*: 175) which is perpetuated through the national ideology that propagates an uncritical understanding of Slovenes as an autochthonous nation, suppressed through centuries by foreign state formations (*i.e.* Austria), threatened by migrants and on the way to extinction. Construction of such a traumatic past is according to Šumi (*ibid.*: 175), however, nothing but an effort "at preventing class differentiation within Slovenianess" since historically, social differentiation was connected with being anti-Slovene (and, *e.g.*, pro German *etc.*). Finally, Godina (2014: 128; 181) analyses Slovenia as a neo-colonialist country which is dependent on the capitalist centre(s) and as a concequence, has all the characteristics of the periphery.

cooking mixed with culture and humour", and Oliver's as a mere "cooking show" (Smrekar and Dakić 2012).

It is most likely safe to say that this Slovene food show is not a mere copy of Oliver – although it plays on the same global lifestyle format, including the language style that was introduced with The Naked Chef. Throughout the show, the Novak family cooks and entertains the audience from the "ordinariness" of their home in Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. With their three children and specific gender roles, they offer a model of a perfect conservative – and even it could be argued, Catholic – middle class family that extends, as is common in Slovenia, to the broader networks of their grandparents, while their style of life, clothes, kitchen equipment, and behaviour, demonstrate high cultural – and in particular, culinary – capital (Meršak 2014). Differently to Oliver, whose manhood was initially constructed around his gastrosexuality, the Novaks draw on a range of persona characteristics defined by Johnston, Rodney, and Chong (2014): the "home-stylist", who is primarily interested in style and distinction and the "homebody", where special concern is dedicated to the necessary tastes of home, while ultimately constructing their personas around traditional gender (family) roles.

They also position themselves as European rather than Yugo-nostalgic. While both positions have places in contemporary Slovene society, the Novaks orient themselves towards *Mitteleuropa*, rather than ex-Yugoslavia, including recipes, such as *Wiener Schnitzel* and Dobos torte, that symbolize and strengthen Slovenia's past as part of Central, rather than "Balkan" Europe (for an expanded argument on this, see Tominc, in review; also Meršak 2014). This distinction where the construct of Central Europe clearly holds positive and progressive connotations, while the Balkans is associated with backwardness (*cf.* Todorova 1997) is common in post-socialist Slovenia in general: in her analysis of the media in the 1990s, Vezovnik (2009), for example, describes their construction of Slovene independence as a "return" back to Europe. Šumi (2004: 81), similarly, analyses the use of the term "civilizational" (*civilizacijski*) with reference to Slovene development, and "non-civilizational" with reference to the rest of what was formerly Yugoslavia. The latter has also become to mean non-cultured and non-desirable, hence "we" (*i.e.* the Slovenes) were compelled to break from Yugoslavia in 1991 (see also Krašovec and Žagar 2011).[6]

This kind of adaptation of content – some authors would refer to it as *brico-lage* – is, of course, one of the ways in which Love through the Stomach adapts

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6. Despite such resentment of all things Yugoslav, there is also a parallel development, that is, a concurrent resurgence of Yugo-nostalgia (e.g. Bošković 2013; Petrović and Mlekuž 2015), a longing for the good old days of socialism, which, however, is not uncommon also in other countries of the post-Socialist bloc (*cf.* Velikonja 2009).

this global format for the local audiences. That it does it is not surprising: the format holders of Masterchef, a cooking competition format that has been sold worldwide more than any other, confess that such adaptation is expected in order for the local producers to bring the format closer to their viewers (Haarman, Ross and Wood 2015, see also Machin and van Leeuwen, 2003, for a similar argument and analysis of the magazine Cosmopolitan from the perspective of CDA, also further discussed below). Because of the set format, however, adaptation of Masterchef to the local environments is more restricted, since it is essential that "individual countries stay true" to the original (*ibid.*: 223; also Haatmann 2015; Bonner 2003: 176). Love through the Stomach, however, is not subject to such a kind of global format, although it heavily plays on the global cooking show format while retaining the local content (Hafez 2007: 4). In this sense, then, an analysis of the localization of such a global genre as presented in this monograph opens new paths for the study of "[t]he globalization of lifestyle media and the role played by national and cultural differences in relation to lifestyle and consumption". This area was recently found to be "under-researched" (Lewis 2014: 143), especially when it comes to questions such as "how and what kind of lifestyle culture and consumption are promoted in these different cultural settings". This also holds for analyses of non-Anglophone celebrity cooking – and especially of those of smaller nations – in general where transformations may follow different directions compared to those in larger and more powerful systems (*cf.* King and Sturm's (2016) recent call for papers for Celebrity Studies – under the topic Liminal Celebrity and Small Nations which specifically identifies a lack of analyses of global celebrities in smaller nations).

The core questions that I ask in this monograph, then, have to do with three inter-related areas: first, how are lifestyle and class constructed through these lifestyle discourses as they manifest in global and local TV celebrity cooking show spin-offs, celebrity cookbooks? Second, how are such discourses about food localized in specific settings, such as Slovenia, and do they result in discourse change in terms of our perception of lifestyle, taste and food? And finally, to what extent is such change a post-socialist phenomenon? I carry this out through relying on the theoretical and methodological framework of critical discourse analysis, which is an approach to discourse analysis stemming from the discipline of linguistics, as I discuss in the next section.

