Chapter one:

Introduction to the aims, concepts and research questions

The cultural inheritance system

Learning new things (including the acquisition of cultural knowledge) is not a peripheral activity for humans but a central and defining element of our experiences, nature and evolution. It is also a vital mechanism through which cultural change (or evolution) can occur. The overall process by which cultural information is passed on (transmitted) across generations is referred to as the cultural inheritance system. An evolutionary perspective is of use in the deconstruction and analysis of aspects of this process as is the theory of 'dual inheritance' (the relationship between genetic evolution and cultural change). Nonetheless, cultural inheritance is viewed as distinct from genetic inheritance in several important ways. First, whilst creators of cultural constructions (such as buildings, art or cuisine) can attempt to 'code' their constructions with their intended meaning, the eventual cultural meaning, value and role of the construction will be a product also of the subjective interpretation of the recipient or user (Diston, 23:2010). Second, the nature of selection pressures exerted by culturally modified landscapes are not directly analogous to selection forces operating on genes. Unlike genetic inheritance, people are often able to make conscious choices about behaviours that they believe are better adapted to changing external pressures.

Much interesting recent work has been done recently that increases our understanding of cultural inheritance systems. The significance of different *learning modes* (social or individual learning) in the passing on of cultural information and the different *sources* of cultural information have been explored by Boyd & Richerson (1985, 2005[1], 2005[2]), Runciman (2009) and Shennan (2002, 2009). The relationship between culture, particularly material culture, and identity has been examined by Ainslie (2005, 2008), Miller (2001,

2002) and Schiffer (1999). A population's culture changes over time in response to many things such as social fashion, technological innovation or changes in environmental resource availability. The time-scales of such changes are varied as are the adaptiveness of the range of cultural responses. Building on niche construction theories of Odling-Smee, Laland & Feldman (2003) is an exploration of the role culture has in creating people's environment and, in turn, how such modified cultural environments impact upon cultural selection pressures. This thesis considers material culture an essential part of a population group's cultural identity and seeks, specifically, to examine cultural transmission and inheritance as manifested through material culture, particularly cuisine

The choice of cuisine as indicator of cultural transmission is justified in several ways. A distinct, differentiated cuisine has for some time been argued to be significant in the creation and maintenance of cultural and ethnic identity (Goody 1982, Gabaccia 1998). Changes to cuisine (either actual or perceived) will, therefore, reflect wider changes to cultural identity as would changes in the relationship between cuisine and the specific foods or the processing methods that form its component parts. Although ubiquitous in people's cultural lives, evidence of food and meals in past cultures is limited by poor preservation in the archaeological record and often scanty descriptions in written sources. Without a longitudinal element, studying cuisine changes over time is difficult which may explain the limited use of cuisine as an indicator of cultural transmission and inheritance.

This problem may be overcome, however, through a comparison of cuisine changes experienced by an immigrant population and that of a more established population. Such comparison provides an opportunity to examine the resilience of different cuisine components. The effect of severing or restricting the more usual modes of cuisine knowledge transmission for immigrant populations can also be examined. The impact of a population group's altered demographic composition (the 'founder effect') upon cuisine

inheritance can be also investigated. Changes in cuisine that are usually experienced over several generations for a settled population could be compressed into a much shorter time frame for an immigrant population as migrants must adapt to a new cuisine environment rapidly.

This main body of primary data for this research, therefore, comes from a survey conducted of a sample of both immigrant and UK-born resident groups regarding their attitudes to and experiences of cuisine. The remainder of this chapter provides an introduction to the underlying assumptions that frame the theory and the investigative methods in this research.

1.2 The use of an evolutionary perspective

Evolution is about change; this change is often slow, although not always, and is not necessarily concerned with (and to be confused with) development (although one can lead to the other). The mechanism that is necessary for cultural evolution is social learning (Runciman, 2009:57) and cultural evolution is considered here a crucial and interrelated part of our overall (genetic) evolution. This evolutionary perspective helps frame this research in that the changes that are observed in the material culture of cuisine are viewed, in part, as the result of responses to 'selection' by the culturally constructed environment. Some traits (variations of cultural behaviour) within population groups will be more suited (have greater adaptive fitness) to their environment and, therefore, are more likely to be selected for. Others traits might be less or, even, maladaptive, and reasons for their continuation can be examined.

A number of evolutionary theories offer a range of hypotheses that are useful in interpreting and understanding human behaviour and culture within the social sciences. Laland and Brown (2002) and Shennan (2009) provide clear overviews of the different evolutionary approaches to have emerged over recent decades in the study of aspects of human

behaviour and culture. What unifies these approaches is the belief that culture is not completely divorced from biology in our species' evolution and that the driver of evolution is neither solely genetically determined, nor cultural-behavioural.

The different evolutionary approaches could be placed on a spectrum of the importance each attribute to human culture in terms of driving evolution. By extension, they also diverge in the importance they place on deconstructing possible mechanisms of cultural change such as knowledge transmission and cultural responses to the external environment. The approaches which viewed culture as largely "shaped" by genetic biases (sociobiology) also argued for greater universality in behavioural patterns and cultural responses across different societies. Other approaches, however, such as 'dual inheritance' theories, consider culture as the "outcome of the interplay between our universally flexible developmental systems and particular aspects of the ecological and social environments" (Laland, 2002: 15). There are yet others (memetic theorists such as Blackmore, 1999) on this spectrum who view culture, "as evolutionary process in its own right" (2002:16).

There may always be limitations to the use of the more traditional evolutionary theories for material culture. Evolutionary theories primarily explain behaviour rather than the tangible examples of the culture that this behaviour produces. Dual inheritance theories may be valid as explanation for the construction of artefacts but may not be sufficiently detailed for observable artefact trait changes to be related to a specific transmission route (Cochrane, 2009: 117).

The theory of niche construction (Odling-Smee, Laland & Feldman 2003) provides a further link in the genetic-cultural relationship through the development of the concept of a third inheritance system, ecological inheritance, in which the selective environment itself can be transmitted. The theory of "niche construction" extends the role of the phenotype by arguing that the external environment is modified by inhabitants' behaviours and, in turn, the environment - now itself changed - applies different selective pressures upon the human behaviours that operate within it (Odling-Smee, Laland, Feldman 2003: 239-241).

The relevance of this theory is that it provides an analytical framework to understand the role of human populations and their adaptations within new environments. One example could be the impact of immigrants' culture, including their cuisine, upon their environment and the effects of the modified environment on future possible immigrants' behaviour, such as the potential ease with which future immigrants (or their descendants) assimilate.

1.3 Modes of learning

Whilst the evolutionary approaches above have conceded that culture can contribute to evolution, they have done this only indirectly and in a limited way, arguing that culture can affect genetic evolution by differentially influencing human fitness (the ability of particular phenotypes to out-survive others). However, the implication is still that *individual learning* is the main mechanism through which humans acquire knowledge about the environment. Individual learning refers to the personal observation of some aspect of the external environment and then trial and error experimentation of information gleaned from that observation. Both behavioural ecologists and evolutionary psychologists pursue this model in some form in their explanations of human behaviour. In the case of behavioural ecologists, Aunger (2009:34) has suggested that the individual learning model can only work when subsistence societies are studied. Aunger (2009:34) argued that it would be "extremely difficult" to explain the existence of complex infrastructures (he gives examples

of electricity grids and computer networks) and the "group specific traits and activities" that must have created them without recourse to social learning as transmission model.

Social learning is argued (Runcimann, 2009:57) by many to be the key driver of cultural evolution. Social learning involves learning from the knowledge observed in others; whether via planned teaching or simple copying. Social learning is often seen as synonymous with imitation. Imitation is not considered a negative learning mechanism; its value is in the huge amount of time and energy that is saved in acquiring information (Boyd and Richerson, 2005[2: 99) but it can also have adaptive costs as discussed later.

Within social learning are subsets such as *direct* and *indirectly biased transmission.* The former involves individuals changing their way of doing something as a result of comparing the outcome of the current way of doing it, inherited from a parent, with that of another individual (Shennan, 2002: 59). Decisions by the imitator/learner as to whether to adopt the cultural trait are, thus, made on the basis of the intrinsic features of the trait itself. Indirectly biased transmission, however, is when an individual adopts the cultural attribute of another individual because they appear to be more successful. However, if enough people follow indirect biased transmission (copying a successful cultural attribute of another) they may make this attribute itself the source of success.

Modes of learning are often put forward in oppositional pairs, the implication being that individuals select (consciously or not) individual *or* social learning mode, for example, and then, of the latter, directly biased *or* indirectly biased learning. In this area of on-going research, further investigation will help the understanding of the decision making process. It is argued here that the reality may well be a complicated combination of these different transmission routes; the choice dependent on particular environmental and individual circumstances of the individual decision makers.

One way to consider which is the most adaptive mode of learning is through a cost benefit analysis approach. The cost involved in individual learning mode is the greater time required for learning compared to other mode of learning, such as imitation/social learning, and the potential abandonment of the store of cumulative knowledge built up over generations. Such cost benefit analysis needs to consider whether the anticipated benefit derived from the increase in adaptive fitness will be worthwhile. Given the smaller investment of energy in imitation/social learning, it would appear that, for the most part, this would be the most adaptively sensible choice. It is also imitation, Boyd & Richerson argue (2005[2]:109), that leads to the uniquely human attribute of what they term 'cumulative cultural evolution'. This is the addition of new innovations to an individuals' behavioural repertoire at a speed that simply would not be possible over one life time otherwise.

Another factor to consider would be the speed of change in the environment. Imitation might be adaptively sound for slowly changing environments whilst fast changing environments (such as experienced by immigrants) would benefit from individual learning about their environment (including learning about the culture of newly encountered populations). This is because simply reproducing cultural traits from within their immigrant population might produce out of date or unsuitable cultural information that is less well adapted to the new environment (Boyd & Richerson 2005[2]:131). Another potential downside to imitation rather than individual learning in this situation is that it does not enhance "the capacity of a population to adapt to the local environment". Boyd & Richerson (2005[2]:99) go as far as to describe this type of social learning as "parasitic" and points out that the 'cost' of this type of learning may be in the longer term (and, therefore, not as readily apparent when the choice of learning mode is being made) in respect of the adaptive fitness of the individual.

1.4 Routes of transmission

There are different routes of cultural knowledge. These sources or 'routes of transmission' include vertical (parent to child), oblique (from adults of parents' generation other than parents to the younger generation) and horizontal (from peers of the same generation) (Shennan, 2002: 48). Of these routes of transmission vertical transmission is argued to be the most significant (accounting for nearly three quarters of cultural knowledge transmission). These three main routes can be further subdivided. A distinction within the oblique route, for example, has been made by Hosfeld (2009:46) who considered a subset of 'master/apprentice' transmission for the "distinctive conditions" created with specialist oblique learning circumstances such as craft apprenticeships. There could also be other variables to investigate. Hosfeld (2009:47-53) reviewed craft skill learning case studies and the absolute or relative numbers of people involved in each transmission based on gender, motivation, difficulty of learning task, time allowed and social pressures. Further important variables are the demographic characteristics of the recipients of cultural inheritance and these are discussed later on in this chapter.

1.5 The evidence sample: material culture and cultural transmission

If cultural transmission is essentially about how information is passed down the generations then culture itself is both the transfer and store (Aunger, 2009:33) of this information. The focus here is on the role of material culture. As archaeologists trace material cultural evolution through the gradual stylistic and functional modifications of material culture over time, so the changes in material culture of populations in the more recent past can similarly be used. Whilst archaeology has a "vital contribution to make to evolutionary analysis of human behaviour" (Shennan 2002:18), this assumes that it "can develop methods for putting the ideas into operation" and this may be its limitation.

There are several attractions of using examples of material culture from modern population samples to examine cultural inheritance systems. The most obvious is simply the quantity of potential data, including the availability of more detailed and personal information directly from the users of the material culture in question. The value and meaning that the material culture has been imbued with by its owners is often what is lacking from historical or archaeological records. A further advantage of using a modern resident sample is that it should be much easier to distinguish more nuanced changes in cultural learning modes and the sources of cultural knowledge

We could think of material culture as comprised of 'cultural units'. These are not defined by size or type and it is, therefore, much harder to identity the boundaries of such units. These cultural units are defined here as anything (objects, art, buildings, textiles, music or food for example) which relate to and influences our sense(s) of cultural identity. These units could appeal to different senses; textiles to our sight and touch or food to several senses (this combination making food a significant and poignant unit of our material culture). Cultural units can vary in their tangibility, physical solidness and longevity. Buildings may take a longer lasting material form, whereas others, such as music or food, may take both an ephemeral form whilst also being long lasting.

Cuisine can be deconstructed in many ways depending on the aspect being examined with regard to its role in cultural inheritance; differentiation of eating habits, the structure of meals, the social stratification of cuisine or the component parts of a dish are all potentially relevant. The fieldwork here focused on the latter area, breaking down food dishes into

three key components of ingredients, cooking methods and flavourings which are argued to provide dishes with their distinctive characteristic (Rozin,1992). The importance to cultural identity of these components is determined by their relative rate of change. In addition, dishes were categorised by social importance and the impact of different cultural influences upon them was compared.

It is argued here that a group's cultural identity is formed, in part, by the material culture that surrounds them and that cuisine is an important part of this cultural identity. It is recognised that this is one of two significant assumptions which are fundamental to this research. For this reason it is the first question to be asked of the data sample in the fieldwork. These cultural 'units' need not be completely historically 'genuine' to fulfil the role of 'transmitters' of cultural knowledge. Obvious icons of cultural heritage are historic, monumental buildings; churches, museums, palaces for example. These, once their age runs into centuries, have often had large parts of the original material structure replaced during maintenance. Indeed, much of such a structure may not be 'original' at all but this appears not necessarily to affect its role as cultural icon (regardless of whether the buildings' function continues, changes or is even made use of).

Similarly, particular food dishes can retain their cultural significance even when specific and original ingredients have been substituted or an aspect of the dish's preparation has been adapted to new technological conditions. In fact, such dishes or meals, once imbued with cultural value or heritage status (as with iconic buildings), may secure even greater cultural longevity. By which point, as well as their primary function of sustenance, food dishes become a store of cultural knowledge and agent for cultural transmission. The units of material culture which operate as transmitters of cultural knowledge do so because they

are perceived by a society to represent their heritage/values. Such units do not (necessarily) have to have a direct functional use in people's everyday lives any more than their component parts need to be all of original construction to be cultural transmitters.

Material culture as an agent for cultural transmission is enabled because it exists for people in two forms; the actual and the remembered (Anslie, 2005:215). For a cultural group's cuisine, the frequent re-creation of, for example, special food dishes reinforces the status and value of these dishes. This is true even where particular component of the food dish may have to be substituted or aspects of the dish misremembered, resulting in a slight modification of the dish. Indeed, particularly in the case of a numerically small immigrant population, the 'copying errors' introduced as a result of poor memory may by propagated disproportionately by drift in the absence of correcting cultural knowledge (Shennan, 2002:55). Such modification does not necessarily lessen a dish's cultural value; its users may not even be aware of the change. The modified food dish may eventually, however, have the effect of changing its users' behaviour (in terms of cooking and eating habits). Thus, the very act of misremembering ultimately modifies our cultural landscape. In both examples above (the crumbing building requiring repair or the faulty memory of food) what might appear to be a faulty (or maladaptive) mechanism of cultural transmission can still result in cultural modification.

1.6 The population sample: the effect of migration on cultural transmission

Whilst it is envisaged that the use of a modern population sample will provide a greater level of detail than a past population study could, one disadvantage of the former is the lack of time depth (such as the archaeological record can provide so well). The reason for comparing an immigrant with an established population sample is that this provides a possible way to address the issue of time depth as it is assumed that immigrant groups will

experience a faster pace of cultural change than most established (settled, resident) groups usually would. It is acknowledged that this is a significant assumption and, as such, will be addressed specifically in the 2nd and 3rd core research questions.

The creation of culture, including cuisine, to modify and enhance our environment is considered part of the "means of achieving the normal evolutionary goals of survival". If the cultural environment remains unchanging it would be "appropriate to act in similar ways" to that which one has done in the past (Shennan, 2002:37). However, clearly cultural environments do not stay the same across either time or space. This presents the same questions about the nature and impact of changing cultural selection pressures as would be from the natural environment upon genetic selection. These questions include, what changes in a particular cultural environment are adaptive (well suited) and what is the current knowledge of its inhabitants about these changes? There are many interesting possible locations or time periods through which to examine these questions. The changed environment experienced by immigrants provides a particularly interesting opportunity to examine cultural transmission for several reasons: the juxtaposition of different material cultures, the necessary compression of cultural adaptation (learning) and the effects of altered population (demographic) variables.

The ability of humans to adapt effectively to survive in many different environments is a defining and differentiating characteristic. Whether this characteristic is a product or the driver of sophisticated social learning processes is a point for discussion elsewhere but the link between the two (social learning and environmental adaptation) seems unlikely not to be a coincidence. The transmission of cultural knowledge is inherent in all social groups whether settled on one place for some time or the product of a more recent migration.

Whilst analysis of cultural changes can and has been done on different types of social group, comparison of an immigrant group and an established resident group offers a particularly valuable view of some of the factors involved in cultural transmission.

How does migration affect cultural knowledge transmission?

It is argued that the dominance of certain source of cultural knowledge (vertical sources) and modes of learning (social learning) are the mechanisms through which the continuity of a cultural group is maintained. The relative importance of these transmission sources and modes may be changed, of course, for reasons other than migration, such as socio-economic structural change within societies. However, the geographic dislocation experienced by immigrants brings about an immediate restriction on the usually dominant transmission routes which is anticipated to result in greater reliance on other knowledge sources and or upon individual learning.

There are two further aspects of cultural transmission that comparison between immigrant and established groups could help understand: that of 'cultural lag time' and 'founder effect'. There is a limit to how quickly cuisines can adapt to a new cultural influences and pressures. This cultural adaptation time lag reflects the tension between innovation and cultural conservatism (Shennan 2002:43). The trait of cultural conservatism may dominate in many established resident populations and may well be a useful filtering of new and untested ideas that may not be best adapted to the environment in the longer term. Thus, another impact of migration may be the need for populations to become less culturally conservative. The altered demographic structure that is often characteristic of an immigrant community (such as a higher proportion of younger adults) may also affect cultural transmission. Age may be a factor in determining immigrants' learning preferences and the

way that they perceive their socio-cultural environment and are affected by other cultural influences beyond their immediate community.

1.7 The investigation

The objectives of the fieldwork presented in this thesis were primarily to describe and explain some of the specific and measurable changes that take place in the food and cuisine assemblage amongst a sample of an immigrant population living in this country. A second objective was to compare this with a UK-born population. The major element of the fieldwork research comprised a survey into food choices, cooking practices, perceptions and attitudes to food utilised by immigrant and UK born residents in 21st century north London.