1.2   CDA as a methodology: Discourse as language in use

The discursive construction of class and lifestyle as a topic of inquiry is generally not at the core of critical discourse analysis's (CDA) central interests. Machin

and Thornborrow (2003: 456) recognize this specifically, when they claim that although topics such as lifestyle and advertising are at the heart of neocapitalist ideology they are "not always addressed by CDA whose critique targets more 'serious' forms of communication." In this sense, using CDA to study language and style proposes a somewhat non-mainstream (but necessary) perspective for CDA, although building on some previous research into lifestyle and language style which will also be discussed at the end of this section.

First, however, I will outline CDA, an umbrella term for various, but fundamentally similar linguistic approaches to discourse analysis that developed in various European contexts from the 1970s on. While all of them draw on contexualised linguistic analyses of texts, they at the same time differentiated themselves from other such approaches to language studies in that they heavily rely on social theory (such as Marxism) in their interpretation of data (Forchtner 2017; Forchtner and Wodak 2018). Hence, CDA is very close to what is known in France under the term *l'analyse du discours*, although the latter is interested more in theoretical grounding, rather than the empirical concerns which tend to be at the core of CDA (Fairclough, 1992: 30–35; also Williams 1999; Petitclerc 2014).

Although distinct in their historical roots, theoretical underpinnings and topics of most interest, all CDA approaches share an interest in naturally occurring language in its economic, cultural and political contexts: in the ways language as social action produces, reproduces and maintains social relations and identities as well as helps naturalize ideologies. Unlike other linguistic approaches, CDA also openly advocates for the critical analysis and evaluation of language practices that result in, or are a result of, what Fairclough (2010) calls "social wrongs": discrimination, racism and xenophobia, sexism, and other discourses that sustain the status quo by favouring unequal social power relations as well as encouraging the simplistic construction of "us" and "them" narratives. CDA is therefore interested in questions of the hegemony of certain social groups and discourses; and how they are – through the use of language – created and sustained.

Like much work following the "linguistic turn" in social sciences, the basic ontological underpinning of this monograph is that language constructs, rather than just reflects meaning. Given the centrality of language in the construction of the social world, text-centred critical discourse analysis lends itself particularly well to the study of the media and media-linked discourses, such as those presented in this book. Television cooking shows and their spin-offs, celebrity cookbooks, like other media texts, essentially produce, reproduce and circulate, but also justify, conceptualise and rationalise ideas about everyday life. The mass media play a crucial role in the production of dominant ideologies in general and the symbolic resources to win over popular consent (Van Dijk 1988: 213; 1991: 42–3); they are crucially involved in shaping ideas not only of what cooking and eating as the most

basic everyday life activities mean, but also in constructing our ideas of what and how to cook and eat and how to view food and its place in our lives.

Why use CDA for the analysis of TV celebrity cooking show spin-offs? Talking about the commonalities shared by cultural and food studies, both areas that are distinctly intertwined in this interdisciplinary study that is mostly about contemporary popular culture, Parasecoli (2014: 275) states that

> the presence of food in everyday life is pervasive, permeating popular culture as a relevant marker of power, cultural capital, class, gender, ethnicity, and religion, which both cultural and food studies recognize as crucial.

And so does CDA. Food television, like many other elements of popular culture that CDA quite comfortably tackles (for example, representation of gender in magazines), is not just about the material aspects of our culture (*e.g.* how to cook) but primarily about "desires, fantasies, fears, and dreams" (*ibid.*): a device for consumer fantasy that offers voyeuristic pleasure (Adema 2000, Rousseau 2012a) and that shapes the viewer into a specific consumer in a manner similar to that of women's fashion or advice magazines. Tomlinson (1990: 6) explicitly suggests that issues of lifestyle and consumption are a political matter:

> if popular culture can be reduced to a set of apparent choices based upon personal taste then we will see the triumph of the fragmented self, a constant lust for the new and the authentic among a population of consumer clones.

As will become obvious as the argument of this book unfolds, lifestyle as a marker that creates symbolic boundaries also constributes to inequalities as it helps to reproduce them through status symbols, rather than purely material means (Bourdieu 1984; Lamont 1992).

While this book discusses celebrity chefs, food, television and celebrity cookbooks from a critical perspective, it does not, however, suggest that audiences' relationship to such discourse is necessarily passive; but although there is evidence to claim that "television viewers understand a good deal about grammar and production processes of television, and that on the level of television form they are extremely sophisticated and literate," Barker (2008: 330) also notes that this does not mean that they do not at the same time also produce and reproduce forms of ideology.

Having said this, some criticisms of CDA with reference to the role of audience indeed need to be acknowledged, in particular in relationship to analysis (*cf.* Widdowson 1995) and to the stance that is usually taken against certain phenomena *a priori* the analysis. In this respect, Machin and Mayr (2012: 210) rightfully comment on analysis taking a (usually) negative stance against lifestyle magazines because of their "individualism and aligning of women's agency alongside the

interests of the consumer capitalism" (*ibid.*). They argue that many women would, on the contrary, say that such magazines in fact offer them a way out of their everyday lives, offering liberating sexuality and inspiration. Indeed, many of those watching celebrity chefs cooking at home would offer similar arguments: food television as a way to relax after a busy day, to get new recipe ideas to cook for the family as an act of love and even to learn how to cook. De Solier (2013: 120), for example, finds that for her informants, watching food television as entertainment was at the same time also "a form of productive leisure in which they sought and acquired new knowledge and skills as part of their culinary education."

These arguments are, of course, valid, although they do not diminish the critique offered by an approach such as CDA. Such critique, as Wodak (1999: 186) suggests, is always interpretative, "laden with researchers' attitudes and beliefs, but also, as Barker and Galasiński (2001: 64) find, with assumptions that there is no ultimately "correct" interpretation of texts". In order to ensure a level of validity, however, CDA as an interpretative approach requires a constant balancing between theory and empirical phenomena. Its analyses should neither be purely inductive nor deductive, but abductive (abduction being a form of explanatory reasoning), which requires analysts to be explicit about what they are actually doing). This means that members of a culture (including researchers) will work to understand their own culture and, rather than pronouncing truths, propose interpretations and solutions to perceived problems.

1.2.1   Discourse as language in use

Although categorically interdisciplinary, CDA as a methodology fundamentally derives from and is grounded in the discipline of linguistics, more specifically discourse analysis, sociolingusitics and pragmatics, but also linguistic anthropology. As such, it understands language primarily as a "system integrated with speakers' knowledge of the world and society" and should hence be studied in terms of its linguistic, cognitive and social characteristics (de Beaugrande 1997: 40).

As a term used and popularised in various disciplines, from philosophy to sociology and psychology, "discourse" can have many definitions, although it has become particularly known through the work of the French social scientist Foucault whose use of this concept is concerned with the ways in which areas of social knowledge and practice have been structured historically, and how these relate to power. In linguistics, however, its definition tends to be less abstract, ranging from simply spoken or written language to the "types of language" used in specific social situations, such as advertising or media discourse, but also simply language in use, a definition used by early Fairclough (1992: 3, 62), one of the most prominent scholars within CDA, who later on also defines it as "a way of signifying a

particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective" (Fairclough 1995: 14). What all these definitions have in common is being centred on a concrete language analysis, and hence on texts as carriers of language, although in CDA, the understanding of discourse, and especially context, tends to be much broader than in other discourse-oriented approaches, such as conversation analysis. There is, however, some truth in Poole's (2010) argument that more clarity is needed when it comes to definitions of "discourse" in CDA, especially as language is often conflated with the notion of discourse.

Contrary to different strands of work in discourse theory, where discourse cannot be separated from non-discursive practices (*e.g.* Laclau and Mouffe 1985), in CDA, discourse is largely defined as a form of social practice (Fairclough 1992: 63; Fairclough and Wodak 1997), in which the relationship between the two is dialectical: the discursive and non-discursive constitute and shape each other (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 36). This also means that discourse, like other social practices, not only enables us to act with language in the world (*e.g.* to do things in Austin's sense or be polite in Brown and Levinson's sense) and represent ourselves and others through language, but it also contributes to the construction of meaning: it contributes to the formation of social identities, relationships and systems of knowledge and belief. In this sense, discourse reproduces society, but it also allows it to change (Fairlcough 1992: 63–65). Following Reisigl and Wodak's (2009: 89) neat definition, then, we can define discourse as a "cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action" which are "socially constituted and socially constitutive."

Discourses are also constituted of topics and, on a higher level, of macrotopics (Reisigl and Wodak 2009: 89). These point towards the existence of semantic macrostructures of discourse (Van Dijk 1987; 1980), offering "global meanings" of a specific discourse since they represent what is considered to be the most important meaning of the discourse: "[w]hen we summarise a discourse, we essentially express its underlying semantic structure, or thematic structure" (Van Dijk 1987: 48). Topics are thus what discourses are about, the "most important information of discourse content" and they represent the most memorable material (Van Dijk 2009: 62). An interest in their analysis comes from their influence; they define the overall coherence of the discourse and can thus affect the way we memorise and reproduce it (Van Dijk 1987: 48; 2009: 62).

As discussed above, seeing language as a social practice means that discourse needs to be analysed in relationship to its context. This is crucial since contexts offer readers a way to reduce meaning ambiguity that can occur in a text both in terms of its immediate linguistic surroundings as well as its broader context (Fairclough 1992: 81). But how broad is context? And, as Cicourel (1992: 309 in Wodak 1996: 22) remarks, how can we avoid the "infinite regress" that can

happen when describing context, in other words, when to stop? Taking into account Cicourel's concepts of context that provide a "compromise" between the context of a broad ethnographic approach and the narrow favoured by conversation analysis, Wodak (1996: 21–22) hence recognises two kinds of contexts: first, the local (micro-) context that consists of the immediate co-text, and second, the broader (macro-) context that takes into consideration also the institutional framing. Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 41) call the latter "context of situation", and add two more contextual levels: intertexuality/interdiscursivity (discussed below) and the even broader, socio-political and historical context. Language (and text) can therefore be analysed in terms of several levels of contextualization, from the immediate words that surrounds a specific item (co-text) to its broadest meaning, including its ability to draw on other texts, discourses, and hence, potential other contexts.

1.2.2   Discourse, text and intertexuality

Discourse is also a "complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts", or simply texts (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 36). Text is the basic item of analysis in discourse analysis – when we say we analyse discourse, we actually analyse texts and their contexts, since text is a realisation of discourse. Bakhtin (1986: 103) expressed the necessity of a text well when he said that "[w]here there is no text, there is no object of study, and no object of thought either." Texts can be defined as context independent, durable material manifestations of discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 36) which can be realised in writing, orally, as an image or as a combination of several modes (*i.e.* multimodal texts). Texts need not only be coherent, cohesive and be created through certain intention of the author, but they need to conform to a number of other conditions that also concern the reader/listener of a text, such as acceptability, informativity and situationality (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981).