The completed survey, conducted largely through self completed questionnaires and some interviews, included data from 113 respondents. The survey location was a ward within the London Borough of Haringey, a very ethnically diverse area with a long established Turkish speaking population as well as more recent immigration from other areas in Europe and elsewhere. Just over half the respondents in the survey were born in the UK (sought as the comparative group) and the other half were born elsewhere but now lived in London. Of those respondents born elsewhere the single largest group had been born in Turkey or the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

Core research questions

There are three research themes which provide the organising framework for both the literature review and the fieldwork. They are outlined in Table 1.1 and returned to again in Chapter 7 on Methods. Themes A and B include the research questions which directed the construction of the fieldwork survey. Data corresponding to the first five core questions are presented and analysed in Chapter 8, which follows the structure set by these Theme A

and B questions. Chapter 9 considers conclusions to these questions and also follows the same structure. Chapter 9 also discusses the evidence to support cultural niche construction theory (Theme C).

Question one seeks to test the assumption that cuisine is important to residents and, therefore, is a valid indicator of cultural identity. This was considered an essential starting point. Questions 2 and 3 sought to deconstruct components of cuisine; to compare their relative importance to people's sense of cultural identity as well as to compare the speeds with which these components changed. In addition, data from question 2 was expected to provide further evidence regarding the importance of cuisine to people. Responses for both question 2 and 3 were compared for differences between the immigrant and UK-born groups.

Theme B questions provide the main focus of much of the data collection and analyses as they concern the process of cultural knowledge transmission (question 4 for sources of knowledge and question 5 for modes of learning) and how this differs between migrant and UK-born groups. Respondent characteristics believed to be directly relevant to changing learning styles, such as age and length of time migrants had lived in the UK, were also analysed. The fieldwork survey asked participants about their perceptions of influence from the wider cultural environment upon their cuisine as well as their influence upon others. Data from these sections in the survey, combined with data from throughout the fieldwork, was referred to in discussing the evidence for the Theme C questions.

Theme	Research question
A Cuisine material culture and cultural identity	
1	How important is cuisine in contributing to people's sense of cultural identity?

2	Are some elements of cuisine more important to people's sense of cultural identity than others?
3	Do different component parts of cuisine knowledge change at different rates and why is this?
B The transmission of cultural knowledge	
4	What are the main transmission routes (sources) of cuisine knowledge and how does migration affect these?
5	What are the main modes of learning about cuisine knowledge and how does migration affect these?
6	Do characteristics of immigrants' identity, such as region of origin, length of time in the UK, place of birth of parents, affect transmission processes?
C Is there evidence from above questions to support theories of cultural niche construction and a cultural inheritance system	
7	Is there evidence that cuisine assemblage (environment) of immigrants has changed from that of their homeland?
8	Is there evidence that changes to cuisine environment have, in turn, modified the selection pressures acting upon the cuisine culture (for either immigrants or hosts)?

Table 1.1: Highlights the main themes and research questions. Questions 1 – 6 are were used to organise the fieldwork research and structure the layout of the data presentation in Chapter 8 and the conclusions considered in Chapter 9. Theme C questions are not asked directly in the fieldwork but considered in Chapter 9.

Outline of the thesis

Some of the evolutionary theories that provide a starting framework for understanding cultural change are discussed in Chapter 2. Particular focus is on the theory of niche construction and how this could be specifically applied to understanding the role of the cultural environment in influencing cultural adaptation. Chapter 3 examines the concept of cultural identity; how it is constructed and how migration can result in changes to this. The process by which cultural knowledge is transmitted is the subject of Chapter 4 and, again, how migration can disrupt this process. Chapters 5 and 6 examine the role of material culture in cultural inheritance processes and, specifically, that of cuisine. The last three

Chapters, 7 – 9, focus on the fieldwork. Research methods, field location and sample are explained in Chapter 7. The fieldwork data is presented and analysed in Chapter 8 and conclusions to the original core research questions introduced in this chapter are discussed in Chapter 9.

Chapter Two

The cultural inheritance system

Introduction

An inheritance system is a mechanism which allows the transmission of information from one generation to the next and its forms can be biological and cultural. The biological inheritance system in humans is via genes; genetic information is passed (transmitted) from one generation to the next. Genetic evolution refers to the inter-generational changes (modification) of genetic information through differential selection by the natural environment. These selection pressures influence which individual organisms survive and reproduce. The result of the genetic evolution (change) is a new (modified) set of genetic traits in descendent generations.

Here it is argued that culture provides another, vital, inheritance system; another means via which (knowledge) information can be transmitted from one generation to the next. This idea itself is not new as there has been a growing body of literature suggesting different ways in which culture is passed on through the generations. One of the problems with theories of cultural inheritance appears to be that cultural inheritance is often viewed as analogous with genetic inheritance. This then leads to the need to find a defined unit of inheritance similar to that of the gene in genetic inheritance. However, discussions of cultural inheritance can often lack a clear definition of what constitutes the unit of cultural transmission. Theories about 'dual inheritance' systems (culture and gene) risk limiting their exploration of how culture is transmitted by needing to seek comparison or analogy with genetic evolution. There may be some similarities between how genetic information and cultural information is transmitted/inherited but there are also substantial differences. Understanding of the processes of genetic inheritance may also provide a useful starting framework through which to consider how

culture is transmitted but it is not a basis for simple analogy and the two transmission processes are intrinsically different.

Rather, this thesis proposes a way of viewing culture, and its transmission, that develops further the role of culture within the concept of niche construction theory (Odling-Smee, Laland, Feldman, 2003). Culture, as the product of human knowledge, is now the significant means by which humans modifies their environment. Indeed, culture, in part, should be defined, as the *modification made by humans to their environment*. Or, we could describe culture as the wider implications of our relationship with our environment. So, cultural inheritance system is one that changes the selectional environment. Cultural units are not considered here to be, themselves, capable of replication and so they are not considered analogous to genes. However, as part of the complex constructed environment they contribute to the selection pressures that shape the behaviour of its inhabitants.

Defining culture in terms of cultural inheritance

Before looking at the concept of cultural inheritance further the term 'culture' should be defined. The inconsistency of the term 'culture' has, itself, contributed to some of the confusion in discussions of cultural evolution. A major concern is that the term culture appears to be used to refer to aspects of the selectional environment *as well as* used to mean a trait. The selectional environment is that, external to person, that exerts a pressure on their traits. Clearly, culture cannot be both trait and selectional environment, in the traditional sense in which we understand the process of evolution by natural selection. In this thesis the term culture is used to describe a process rather than a product and refers to the way in which humans have modified their environment as a result of innovation. In this way we can talk about several different 'culture' things,

such as cultural trait, cultural adaptation, cultural information, cultural behaviours and the cultural environment.

Culture is very much related to the human constructed (built) environment. Culture, therefore, can be defined as that which creates the cultural environment of its population/society. This concept is central to this thesis. It might be easy, therefore, to justify using the term 'culture' as almost synonymous with that of the 'cultural environment'. However, for the sake of clarity and for easier reference to other work on cultural evolution, in this thesis I will use the prefix cultural when referring to humans' environment. This then leaves the term 'culture' when used on its own to refer to the myriad results of the endeavours of human manufacture, thought and creativity.

Culture is often described as buffering us to a large extent from the natural environment and the effects of natural selection upon our genes even though, as humans have always modified their surroundings, the concept of the natural environment does not really apply to human societies. This is not to say that humans no longer evolve, but that our evolution is now largely through and of our cultural heritage. However, the implication with this use of the term is that culture is something separate from nature and this, of course, is using the term very differently from the idea here that *culture* is part of what constitutes our *environment.*

2.2 Theories of cultural transmission: The legacy of the nature/nurture debate

Boyd and Richerson suggest that some of the opposition to the use of evolutionary approaches in the study of human behaviour and culture was a legacy of the nature versus nurture debate in both development and evolution (2005[2]:9). Just because some traits are clearly genetically determined (Boyd and Richerson here cite sickle-cell

anaemia as one such trait), whereas others appeared to be culturally determined (for example, the particular language spoken by an individual) this does not exclude the idea that the development of many traits are influenced by both genes *and* the environment. Obvious examples of such dual influenced traits include the particular set of cognitive skills we develop or the height we attain in adulthood. Many evolutionary theorists, Boyd and Richerson argue, whilst accepting the interaction between genes and culture, still lump culture with other environmental influences and thus ignore the novel evolutionary processes that are created by culture (2005[2]: 11).

In terms of explaining cultural behaviour a genetically deterministic perspective clearly has many limitations. Such an approach can be criticised for being deterministic, reductionist and over-simplified when considering only genetic evolution, let alone when trying to understand cultural change and provide an explanation of behaviour including learning behaviour. However, there were useful things to be learnt from this approach, namely its methodology. It promoted empirical, experimental research into evolution, something that had been lacking in cultural theory research. The application of an empiricist approach could be no less useful for the systematic analysis of data concerning cultural inheritance systems (Cochrane, 2009:117).

Equally unhelpful and erroneous would be the view that culture, or individuals' experiences during their development and beyond, is the only significant influence on their behaviour and actions. However, of course, for those of the behavouralism school of psychology and yet others from political life, such as communist idealists, this was exactly what they argued. Exemplifying the behaviourist approach was the work of John Watson (1878-1958) who had been influenced by the work of Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936), at the beginning of the 20th century, on learnt reflexes. Pavlov had come to believe that the contents of individuals' minds and actions were largely dependent on outside

influences (Ridley, 2004:178) and Watson famously argued that a specific and targeted education could determine the professional specialism and achievement of any randomly chosen child regardless of their innate abilities or vocation (Ridley, 2004:185).

So, at least for many cultural learning theorists, the dichotomy of the genetic (nativist) versus culture or empiricist (nurture) debate is no longer considered helpful or even valid. This is, in part, thanks to the development of recent theories such as dual inheritance and their help in our understanding of the different evolutionary processes. Rather, it is argued by some that "every bit of the behaviour (or physiology or morphology…) …results from the interaction of genetic information stored in the developing organism and the properties of the environment" (Boyd and Richerson, 2005[2]:9). Or, as Ridley puts it, "human nature is a product of culture, but culture is also a product of human nature, and both are products of evolution" (Ridley, 1994:6). This general argument for more than one inheritance system in evolution can still accommodate differences within the systems and variation between the relative contributions in different situations. Some traits will, for example, be more sensitive to environmental pressure than others. Natural selection will affect cultural selection by shaping the way that development processes respond to environmental variation. Indeed, Boyd and Richerson (2005[2]:11) argue that natural selection shapes individual learning mechanisms so that interaction with the environment produces adaptive behaviour.

Issues of scale: temporal and spatial

Another issue to be considered in using an evolutionary framework to study cultural change is the different time scale and population size considered. Can evolutionary theory, developed from looking at macro-evolutionary changes, be applied to the often micro – evolutionary changes viewed in culture? An additional process used within

genetic evolution that we should also consider in the study of culture is the principle of linking evolutionary patterns over different scales, for both time and space. Macro evolutionary patterns are those often most commonly observed by biological evolutionists and archaeologists, both are best suited to observing changes over necessarily long time periods and variation over larger geography areas.

Mesoudi & O'Brien (2009:25) remind us, however, of the importance in culture of the micro-evolutionary changes as well. These may be rapid changes and involve just small, nuanced changes not easily detectable at any great time depth and, thus, often can only be observed by ethnographic study where one smaller (living) community is examined in detail. However, as the cultural inheritance system is made up of cumulative culture, and this in turn will be the result of many of the very small as well as momentous changes, patterns of the two processes need to be linked. Similarly, changes that appear at individual or group level should be linked to wider population level patterns of change. This is something discussed in the next chapter when looking at the potential of applying learning models from developmental psychology (and thus facing changed selection pressures and transmission routes). An important question would be whether the modes and routes of cultural transmission are affected by group size and different time spans of operation.

2.3 Can cultural inheritance theories be applied to material culture?

For the concept of a cultural inheritance system to have validity, we would need to determine and define the most suitable operation taxonomic unit (unit of replication). Mesoudi and O'Brien (2009:22,25) argue that we should also be able to apply the now widely accepted concepts such as phylogenetic analyses of trait transmission based upon origin of attribute similarity; in other words, the differentiation of homologous traits

(inherited from a common ancestor) from analogous traits (evolved independently but appear similar as acted upon by some coincidently similar environmental pressure/selection).

The theory of memetics does try to remedy this by clearly stating a unit of cultural inheritance. However, in memetics cultural inheritance is viewed absolutely as analogous to genetic inheritance in terms of also attempting to identify and describe a discrete, significant unit of cultural inheritance which is known as the meme. This implies a very different concept of culture and, therefore, how it might be transmitted, from the one supported in this thesis. Even putting aside for the moment the discussion above of the different processes and effects that culture can refer to, the premise here that cultural inheritance is based upon modification of the environment means that the idea of subdivision of culture into discrete measurable units is misleading. In addition, the comparison of memes with viruses implies an emphasis on horizontal transmission perhaps, and this might limit the theory's application in understanding vertical transmission of culture (inheritance). Blackmore (2000:13) makes the distinction in memes' replication (their inheritance system) between the copying of the product and copying the instructions.

We also should consider how suitable an evolutionary theoretical framework is for use with the type of empirical evidence base of material culture found in the archaeological record or through ethnographic studies. Cochrane argues that of the these two evolutionary theories, "(e)volutionary archaeology and dual inheritance theory are built primarily to explain different empirical records-the record of artefacts and the living record of behaviour" (Cochrane, 2009:117). In his study of prehistoric Fijian ceramics, Cochrane resolves this by suggesting a theoretical approach that combines concepts from dual inheritance and evolutionary archaeology may provide the most useful

interpretation toolkit of observed changes in artefacts. This combination of approaches is justified as Cochrane acknowledges that material culture is itself, of course, the product of the variation of cultural behaviour. The concept of different transmission routes (vertical, horizontal, oblique) that provide the mechanism of passing on cumulative cultural behaviour from one generation to the next is valid as explanation for construction of artefacts. However, it is not sufficiently detailed for observable artefact trait changes to be related to a specific transmission route (Mesoudi & O'Brien, 2009: 128). It is suggested here that the use of food and cuisine as the evidence base in this research will provide suitable empirical data in which specific modifications of the material cultural unit /or 'artefact' (in this case, main cultural unit being the food dish) is relatively easily matched to both changes in the constructor (the cook's) behaviour.

The extended phenotype and niche construction theories

As most biological evolutionary theory includes only one inheritance system; genetic inheritance, it assigns only one role to phenotypes in evolution, that of contributing to genetic inheritance through their differential survival and reproduction. Such a theory does concede that human cultural activities may influence human adaptations, or be the result of other human adaptations and that cultural processes may also influence human fitness through impact on the phenotype. Whether biologically or culturally modified, however, the phenotype can only indirectly influence evolution through differential fitness selection. Put simply, traditional evolutionary theory states that phenotypic differences may contribute to genetic evolution by being differentially favoured by their external environment (in the same way that genetic mutations are differentially favoured). This assumes that external environment is a variable that *cannot* be changed by organisms.

The term 'phenotype' traditionally referred to an observable expression of an individual organism which is the result of its genotype's interaction with its environment during its development (Jones, 1996:469, Dawkins, 1982:299). Dawkin's (1982) 'extended phenotypic' concept, instead, described an interaction between the organism and its environment that doesn't just modify that organism's genetic expression but also potentially influences the phenotypic expression of *other* organisms in that environment as well. The extended phenotype theory argues that the environment, and thus the selection pressures it exerts, is itself also a product of the actions and phenotypic manifestations of all the organisms that inhabit it (1982: 264). In other words, each individual (or "replicator") is affected by the other replicators' phenotypes. The idea that an organism's phenotypic expression could represent more than simply the expression in that environment of genes' biological processes was an important step in the move to consideration of the importance of the gene-environment relationship (Dawkins,1982:2).

The theory of niche construction, however, extends contemporary evolutionary theory by the development of two observations. The niche construction theory of Odling-Smee, Laland & Feldman (2003:191) takes the idea of organisms' modifying their environment further, proposing that this will provide an inheritance system. Odling-Smee et al propose that, "ancestral organisms can bequeath an ecological inheritance comprising..different..heritable components, abiota, biota and artefacts" (2003:191). These may then respond to further niche construction in different ways.

Niche construction assigns a second role to phenotypes in evolution, while "ecological inheritance provides a second inheritance system to which phenotypes can potentially contribute" (2003:190). First, Odling-Smee et al argue that external environments can and are modified by organisms and that these modified environments in turn exert different impacts (and thus selection pressure) upon organisms. It is further suggested

that those organisms with just phenotypic mutations can and do also modify their external environment and thus directly affect the future selection pressures to be exerted upon their (or their species') descendants. This means that, as they evolve, organisms may, in effect, 'drag' part of their own environments along with them, "transforming their own adaptive landscapes" (Odling-Smee et al, 2003: 191).

Niche construction theory also requires that we look at adaptations in a different way. It is generally assumed in standard evolutionary theory that the organism has evolved to become well suited (adapted) to its environment and that this is produced by the process of natural selection. Adaptations can only be the result of selection pressures and not the other way around. Niche construction theory (Odling-Smee et al 2003:18) do not dispute this but suggests, also, that the alternative must equally be true; that "the environment is changed to suit the organism", and this is produced by organisms' niche construction. The latter concept stresses the importance of feedback processes between the environment's selection pressures and organisms' actions and adaptations rather than the de-coupling (Odling-Smee et al, 2003: 17) of these two factors that standard evolutionary theory implies. In fact, what niche construction theory proposes, is that the, "selective environments of organisms are themselves partly built by niche constructing activities of the organisms that they are selecting for" (2003:17).

2.4 Niche construction theory and cultural inheritance

So, central to niche construction theory is the idea of a feedback loop between phenotypic manifestation, environmental modification and organism adaptation. This applies to humans as well as other species, the difference being that humans have created a built environment, the product of human activity in manufacture of tools and creative design and thought. This activity, or *human culture*, also operates as a

feedback loop in its niche construction; culture impact, environmental modification, and cultural adaptation (Odling-Smee et al, 2003:19). In other words, a cultural environment that has been changed by novel human cultural endeavour then, in turn, applies new cultural selection pressures upon its population. An example is given of a population that, through its activities in one area, pollutes the natural environment. Pressure is then on the community to develop new technology to cope with this new problem. "If the cultural inheritance of an environment-modifying human activity persists for enough generations that it mediates a stable selection pressure, it may be able to co-direct human genetic evolution" (Oding- Smee et al: 2003:248). Another example is of the cultural traditions of pastoralism. The domestication of cattle and dairying activities altered the selective environments of some populations for sufficient generations to select for genes that now confer greater adult lactose tolerance (Odling-Smee et al, 2003:27). So, not only can humans affect natural selection pressures through niche construction but human culture affects both natural and cultural selection pressures, which operate interdependently.

When describing niche construction of the *natural* environment, "organisms inherit legacies of modified natural selection pressures they typically do not inherit information. Instead they inherit some of the agents in their environments that select for their genes and that thereby determine which information the organisms express", explains Odling-Smee et al (2003:15). However, beyond individual learning some species have also evolved a capacity to learn from other individuals, and to transmit some of the own learned knowledge to others. In human cultures the legacy of modified selection pressures is direct as information about the environment can be passed from one generation to the next: *coded* in material culture or in writing. "(T)he information acquired by individuals through ontogenetic processes such as learning can…be of

considerable importance to subsequent generations because learned knowledge can guide niche construction" (Odling-Smee et al, 2003:22).

The niche construction theory of cultural inheritance is able to overcome what appears to be the two main problematic issues in discussions about the mechanisms of cultural inheritance by, first, altering the viewpoint of culture and its process of its transmission and, secondly, defining and clarifying the confusion over many of the crucial terms used. It is not that some of the major principles of genetic inheritance cannot be applied to cultural inheritance but that analogies have been often sought for the wrong components of the evolution process.

The cultural and natural niches which we inhabit are not mutually exclusive elements of our environment, although one may be dominant at a particular time or place. Cultural inheritance, therefore, does not refer to an alternative or additional inheritance system to that proposed by niche construction theory or, indeed, by traditional Darwinian concepts of natural selection and adaptation. Rather, it is argued here, that any modifications to the cultural and natural niches may in turn alter the cultural and natural selectional pressures operating upon the niche's inhabitants and their descendents. In summary, what is being proposed here, therefore, is that the concept of *cultural niche construction*, including the modification of cultural selection pressures is incorporated into the overall processes of niche construction theory.

2.5 Testing the theory of cultural niche construction

The aims of this research are to test the theory of cultural niche construction. Odling-Smee et al (2003: 244) pose the question, "what is the evolutionary impact of human cultural niche construction?". This is what this thesis seeks to find out. This research

wants to test the idea contained within niche construction theory that learning modes and transmission routes of cultural knowledge operate in combination. The stable cultural conditions that promote social learning as the dominant learning mode is also expected to have vertical sources as the most commonly used. Oding-Smee et al, in discussing the body of work on this topic (such as Boyd and Richerson, 1985, 1996), argus that this combination is the result of a situation where relatively slow cultural changes require only a low demand for knowledge updating. In contrast, when cultural environments are changing fast or there are sudden socio-cultural shifts, (migration being one example of this), individual learning would be the more efficient strategy to adopt as, also, would be "the process of horizontal (within generation) transmission of information" (Odling-Smee, 2003: 355). In such fast changing environment, social learning from parents would be too slow and error prone.

Social learning is defined by Oding-Smee (2003: 355) as a, "general capacity to acquire information from others, regardless of the nature of the information". This type of learning is a particularly human trait and humans acquire large amounts of information from their parents and parents' generation. So, a defining characteristic of humans is the heavy reliance on vertical sources. Thus, a significant component of humans' selective environment is likely to have a cultural constructed one. The transmitting of much information from parent to offspring is particularly advantageous in such an environment.

There are many possible populations or cultural groups that could be investigated to test these ideas. All societies will demonstrate cultural change over time, although the temporal scale of changes may vary. However, with an immigrant population we know that much of the cultural environment has changed suddenly and quite dramatically. This experience provides a good opportunity to compare different modes and routes of

cultural learning with that of the expected slower changes of a host (non-immigrant) population. If cultural inheritance is dependent on niche construction, comparison of the environmental influences upon an immigrant and non-immigrant population also provides a situation where the niche constructing activities of one of these populations may potentially affect the other and vice versa.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has considered the value of applying concepts from evolutionary theory as a starting framework for understanding the processes and effects of cultural inheritance. In considering the usefulness of an evolutionary framework there are issues such as temporal scale of evolution and the defining of inheritance units and processes. However, these issues should not necessarily distract from the usefulness of applying an evolutionary framework to understanding cultural inheritance. Nor should the fact that the analogy between concepts of cultural evolution and traditional genetic evolution is not perfect detract from the validity and usefulness of applying evolutionary framework to cultural change. The framework proposed in this thesis extends the ideas developed by Dawkin's concept of the extended phenotype and Odling-Smee's, Laland's and Feldman's niche construction theory.

Many animals will interact with their environment to produce modified development. With humans the complexity and depth of this interaction can reach levels which are quantitatively and qualitatively very much greater. What we refer to as culture is the result of this unique level of person and environment relationship. Humans' actions modify their environment through cultural endeavour (in an attempt to enhance survival). Operating in tandem is the second process in which the modified environment exerts different selection pressures upon its inhabitants. The cultural

inheritance system is thus the ability to change selectional pressures alongside the behavioural flexibility to react positively to it and culture is argued to be a significant tool through which these things are achieved. Culture is a trans-generation store of human knowledge as each generation modifies the environmental selection of the next in a complex and hugely differentiated way for different individuals.

Chapter three

Cultural identity and cultural inheritance

Chapter Introduction

This chapter considers the role of cultural identity which is argued to be integral to cultural inheritance. The study of cultural identity is a large area in its own right, an extensive investigation of which is beyond the remit of this thesis. The focus here is on the relationship between the phenomenon of cultural identity and the cultural environment and cultural inheritance.

The phenomenon of cultural identity can affect the process of cultural niche construction in several significant ways, one of which is upon the pace of change. Cultural identity means shared ways of behaving, shared rituals, shared valuing of particular material possessions within a group. The weight of such shared cultural identity may result in the increase or decrease of status of an object or behaviour. Such changes in status can, in turn, affect culture as it acts as a force of innovation, driving change, or conservatism, slowing the pace of socio-cultural change. This effect on pace of change (conservatism versus innovation) may help explain behaviour that at first appears to be economically and evolutionarily irrational. Examples of cultural conservatism include the resistance of immigrants to abandoning food preferences for food types found in their homeland or the continuation of food rules (taboos) long after the original health reasons have ceased to be relevant

A cultural environment confers an identity on its inhabitants which they can utilise to differentiate themselves from others, convey status and provide social and personal stability and comfort. This cultural identity in turn reinforces the cultural environment sufficiently to create the necessary degree of homogeneity for group cultural identity.

These processes form part of cultural niche construction that are vital to the transmission of culture. One of the important questions must be, therefore, what is the material cultural manifestation of a group's cultural identity and what causes this identity to change? In creating our cultural identity we are also creating our cultural environment and so cultural identity and cultural niche construction are intrinsically related.

The effect of factors such as social group belonging and boundaries are examined first, followed by the impact of the environment, including people's sense of place and changes to their environment. The ways in which cultural identities are transmitted across generations, through stories and myths for example is also considered in this section.

3.2 Why do individuals want to belong to a group?

The formation of identity (cultural, personal or national) is a complex phenomenon and several different processes may contribute to it. One significant factor contributing to the construction of an individual's cultural identity is affiliation to a particular group or groups, particular those which are respected, even "idolised" (Berger, 2009:164). Berger goes on to suggest that when we ask, "who am I?", we are essentially asking, "what group(s) do I belong to?" (2009:159). This group affiliation is enabled by the mechanism of social learning and imitation. The cultural identity of a group is shared not because of genetic inheritance and, "nor because it has been learnt individually, but because it has been learned socially" (Blute, 2010: 30-31). Blute explains that, individuals are "socialised" into those norms and values that are deemed, "appropriate to a particular role, status and social identity" (2010:30).

Most individuals belong to more than one 'group' and, as Berger highlights (2009:159), some of which are chosen but many are not. Those group affiliations that an individual has little or no choice about include those created through gender, race or family as well as the ethnicity, society and/or nationality of the family that one is born into. However, other groups, such as those formed through participation in a particular occupation, education institution or leisure activities (hobbies), individuals often do have more choice about joining. Even these group affiliations will, at varying levels, be influenced by choices made by an individual's parents (more directly) and their ancestral generations more generally. This ancestral influence is another example of the vertical transmission of cultural information that was discussed in the last chapter. Furthermore, as Berger also points out, group affiliation and, thus, identity will not necessarily be static through a person's life. Individuals change occupations, they may lessen or deepen (or change altogether) their religious or political beliefs and, of particular interest here of course, they may move from one place to another.

Boundaries between groups

Furthermore, a person's or group's identity is not just the product of the way they think about themselves but also, as Hubbard and Hubbard argue, the result of the "way others think about you" (2001:77). Some anthropologists have argued that cultural groups are best defined by reference to the *boundaries* that exist between different groups than by some idea of permanent and homogeneous cultural entity that the identification of a cultural group can imply (Herzfeld, 2001:133). Herzfeld further argues that the cultural identity of a group may actually "come into being" through the "play of encounters" with other groups (2001: 141). He suggests it is mistaken to view a group's culture as having some authentic, fixed "autochthonous" origin unaffected by the spread of ideas and technology and customs between many different social groupings. The reality may well be that a group's cultural identity arises from multiple

causes. Its identity may have formed from long maintained indigenous tradition originating from some local innovation but also as reaction to the perception of the cultural product of neighbouring groups. In other words, all cultural identity is created in relative position to others and seeks to differentiate itself from others and assumes some cultural precedent.

Belonging to multiple groups

Overlapping identities or affiliations are, in part, caused by the variety of scales (geographical or population) at which different identities operate. National identity, to a large extent, argues Holloway and Hubbard (2001:103) ""ignores the way in which the people living within a particular country are inevitably cross-cut by a great range of intersecting differences" as they are constructed around stereotypes of perhaps just one, usually the dominant, ethnic or cultural group (2001:103). The differences within a nation may be ignored, even denied, in the attempt to create the "myth of the common history" (2001:104) and, therefore, the image of a solid, culturally homogenous nation. Holloway and Hubbard go on to argue that the development of national identity is essentially the manipulation of place identity for the benefit of particular groups within society, usually and specifically that of the power structures that exist in a country, such as government or monarchies. "National identity…is a mechanism which pacifies a population by naturalizing it…. while reducing the possibility of challenging it" (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001:105).

This may not, necessarily, seem to be such a problematic issue except that the flip side of such contrived identity creation requires (as discussed above) the identification of those groups considered to be 'outside' the nation state or, at least, outside the core culture of the nation state's society. Those defined as 'outside' the core nation state identity could include quite a number of groups and change from time to time

depending on the criteria of the core identity as defined by the powerful in that state. For example, as well as foreigners, groups such as travellers, refugees, alternative families, minority ethnic groups could all be seen as 'alien' to the core identity. This categorisation of those within and without the nation or group may be manipulated as a means to define those posing a potential threat to the identity of the nation state and, thus, invite prejudice and condemnation.

3.3 The creation of different cultural groups: Experiences of the environment

It is interesting to compare this view with existential theories of how personal experiences and identity is formed. Existentialism emphasises the specificity and uniqueness of an individual's experience of the world and suggests that an individual's experience of existence is formed through "relational encounters" with the world around us. Thus, this theory argues that, "(p)eople's physical relation to things… affects the way that they organise and make sense of their worlds" (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001:69). This philosophy would argue that there is no one true experience of the environment (social or physical) or, even, in any meaningful way, one true environment. Our knowledge of the world is "created by us" (2001:69); by our projection of meaning onto parts of our environment, including the different objects that we encounter. Ultimately, these subjective, relational experiences help us create meaningful relationships (2001: 71) and it is through these relationships that we develop our sense of identity. Any changes to, or adaptations of, cultural identity may well also be subject to the concept of relative position to other groups as one group would not to be able to assess the suitability of changes to their new circumstances and this would necessarily involve comparison with the other (in the case of immigrant groups, the host) population.

The *State* as a cultural group

It may even be that, in many cases, the identification of the apparently fixed identity of a cultural group has actually been the product of other agendas or imposed from above. A national government, for example, may delineate, categorise and determine public perception of culturally discrete groups within the larger population as political strategy, with the intention of alienating and oppressing unwanted groups or, conversely, encouraging the integration of divergent cultures into larger social and economic units. In the latter case, this may be driven by regimes in nation states which are uncomfortable with or threatened by the idea of different cultures existing within one supposedly unified society. Herzfeld discusses several possible reasons for cultural categorisation by governments: the maintenance of group solidarity and mobilisation (where useful for the regime) and of links with other groups globally (Herzfeld, 2001:146). The irony being that these smaller cultural entities may have, in part, come into existence through their identification by external agencies and this process of highlighting cultural difference. They may well have existed far more (social, economic) difference within a named cultural group than between different such groups.

Herzfeld further argues that the 'membership' of a named culture is viewed as essential in the modern nation state. Belonging to a clearly recognised cultural group is, "amplified by a European concern with notions of possession". One "must 'have' a culture, just as you must 'have' a fixed address", claims Herzfeld, (2001:137). Cultural anonymity, ambivalence and the resulting inability for governing agencies to categorise a person may mean you are perceived in a similarly confused and feared way to that of "stateless persons" or "classified out of social existence" (Herzfeld, 2001.137).

As well as finding it easier to define cultural groups by the boundaries (ie their differences from other groups), it may also be that concepts of cultural identity often have what Herzfeld describes as a "virtual" quality rather than a substantive one. Herzfeld goes on to say that we find it easier to describe things as "cultural" than to describe a culture (2001:137). In this way we are using culture as an adjective to convey a certain style of performing an action; this style (even if not explicitly defined) is loaded with multiple sets of social meaning by the descriptor. In addition, and as already discussed in chapter two, the term culture is further confused by its use to refer to the creative output of a group and/or the group itself. The latter usage means culture can be confusingly and mistakenly used as if synonymous with society or, even less justifiably, a population group. However, a social boundary could simply involve little more than the "membership" of a collective group which need not necessary correlate with cultural boundaries, argues Herzfeld (2001:141). The disciplines of anthropology and archaeology are, in part, to blame for this in seeking to identify a collective, bounded and shared social group through extrapolation from aspects of the cultural output of people inhabiting that same place or time.

Thus, pinning down a set of essential characteristics for a particular 'bounded cultural entity' may be very hard. There may be greater variation within a supposed cultural group than there is between different groups and this may be particularly true when other population groupings are categorised and held as representing distinct cultural entities. For example, ethnic boundaries say nothing about culture that "could actually be shared across those boundaries or the amount of cultural variation that might be contained within the boundaries" (Herzfeld, 2001:140). It may, indeed, be more accurate to refer to the cultural variation as "continuous" (2001:140); with graduation of changes across and between groups.

3.4 Sense of place

As with the different temporal scales of vertical transmitted information, we should consider the different spatial scales at which an individual's contemporary environment operates: local, regional and national. Has the traditional emphasis of focus of many ethnographic cultural studies been too biased towards the understanding of very localised cultures? Indeed, Herzfeld touches upon the interesting possibility that, perhaps, this concentration on understanding people's lives at the local scale has, itself, emphasised cultural relevance to the inhabitants' identity at the expense of other factors, such as social or economic symbols and traditions (2001:142).

It is also interesting to consider the degree to which cultural identity overlaps with geographical identity (and, indeed, other identities) and that identity that is created by one's sense of belonging to a particular homeland or place. Holloway and Hubbard suggest that the feeling of belonging to (or originating from) a home town or region can provide a "very deep sense of attachment, making place a strong part of who you are and the way you think about yourself" (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001:76). In addition, as with the other identities we may have (such as social class, culture, gender), an identity that is dependent upon a sense of belonging to a place may encourage the "consequent tendency" of people trying to exclude those who do not share the same homeland. Perhaps we need always to think in terms of "inclusions and exclusions", when considering any identity created from association with a specific geographical area (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001:103). It would seem that this concept could be extended to many different types of identity. Social and cultural class identities would all, at some level, seem to be about distinguishing those who are included in a particular group and those who aren't. The motivation for some 'identifications' may well *primarily* be about establishing boundaries, whether hierarchical or across populations.

Sense of home

The concept of 'homeland' can be viewed at a variety of different spatial scales from a local area or village to a region or even a nation state. The latter becomes more than just a collection of many smaller areas' identities. The identity of a nation state is often defined by legends, values and stories from both an imagined past and a hoped for future. The reality of the past converted into "stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deeds" (Daniels (1993:5). These images and stories are often provided with specific 'hallowed' landscapes or objects and this material focus no doubt, helps substantiate and personalise the past legends. Holloway and Hubbard illustrate the variety of examples that can be used to project and promote the idea of a nation's culture and identity. Examples of such "landscapes of Englishness" include Trafalgar Square in London, specifically Nelson's Column, and Stratford upon Avon as Shakespeare's place of birth and retirement (2001:102). Interestingly (and clearly true of many national monuments or revered areas), the fact that the most famous of the actual events which these respective 'landscapes' commemorate (victory in a sea battle and the performing of plays) did not occur in these locations appears not to matter very much in their service as symbolic representations of a nation's shared historical identity.

Yet, the continued construction of such material 'landscapes' is testimony to the importance attached by society to the representation of significant events, ideas, histories in material form. This appears to be true even in the remembering of 'events' which may never, in their original 'construction' have had material form or inhabited actual space or place, or at least not in more than an ephemeral sense. Perhaps this desire for the material symbolic representation of a society's (or culture's) collective memory should not be so surprising. The existentialists' theory of identity creation mentioned above stresses the importance of people's physical existence in the world; this theory is summarised by Holloway & Hubbard (2001:69) as 'our bodies taking up

physical space' and, "existing in relation to other physical objects", as specifically as those physical things which are, "in front, behind, above or below, our bodies".

So, material representations, whether these are monuments built by a nation state or small objects, can embody group identity by converting the ephemeral into the visceral, the memory into the object that can be actually experienced through our senses. Where this object or landscape requires pro-active maintenance or protection for its future survival (in its symbolic unchanged form), this very 'conservationist' action arguably helps to further perpetuate and legitimise the attachment and identity of the nation/culture in this particular place.

3.5 The effect of migration on group/cultural identity

So far we have considered the significance of our sense of place in contributing to our cultural identity. The contrasting situation is therefore also important to consider; what effect does moving from one place to another have upon the cultural identity of those concerned? In the previous chapter we looked at how migration affected the transmission of culture for immigrants (and also for the host culture). Here we consider how the process of changing homes experienced by immigrants will affect their cultural identity. The process is what Suarez-Orozco (2005:72) refers to as immigrants' "second journey", the journey, or experience, that immigrants make *after* they have arrived in their new cultural environment.

There are many different types of migration and migrant community. It should not be forgotten that the movement of populations that has been most numerically significant in recent decades is that of rural – urban migration. The changing cultural character of urban areas in the world today must, therefore, be due to the arrival of cultures

originating in (possibly quite diverse) rural areas. In studying the culture of many urban immigrant communities, we are actually looking at rural cultures transported in many cases. Many migrants that have moved from one county to another have also moved from a more rural environment to an urban one. This change may be at least as significant to their sense of identity as the move between nations.

Another aspect of migration that has a bearing on identity is the movement of people from long established communities and homelands to embark on a new life in land perceived to be 'wilderness' or uninhabited by civilisation. Immigrants perceive themselves to become 'pioneers' into such territory and may have a sense of leaving behind their old "burden of heritage" (Herzfeld, 2001:139). They are 'free' to re-create a new personal identity which is not determined by the social class, education, religious or social constraints of their past society. Flannery describes the new identity of immigrants and settlers of 'frontier' areas in his examination of the western frontier of European colonial expansion in North America (Flannery, 2002:325-338). Both these types of migration, *rural to urban* and *established society to colonial 'frontier'*, can provide interesting examples of how the motivation and nature of migration can affect the process of change of cultural identity for those involved.

Process of cultural identity change

Two terms commonly used when examining immigrants' changes or adaptations to their new environment are *assimilation* and *acculturation*. In their simplest forms these terms refer to the coming together of characteristics of two (or more) different societies through repeated contact and proximity. Assimilation is usually taken to refer to social changes, and is described as "participation in the networks of mainstream institutions", such as education, economics and politics (Esman, 2009:103) whereas acculturation

describes the adoption by immigrants of "basic elements" of the host culture such as "language, entertainment, … dress codes and cuisine".