   Texts also refer to each other. The notion of textual interrelatedness was first promoted in Western Europe by Kristeva (1986 [1966]) who coined the name intertextuality. She used the work of the Russian formalist Bakhtin, in particular his ideas of dialogism, heteroglossia and polyphony that assumed texts not only contain the words of many speakers, but also that there can be many voices/styles in a text (Bakhtin 1992). Essentially, when a text is said to have traces of intertextuality, this means that elements of other texts have been used in the text either explicitly or implicitly; that is, the author of a further text has either been acknowledged (as in the example of academic referencing) or cited with quotation marks used or the origin of the reference has to be inferred by the reader herself. This often depends on contextual knowledge (*e.g.* the use of a specific line from a generally known

speech/poem/novel for stylistic purposes) and contributes to much ambivalence in the interpretation of texts. When particularly pervasive in a text, intertextuality may sometimes even give rise to the issue of plagiarism.

Intertextuality has attracted considerable attention and various uses. Building on Kristeva, Bakhtin and the scholars working within the tradition of French discourse analysis (*e.g.* Maingueneau 1987), Fairclough (1992: 101–105) renames the French differentiation between "manifest intertextuality" and "constitutive intertextuality" as "intertextuality" and "interdiscursivity". While the former refers simply to intertextual relations as manifest in a text, the latter "can be seen incorporating the potentially complex relationships it has with the conventions (genres, discourses, styles, activity types /…/)" (Fairclough 1992: 103–104), and like intertextuality, it "highlights the historical view of texts as transforming the past – existing conventions, or prior texts – into the present." But although the concept of interdiscursivity may seem limitless, endless combinations are restricted by the existing hegemonic relations (Fairclough 2010: 95), a notion discussed later on in this chapter. As concepts, intertextuality and interdiscursivity are both useful in analyses of discourse change since they allow a way of referring to the presence in a text of other texts and discourses in the past and present.

1.2.3   Text, genre and style

What is the role of genre in discourse analysis? First of all, it may be useful to bear in mind Swales (1990: 33), who sees the idea of genre as "slippery" and the concept "fuzzy". In many ways this is because genre has been used in many traditions, first in literary studies, and later on in a range of disciplines, from anthropology to linguistics, where it was defined in various – often different – ways. However slippery, we discuss genres here because texts can in general be assigned to genres, although not always in straight-forward and obvious ways.

For Bhatia (1993: 13–16), for example, one of the most prominent theorists in this field, genre is primarily recognised on the basis of its purpose, and this defines its inner structure: a slight change in the purpose of a genre will result in a sub-genre whereas a major change will lead to a new genre. In short, Bhatia suggests that it is possible to distinguish sub-genres based only on their communicative purpose. Secondly, Bhatia highlights the connection of a genre with its everyday users. He understands a genre and its internal structure to be the result of its existence within a certain professional community. This means that the members who use a particular genre not only recognise and understand a particular genre, but also shape it.

In the tradition of CDA, genre is similarly commonly understood as a "socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social

activity" (Fairclough 1995: 14).[7] Of course, genres are culturally and historically dependent since, as Van Leeuwen (2005: 13–5) points out, an activity is dependent on the culture and period in which it is situated: for example, shopping where bargaining is essential appears to be the opposite of the big supermarket experience, where linguistic activity is not necessary at all. In this example we see the important role that the visual plays in analysis of genres, which, like texts, are more often than not, multimodal.

Bhatia stresses the fact that because genres are socially ratified, users are limited by certain genres "in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value" as it is not possible to ignore the limitations of a genre "without being noticeably odd" (Bhatia 1993: 14). It is, however, possible to intentionally break the rules of a genre in order to achieve certain effects, a feature that is often exploited. This can be done using a different style; as a salient aspect of the type of social activity to which it is related, styles shape genres. For example, instructional genres, such as recipes, are performed through a "straightforward instructional text designed to ensure that if a series of activities is carried out according to the prescription offered, a successful gastronomic outcome will be achieved" (Swales 1990: 46). As such, the language style of a set of instructions maintains certain stylistic features, such as clarity and brevity of expression, the use of specific directives and precision.

However, in some cases – or events – as Fairclough, Pardoe and Szerczynski (2010: 427) claim, the authors of texts may have "a range of styles available to draw upon, combine, switch or struggle over" through which they – or the "discoursal selves" with which they identify (Ivanic 1997: 138) – can build specific identities and values (see also Fairclough 2009: 164; Bax 2010), hence changing established genres and offering new, hybrid genres.