In some cases the processes of acculturation and assimilation may run concurrently, whereas in others, as Esman (2009:103) suggests, they may represent two distinct "stages of adaptation". The 'stages of adaptation' may be multiple and immigrants adopt different aspects of the host culture at different times. It may be that some aspects of people's lives, possibly such as language and food, are close to their hearts and therefore, not so quickly abandoned and changed by homesick or nostalgic immigrants (or their children) who may want to maintain the comfort of these reminders of their homeland. However, at some point even core aspects that make up a groups' social and cultural customs may gradually combine to create a new hybrid culture. Eventually, it may be that even perceptions of cultural identity by subsequent generations of immigrants have changed.

Unfortunately, however, both the terms acculturation and assimilation can be confusingly used or are perceived negatively by some. This has discouraged their use in more recent migration studies. For the most part, this appears unjustified and is to the detriment of understanding of immigrants' experiences (Alba and Nee, 2005: 35) but does mean that such criticisms need considering. Critics felt that the use of the concept of assimilation (and, therefore, also acculturation) implied a preferred "non reversible" and "continuous" (Suarez-Orozco, 2005:72) one way route of assimilation by the minority immigrant group. This immigrant group was then absorbed into the (superior) host population and, thus, "justifiably repudiated" a process of assimilation viewed in this way. The host population would be largely unchanged by this process and the minority group would be improved by their abandonment of their previous language, values, culture. These views were driven, in part, by past some mid 20th

century Western government agendas which sought to create a homogeneous culture (in the image of the dominant host society and its culture) for political (nation building) and social reasons.

3.6 Maintaining cultural identity: The role of myths and stories

Identities may be constructed, in part, based on imaginary cultural pasts but this may not matter in terms of their function for the individual (or group) of maintaining, supporting the maintenance of an identity. Myths (or mythical stories) are an important part of the way in which we create our cultural identity, often through images associated with specific places or times. Myths tell us about how we view ourselves (our cultures) and how we view others and. "[R]ecognising the positive and negative dimensions of … myths allows us to understand something of the complexity of identity (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001: 139). Myths and stories help transmit information about ideas and values across generations (and space or both). Myths, like the cultural identities they contribute to, are often ambiguous as they contain characteristics which can be seen as both bad and good. (2001:118). We should be clear about what we mean by myths in this discussion. I am not referring (necessarily) to stories of heroic or dramatic deeds and outcomes but, rather, using the term as defined by Holloway and Hubbard; that is, of widely known stories made up of imagined events but that, nonetheless, have some basis of truth. Such stories often highlight some characteristics of a particular place and time (2001:117).

The effects of myths on identity perception

Although myths may not be actual representations of real places, they can have real effects, argues Holloway and Hubbard (2001: 117). For example, myths affect how people "engage" with their environments (natural and social) and how they engage with

others' cultures/places. Holloway and Hubbard discuss the example of the concept (or myth) of 'Orientalism', examining stereotypical imaginings in order to understand how we in the West have viewed the 'Orient'. For many in Europe up to the early part of the 20th century the 'Orient' was viewed as a place of adventure, romance and exoticness (Said, 1995:1). This image was exemplified by scenes of caravans of camels and nomads crossing remote desert areas, court harems and unusual foods, spices and goods. Whilst some of the specific detail of these images represented real people and activities, the lack of social and economic context provided to far off 'audiences' meant that myths could easily be contrived around these images. Even the term 'Orient' was vague about the area it referred to, stretching from the Near East (such as the Arabian peninsula) to further east into central Asia and beyond (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001: 138). However, the accurate portrayal of the geography and history of the cultures in question was not the point of Orient myths, as it probably is not in any myths of 'other' places. The purpose (possibly unwitting by some, intentional by others) of such myths would seem, in large part, to provide support to the socio-cultural identity of the myth tellers. The "Orient was almost a European invention", argues Said (1995:1), the myths built up during a time of western European colonial expansion and particularly promoted in Britain and France – two dominant powers with vested commercial and political interests in the Near East. As such, Orientalism represents a cultural strategy that has, "less to do with the Orient than it does our world" (1995:12). It is interesting to deconstruct some specifics of place/culture myths such as this one to see what it says about the cultural identity of, in this case, Britain.

3.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter looked at aspects of cultural identity believed to be important in its role in cultural niche construction. It considered why humans appear to feel the need to

affiliate themselves to a group. Group affiliation appears to provide comfort through strengthening the association of sense of home in time and space. A sense of safety and security is to be gained through group affiliation and, perhaps combined with this, is the possibility of increased social status for the individual. The groups to which individuals attach themselves may operate at different (and successive or overlapping) scales of intimacy, from familial to large societies, and offer various layers of buffering against possible economic, social and physical threats. The groups may be based on age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, occupation, geography, shared history or a combination of any of these. Group boundaries may be defined top down or bottom up. Although security may remain an important determining factor of group inclusion, the particularly individual within a group whose security needs are being adequately served may vary. The mechanism of social learning and imitation are thought crucial the maintenance of group identity.

Chapter Four

How cultural knowledge is passed on

Introduction

Learning about the environment in which one lives and modifying that environment are not abilities unique to humans. What is unique to humans, however, is the quality and quantity of this learning ability; the speed, range and depth of learning capacity. Social learning in its broad sense refers to learning from the knowledge of others, as opposed to learning only from first hand experience or experimentation. Social learning is a major facilitator of faster acquisition of knowledge and of the transmission of cultural knowledge across generations and between them. Only humans, it is argued, have reached a threshold of speed of social learning that has enabled the transmission of information about the constructed cultural niche to be become an additional inheritance system.

So, it is argued that social learning is crucial in cultural inheritance and would, therefore, be expected to be the dominant learning mechanism in maintaining stability and continuity in cultural groups or communities. However, the need for cultural innovation, particularly where a cultural group or its members are threatened or subject to external pressure to change (a changed cultural environment or 'niche'), still requires a contribution of individual learning. It is also suggested that the maintenance of the cultural group's identity is also most commonly served by transmission of cultural knowledge from the ancestral generation downwards, what is being termed here as vertical or oblique transmission (or knowledge sources). Thus, we would expect to see the dominance of the use of vertical and/or oblique sources of cultural knowledge in culturally stable and long lived cultural groups. In contrast, it would be expected that groups or individuals experiencing threats or breaks from the usual cultural group or

identity, might rely more on other sources of cultural knowledge, such as the media or others in the wider society (horizontal sources).

4.2 How cultural knowledge is acquired: Cognitivist and behaviouralist theory

The work of developmental psychologist, Jean Piaget (1896 -1980) which continues to inform current research in that field, looked at the relationship between evolution and how individuals acquire knowledge. Piaget viewed both evolution and ontogenetic processes (development of the individual) as largely biologically determined processes (Harris, 2002:24). These ideas could be viewed as being in line with the *cognitivist* approach; a theoretical framework which places greater significance in development (and learning) on the internal qualitative ability in processing information rather than the influence of the external environment.

However, Piaget did not reject the role of knowledge acquisition in shaping an individual's development and learning. Whilst the "particular properties of an organism (eg eye colour) are due to hereditary transmission", other properties could be affected by the "organisation" of these properties, argued Piaget (Harris, 2002:25). In other words, how they might be shaped in life. Piaget suggested that knowledge develops "through" a person's actions on their environment; a concept that sits comfortably with the processes of cultural niche construction. His model of child development also stresses the interaction between the individual and their environment (which, he considered was made up of both the natural and *social* landscape). This interaction itself promotes 'new forms' of knowledge (Harris, 2002:25) which survive because they are better adapted to previous sets of knowledge. This view would appear to support the idea of culture's role as an inheritance system.

Working in the same field, Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) also agreed that there must be some innate (genetically determined) capacities in children but that these would only develop to a limited degree through self discovery (individual learning) without the influence of the society and culture and the inter-relationships with older others (Kozulin, 1986:35). In fact, this relationship with those of an older generation (vertical knowledge transmission) was considered crucial in the ordering of new knowledge and was termed the "zone of proximal development". The social-cultural context is, he argued, is what made humans unique and development and thought were only fully possible within this context. This line of argument has continued with support from recent learning theorists such as Wenger who also argue that the fact that humans are "social beings" means this interaction with society and culture around a learner is "central" to learning; gaining knowledge is produced by "active engagement in the world" (Wenger, 2009:210).

Further support of the importance of the external environment in influencing learning was found in the theories of the *behaviouralist* approach, promoted by researchers such as John Watson (1878-1958). For much of the 20th century, ideas about learning were heavily influenced by behaviourist approaches that focused on learning through imitation, observation and reinforcement (Blackmore, 2010:1). Behaviouralists took the view that much of our behaviour is learnt and that experience makes up what we are as a result of learning responses to external stimulus. This approach argued that cognitive development in individuals is largely the result of increased quantity of knowledge acquired, rather than internally driven cognitive processes. The knowledge gained is not considered to vary qualitatively nor does the cognitive processing. This focus on observable behaviour is justified as it is believed that the greatest influence on development comes from individuals' external environment and that learners' (ie children) "extreme malleability" makes them very susceptible to these outside

influences (Harris, 2002: 20). Clearly, this approach believes that the effect of genetic inheritance as explanation for learners' development is subservient to the potential impact of 'nurture' or experience.

4.3 Transmission of cultural knowledge

Study of the nature and mechanism (mode) of transmission of cultural knowledge is a major component of the study of cultural evolution and inheritance systems. As has already been discussed, *social learning* is generally considered the significant mode in which the transmission occurs although there appear to be some differences in how different cultural theorists define the term - an issue which Aunger (2009:34) attributes, in part, to the different approaches within cultural evolution studies. Social psychologists are criticised for supporting the concept of inter-generational cultural information transmission but not properly explaining how this happens. Evolutionary psychologists, argues Aunger (2009:35), make little attempt even to distinguish between social and individual learning as they view culture as in large part the product of innate cognitive structures. For those who follow the *memetics* approach, the "metaphor" traditionally favoured was that of a 'virus', with the implication or rapid, largely unintentional, mindless transmission of cultural information.

In contrast, Aunger proposes a more precise model of social learning. He sub divides social learning into two types: unintentional transfer of information (and, thus, the inadvertent construction modification of the environment) or the deliberate or intentional *communication* of culture. He argues that the inadvertent transmission of information may be the more common form but that humans are adapted specifically to make use of intentional communication; it is the latter, in fact, that allows for the type of planned and formal teaching and learning that modern societies make so much use of the

population level transfer of society's cultural information. Aunger's term *communication* is defined as, "an instance of niche construction using signs, signals or artefacts that is targeted at changing the behaviour of conspecifics" (2009:37). This "transfer" (as he prefers to call it) of cultural information is, by definition, intentional and with the goal of the "communicator" being to get others to "engage in behaviours that assist the communicator's efforts to maximize inclusive fitness".

The effect of scale of population on learning modes

Boyd and Richerson argue that the scale at which we view cultural evolution and transmission is crucial to the mode of learning that dominates. Social learning is most significant when the process of cultural transmission is looked at from a population wide scale (Boyd & Richerson, 2005:6). Viewing cultural transmission at such a large scale is clearly in contrast to the focus on the knowledge acquisition of the individual that is the basis for much of the development learning theory discussed above, as well as the (even smaller) unit of study preferred by memetics in cultural evolution or the gene in Dawkins' 'extended phenotype' theory.

Successful cultural transmission at a population scale requires only that a few in each generation are individual learners and innovators. The vast majority of the population can be social learners, specifically imitators, and, rather than being a hindrance to cultural evolution, this will ensure that the cultural knowledge will be passed from one generation to the next most fully and reliably (2005:13). I would go further and argue that whilst the innovation of individual learners is clearly vital for cultural development (as opposed to simply transmission), too high a proportion of individual learners in a given population might actually disrupt the straight forward passing on of cultural information as it might create social conditions of greater cultural questioning and

critique. (Of course this is not necessarily a negative thing, simply that the result could be for a slower, or less efficient, cultural transmission.)

Speed and diversity of cultural knowledge transmission

One way in which the transmission of cultural information may differ from biological transmission, suggests Runicman (2009:109) is in the "bewildering diversity" of routes which this information can take and places it can be stored. (Runciman prefers use of the term memes, for cultural units of information, but the principle here is the same). Even within one route, such as vertical transmission, the same cultural unit may be interpreted, either in practical application or as conceptualised internally, in different ways by the recipient. Perhaps, in fact, it should be of greater surprise to us that, given the possibility of differing interpretations and "information loss and intentional and unintentional distortion" (2009:109), so many discreet units of culture are reproduced by recipients with all their component parts in the same way as the transmitter intended (or, at least, passed them on). Examples of this in cuisine are the stock celebration meals in different cultures which are repeatedly reproduced in very similar form over considerable time and space.

Another feature of cultural transmission is the speed of transmission. Natural selection has never been able to provide explanation for change within a single generation. However, within cultural transmission, there is a large variation in the speed. "Rumours and fashions can be transmitted not only within but across whole populations in a matter of days" now (Runicman, 2009:112), whereas some cultural rituals (or the artefacts, cuisine or language that represent them) may, as suggested above, see very slow changes over several generations. Different transmission routes appear to be able to pass in cultural units at different speeds. Horizontal transmission appears to be the route allowing fastest transmission. Runciman, citing examples of changes in teenage

clothes' fashions, argues that, often, when a population-level cultural change is examined it is the result of "immediate imitation of behaviour observed" coupled with "immediate acceptance of information" (2009:112).

Humans transmit a huge amount of information from one generation to the next. Between parents and offspring learning skills and knowledge is transmitted over the period of a generation whereas horizontal transmission between peers can be much faster. The stability of the cultural environment is a crucial factor here. Runciman comments that "distinctive cultures … are much more coherent and durable than the mutability" of the transmission process would imply (Runciman, 2009:111). Where the environment is stable (in other words the continuation and development of the community's culture is not under any human or natural threat), each generation can learn from the preceding one. Individuals or groups who have migrated to a new environment have this continuity broken and their sources for social learning are, thus, limited a much smaller group.

Mediums of cultural transmission (or languages or transmission)

Distin (Diston, 2010:6) argues that cultural evolution is unique to humans as we are the only species to use "artefactual" (symbolic) language and language is very significant as it is the means to transmit the information of cultural inheritance. It is only "artefactual" language that allows the growth of complexity of human culture. Bruner argues along similar lines, suggesting that the symbolic representation of reality (of which language is one) is what enables the organisation of the cultural community and that this, "symbolic mode is not only shared by the community, but conserved, elaborated and passed on to succeeding generations who, by virtue of this transmission, continue to maintain the culture's identity" (Bruner, 2009 :160-161).

Distin uses the term 'Language' to refer to both spoken language and what she calls "artefactual" language, the term used to describe information represented by symbols, including written language, drawings, mathematical notation and money (2010:6). The importance of this second type of language is stressed by Distin as she argues that "natural language" (spoken language) is only capable of handling a limited amount of information storage and transmission. The large volume of cultural information requires the additional mechanism of passing information on supplied by the use of symbols or "artefactual language", argues Aunger (2009:41).

4.4 How is new knowledge about the cultural environment processed?

A starting point here is the idea that perception is 'top down'; what we perceive (through our various senses) will inevitably be incomplete and ambiguous. We must, therefore, impose our own meanings in order to interpret information about the cultural environment. The concept of knowledge construction that can guide actions and new cognitive construction assumes some sort of identifiable existing set of knowledge and Piaget referred to this as a *schema.* The concept of cognitive *equilibrium* is important here. Piaget believed that individuals will always attempt to maintain a stable internal cognitive state. Input of new knowledge from the environment creates disequilibrium and an individual thus tries to regain cognitive stability by adjusting existing schemas.

Piaget considered there to be two ways in which new environmental information would be processed (Harris, 2002:25). *Assimilation* referred to the process by which a learner interpreted new information from the environment according to existing cognitive organisation. New knowledge is adjusted to *fit* existing pre conceptions rather than the learner adjusting their preconceptions to fit the new environment. Alternatively, the learner's cognitive organisation is adjusted to fit the environment, a process Piaget

termed, *accommodation*. One of these two processes may dominate in different situations and different types of interaction with a learner's external environment. Social learning (imitation) of others' behaviour or skills was an example of the dominance of the *accommodation* process (adjustment of one's own knowledge organisation to fit that of others). Individual learning (Innovation) was the result of *assimilation* learning process dominating.

Stages of learning

Another area of work from developmental psychology that is useful here are theories of learning 'stages'. Both Piaget and Vygotsky suggested models of learning stages. In the case of Piaget's stage model, this was the notion that all learners pass through distinct, biologically determined, stages of cognitive ability (Harris, 2002: 25, 40). Vygotsky's also contributed to the concept of stages of learning but he argued that the timing of the acquisition of knowledge would be, in part, culturally determined and, thus, be vary between different societies (Harris, 2002: 26).

The detail of these cognitive learning stages has been much refined and developed by others since. Some researchers, notably John Bowlby (1907-1990), have stressed the importance of emotional development to learning (Harris, 2002. 32,33). This approach would, presumably, emphasize the factors such as motivation to learn. Bowlby also argued for the significance in cognitive development of the relationship between learner and their knowledge sources (parents primarily but we could this role to others of the parental generation). This last point may have relevance to the effects for those (eg migrants) whose *vertical* and *oblique* cultural transmission routes have been severed or reduced. The increasing use of computer modelling in predicting cognitive development has also contributed new ways of viewing learning stage theory. These approaches propose that several competing potential learning strategies may exist with

differing complexity. Over time (which would represent a period of increased competence and knowledge) different strategies are selected or discarded (Harris, 2002: 48).

These theories are useful here as they can suggest potential frameworks for investigating the possibility of observable and consistent stages of learning about (and niche constructing) new environments for migrants. In this case, the different stages will be the result of increasingly complex awareness of the socio-cultural meanings within the cultural environment. Stage theory considers that information from both genetic inheritance and how the impact of culture results in the modification of the schemas (information organisation) of learners.

4.5 How does migration affect transmission of cultural information?

In order to survive, we must adapt to changed environments. If all environments (natural or cultural) remained the same, the ability to adapt effectively would have no particular survival premium. But, of course, that is not the case as environments *do* change and people are able to move themselves between different environments. Humans are particularly adaptable and this is largely due to the development of humans' supreme tool of adaptation – learning, and especially (both quantitatively and qualitatively) social learning. The flexible nature of cultural constructed environments allows us to survive and flourish in a range of different environments (Odling-Smee, 2003:1-36).

There will be characteristics that differ between cultural groups, such as population composition, values and history, which affect the knowledge sources and learning modes of its cultural transmission. Comparisons between the original culture of an

immigrant group and that of a host population provides avenues through which to explore cultural transmission and the factors that affect it. For example, the more usual routes of vertical cultural transmission for settled populations are severely curtailed for immigrant groups, leading to greater reliance on horizontal routes of transmission. The more rapid learning required of immigrants mean that the timescale of cultural change for immigrants may be compressed.

Factors that affect immigrants' cultural transmission: Motivation for migration

Migration is one strategy among several that people use to improve their environmental conditions, argues Fix (1999:205). There are, of course, different reasons why people decide to move and, in many situations throughout different periods and regions, people have had no choice but to leave their homelands if they were to survive. Where the opportunity for maintaining and improving access to food and other essential resources within the original environment are considered good, the costs involved in migration would be believed to outweigh potential benefits. Factors affecting the cost-benefit calculation for would be migrants would, thus, include the rigidity of social stratification, overall economic growth and the size of unit of highest social integration, (Fix, 1999:48). Of the last point, Fix explains, "societies in which the family is the highest level of integration are more likely to use mobility as a risk stabilizer". The reason why people choose to move, therefore, may well affect the degree to which they successfully engage with learning about their new environment and one of the factors contributing to successful learning may be the *mode* of learning they utilise.

An interesting (if extreme) example of the effect of motivation on successful learning can be seen in an account of the difficulties faced by 17th century English settlers in Virginia, (Blanton, 2003:191). Blanton describes the "lethal combination of ethnocentrism, ignorance and misplaced priorities in.. the [new English settlers]..

interaction with the environment". The primarily "commercial interests of the Virginia Company channelled the energies of the new colonists toward identifying, collecting and exporting commodities of value in Europe" (2003:191). Whist they were focused on these aims, of course, they were not exploring new more suitable food resources or experimenting with new farming methods. The consequences of poor knowledge of this new environment meant, amongst other things, that the English settlers were not aware of the typical climatic patterns for the region and its effect on the vegetation.

As well as not seeking new or sources of food procuring knowledge (and possibly as a result of this), these settlers were not making use of experimental (innovation) learning; in others words, experimenting with new food resources and farming techniques better suited to this new ecosystem. Reproducing other English farmers' knowledge, might have served them well had they been setting up as new farmers back in England but clearly hindered them in an unfamiliar environment which required thoughtful innovation. This inflexibility to change learning modes may have been compounded by poor farming knowledge base to start with, as many of these colonists had not previously been farmers. Blanton concludes that "the question of motivation is a place to begin for anyone evaluating the degree of… success in adapting.." [to the new environment].

Perception of the environment

Related to the effect upon learning of migrant's motivation is their perception of their new environment. When examining the people's environments, it is useful to distinguish the functions and values attributed to it by its inhabitants. The value of one area may be considered very different from that of another, even if both are part of the same natural landscape. These may be the result of varying levels of familiarity with a landscape, in other words, the length of time in a place, suggests Holloway and

Hubbard (2001:76). They go on to suggest that a more "intimate" knowledge of a place is only gained over a long period of time which provides an "extended encounter" with the area. These writers emphasize the "phenomenological relationships with place" (2001:72). In other words, an attachment to place (considered an important human characteristic) may not yet be felt by new immigrants during the initial years of settlement. The degree to which newcomers may be willing to learn new cultural behaviour and values may be affected by the value they bestow on this new cultural environment. Outsiders to a culture, lacking the cultural contextualisation, can misunderstand and undervalue a groups' relationship with its environment.

Holloway and Hubbard (2001:217) also discuss the conflict that can arise between different groups attempting ownership of the same place. This may well be to the eventual detriment of both the potential users and the environment's resources. Although these writers are discussing land use conflict in terms of different sub-cultures (divided by age, political affiliation, socio-economic status) within modern, largely urban, environments, it is interesting to consider how some of the same factors may also be true for immigrants and host populations. The sense of attachment, belonging and ownership (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001:77) that is usually associated with a 'home' environment can manifest themselves in several ways in terms of openness to knowledge transmission. For the host culture, the sense of belonging and ownership brings a desire to control the environment, possibly to the differentiation and exclusion of new cultural influences. Conversely, the lack of a sense of attachment to a new area also hinders adaptation of cultural knowledge by newcomers. Returning to the example of the 17th Virginian settlers above, even though the English settlers were aware of indigenous populations, they did not value their perception or concepts of the environment or land use and, therefore, did not seek to learn from it.

Socio-economic status, gender and personalities

Interesting comparisons of the personality profiles of potential migrants from several Eastern European countries (Albania, Czech Republic and Slovenia) in the mid 1990s led researchers Boneva and Frieze to conclude that motivation to migrate was "significantly" higher amongst individuals with " higher achievement…and power motivation" than those who scored lower on these traits (Boneva & Frieze, 2001:483). Conversely, weaker ties or "affiliation" with family were noted amongst the intended migrants more than others, although this trait was less consistent or universal (affecting, for example, men and not the women in the sample). It should be noted here that this research was done on people in their home country and it is not known how many of the interviewees who desired to emigrate actually did so. Nevertheless, this raises the interesting idea of a possible link between selective pressure of migration upon personality types and the desire to be exposed to and learn from new cultural environments.

In his review of immigration and diaspora literature Bald (Bald, 1995:70) argues that "migrants' reactions to their marginalisation vary according to the generation, gender and class". Esman suggests, for example, that, "(w)omen tend to exert a conservative influence" for maintaining separate cultures and "slowing…integration" (Esman, 2009:107). This is because, he argues, greater time spent in the home means they have fewer opportunities (and, therefore, incentives) to learn about new cultures and change their lifestyles. A gender difference was also observed with levels of depression higher in immigrant women than men. It is suggested that this could also be due to the effects of cultural dislocation being felt more keenly by women both for the reasons of greater social isolation mentioned above and because many women feel a greater cultural loyalty to their home culture (Ainslie, 2005:214).

Esman (2009:108) does go onto point out that there will be many differences in the rate of adaptation and learning at an individual level; reactions to the migration experience will vary also according to individual temperaments, vulnerabilities, upbringing. This is one aspect of immigrants' experiences (South Asians in Britain) that Bald particularly explores, using examples of characters from texts such as K Markandaya's *The Nowhere Man* (1972), H Kureishi's *The Buddha of Suburbia* (1990*)*, S Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* (1989) and others. The characters' identities in these stories, to a lesser or greater degree, are themselves changed as a reaction to their encounters (in these cases, hostile treatment) with those from the majority culture (white Britons, here). The immigrants undergo an identity "metamorphosis" as their attempt at an adaptive response to the people and environment of the majority culture.

Nature of the immigrant community

Another aspect of the immigrant population that may well affect the transmission and learning of cultural knowledge is what could be referred to as the *nature* of the community. This is a difficult factor to clearly define but is used here to refer the homogeneous and cohesiveness of the immigrant group. This nature of the immigrant community is not fixed; it will change over time (between generations) and the same immigrant group in terms of cultural origins may manifest itself differently in response to different host cultures. Arguably, an intrinsic part of any population group with a socio-cultural homogeneity will be the development of 'boundaries' between it and the host or other cultures in that area. Cultural boundaries, or separateness, may often, but not always, follow cultural lines that pre-date the migration event and may develop at the instigation of the host of immigrant group.

The term diaspora has now been extended to describe so many different immigrant groups that its application needs some examination and justification. Cohen suggests

that, although many diverse groups may justifiably use the term diaspora, there are certain core characteristics that they would share (Cohen, 2008:10) . These include, a powerful "folk memory"; in other words, a group wide history kept strong by constant re-telling and a "focus for social mobilisation". In addition, a diaspora would also differ from non diasporic immigrant groups by having a group shared goal, often the restoration of the original homeland. Thirdly, and very importantly, Cohen (2010:10) argues that to be a diaspora, a group must show the "maintenance…(of a)… boundary" of a socio/cultural separation from the majority culture. The relevance here, of course, is that all of these characteristics can potentially prevent or, at least, slow down, any processes of acculturation or assimilation between an immigrant group and the host culture and, thus, also affect transmission of culture for both groups.

Esman also warns against using diaspora as a "synonym for all immigrants" (2009:10). Esman describes a diaspora as a community that hopes to retain inherited culture and "reproduce…the familiar environment of their former homeland". The implication by Esman is that many immigrants may later form a diaspora as he argues that many immigrants "originally regard themselves… as *sojourners* who have left their homeland temporarily" (whatever the eventual outcome may actually be). There would appear to be a potential straightforward (and seamless) transition from migrant, in many different situations, to diaspora member.

Ewing suggests that some government policies (for example, in The Netherlands in the 1990s) aimed at helping connect ethnic groups may, instead, "create and naturalize.. difference by bestowing identity, in the same movement by which it seeks to bridge difference" (Ewing,2004:118) In other words, any active, interventionist strategy, even if the driven by state policies of tolerance and encouragement of cultural diversity may, have the result of continuing to highlight the importance of any immigrant communities

and/or diasporas as necessarily made up of people whose cultural identity's defining feature is that of difference to the others in the country's population. "In the migrant landscapes … a constant struggling into sense and history is pieced together … between what we have inherited and where we are", suggests Chambers (Chambers,1994:15). Understanding the changing sense of cultural identity of immigrants as they create a new home in the host society is difficult both because "identity" is notoriously difficult to measure and because it is not a cultural ,or personal, constant.

A continuum of cultural adaptation across immigrant generations

Novels by immigrants or their decedents do not, in Fludernick's (2003:275) opinion, describe any sudden "break away form the expatriate community" (for the most part) but, instead, describe the "compromises, adaptations, hybrid functionalizations and partial revolts undergone by…immigrants and their children". There are different compromises and adaptations for the first generation immigrants, their children and subsequent third or fourth generation, and therefore, different conflicts and struggles with identity. This can be viewed as a continuum of adaptation (of the stages of acculturation and assimilation). The first generation of immigrants may have to work hard 'learning' enough of another cultural landscape that they can function at work and at home and bring up children. However, their work may, for some, by confined to enterprises within the immigrant or diaspora community (Esman, 2009:109) – as may much of their social lives also. These immigrants may still look towards their homelands as the source of cultural knowledge, values and histories for the rest of their lives.

Their children, however, who are born and educated within the host landscape, are far more likely, Esman (2009:112) argues, to look for work and marriage outside of the

immigrant community but still may "revert" to the culture of their parents' homeland (food, language, customs) at times. It is to this (second) generation that the concepts of dual or hybrid cultural identities probably apply most. Subsequent generations may still have nostalgia for their ancestors' culture and utilise (possibly disjointed) aspects of it at certain times, typically for celebration rituals and in times of hardship. It may even be that for some of later generations, fully participating in the host culture and society, actively seek out their 'roots', creating a "pseudo-identity, a romantic association with the old country" (Esman, 2009:112) of grandparents or great grandparents. The importance of these roots should not be under-estimated in the creating of personal identities for several generations (Torgovnick, 1999:239-245).

Strength of links to homeland

The degree of contact with immigrants' homeland is another important factor which can affect the resilience of their immigrants' original culture in the face of pressure to change from the larger host culture. Suarez-Orozco (2005:73) explains that the "relative ease and accessibility of mass transportation … and the new globalized communication and information technologies make possible a more massive back and forth movement of people, goods and information, and symbols than ever before". Today's immigrants have the opportunity to "replenish", on a fairly frequent basis, their knowledge of their homeland's culture and customs. Without out this "clean break", there may not be such a strong incentive to exert the huge effort required to 'start again' in terms of immersing themselves in learning about a new culture.

Of course, even in the past news (and some goods) from homelands would have been received upon the successive arrival of new immigrants (particularly in periods of large scale international immigration such as during the late 19th and early 20th centuries) but clearly not in the abundance that modern media and communication infrastructure

can provide. All of these contacts with the homeland culture can have several effects. The quantity of vertically transmitted cultural information they can receive (or 'inherit') from older generations within the homeland culture is greater than for many immigrants in the past. Immigrants may feel they have "dual" cultural identities, "bridging increasingly unbounded national space" (Suarez-Orozco 2005:73). In some cases the relative ease of communication and travel may mean immigrants do not consider their new home to be their permanent one. This can have implications for rates of cultural adaptation for both immigrant and host populations. Research carried out in the 1990s (Zick, Wagner, van Dick, Petzel, 2001: 546) on host population attitudes to Turkish immigrant workers found evidence of more negative feelings towards those perceived less likely to assimilated but to remain for longer periods (short stay migrants who not perceived as assimilating.

Persistence of cultural memories

Immigrants' memories of their homeland culture will be affected by the lack of replenishment of cultural knowledge that is the result of the break in "vertical" transmission, particularly in the past. It can be argued that memories are "not simply stored images" but are formed "as an interaction between the past and the present" (Sutton, 2001: 9). This helps our understanding of the role of differently constructed memories amongst immigrants in creating new cultural identities. Immigrants, more than most, are forced, by their geographical separation from sources with whom their recollections could be verified, to re-construct details of events and attach value to material culture using a different range of experiences from their ancestors. This must be true of the community collective memories as it is for the individual immigrant.

This is not to describe immigrants' (or their second and third generation descendents) cultural memories as false, but, certainly, created and maintained in a different way

from other groups. Whilst the historical or location detail surrounding a remembered special meal or recipe might not be completely correct, for example, the sentiment and socio-cultural value attached to these things will be genuine. These constructed memories represent the immigrants' best attempt to genuinely re-create a bit of the past/homeland and, quite often, it is argued, they are "idealisations" (Fludernick, 2003:263) of the homeland/past. These memories can be helped kept alive through the recreation of their material manifestation, such as in a traditional celebratory meal. In this way the actual food and ritual involved in the meal are serving a similarly 'comforting' purpose for a sense of 'loss' as described by the concept of "cultural mourning" (Ainslie: 2005:209) for objects generally. Those (homemakers) tasked with the job of maintaining some cultural continuity (from the homeland) through material culture offerings such as food, may then experience a more pronounced conflict between cultural adaptation and conservatism as they attempt to fill the "potential space" between cultures (Ainslie, 2005:209). This may explain, in part, the difference in experiences of migrants and will be examined further in the following chapter on food culture.

4.5 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has examined facets involved in deconstructing social learning. Social learning is viewed as the mechanism through which culture is transmitted and, therefore, crucial to the theory that culture is an inheritance system. In more recent history many of these 'new' environments, or *niches*, to which immigrants would have to adapt have been themselves become highly socio-culturally constructed spaces. As culture has helped shape these environments, so it also modifies the selection pressures exerted upon its inhabitants (Odling-Smee et al, 2003:251). It follows that the adaptation that is increasingly relevant for immigrants is that of cultural adaptation,

or acculturation, and this is achieved to a large degree through effective social learning. Many factors will affect newcomers' ability to accommodate new *schemas* of knowledge, such as motivation, nature of their community and homeland cultures.

Chapter five

Material culture and the cultural environment

Introduction

Material culture commonly refers to the relationship between objects, people and society. The types of objects that are usually considered in studies of material culture are both portable and those perceptible by touch and sight; they have a physical material existence. However, the study of material culture is not about objects as "things in themselves (Attfield, 2000: 1) but as symbols of culture and cultural change. The view of objects as indicators of socio-cultural change is very much that of the archaeologist or anthropologist's study and the lens through which material culture is viewed here. It is argued that the "artefactual" language that facilitates the growth of complexity of human culture. The symbolic representation of reality (of which language and material culture are part) is what enables the organisation of the cultural community and that this, "symbolic mode is not only shared by the community, but conserved elaborated and passed on to succeeding generations who, by virtue of this transmission, continue to maintain the culture's identity" (Bruner, 2009 :160-161).

In this thesis it is argued that material goods are a manifestation of cultural activities and identity and that, as a consequence, they have a role as store and transmitter of culture. The role of material culture as such is enabled because people (individuals and groups) would appear to highly value many of the objects that surround them, especially, as Woodward suggests, "those they deem to possess" (2007:146). These objects become part of their owners' cultural environment, helping shape the subsequent and continuous process of identity development for both the objects' owner and others encountering this environment. In this way, it is argued that they contribute to the selection pressures exerted by the cultural environment on its inhabitants.

The role of cultural transmitter is performed by material items being passed across time (from one generation to the next) and also across space, as they are transported by migrants from place to place. This role of store and transmitter of culture can and is played by many different examples of material culture (such as art, jewellery, household objects, clothing, food), as well, of course, by other aspects of culture such as music and each example will have its own particularly nuanced role.

5.2 What is material culture? Primary and secondary functions of objects

Material culture can refer to both valuable or ritual objects as well as those items that surround our everyday lives. The individual objects within this material culture which people attach status and value may function at several levels. What we could term their 'primary' role could be simply the technological or socio-economic function; the way in which the object helps the user with a specific task and the task that the object was designed for. For example, a mobile telephone's primary function is clearly to ease and speed communication with others in the user's society. However, "(m)ore than this external objects take a deeper meaning" (Woodward, 2007:146) and in this case mobile telephones have become an important symbol (for many) of affluence, occupation and social status. Within the material culture of cuisine, there are also examples of objects whose primary function may be improving efficiency in food preparation, but which is also utilised to display the user's association with a particular set of cultural attributes, skills and values. The user is, thus, attempting to transmit their identification with a desired cultural group or sub group (such as family orientated homemaker or sophisticated 'foodie'). Objects can also function as 'badges', easily interpreted visual symbols or cues which confirm the owner's social or occupational status, such as stethoscope worn by a doctor, pens or smart phone placed in a shirt

pocket of a manager or a builder's tape measure clearly visible in a work belt around the waist.

However, the objects that each generation or group encounters have not developed spontaneously but they will usually be the product of successive generations of development of that object. As Blute argues, the objects of material culture have undergone evolutionary process analogous to genetic evolution, with the objects that " surround us today" having "descended with modification from the first stone tools". (2010: 38).

Objects with meaning

An attribute shared by objects that make up material culture is that they will each have been imbued with meaning, possibly a, "personality or attitude" (Berger, 2009:164) by their owners or users. Woodward goes further, suggesting that, "it is this expressive capacity of objects that affords individuals the opportunity to articulate aspects of self through material engagement" (2007:135). It is, in part, for this reason that identity and such objects can be so strongly linked. Material goods play a role in maintaining, even reinforcing, people's cultural identity and vice versa. Maintaining a strong identity may be particularly important if a culture is to maintain some consistency across several generations or for immigrants who want to retain cultural links with their homeland.

It may well be that it is the quality and number of the objects (material culture) that matters most to people in terms of conveying identity (individual and group), rather than just the, "mere possession" or attachment to that object that is needed. Woodward argues that the fact that an individual (or group) has "exclusive control and ownership" of an object is the significant aspect that differentiates the perceived "boundaries between the self…and the other" (2007135). Theories of material culture as

expressions of our identity do make several assumptions about society which should be addressed. First, it assumes a degree of affluence that enables some element of choice between different objects (particularly different styles of object of the same broad type and function). Additionally, a market is needed that is able to satisfy this choice and a political regime that allows such consumer and/or creative choice. In previous periods and regimes where the cost and difficulty of production, distribution limited objects to only a primary role of fulfilling basic utilitarian functions, then the analysis of objects' as a proxy for socio-cultural identity may be less justified. Woodward argues that any attempt at a study of material culture and identity is facilitated through the lens of the post modern consumer society in which we inhabit today, with its "frenetic commodification" (2007:135).

Another important characteristic of material culture is its absolute and relative durability. The most obvious reason for considering this is to understand the object's survivability across time and how this affects its capacity to transmit culture from one generation to the next. In addition, we should consider an object's relative robustness compared to other material culture in order that its past (or foreign) cultural significance is not incorrectly assessed simply as a result of its commonness or rarity. As such critical assessment would be expected of the representatives of the archaeological record, so it should also be for objects as yet only a few years old and those observed as part of the cultural environment for migrants. Some examples of material culture, by the very nature, may be more delicate than others and yet others may have components of varying durability.