1.3   CDA and hegemony: The ideological nature of consumption/lifestyle

Linguistic (and other semiotic) practices can help reproduce ideology and maintain hegemony, as well as help in "maintaining unequal power relations through discourse", or they can "transform power relations more or less radically" (Wodak

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7. In a sense, genres are then recontextualizations of social actions as recipes are recontexualizations of a cooking activity as a way of transforming social practices into a discourse and vice-versa. Drawing on Malinowski, who showed action as double recontextualisation "first as representation, 'in narrative speech', and then in the construction of realities, in 'the language of ritual and magic' " (Van Leeuwen 2009: 147), and more specifically, on Bernstein, van Leeuwen presupposes that discourses are "ultimately modelled on [the] social practices" which they represent. In this sense, he defined the structure of the field as the recontextualisation of the structure of social practice (Van Leeuwen 1993).

and Reisigl 2009: 88). Ideology is therefore one of those concepts that significantly distinguish CDA from other context-based approaches to language analysis, since "revealing structures of power and unmasking ideologies" is at the core of all critical approaches to such discourse analysis (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 8; see also Fairclough 1992: 87). Once naturalized, ideologies are essentially "common sense" and as such, most effective (Fairclough 1992: 87; Fairclough 1995: 36, 42; 73; also Fairclough 2001 [1989]: 64). As ideology, common sense is of course an "ambiguous, contradictory and multiform concept" as Gramsci (2003: 423) finds, which needs to be separated from truth:

> /.../ to refer to common sense as a confirmation of truth is a nonsense. It is possible to state correctly that a certain truth has become a part of common sense in order to indicate that it has spread beyond the confines of intellectual groups, but all one is doing in that case is making a historical observation and an assertion of the rationality of history. In this sense, and used with restraint, the argument has a certain validity, precisely because common sense is crudely neophobe and conservative.

Yet, while the relation of ideology to many public issues tends to be frequently approached critically, its relation to issues of private life such as food consumption often remains unchallenged. In this sense, Parasecoli (2014: 275) is right when he claims

> that the ubiquitous nature of the cultural elements relating to food makes their ideological and political relevance almost invisible, buried in the supposedly natural and self-evident fabric of everyday life.

Food consumption as part of lifestyle, then, is one of the most common sense forms of everyday life because it is perceived as "natural" and "self-evident": it is a part of our lives which we generally do not critically discuss, or ask ourselves why we do what we do and whether it could be done in a different way (see also Gardiner 2000).

While ideologies cannot simply be "read" from texts, language is seen as a material form of ideology (Fairclough 2010: 59) which means that linguistic structures are "ideologically invested." Certain linguistic features, such as style, can constitute subjects in particular (specific) ways (Fairclough 2010: 56–61) as discussed already in the previous section: we can think of the food instruction genre again. Although it has essentially to do with giving "information" (direction) about food preparation, the advice related to food available via the lifestyle media has to do with "establishing /.../an image" and the portrayal of a certain identity (Fairclough 2010: 61) rather than simply educating. By analyzing empirical texts and connecting them to social theory, CDA is able to offer a powerful critique of ideology.

Ideologically invested language in itself, however, is but a part of the story of how language works in society, regardless of how influential it may be in terms of constructing the social world around us. What makes some ideologies (and discourses) more visible and influential than others is that they have been contributed by participants who possess more power than others: because of this, they can control and/or constrain texts from other, less powerful participants (Fairclough 2001: 38). In other words: power is "a possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interests of others" (Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 88).

One of the most useful tools for thinking with in this context is, however, Gramsci's concept of hegemony, because it explains most effectively how ideology works in conjunction with power. Hegemony can be defined as

> leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of the society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance (as a bloc) with other social forces/…/ [I]t is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent.   (Fairclough 2010: 61)

According to Gramsci, the principal field of ideological struggle is the cultural sphere – and this includes food culture –, since class domination is achieved and maintained through the ideological hegemony of the dominant class, which is embodied in everyday life and culture; as Ashley *et al.* (2004: 18) maintain, "fundamental social class attempts to exert moral and intellectual leadership over both allied and subordinate social groups". The role of cultural hegemony is in sustaining the power of capitalism where "[s]ubordinate groups actively subscribe to the values and objectives of their superiors, rather than passively accepting them /…/ resisting them, or remaining immune to them." (*ibid.*). Such homogeneity takes place also through the media through which any such ideology is constructed as common sense.

1.4   CDA as a critical social science and critique of everyday life

In the field of linguistics, CDA (and its predecessor, critial linguistics, started through Fowler *et al.*'s Language and Control (1979)) is the only approach to language analysis that explicitly refers to itself as critical, although a certain interest in critique had appeared already with the American sociolinguist Hymes and "represents a more general process of (partial) convergence in theories and practices of research on language" (Blommaert *et al.* 2001; Blommaert and Bulcaen

2000: 447). An explicit reference to its criticality, however, does not only have to do with the aim of distinguishing itself from the earlier, predominantly descriptive forms of discourse analysis, as Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 28) suggest, but also with CDA's much more ingrained critical stance, especially compared to other approaches to language in context/use, such as sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, pragmatics and cognitive psychology (Fairclough 1993: 13–25; 2001: 5–10).

As discussed in the previous section, CDA research is inherently interested in the ways in which language relates to power and ideology, by sustaining (un) equal relationships of power as well as naturalizing ideology, often in the form of common sense. At the same time, CDA often claims to provide "the basis for political action to bring about radical and emancipatory social change" (Hammersley 1997: 238) although such a stance also requires explicit ethical considerations, such as ensuring the transparency of the position, research interests and values of the researchers (van Leeuwen 2006: 293).