Attfield investigates the example of clothing and other uses of textiles and argues that they can be both ephemeral and durable. The can "withstand years of wear, laundering and change of use from…[for instance]… a coat to a rug" (2000: 132). Cuisine shares

this characteristic if we break it down into its different components. Many aspects of cuisine are highly durable (such as cooking equipment, crockery and cutlery) and can be passed from generation to generation. Some parts can be long lasting if cared for well, such as the written recipes for dishes, whilst the food ingredients themselves are (of varying degree) short lived and the dishes and meals which all of these components create are ephemeral. Another characteristic which food meals share with textiles, is that they have the capacity to change appearance. With textiles this is achieved, "through use of different fibres, techniques, structures and applied decoration" (2000:132) explains Attfield. Much the same variation can be observed with food meals through the use of different proportions, cooking methods and dish layout. These can all dramatically change a dish or meal even where the same raw food ingredients may be used.

Indeed, part of the very cultural significance of some things to modern identity, such as meals and textiles, might be their very ephemeral quality, argues Attfield. In the case of textiles, their colours fade and the fabric can rot and disintegrate. These processes can give their physical presence meaning and significance that resonates with the ephemeral nature of much of culture identity creation. Attfield argues that this is a phenomenon of modern identity, although it could also be suggested that, and in contrast to popular perception perhaps, there has always been an aspect of cultural identity that is based on the fleeting and temporary experience. The temporary nature of something can add value through its rarity and uniqueness

Multi-sensory experience of material culture

Many of the things which make up material culture will be experienced through more than one sense. The things that surround us and make up our external environment, by their very materiality, occupy real space and can be seen, touched and sometimes,

smelt, heard and tasted. The materiality of cuisine and food is particularly, almost uniquely, multi-sensorial and this special characteristic of it will be discussed in chapter five. Clothes are another example of multi-sensorial items. Clothing can have an "intimate quality because.. [it lies].. next to the skin and inhabits the spaces of private lives" (Attfield, 2000: 121). The evidence that an item of clothing belonged to someone can be visible in its structure, such as "the wrinkles in a jacket elbow" or the smell that lingers on some well worn clothes long after it was last worn (2000:146). This closeness (actual and emotional) of the item to its owner means that clothing is experienced by several senses, felt, seen and smelt, by the wearer and can hold strong memories for others who come into contact with them. Attfield describes a case of a woman who uncovered the old suits of her deceased father. The woman found that by wearing the clothing herself the relationship with her own history was "intensified" (2000:146) to the point that she felt that she understood better her background and the "trajectory of her [own] life so far", so powerful was the garment's' capacity to transmit personal history and meaning.

Furniture (particular that within our homes) is another example of a type of object that can be experienced by multiple senses. As well as the tangible and visual presence of a piece of old wooden furniture, for instance, there can be the smell of the accumulation of years of polish and cleaning. The wood may have also absorbed the smell of tobacco or cooking in the air around it. There may even be a particular timbre of a sound made when using the item, sliding a draw, opening a cabinet door or the chime of a clock, the creak of a door or handle. Nowadays we are also surrounded by electrical goods (refrigerators, ovens, washing machines, computers) that make a multitude of low sounds that mingle in the background of homes and workplaces. Attfield discusses the work of Auslander who suggests that the process of generating meaning about objects, "is not necessarily linguistic - the 'language' of the ears, eyes, tongue and skin,

including music, painting, sculpture, food, and fabric are neither the same nor reducible to natural language" (Auslander 1996 quoted in Attfield, 2000: 147).

5.3 Material culture as transmitters of cultural identity

Another of the roles of material culture is that of a "sign" of group affiliation and identity. Culture can be viewed as a sign through which we can convey our group belonging and, therefore, our socio-cultural identity was investigated (Berger, 2009:160). Such 'signs' could take many forms and would be subject to change, although they would have to maintain a sufficient consistency that their 'message' could be interpreted by others (individuals and other groups). Berger suggests that such signs could take many forms. We could select from a number of different material manifestations of culture, such as objects of food, for investigations into their semiotic role. However, as Berger (2009:160,163) cautions, signs can mislead. People can deliberately mislead by choosing a cultural sign that confers an identity (belonging to a group) that is "not warranted". This socio-cultural deceit is arguably just part of the desire to imitate which itself is driven by the powerful urge to belong to a particular group (2009:163). It may be quite a fine line (of socio-cultural rationalising) between the acceptable face of imitation that is social learning and that which is perceived by others ('sign interpreters') as being wrongly deceitful.

The creation of personal and cultural identity has for many become more fluid in the 21st century in the West as it has become less constrained by aspects of society such as class, age, family, gender and work. Woodward argues that it may be, therefore, more difficult to correctly identify the material culture that represents each group, describing these changes as, "fragmentation of the old hierarchies of cultural tastes"

(Woodward, 2007:136). Fashion clothing is a good example of this potential difficulty as it can change very fast (annually or, even seasonally) and trends may cut across the

traditional social groupings mentioned just above. Cheaper, mass produced fashion clothing items can gain "superior aesthetic cache" amongst some consumer groups with the consequence that an observer can no longer necessarily correlate high monetary value of an item with socio-cultural status.

Individual and group identity

Attfield discuss one of the difficulties in reconciling group identity necessary for any sort of concept of homogeneous cultural identity and what she refers to as the, "singularity" of individual identity. She asks how do things have, "different meanings to different individuals at different times, in different places?" (Attfield, 2000:136). How do they do this while also still retaining a recognisable, common meaning across a whole cultural group? Attfield argues that in identity creation, "individuality and sociality are not mutually exclusive" (2000: 141) and so an individual can have a strong sense of self and this will not necessarily preclude having a sense of social duty and allegiance. In fact, it is suggested, that the, "paradox of individuality is that it can only be constructed within a social framework", (2000: 141). Perhaps cultural (or the cultural environment) is the fusing of the individual and group (social) identity?

In discussing modern material culture and personalities, Miller describes people today as maintaining several possible facets of their characters and that this process was aided by a range of goods which, "externalise these into different forms" (Miller 1987 quoted in Attfield, 2000: 153). The idea that people present more than one identity within society is argued to be a response to a complex social world with contradictory socio-cultural demands. These multiple responses, it is claimed, may be especially

likely in modern Western consumer societies with affluence and abundant choice, coupled with cultural freedom of expression. This is not due to any innate behavioural differences in today's populations but, perhaps, just the product of greater consumer opportunity facilitating diverse, changeable self identities. The point here is that the use of material culture as a reflection of wider socio-cultural identity creation is only be valid where people's choice material possessions is not suppressed, either through poverty or politics. These concerns may also be of significance when investigating cultural identity of migrants. Immigrants in a new home might struggle to maintain cultural relationships that may be almost impossibly contrasting and divergent, even contradictory. They are also with limited access to the full extent of their previous range of material culture through which they could attempt to represent these multiple identities.

Managing environment through object attachment

Possibly an extreme early attempt to control their external environment (or cultural niche construction) is observed through the process of object 'attachment' by infants. Comfort and security can be provided by the object because it is perceived (even if not consciously) as a substitute for the real providers of comfort, people and, in this case, specifically, the infant's parents. The nature of the person substitute object may not be too important, suggests Woodward (2007:139), as long as it meets certain practical requirements (for example, size, durability, softness). The popularity of the soft toys, dolls and blankets for infants may be, in part, because these are the socially accepted objects which are given to them, although Attfield (2000:126) argues that certain objects, such as cloth, have particular characteristics that facilitate a more intimate relationship. Woodward suggests that this attachment to objects is possible because of the psychological process of 'projection' (Woodward,

2007:140). In this process an individual puts their own "meanings, fantasies, desires, emotions" into an object. This process of projection and attachment is not exclusive to infants, of course. As they continue through people's lives it is, perhaps, just the nature of the object that changes because certain objects will have memories at different ages and particular objects are considered more socially appropriate as symbols of status or values (jewellery, cars, furniture, for example) for adults.

Further psychological processes that may be important in understanding the relationship between material culture and people's identity is the role of objects in "making bridges" between what Woodward terms the, "real and ideal" cultural worlds. Objects can represent the imagined and aspired to aspects of a person's (or group's) life and it is, "in this imagined domain that people come to define and build up their notion of an ideal" (Woodward, 2007:142) and, it could be added, their ideal cultural identity.

5.4 The material culture of home

The material culture of the domestic (home) environment may be particular representative of people's relationship with their society and identity. The selection and arrangement of objects chosen by people to share their domestic space with could be described as an example of cultural niche construction in action. Indeed, the objects within a home form what has been termed a, "mediating agency – the means through which individuals relate… to the world at large" (Attfield, 2000: 153). As there may well be more choice about objects in the home for many people, such objects may be of particular significance as indicators of their owner's changing relationships with wider society. Several types of material culture straddle the immediate environment of home and that beyond, such as clothes, food and small portable items such as cosmetics,

mobile phones, bags and so on, and so are able to reflect the intimate events of people's lives as well as become a central focus of wider social occasions (eating out, social gatherings, workplaces).

There may be different characteristics of the material culture chosen for the home which affect its interpretation, such as a greater degree of conservatism. People's home objects may be less subject to change in fashions than objects outside this intimate space. Attfield describes the, "stubborn persistence of traditional furnishings [even]..in the face of...technological innovations and social changes" (Attfield, 2000: 169). This persistence of certain objects can be seen in the example of a piece of much loved furniture which could be described as a, "sentinel guarding traditional home values" (2000: 169). This attribute could be extended to other household material culture, including cuisine, and be part of the explanation for the continuation of objects even where a newer model exists.

5. 6 Material culture and cultural memory

Several different roles have been described for material culture in the transmission of cultural knowledge and memories. Goody (1982 in Rowlands, 2004: 90) argues for a distinction in the role of objects in transmitting culture in literate and non literate societies. Rowlands (2004:90) stresses the different role where there is preservation of an actual object through the generations in contrast to the cultural link with the past that is created through the reproduction of the object from memory by each generation. Both distinctions can be useful but of particular relevance here is the latter as cuisine is not a permanent object but its manifestations (food dishes and meals) are ephemeral and need to be re-created for each use. This must happen whether or not their use is within a literate or non literate society, although the level of literacy may well have a

bearing upon the authenticity of the recreation (in terms of component similarity to the original dish rather than function). This certainly makes the material culture of cuisine different in nature from many other types of material culture.

Rowland argues that there is a relationship between the different types of material cultural transmission and the degree of conservativeness versus change in cultural inheritance. A "conservative [slower] transmission of cultural form is particularly likely where people are exposed constantly to highly visible examples of material objects vested with authoritative credibility", argues Rowlands (2004:92). In contrast greater speed of cultural change is likely where material culture's visible form must be reproduced for each user and each generation. Where an object (as in the case, for example, of a food dish or meal) must be recreated for each subsequent use (or consumption) greater variation is likely as "no object is the exact replica or another" (Rowland, 2004:90).

One example of an object of material culture (in this case in the form of a durable monument) that allows a collective remembrance and identification with a culture's past is suggested to be seen in war memorials. The intended permanence of the memorial (usually a built monument) attempts to mitigate the suffering of the society and families of the loss of the people it commemorates. The added poignancy in such a monument is in the striking contrast of its permanence with that of the lives prematurely cut short. In addition, and intertwined with this, is the monument's function of perpetuating links to the society's collective cultural past. Through the creation and maintenance of collective memories, it also strengthens group socio-cultural identity for all those who feel a connection to the monument's message. Rowland cites the example of the ANZAC war memorial in Sydney to Australian soldiers in the First World War which, he

claims, rivals other famous sites such as Uluru (Ayers Rock) in visitor numbers and has become a, " great symbol of Australian [national]unity" (2004:95).

The "compulsion of repetition" is the term Rowland applies to the conservatism of design of commemorative material culture and this may well be popular for such objects precisely because of it is perceived as maintaining links with a past that (in such a case) is revered and valued. Rowland suggests that, "in the act of repetition or replication, the original occasion of its usage is in someway evoked so that the unfolding progress of the tradition promises a future of further imitation" (2009:96). This concept is of particular relevance when the material culture that is providing the continuation with the past culture, is ephemeral in form as is the case with much of the material culture of cuisine. This 'compulsion of repetition' is often seen in people's desire to recreate a traditional dish just as they remember it from their own (or their group or family's collective) past. The irony is that what is perceived to be the authentic and uniqueness of a culture's identity relies on a phenomenon of conservative repetition to maintain it as a symbol of that culture.

The reason why particular objects are able to, "evoke and to establish continuation with past experience", is because, Rowland argues (2004: 94), they can appeal to our memories of a collective past as well as our individual past. This sense of a shared past identity may be comforting to people as it appears to provide a stability, especially in times of perceived or actual change in others aspects of live. Rowland mentions objects such as heirlooms, souvenirs and photographs as examples of objects capable of inducing this collective cultural past. Whilst I would agree that certain objects can be particular significant in this respect, the basic principles of the study of material culture should not be forgotten, that is, of course, that many objects change functions and role through their 'history'; some may become 'heirlooms' or souvenirs of a past time or

place, but they may well have begun their service with some quite different, even prosaic, function – a piece of furniture, crockery or cutlery, for example). The knowledge of the original function of the object may even have been lost or forgotten and its continued use is now primarily as an "aide memoir" or a "link between past, present and future" (Rowland, 2009: 94).

Material objects as cultural comforters

Objects can also be a source of comfort through providing continuity and keeping alive memories of the past or past homelands. This function as comforter is particularly significant for people when or where there has been a fairly sudden, perhaps also unwanted or unexpected, break with the (safe, familiar) past, such as caused by migration. This 'past' referred to here is considered, in part, as a 'memory' and may take several forms; it may be the collective memory experienced by a settled society of a time period gone by, the more personal memories of past generations of individuals' family or the remembrance of previous homelands (or a combination of these). All of these 'pasts' may be mourned to a greater or lesser extent and material culture's role in this mourning process is important on several fronts.

Of these breaks or dislocations, Ainslie (2005: 208) investigates the example of migrants and suggests that the reason why migrants' "cultural dislocation has such profound psychological consequences for the individual" is because the "immersion" in familial, ethnic and social culture from childhood means that this culture has become our first known universe and shapes our very identity, even before an individual may be aware of this. It is not surprising, therefore, that the, "immigrant experience represents a special case of mourning in which mourning revolves around the loss of loved people and places occasioned by geographical dislocation", as Ainslie argues (2005:201). These "places" were the immigrants' homeland with their unique culture.

For migrants the formative experiences of family and culture become "inseparable" in their memories, argues Ainslie (2005:208), and, therefore, they "mourn" the loss of this culture in similar ways to that of family and friends. This he refers to as "cultural mourning".

"A common mechanism in mourning is the use of objects" (Ainslie: 2005:209). "Material culture goods … serve to dilute the impact of loss by virtue of maintaining a connection to the deceased". Such objects become a "symbolic bridge" or link between the missed person. Objects (or other aspects of material culture) can also, therefore, provide the same linking function back to the missed family and homeland culture of a migrant. For migrants, such objects provide similar comfort (as in the loss of a loved one) by lessening the emotional tension caused by "dislocation" and "separation" and helping to sustain the one's "psychological equilibrium" (Ainslie, 2005: 215) – an equilibrium that can be so threatened by migration.

The explanation for the comfort that portable aspects of culture (such as food) potentially provide for the migrant is the same as for other loss; they can provide first a reminder and also a focus of our mourning. Mourning reduces the sense of loss by helping to perpetuate our attachment to that which we mourn. "The lost attachment remains emotionally alive so long as it is mourned" (Ainslie, 2005:207). Of course mourning is bittersweet in that the memories (of person or place or both) may be painful. Although these reminders may provoke home sickness for migrants, they also provide comfort through their links to past. These links create a sense of cultural continuity, re-enforcement of personal identity and emotional anchoring which presumably outweigh any negative feeling. There is plentiful evidence for the emotional need to maintain these homeland links, such as in the naming of new settlements (or communities within host settlements), re-creation of festivals, maintenance of customs

and cuisine by migrants. Through the process of mourning we perpetuate within ourselves a little bit of that which we have lost. The person or place lost or left is "gradually relinquished via an internalisation of that relationship and all that it has meant. With this internalisation, the significant features of the relationship become part of the ego. The ego is transformed by the loss, but more so by the reintegration of the lost object through the mourning process, as the mourner revisits the memories and feelings that bound them to the one (or place) who has left". (Ainslie: 2005:215)

5.7 Chapter conclusion

Material culture can include a wide variety of things from food, furniture, art and tools. Although their function and form vary these things share a presence that is tangible, takes physical form although this doesn't have to be of a particular duration. Food dishes may take their recognisable physical form only fleetingly, for example, whereas objects such as clothes or furniture may last for much longer but their function, form and design are subject to alterations over their 'life'. In addition, the everyday objects that surround people's ordinary lives are argued to be of the same potential value as objects created for the elite or for special occasions/traditions. The bulk of cultural niche construction and cultural knowledge transmission is enabled in large part by such objects. These objects act as media to transmit the message of the meaning with which they have been imbued by one set of owners/users to another.

As with other transmitters of cultural identity, it was argued that the material culture of cuisine can convey a variety of messages, bold and nuanced. Examples of food culture transmitting cultural identity information include particular food dishes which remain popular long after (and distanced from) their origin. These dishes can provide a powerful, reassuring message of familial and cultural constancy much welcomed in a

changing socio-cultural landscape.

Chapter six

Cuisine and cultural inheritance

Introduction

This chapter builds on chapter five's consideration of material culture's role in the transmitting of culture and examines specifically the role of cuisine in this process and as part of a community's cultural inheritance system. Selecting food to eat, as with other examples of material culture, is a "universal form of human activity" (Lévi-Strauss, 2008:36) and its "central role" in the everyday life of the majority of people (Certeau & Giard, 2008:68). It is this role which enables cuisine to play an important part of forming cultural identity and passing on valuable cultural information between people.

Most of the world's people would appear to belong to well marked cuisine groups, argue Rozin & Rozin (2005: 35). Cuisine is suggested to be a very significant marker of distinct cultural communities and the boundaries between these communities. A defined, consistent and familiar cuisine provides a point of reference and association which helps people create social and cultural identity. The term cuisine covers quite a complex assemblage of social selections and rules governing the inclusion of certain foods and the choice of food processing methods and eating behaviours. For this reason, in order to better understand the relationship between cuisine and cultural identity, we need to deconstruct cuisine into its component parts or 'elements' (Belasco, 2008:18) as different elements may have different contributions to the characteristics, longevity or adaptability of a cuisine. One 'element' of cuisine, that of food flavourings, for example, has been argued to be particular significant in "impart[ing] a clear and characteristic identity" to the foods of particular cultures or geographical regions (Rozin & Rozin, 2005:35).

6.2 How cuisine differs from other material culture

Cuisine might appear to be disadvantaged in terms of its ability to transmit cultural knowledge because of the ephemeral nature of its main product, the dish or the meal. Whilst it is certainly true that each of these products, or "inventions" are short lived, the succession of days, each with their meals, that stretch out over the years creates a durable value in our activities and our memories. Added to this are the many material items, such as cooking equipment, kitchen spaces, dining artefacts, furniture and cookery books, that are associated with the creation of dishes and meals. Certeau and Giard (2008:67) argue that food should be considered as important a component of a group's culture as the often more highly regarded 'arts' such as music or fashion. Wilk also clearly summarises the issue of food and identity when he writes that, whilst many have written about the role of food as, "a particularly potent symbol of personal and group identity", what needs further investigation, is, "how the seemingly insurmountable boundaries between each group's unique dietary practices … can be maintained whilst diets, recipes, and cuisines are in a constant state of flux" (Wilk, 2008:308).

One of the attractions of food culture as an indicator of cultural change is its 'everyday' status. However, a consideration of the value of 'everyday' was not always thought important by those studying cultures. Douglas criticises the seminal work on food in culture by Claude Levi-Strauss, The Raw and the Cooked (1983), because of its lack of examination of the language of food in its everyday usage. Douglas notes that Levi-Strauss's focus was only on universal meanings of food usage (2004:244). Not only would it be short-sighted to ignore the less glamorous components of our material culture, it would be particularly foolish in a study into immigrant group's behaviours. By their nature, migrants or newly settled populations are often without the bulk and finest of their source cultures' goods and objects d'art. Sutton (2001:3) argues that what he

calls food's "cloak of the mundane" may actually "hide powerful meanings and structures" about a people's culture. This is not just about how important food and cuisine are considered to the lives of a particular people (although this in itself is interesting), but could shed light onto all sorts of other areas such as the centrality of family, social celebrations, gender roles and social stratification. The identification of social groups through differentiated cuisine has been, of course, well examined by Goody (1982:98). Cuisine distinctions may also allow us to identity the societal value placed upon tradition versus innovation and change.

Cuisine can convey cultural information. As Farb and Armelagos (1980) suggest, cuisine may be considered similar in aspects to language. Cuisine habits and preferences may be formed early, starting with a person's formative childhood experiences. These experiences will be, for many people who remain living within the same culture throughout their lives, repeated often, so consolidating these cuisine habits. However, even when people move (migrate) to another culture, they may still find that they retain an accent of their native cuisine (Farb & Armelagos, 1980 in Belasco, 2008:16)

What is meant by 'cuisine'?

The terms cuisine and dining both refer to activities which are, in large part, culturally constructed and as such their secondary functions of social communication are very significant - more so, at times, than their primary function of providing nutrition. This social communication helps "establish rules of behaviour", suggests Belasco (2008:15), for the participants and their wider social group. In addition to differentiating a social-cultural activity from simply feeding, the term cuisine is used here to differentiate the type and style of food eaten between different cultural groups, a product of group

choices. In this sense cuisine could also be used differentiate between social-economic groups within one larger society. This is not, of course, the same as using cuisine (or culture) to refer (as is commonly used) to a particular, superior style of food belonging to the wealthy elite.

The important distinction between food as basic sustenance and cuisine as culturally modified food items is made by Certeau and Giard. The food that makes up a cuisine is what Certeau and Giard term a "cultured foodstuff". It is rarely presented to potential consumers in a completely natural state (2008: 75). Even a food item presented without any of the processing typically associated with dish preparation and cooking, has already been subject to some cultural processing in that it has been selected from a wide variety of other possible foods. Certeau and Giard give several examples of the influence that cultural rules have upon the selection of foods. The meat from some animals is considered acceptable to eat in some regions, but prohibited in others. Dog is eaten in Hong Kong but not in Europe, worms are "savoured" in New Guinea but not even considered in many other countries, offal is a popular dish component in some Latin American countries but detested in much of North America, for example. Rozin (1992:xiv,xviii) succinctly and clearly describes the hugely differing flavour principles that dominate different parts of the world.

6.3 The role of cuisine in cultural identity

Cuisine is used to help define the group which we belong to and its socio-cultural boundary through the identification of both the things which our group commonly eat and those foods which the group do not eat. Different cuisines are another cultural boundary marker. Foods or recipes from beyond one's cultural boundary may even be viewed as exotic in some objective sense, suggests Heldke (2008:332). The

implication is that, even though it may be fashionable to be adventurous with different foods, these different foods ultimately represent different cultures which travel and fashion cannot easily change.

There are examples of cuisine or, even, a specific food item becoming a symbol of a particular cultural group. Leitch (2008:383) suggests that one example of this is the Slow Food movement (begun by Carli Perrini in northern Italy) that grew in popularity from the 1990s. The food that inspired and came to symbolise the movement was Lardo di Colonnata (lard, or pork fat) which had historically been a staple of the Piedmont poor and now celebrated in as a speciality of the region. The explicit aims of this culinary cultural movement were to protect what its supporters termed 'endangered foods', namely local and regional foods and cuisines believed to be under threat from European Union regulation and the creeping taste homogenisation that was the consequence of the increased popularity of fast food.

The effect of national identity upon cuisine choices

An investigation into cuisine changes in Belize from the 1970s to the early 1990s highlights some interesting points about the relationship between cuisine and cultural identity. Wilk compared two meals served to him by local Belizean families of similar background during visits to the country in the decades above. The very different type of food served was explained by Wilk as the consequence of increased consciousness of nationhood (Belize gained its independence from Britain in 1981) and the role of culture in this as well as by more sophisticated knowledge about fulfilling visitors' perceptions of and desires for "local" cuisine (Wilk, 2008: 313).

During Wilk's first Belize meal eaten with local residents in 1973 it was clear that visitors were a rarity and it appeared that their use of many imported ingredients was

because they wanted to impress visitors with the worldliness and because this was a period in which local ingredients and cooking methods were seen by Belizeans as inferior to foreign food. In subsequent decades locally grown or produced foods were substituted for imported foods. Examples given include the use of local fish Pupsi and Crana instead of (imported) sardines, the use plantain flour in bread-making in place of wheat or the use of local fruits for jams). However, this 'substitution of ingredients did not yet dispose of whole dishes or meals previously used. The general status of the old colonial cuisine was yet unchallenged even where geography necessitated some adaptation of its component elements. In contrast, in the post independent Belize of 1990, Wilk's hosts' now fulsome use of local foods demonstrated the greater value such produce held in the eyes of local middle classes. In addition, some of these local ingredients had now made it onto the menus of restaurants and hotels and were branded as representing a new Belizean cuisine.

Clearly other socio-economic variables, not least differences in the families themselves, will have contributed to differences in the meals, as Wilk acknowledges. In addition, Wilk's perception of his hosts may have altered as have that of many visitors to foreign places generally over past decades. A redefining of what makes "authentic" local food, the greater value placed on indigenous cultures and customs, as well as changing definition of what constitutes "modernity" in a cook's repertoire, has occurred within western European and American culture generally (Wilks, 2008:313) in recent decades.

Another aspect of cultural identity and the process by which it changes are the tendencies of homogenisation and heterogeneity. It is often tempting to view these tendencies as polarised positions and then associate these positions with subjective meanings such as the concept of "seductive globalisation" driving cultural homogenisation versus an "authentic localism". This dichotomy provides an extremely

"potent drama", argues Wilk (2008:316), "where each pole defines its opposite, where every value carries its own negation" and, in so doing help define and divide cultural identities. In terms of cuisine this means that local, vernacular cuisine is seen as representing cultural heterogeneity and the incorporation of dishes acquired from foreign regions as seen as contributing to cultural homogeneity. The interesting aspect of this is that the fashion of whether local or globally sourced food knowledge is viewed as superior clearly changes. In Wilk's example of his Belizean meal eaten in the early 1970s, a display of global cultural awareness was demonstrated through serving as many foreign elements in the menu as possible. In contrast, "authentic" locally sources ingredients and methods were the items considered to exemplify political, intellectual and socio-cultural awareness by the 1990s.

Other factors affecting cuisine choice

Rozin (1994) argues that there are some universal elements to human food preferences. Although the "details" of the food choice and preparation may vary between cultures and regions (1994: 6), cuisines share a surprising "consistency" in some core aspects, such as arrangement of component parts and food preferences. Rozin goes onto to argue that one universal trait appears to be the central position of meat, and red meat particularly, wherever this is made reasonably available to ordinary people's budgets. Indeed, even in the past where and when red meat has been difficult to obtain for many people its significance can still be seen in its status as a revered and highly valued ite,; either by its sought after consumption by the elite or through the efforts of prohibition placed upon its consumption for religious or cultural reasons compared to other cuisine components (1994:13).

Rozin goes on to argue that the main reason for this is because of the "nutritional" (calorific) value of red meat. Meat is, "the most efficient and effective nutritional

package available" (1994:14) as it contains the all the amino acids necessary for maintenance and growth. Of the many animals that humans could eat to satisfy our protein requirements the cross-cultural preference appears to be for a particularly narrow selection of mammals, namely sheep, cattle and pigs (1994:18). Rozin argues that the "extraordinarily" wide appeal" of this type of meat is due to both its good balance of essential proteins and fat. She sees this universal interest in red meat as epitomised in the global success in recent decades for purveyors of a particular type of food, the beef burger meal. Even in cultures where, previously, the eating of ground beef (with the typical accompaniments of bread buns, tomato sauce, particular salad items and French fries) was never part of the indigenous cuisine or diet the success of this beef burger meal is huge.

6.4 Cuisine and cultural transmission: Cuisine as transmitter of culture

The same dual functions can be observed in the choice of food as with other material objects. Barthes argued that food, as well as fulfilling its primary function to sate hunger, also functions as a "system of communication" (Barthes, 2008:30). When someone buys an item of food it is not simply to manipulate it by consuming and serving it, "this item of food sums up and transmits a situation; it constitutes an information; it signifies" (Barthes, 2008:29). (This, of course, assumes people have a choice of food through affluence and plenty). Cuisine is particularly interesting as it also transmits information via multiple senses of taste, smell, touch as well as the information gained from hearing or reading about or looking at food or food books. Certeau and Giard (2008: 68) describe the concept of "sense memory" – our memories which utilise the experiences from all these senses to help keep track of tastes, smells and colours. If we view food use as communication system, then food could be subjected to the type of "transformational analysis" with which we would study a

language and broken down into its constitute parts. Barthes suggests that a food "grammar" could be established (2008:31).

Cuisine knowledge transmission: oral and written transmission

Different environments involve different methods of transmission of culinary information. In domestic family settings cooking is learnt largely by watching the actions of the cook, perhaps with some verbal instruction or explanation, whereas elsewhere such cooking knowledge is usually gained from reading. There could also be a rural-urban difference; in rural areas food for a meal is assembled and knowledge gained from the garden and the farm, whereas for city dwellers the source of both these things is the shop or market (Goody, 2008:86).

Oral recipes are often subject to many small modifications, changes to ingredients or cooking methods arising either from availability or an individual cook's preference, as they are passed amongst friends or across generations (Heldke, 2008:337). The recipe then evolves over time and space, its path of evolution decipherable by investigation of earlier regional uses of specific ingredients and cooking methods and the movement of families (2008:338).

This point about the difference in perception of verbal and written culinary information is an interesting one as it also highlights the difference in the way people learn from different sources. The nature of a written recipe is that it exists independently from the teacher/imparter of the information and it then acquires a, "more general, universal quality" (Goody, 2008: 84). In addition, once the recipe is written down it can be more easily standardised as well as also be subjected to "assessment" and the, "isolation of common elements", argues Goody. Such opportunities change the nature of the transmission of knowledge and, in the case of the particularly ephemeral product such

as a meal, the recipe adds durability and longevity to the idea of the meal it describes. Goody goes further and argues that the written form of the recipe allowed for the, "extension and differentiation of the repertoires of cooking" which accompanied the differentiation of society and culture in the Bronze Age (2008:86). The written recipe continues to this day to play a vital role, so much so that, Goody argues, modern cuisines could not be sustained without the written recipe and the literacy of its "practitioners".

Cookbooks allow recipes to move across social classes and geographical regions much more effectively than oral traditions where individual verbal exchanges necessarily limited the spread of recipes between regions. Thus their geographical reach is much greater. The standardised form of the recipe in the cookbook also means that dishes can be reproduced more precisely by new users and future generations. Whether this reproduction is a good or bad thing in culinary development terms is another matter but it is interesting to consider how the ability to exactly reproduce a dish passed down from ancestors or from a far-off country affects perceptions of authenticity and cultural tradition.

The effect of written recipes on cultural perception

"Cookbooks are not simple or mechanical replicas of existing oral repertoires", but recipes are subject to a "good deal of editing", stresses Appadurai (2008:301). Authentic regional recipes may be less palatable to wider audiences due to unfamiliar ingredients or cooking styles so dishes may be simplified and changed. Appadurai also makes the point that Indian cookbook writers (and this may well be true more generally) and their readers' initial experience of exotic regional cuisines often came from restaurants where the flavour subtleties and peculiarities of that cuisine has already been "paired down" (2008:302).

Another form of editing is the selecting of only a number of dishes in the first place. Such selection would bias towards the easier to replicate dishes and those believed by the cookbook writer to be most characteristic of the region under focus. The definition of a characteristic recipe is, of course, a fairly subjective process at best, and even quite random in choice if made by an outsider to that region. Another effect of such selection is the representation and promotion of some regions over others. Regions more accessible from the cities in which cookbook writers (media, publishing companies) are likely to be based both, geographically and linguistically, may see their cuisine promoted over others. Appadurai cites the example of the growth of popularity (nationally and internationally) of Indian cuisines form Tamil, Bengali and Punjabi, for example, compared to their "humbler" neighbours of, respectively, Teluga, Oriya and Kashmir (2008:301). Internationally, one of several possible regional and cultural traditions can be portrayed to represent a much larger area (such as a modern nation). An example is the conflating of the Mughali and Indian food traditions, argues Appadurai (2008:302). Mughali cuisine is thought to originate from the interaction of Turkish and Afgan traditions and brought to northern India by the invading Mughals in the sixteenth centuries. This cuisine spread through the ruling classes of northern and western India but not to, nor influenced by, cultures of the southern states.

An additional 'editing' effect of cookbooks is the changed arrangement up of meals and menus, both in the mixing up of component parts of a meal from diverse culinary traditions as well as changed order/layout of a meal. A modern cookbook, particularly one aimed at foreign markets, might result in food items that were traditionally served for different types of meals or times being grouped together under a new heading. An example observed could include the Tamil 'dosai' (a snack food) presented along side

Punjabi chapattis (a standard meal main meal accompaniment) in the chapter known as 'breads' (Appadurai, 2008:302). Even such food groupings as 'bread' or 'baking' is arguably a product of western Europe traditions and may not exist as a food organisational entity in all cuisines. Similarly, the concept of the menu is not universal and the order of a meal has many variations. Many Indian regional meals traditionally serve all dishes at the same time rather than the series of temporally separated 'courses' (service a la Russe) that have been popular in western European cuisines for a century and a half (this meal design itself is a product of changing dining customs and kitchen technology).

The role of cuisine in cultural continuity and innovation

Cuisine can also provide a set of memories (histories) about the occupations, values, trade and aspirations of a society's ancestors. Food as collective historical memory may be a very important part of group or, even, national identity. Rozin & Rozin argue that humans are, "remarkably conservative in their food habits" and are typically reluctant to try new foods and abandon old, familiar ones" (2005:35). Whilst it is ultimately beneficial to experiment with new foods as this potentially expands the repertoire, it is also a sensible strategy to be cautious, Rozin and Rozin argue that "within the familiarity of one's culture the fear side of eating is attenuated (2005:38) if people remain eating familiar foods". However, upon moving to other places, the "conflict" between the safety of the culturally familiar and experimenting with the new, resurfaces. This conflict can be resolved, they argue, by eating familiar foods from the immigrants' homeland and this may, in part, explain the popularity of the standardised cuisine offered by international hotels and restaurant chains. Eating at such places represents a retreat from experimentation and exotic foods. Later, after greater exposure to new cuisines, elements of them will be introduced into the immigrants' cuisines. Wilks describes how the, "difficult conundrum of stability and change, of

borrowing and diffusion" might be managed without people suffering a, "loss of identity" (Wilks, 2008: 308).

The strong international association of cuisine and a sense of French national identity is a well known example. Cuisine provides a sense of "national continuity" in France. Cuisine is almost always seen as about nostalgia, rather than innovation and thus provides a sense of "national continuity" and constantly re-enforces a concept of French ness. This can be seen even in ready made packaged food which still market their gourmet and traditional values (Barthes, 2008:32). It is interesting to consider to what extent a cultural group's cuisine is more often than not about nostalgia, as is suggested for the French nation, or whether this varies between different groups. It may be that the nature of a national identity is that its material culture symbols usually emphasize the past. The symbols of innovation in food are associated with associated with cultural challenges to traditional national cuisine, as they often are with other material culture examples.

The origin and introduction of particular items or ingredients and the changing fashion for dishes by different groups within societies can be investigated. Sutton (2001:7) discusses the links between, "food and nostalgia" and how recent studies into different groups' identities have put the issue of "nostalgia on the theoretical table". Dishes and complete set piece meals remain unchanged over long periods of time (several generations) and are valued for this reason. Their continuity comes to symbolise a collective nostalgia for an imagined past or homeland and a set of values we might aspire to or find comfort in. Running concurrently are dishes which are introduced, aspired to or copied precisely because of their novelty; they symbolise innovation and modernity. Indeed, Certeau and Giard (2008:67) suggest that food and cooking habits

form a part of culture where, “tradition and innovation matter equally” and, “where past and present are mixed to serve the needs of the hour”.

This development may also contribute to the “notions of authenticity” (Certeau and Giard,2008:293) where groups seek to differentiate themselves socially or economically by claiming knowledge of authentic culinary tradition. This sense of the “authentic” dish is, of course, to a large extent false as cuisine (as with other aspects of culture) is constantly changing. The perception of the authentic dish preparation method is a product of the standardised set of instructions that are conveyed by the written over oral form of recipe. Cooks may now find themselves in a “perpetual seesaw” (Certeau & Giard,

2008:293) that alternates between maintenance of indigenous traditional cuisine and exploring new culinary regions and techniques. Cooking for the image conscious professional middle classes in India, argues, Appadurai (2008: 294) is very much about managing the competing pulls of culinary tradition (which serves to reinforce the legitimacy of their status through historical links) and innovation (which demonstrates the worldly knowledge and trend setting).

6.5 The effect of migration upon the transmission of cuisine

As with the effects of migration upon other aspects of culture, geographical dislocation has interesting impacts on how cuisine is transmitted across generations. Observation of the multiple different “voices” of world cuisines that surround us in modern Britain today provide anecdotal evidence that many (if not most) migrants are, “likely to retain the ‘accent’ of [their] native cuisine” (Belasco, 2008:17) for some years. The interesting question is to what extent does the passage of time and the particular circumstances

and experiences of the immigrant have upon changes to the immigrants' cuisine and cooking habits?