Although CDA's notion of critique originally derives from Marxism, CDA approaches vary in their definition of critique. For Wodak *et al.*'s discourse-historical approach, critique is ultimately emancipatory, although Fairclough also follows Bhaskar's (1986 in Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 33) idea of "explanatory critique" which also strives to improve social conditions. For Fairclough, however, the critical impetus in discourse analysis derives from the work of predominantly French social theorists, such as Althusser, Foucault and ultimately, Bourdieu, hence rejecting the normative input in favour of an enquiry into a systematic exploration of

> often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural practices, relations and processes; [with an aim] to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony /…/.
>
> (Fairclough 1995: 132–3)

Following Dant (2003: 16) then, such "cultural critique produces nothing – but texts" although it can and should, however, result in

> a culture that is constantly questioning itself, resisting the tendency to accept and take for granted. Its impact, if it has any, is on individuals – those who engage with texts. And if it has any effect, it is to stimulate a constant state of tension between an individual and the culture, to foster a sense of discontent, a sense that things could be better,

which will be the aim of the critique presented in this monograph.

1.4.1   CDA and lifestyle media

As a site of (class) struggle with political and social implications (Ashley *et al.* 2004: 66; Fiske 1997: 5–6 in Greene and Cramer 2011), the question of food consumption, class and lifestyle finds its appropriate method in CDA which, while generally focused on "social wrongs" can also be applied to the analysis of problems (in the academic sense of the word) that are much less obviously "social wrongs", such as consumerism and lifestyle.

The most visible project of this kind is the analysis of Cosmopolitan as a global brand in various settings across the world (Machin and Van Leeuwen 2005; 2003; Machin and Thornborrow 2003; Machin 2004): much like Fairclough (2000) in his analyses of political style during the New Labour years, the project has demonstrated the increasing importance of styles of language in the construction of a brand, be it either that of a political persona (*e.g.* Tony Blair) or a magazine. Machin and Van Leeuwen (2005) have convincingly shown how Cosmopolitan uses various language styles, such as advertising and conversational style, in the construction of its global brand, although in its local editions it also allows for specific local styles that are able to construct gender/professional identities in ways that are more appropriate for specific settings. They conclude that the use of such styles of writing are not unique to this magazine, since they "form part of a wider cultural and ideological trend within neo-capitalism" (Machin and Van Leeuwen 2003: 494; see also Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 44).[8]

But while lifestyle has been the subject of CDA scholarship, although to a limited extent and on the outskirts of its core agenda, analyzing class, and especially in its relationship to lifestyle, remains significantly underanalysed, especially since much work on identities and/or lifestyle builds on lifestyle defined as an individualistic, identity-building focused project anchored in theories of postmodernity that understand it as a life-building project of limitless possibilities (*e.g.* Machin and van Leeuwen 2005). In contrast to this, this monograph builds its understanding of lifestyle based on the social theory of Bourdieu (1984), who defines lifestyle in terms of taste as habitus, which in turn deeply relies on class and other underlying social structures. His theory of distinction that demonstrates how individuals and social groups create and utilize styles of life in order to differentiate themselves from others moves the category of class away from the purely Marxist understanding of it in its relation to the means of production to its more symbolic,

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8. CDA has, however, been more broadly applied to other advice genres, although more often than not in terms of the construction of various gender and professional identities, rather than class and lifestyle (*e.g.* Caldas Coulthard 1996, although there are numerous examples for this, such as van Leeuwen and Caldas Coulthard 2001; van Leeuwen and Caldas Coulthard 2003; Caldas Coulthard 2007; Wodak and Fairclough 2010; Torkington 2011 and many others).

meaning-making potential: class is no longer defined only by the work one does, but also by symbolic means we are able to relate to: our tastes in, among others, clothes, art, literature, and of course food– what Bourdieu calls cultural capital.

1.5   Tools for analysis

As a methodology, CDA offers a number of tools with which texts can be analysed in a systematic manner, the aim of analysis being to demonstrate through detailed linguistic analysis how texts are constructed linguistically. Throughout this monograph, I will be mainly interested in how language style constructs lifestyle through the representation of actors (including as authorities), objects and processes that appear in cookbooks, using the two main strategies discussed below (Reisigl and Wodak 2009):

a. Nomination/predication strategies

Nomination strategies, *i.e.* ways of naming agents and entities, are used to construct social actors, both as individuals and, usually, as belonging to in- and out-groups as well as the processes/actions they engage in. Drawing on Van Leeuwen's (2008) work on social actors, Reisigl and Wodak (2001) suggest a number of devices through which these can be constructed discursively, such as anthroponyms, deictics, metaphors etc. Predication strategies, or ways of describing actors and objects, on the other hand, can be defined as "stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form which can be expressed implicitly or explicitly" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 45). Once social actors have been identified, it is possible to analyse how they are being labelled, again using figures of speech, collocations and the like. The line between these two strategies is of course not completely clear as often nomination already denotes or connotes a certain positive or negative value, as much as a certain social actor already represents something in himself or herself.

b. Point of view/perspectivation

This strategy is also known as perspectivation or framing and is used by the writer to position themselves as opposed to their object of speech; that is, from which point of view they speak in their reporting about real world events. The reader is invited to identify with this position. It includes strategies around creating and detaching from and to the actors and actions. With recourse to a number of (language) theorists, such as Goffmann, Leech, Schiffrin and Tannen, whose work has

implicitly and explicitly shaped the understanding of these strategies, Reisigl and Wodak specifically discuss strategies of involvement (Tannen 1989: 9–35 in Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 82) and strategies of detachment (Georgakopolou and Goutsos 1997: 134 in *ibid.*) and their relationship to the point of view. Hence, strategies of involvement which

> aim both at expressing the speakers' inner states, attitudes and feelings or degrees of emotional interest and engagement and at emotionally and cognitively engaging the hearer in discourse

generally go hand in hand with Wodak's concept of intensification, that is, the use of language strategies that intensify involvement. These are: repetition, emphasis and amplification of particles and morphemes, exaggeration, ellipses and rhetorical figures and so forth. Strategies of detachment, on the other hand, "are realised by discursive means of encoding distance" (Georgakopolou and Goutsos 1997: 134 in Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 82) and are manifest by complexity in the syntax, passive voice, lack of metaphors, distancing deictics and forms of address, indirect speech and so forth, especially mitigation of expression.

It is quite clear that most of these categories draw on linguistic devices that may generally also be seen to be part of the domain of stylistics. Point of view is certainly a clear case of this, although nomination and predication also heavily depend on analysis of language style as normally understood in stylistics, that is emphasis on the "tropological conceptualisation of metaphorical /…/, metonymical and synecdochical constructions" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 54). Metaphors in particular, for example, can be seen as "one force in the discursive and ideological process of 'naturalizing' the social, of turning that which is problematic into the obvious" (Kress 2002: 244).

1.6   Outline of the book

This monograph is divided into two main sections: the first chapter following the Introduction is an overview of the literature which aims to contextualise the discussion of lifestyle and class in contemporary consumer society and link it to the broader processes of globalization. It also provides a historical discussion of cookbooks, with a specific focus on the genre's features and its hybridization. By doing this, it aims to demonstrate how the recent transformation of cookbooks (and recipes) in the lifestyle programme spin-off format relates to general social changes. This shift in format is then demonstrated in Chapter 3 through a discourse analysis of Jamie Oliver's spin-off cookbooks from the series The Naked Chef and their translations into Slovene. These are an example not only of the

style such cookbooks now adopted, but at the same time also represent the global lifestyle discourse.

The second part of the book turns to the local through a case study of Slovene culinary discourse. Following Chapter 4, in which I contexualise Slovene food on television and in cookbooks before 1991, I demonstrate through an analysis of two prominent Slovene standard cookbooks the traditional culinary discourse anchored in nutritionism, authority and objectivity. This serves as the baseline for comparison to the next two chapters, where I show how, following the introduction of lifestyle food television in post-Socialist Slovenia, the new middle classes have capitalized on the opportunity to profit from generating distinction, positioning themselves as the bearers of this new, global and fashionable style of life. The monograph concludes with a discussion of its limitations and an overview of the intersection between CDA and food studies where this monograph should largely be situated.

CHAPTER 2

Modern consumption, class and lifestyle in the time of global media

The concept of consumer culture itself, while perhaps not at the heart of current academic discussions related to consumption (Brembeck 2013), remains a productive angle through which to understand lifestyle television, (global) celebrity cooking and its spin-offs that are, however, very much at the centre of non-academic interest in many contemporary societies. With the spread of such programming globally, theorizing on lifestyle media and their effects on everyday lives in contexts other than Western is continuing, although much remains to be done, especially at the intersection of cultural consumption with inequality and stratification (*cf.* Warde 2015).

The underlying argument of this chapter is that styles of life are ultimately related to class and that through consumption they facilitate distinction from others in a collective manner. As a result of the social and economic changes of recent decades, however, class, that was a rigid, inescapable life-defining social category in the past, has diminished as a marker of social status, leaving individuals with much greater freedom to choose how to live. Much contemporary literature, on the other hand, suggests that class remains a category through which we construct and represent our lives – an argument most famously developed by Bourdieu (1984 [1979]) and supported by much work within cultural studies (see also Ashley *et al.* 2004; Bell and Hollows 2005).

2.1 Consumption, postmodernity and globalization

In their seminal book on consumption, The Uses of Goods, anthropologists Douglas and Isherwood (1978: 57) describe consumption as "the very arena in which culture is fought over and licked into shape." What we consume and how, as much work in anthropology has demonstrated through decades, is one crucial part of world cultures as it interlinks with other important aspects of the social. In contemporary Western (capitalist) societies, where consuming is a condition for producing, consumption and particularly its cultural aspects become the final aim of the capitalist production of goods. A culture itself, then, can be understood in

terms of its patterns of consumption, or, as Featherstone (1991: 84) argues, it becomes "consumer culture" where consumption is a fundamental aspect – not just one of its aspects – of the functioning of postmodern, global societies.

2.1.1   Consumer culture and postmodernity

The transformation of Western societies into consumer cultures as we know them today was enabled by longitudinal social and political shifts; such cultural changes signified a much deeper process that was unrolling in the decades following (and perhaps even preceding) 1945 and which reached its culmination with the now almost iconic events of May 1968 in Paris; through these, as the historian Judt (2007: 398) reminds us, the post-war generation was "breaking with the age of the grandpas". For the theorists of postmodernity, such as Jameson (1991: xx), the transformations of these decades were enormous and the consequence was not only breaking with a certain era, but also with "tradition […] on the level of mentalités" (*ibid.*).

These cultural preconditions for what later emerged to be called "postmodernity" (or, as Giddens (1991) argues, merely late modernity) were paralleled with the underlying problems that lead to the economic crisis of the early 1970s (Harvey 1989: 284; Jameson 1991: xx-xxi). Ultimately, the turmoil gave rise to solutions that argued for a more "flexible", free-market oriented economy with less emphasis on the state and its post-war, welfare oriented politics. This economic orientation had its most vocal proponents in Britain, where Margaret Thatcher implemented a number of policies that supported private initiative, individualism and competitiveness and that ultimately resulted in a move away from mass consumerism towards niche markets and an ever increasing dependency on "global commodity exchange" (Harvey 1989: 299).

Two important but crucially interlinked concepts that help explain the rise of consumer culture should be at the forefront of this process: firstly, globalization; and secondly, postmodernity. While the first term suggests broader global connectivity that enables greater availability of goods, services and increased mobility throughout the world, the second term, in turn, suggests a change in how societies – and individuals – live in such a world: with increased availability and choice of goods comes less reliance on traditional patterns of life and networks, and an increased interest in styles of life and individual identities, in some cases even, as Featherstone (1991: 3) argues, an "emergence of a new social totality with its own distinct organizing principles". According to Harvey (1989: 285), this shift primarily meant the commodification of segments of everyday lives (*e.g.* aspects of culture and individual lives and even feelings, as Miller (2007: 50) argues), as well as "volatility and ephemerality of fashions, products, production, production techniques, labour processes, ideas and ideologies, values and established practices."

While the extent of such social changes remains to be discussed, it seems quite clear that a trend towards a society that values consumption as a site through which lives can be imagined and constructed can be noticed: while societies have become more fragmented, individuals started more than ever to satisfy their personal, rather than social, desires and through commodities to pursue pleasure (Slater 1997: 10; Ketchum 2005: 221; Wynne 1998). In his The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism, Campbell (2005) describes this turn from the more puritan perspective of life that originally fueled modern capitalist societies (as Weber argued in his Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism to which Campbell's work clearly alludes) to a more hedonist world outlook which ultimately relies not on products as such, but on their aesthetic value. Campbell (2005: 89) – along with a number of theorists of postmodernity – claims that,

> [t]he essential activity of consumption is thus not the actual selection, purchase or use of products, but the imaginative pleasure-seeking to which the product image lends itself, "real" consumption being largely a resultant of this "mentalistic" hedonism.

This aestheticization of everyday life, to borrow Featherstone's (1991: 66) syntagm, refers to the "rapid flow of signs and images which saturate the fabric of everyday life in contemporary society". Although based on Marx's understanding of commodities as fetishes, aestheticization stresses the secondary – discursive – meaning that signs acquire in contemporary society via advertising and the manipulation of the media. It is through image more than at any time before, Baudrillard explains, that the contemporary consumer builds their imaginary world in which dreams, pleasure and desires can become reality itself (in Featherstone 1991: 67–68). In consumer culture, consumption must then be understood as the consumption of signs (*cf.* Tomlinson 1990: 31).

Of course, the speed with which these changes were taking place had much to do with the development of the technology that enabled expansion of the media – the main sites for the representation of consumer goods – and transportation which, among other things enable tighter global connectivity, also known as globalization. Much has been written about this crucial process, and perhaps this is why there is still much disagreement as to when it started, what it entails and what its effects are. But although there is an argument over whether globalization started either with the Columbian exchange in the 16th century or the Industrialization processes of the 19th century (both significantly contributing to the understanding of the world as one whole), much of the critical literature sees it as a consequence of the more intense global connectivity that was the result of both the free market politics of the postwar years that encouraged global trade as well as the technological revolutions of the 1970s and 1980s (Inglis and Gimlin

2009: 10). Both of these encouraged consumerism, one through an increase of imagery, as explained above, and the second through the increased availability of desirable goods and services from all over the world. While literature distinguishes three strands of globalization – economic, political and cultural – it is mostly the latter that concerns the discussion of the global lifestyle media. We turn to this in the next section.

2.1.2   Cultural globalization as homogenization and heterogenization

In postmodern consumer culture, technologies act as producers and reproducers of meaning through practices of symbolic representation: it is through the media that the world at large is communicated to us and it is largely through the media that the value of consumer goods and services is constructed (Giddens 1991; Tomlinson 1999: 18–9). At a time when media have become global enterprises, such meanings, produced in global centres of meaning production, can be disseminated around the world with ease, creating for local consumers at many previously unreachable locations an image of the West as a desirable dreamland. This idea that such processes mean unification, reduction in world diversity and standardization of styles of life propelled much of the writing on globalization as a homogenizing force, especially in the 1990s when these processes were at their peak, following the free-market reforms of the 1980s in Britain and the US (Latouche 1996). This position could be neatly summarized through the idea of "cultural imperialism" (see *e.g.* Tomlinson 1991) which was most famously encapsulated in Ritzer's (1993) "McDonaldization thesis" and Barber's (1993) idea of McWorld. Both were generally critical of the consequences of cultural globalization, linking the spread of Anglo-American pop culture (and its value system) to the spread of consumer capitalism and its principles (Barber 1993). They argued that through such global connectivity, cultures and the processes within them are becoming as similar as McDonald's restaurants are across the world: wherever you go, McDonald's offers the comfort of the known, erasing the diversity of cultures locally.

While this argument does expose some of the problematic aspects of the global expansion of capitalism, it is at the same time over-simplistic in that it does not allow for the aspect of the localization of global products and discourses: of course, it is arguable to what extent the global is in fact adapted locally but there seems to be a range of research that demonstrates the various extents to which such processes of hybridization do occur, often in unpredictable or unintended ways (Barker 2008: 70). Hafez (2007: 83, 98) even states that such adaptations (usually to Western culture) in many cases entail the "modernization of traditional cultures" where the seemingly global "Other" is in fact the modern "Self".