The effect that the availability of written information about cuisine has on the transmission of culinary knowledge discussed above should also be considered for migration. Regional cookbooks are often written by those living outside their homeland and so they come to represent the "literature of exile, of nostalgia and loss", writes Appadurai (2008:302). When families leave their origin village or country the written recipe, "serves in part to fill the gap created by the absence of granny", argues Goody (2008:89), or the older generation's cuisine knowledge generally. The person in a household or community who has responsibility for cooking cannot rely as heavily (and in the past, hardly at all) on verbal reminders from a parent or grandparent of a particular traditional dish's ingredients or cooking method. Memories can be faulty. Even where the execution of dish is well remembered, the history and rationale for its elements being the way they are may be lost. Of course, written recipes also, conversely, allow for the accumulation of knowledge of culturally diverse cuisines by the reader.

6.6 Deconstructing cuisine and dining: Different ways to categorise food

Food can be considered from many viewpoints and the various components of food categorised in different ways depending on the interest and purpose of one's analysis (Kaufmann, 2010:11-12). Kaufmann argues that food categorisation is not necessarily an intellectual task (2010:23). It is, rather, very dependent on individuals' or groups' subjective perception of its attributes and what is considered important. Of the many ways in which people define and study food, its role in nutrition provision or medicine is, perhaps, the most obvious. It can be analysed or controlled according to religious

ideas, such as religious prohibitions of the consumption of certain foods. Food items may also be viewed according to a set of subjective moral standards; food can be classed as good or bad, for example, according to whether they are considered to conform to certain current proposed concepts such as 'fair trade' or 'organic'. Others have examined food in terms of contrasts or oppositions observed within eating, cooking or dining (Lévi-Strauss) or the social and ritual aspect of how 'meals' are constructed (Douglas). Food and cuisine could be broken down into different assemblages of objects (tools) required in its construction or as categories of material evidence or investigated from a social perspective (Kauffman).

For most people in their everyday lives food might be thought to be most readily and usefully categorised simply by the quality of its sensorial experience - its taste and ability to sate hunger. The last category that is suggested by Kaufmann concerns food's role in contributing to social identity and this is similar, of course, to what we are interested in here; the role of food preferences in cultural identity and vice versa. This cultural role of food is also what distinguishes cuisine from food, as discussed in earlier sections. Even though the focus of this thesis is on examining food and cuisine from a cultural identity viewpoint, there is clearly overlap between Kaufmann's categories referred to above. Socio-cultural values may determine, in part, whether a food item is seen as 'morally good' in that it meets contemporary standards of 'organic' or 'nutrition' status, for example. The apparently objective judgment of appealing taste, smell or touch as basis for a food preference may have been influenced much more than its beholders think by the comfort of familiarity that a cultural tradition imparts.

Lévi-Strauss's deconstruction of the 'system' of food is valuable as an early attempt to consider the constituent parts of cuisine and the relationships of these parts with each other. He also saw how many socio-cultural factors could affect the food system. The

basis of this was his triangular schematic of "raw", "cooked and "rotten" in which each of these food states could be viewed as at an opposing end of a spectrum from each of the others. The concept of the "culinary triangle" could be then be extended to "integrate all characteristics of the cooking system" (Lévi-Strauss, 2008:43).

Food as assemblages of objects

The permanent and tangible element of a culture's cuisine include the written instructions for the dish; usually contained in a document we term a recipe. This could take many forms from informal notes on a piece of paper to a collection of formally written, edited and published recipes in a book. The second tangible and durable component includes any of the equipment (knives, bowls, saucepans and so on) necessary for the preparation and cooking of the dish. The food ingredients themselves could be considered a third tangible component but these differ from the above parts in that, obviously, these are not durable and long lasting, for the most part or, at least, not in the time frame of generations to which we usually refer in discussing cultural transmission. The final component, which may well, although not necessarily, be related to written instructions, is the food preparation knowledge of the 'cook'. This cultural cuisine knowledge may come from many sources (horizontal as well as vertical) from within the group's culture, not all necessarily related directly to cooking.

The construction of a 'meal'

Douglas presents a possible system of food classification; he describes units of decreasing size such as, the daily menu, the meal and the course within the meal. In Douglas's hierarchy each of the units can be then further sub divided into component parts until even the smallest part, such as an individual ingredient in a food dish, is accounted for (Douglas, 2004: 245-7). This may be very helpful in analysing a family's eating patterns and providing information about how to deconstruct eating patterns.

Douglas (2004: 245) suggests that, “eating, like talking, is a patterned activity”. She describes the patterns of meals over a typical day and week (2004:244). Douglas compares the different structures of meals by dish and course. She describes how a typical English main meal of the day as having a “tripartite” structure with one main course and two minor ones (2004:250). This is given a formula, = “A +2B”. This pattern can be contrasted with special event meals which may well have a different format. Large meals such as, for example, the traditional English Sunday roast lunch or Christmas meal often have two main dishes. This analysis of pattern is taken a little further by Douglas to look at the structure of individual dishes. In the traditional English cuisine the tripartite structure is repeated, at least in the main course dish, with one main component (usually protein – meal/fish/poultry) and two smaller accompanying parts (often vegetables). Accordingly, a “proper meal” is A + 2B and each separate course is a = 2b (Douglas, 2004:251).

The tripartite structure for an individual course would still appear to hold true even when the course is not of the traditional type described above. A one pot dish such as a stew/casserole (common to many cuisines) can still constitute a meal, according to Douglas (2004:251) if it includes the ingredients that a traditional tripartite arrangement would. A casserole, for example, usually includes a main (protein) ingredient and several (at least two) accompanying vegetable and/or starch elements. A similar arrangement can be seen even with a very simple dish such as a soup, Douglas suggests, as long as it contains multiple ingredients, including a protein (meat, cheese) element and a variety of vegetables and starches. The protein element does not need to be, necessarily, the largest single element; a hearty vegetable soup with noodles and cheese would still qualify as a “meal”, therefore, according to Douglas’s definition, but a

soup with more limited balance of different elements (some tomato or chicken soups) might not.

Elements of food dishes

An alternative focus is on the component parts that make up a culturally distinct food dishes or on different preparation methods. A set of categories defined by Lévi-Strauss (2008:38) is based upon distinguishing cooking methods, such as 'roasting' versus 'boiling'. This distinction does correspond with the main cooking categories or 'wet cooking' and 'dry cooking used by professional cooks and writers, as discussed below (Larousse Gastronomique, 2009; Rozin, 1992:xiii) which refer to the liquid use and method of applying heat to food.

The cuisine of different groups can be most easily analysed by breaking it down into its different component parts. Belasco (2008:18), basing his description on the work of Farb, Amelagos (1980) and Rozin (1982), suggests that there are five parts or, what he terms, "elements" that make up a culture's cuisine. The first three of these elements concern the actual food component of cuisine and these are described as, 1) the main (core) ingredients that are used, 2) the style of food preparation and 3) the common flavourings used. Elements four and five are more concerned with social and economic protocols and processes that contribute to the creation of a cuisine; element 4 concerns how food is eaten and the fifth element (the addition of which is suggested by Belasco) is about how food travels from the producer to the consumer. There are clearly many links between each of these elements, particularly the first three. The types of foods selected may partly determine the preparation and the cooking methods used, as also the choice of flavourings.

Element 1: core ingredients

There are many foods that we could eat but choose not to. There may be many factors that determine food choices in addition to the obviousness of nutritional satisfaction and availability, such as social customs, religious sanctions and the ease of production. These factors remind us of the strong conservative tendency that operates in cuisine transmission as elsewhere in culture. These core foods may include the foods referred to as 'staples' (such as rice, maize, wheat). Other foods may be considered "core" (in the sense of vital) in creating or conveying a particular cuisine; soy in East Asia, tomato in Italy, beef in England are all examples. The term "core" foods, therefore, refers here to those foods considered essential to defining a group's cuisine, regardless of their actual calorific contribution.

Element 2: The style of food preparation

This element may be affected even more by socio-cultural and technological factors than the selection of core ingredients described above, (Belasco,2008:18). Development in oven quality, cooking utensils, storage and food preservation techniques have been a major determining factor for food preparation. The impacts of reliable preservation (largely through home refrigeration) have been far reaching; from the way householders shop (reduced frequency for larger amounts) to the increase in pre-prepared, ready to eat dishes purchased. Of course, food pre-prepared (to varying degrees) has long existed (pies, sausages, baked pastry items) to fulfil the need for labour saving and convenience for busy workers or those without cooking facilities at home.

An interesting additional consequence of reliable domestic refrigeration may have been the proportional reduction in consumption of foods preserved in other (tradition) ways, such as smoking, curing, pickling and drying. This change may, in turn, have led or

lead to changes in taste preferences with reduced experience of flavours and textures associated with these other types of preservation. Another (unintended consequence of mass refrigeration) might be a narrowing of the range of cooking methods utilised by consumers who make common use of pre-prepared dishes. For the large part, the "cook" of such products is unlikely to need to separate ('particulate' as described below) or combine ingredients and certain heating methods will dominate (baking, boiling) whilst others (roasting, poaching, stewing) are rarely required for such dishes. Similarly, only a very narrow range of preparation utensils are required for the handling of pre-prepared dishes.

Using Rozin's suggested "manipulative techniques" (Belasco, 2008:16-18) as a starting point we can identify and group all the different types of processing that food items can potentially undergo. Rozin suggests two particularly useful categories (elements) which are "particulation" and "incorporation". The first term is described as including actions such as cutting, slicing, mincing. Further actions, such as peeling (of fruit, vegetables), disarticulation (of meat joints) and crushing (of spices or garlic, for example, with pestle and mortar). Incorporation is described as the combining of more than substance to produce a new substance. Mixing either a liquid (water, wine) or a fat with a powered grain or sugar are some examples.

Element 3: flavourings

Rozin and Rozin argue that you can identify a culture by the flavourings with some exceptions, such as cultures in temperate or polar regions which were heavily meat or diary bases. These were, instead, characterised by lack of strong seasonings. Indeed, so important were flavourings in cooking for some cuisines that they had studied in Mexico that the attachments of the people to their traditional food seasonings seemed stronger than to their staple foods (Rozin & Rozin, 2005: 35). Attempting to understand

what creates this strong cultural attachment to particular flavour combinations is not easy. Several reasons have been suggested, the first of which could be grouped into those relating to food as nutrition, medicine or as enjoyed for its sensory experience. Enhancing the sensorial attractiveness (taste, smell) of a bland dish through the addition of flavourings may compensate for a lack of more calorifically substantive components (such as meat or carbohydrates).

In addition, there are the socio-economic reasons for the role flavourings. As with all food selected, some flavours may become popular simply because of the relative environmental availability of the herb or spice. Either they are plentiful in a particular area and, thus, relatively cheap and easy to obtain or they are rare and expensive (perhaps imported from far away) and this rarity gives them status and value amongst a social elite. It would seem likely that a key factor in flavour preferences is the continued exposure to particular smells and tastes during the formative years of childhood that initially create flavour preferences. In addition, repeating flavour combinations, "furnish a familiar frame for the food of a culture" and this knowledge can be, "passed along from generation to generation" Rozin & Rozin, 2005:39)

Elements 4 and 5: how food is eaten and the food chain

The fourth element Belasco describes concerns the way in which food is eaten; the group's set of manners, protocols and social rituals that govern consumption at each type of meal or, even, what constitutes an appropriate time and place to eat. A group's particular rituals are part of the way in which it maintains internal social order and identifies its values and ideals, argues Visser (2003: 586, cited in Belasco, 2008:18). The fifth element that Belasco suggests is what he terms the 'food chain'. This refers to the journey of a particular food item/meal component from source (farm) to table via all

manner of processing stages (obviously fewer or greater number of stages depending on the food).

6.7 Chapter conclusion

We have seen how cuisine makes a unique contribution to a group's culture through its special characteristics, such as its multi-sensory experience and, particularly, its central role in both the everyday life of people and for special, ritual events. However, the food eaten by a social group or sub-group and the cuisine it makes up is itself subject to environmental pressures - social, economic and political selection criteria – which are varied and changeable.

Cuisine knowledge can be transmitted via oral or written traditions; the latter, more recent method itself then having a significant effect on the reproduction and perception of a group's cuisine. The tendency to replicate the cuisine of parents or grandparents by subsequent generations or migrant populations may be a sensible social strategy as it helps to maintain group identity and security as well as saving time and effort by reducing the need to experiment with new foods.

Chapter Seven

Methods

Introduction

The previous chapters have examined the theoretical framework through the concepts of niche construction theory and cultural inheritance system. Crucial to supporting these ideas was evidence of cultural transmission and this was examined, specifically, through the role of material culture, particularly that of cuisine. Migration was argued to be a factor that can have a significant impact upon cultural transmission processes and comparison of this process between immigrant and UK-born residents was argued to provide useful insight into understanding how cultural transmission operates. The next chapters now examine these concepts through fieldwork investigation, specifically a survey in 2012/13 of just over 100 residents of a culturally mixed area of north London.

7.2 Research questions

The core research questions build the investigation up from the testing of cuisine and food as a suitable indicator of cultural identity and a transmitter of culture, through to the more conceptually difficult proposal that it could provide evidence of cultural niche construction. The over-arching question for the fieldwork arises from the concepts above; 'does the material culture of cuisine contribute to the transmission of cultural knowledge and how do factors such as migration affect this? Within this several implicit assumptions need to be addressed. Before we can claim that cuisine has a role in cultural transmission it needs to be demonstrated that cuisine actually does contribute to people's sense of their cultural identity and to what extent. In addition, the field research sought to discover if components of cuisine were more important for people's

sense of cultural identity and whether this affected how quickly components changed. Research questions 1, 2 and 3 were intended to address these points:

Theme A Cuisine material culture and cultural identity	
1	How important is cuisine in contributing to people's sense of cultural identity?
2	Are some elements of cuisine more important to people's sense of cultural identity than others?
3	Do different component parts of cuisine knowledge change at different rates and why is this?

Table 7.1i: Highlights the research questions in Theme A.

Once the importance of cuisine to cultural identity was established, the next theme concerned how cuisine knowledge was passed on and the factors which might affect this. Research questions 4, 5 and 6 are relevant here. For these and each of the previous questions, the results are also presented for the four immigrant groups. Characteristics, such as age and length of time lived in the UK, are analysed for questions 4 and 5.

Theme B The transmission of cultural knowledge	
4	What are the main transmission routes (sources) of cuisine knowledge and how does migration affect these?
5	What are the main modes of learning about cuisine knowledge and does migration affect these?
6	Do characteristics of immigrant's identity such as region of origin, length of time in the UK, place of birth of parents, affect transmission processes above?

Table 7.1ii: Highlights the research questions in Theme B.

The final research theme introduced in chapter one is shown again below. The specific research questions here were not planned to be asked directly within the survey. The data from previous questions, particularly theme B questions would be used to answer these questions.

Theme C The evidence to support theories of cultural niche construction and a cultural inheritance system	
7	Is there evidence that cuisine assemblage (environment) of immigrants has changed from that of their homeland?
8	Is there evidence that changes to cuisine environment have, in turn, modified the selection pressures acting upon the cuisine culture (for either immigrants or hosts)?

Table 7.1iii: Highlights the research questions in Theme C.

7.3 Selection of the survey location

The choice of study location was determined by the population profile sought for the survey. An area was needed with a culturally mixed resident population but which included at least one clearly identifiable immigrant cultural group in numbers considered demographically significant in that area. It was also important to have an immigrant population that had a mix of longer established residents and more recent arrivals and with a mix of different ages, occupations and households. There also needed be a large enough population of UK-born residents for whom English was a first language as this group would provide a control group against which to contrast findings of the immigrant group. An urban area was sought as there would be more likely to be a variety of cuisines providing residents with potential choices and cuisine influences.

Some initial knowledge of the Turkish culture and Turkish speaking immigrants resident in London had suggested this group as a one for whom food was often an important aspect of culture. As there are several areas of London with established and sizeable Turkish speaking populations in areas well known to the researcher, it was decided to focus on this immigrant group and select one specific and defined area. There are significant Turkish speaking populations within parts of the London boroughs of Haringey, Hackney and Enfield. Of these three, a central area (ward of Harringay) within the London Borough of Haringey (see Figures 7.1i & ii and 7.2) was chosen over the others for two main reasons: a) the Turkish community appeared to be focused in a relatively contained geographical area - useful in terms of conducting a survey of local

residents and b) census data indicated that the Borough had a mixed immigrant population of older and more recent arrivals and the Harringay ward.

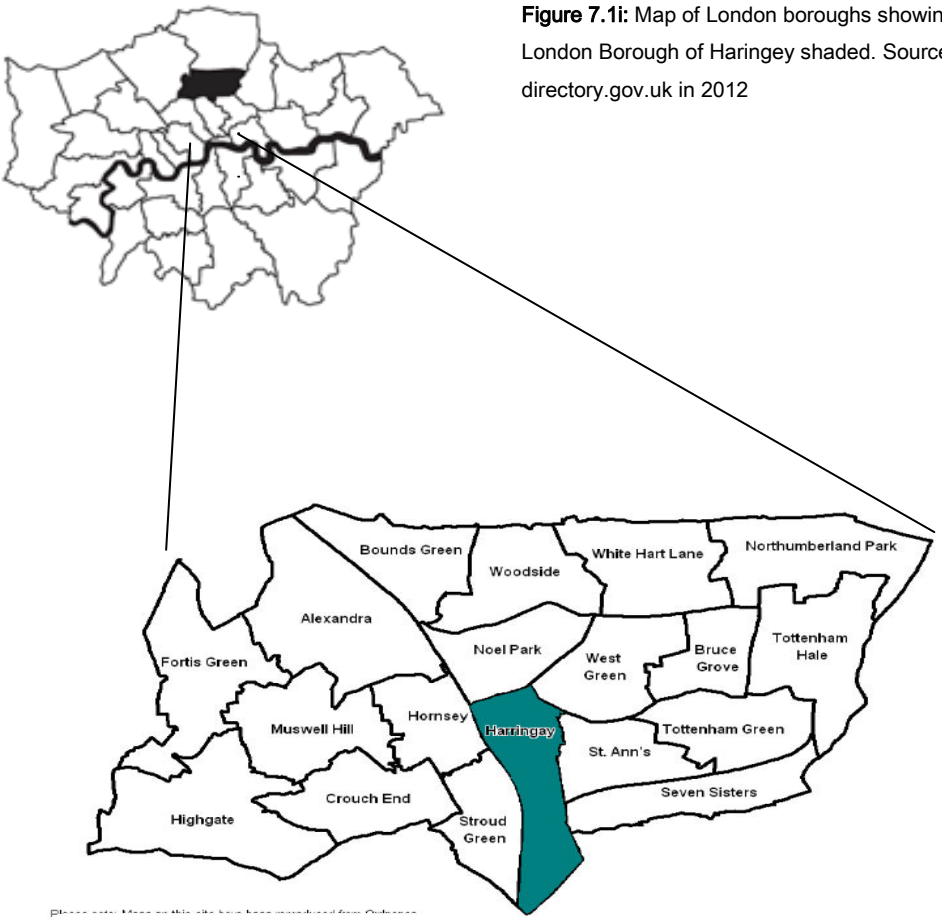


Figure 7.1i: Map of London boroughs showing the London Borough of Haringey shaded. Source: www.directory.gov.uk in 2012

Figure 7.1ii: The ward of Harringay is shown here, shaded, in the centre of the map with Finsbury Park at its southern most point and Turnpike Lane as its the northern border. (Source: London Borough of Haringey website, Ref: C , 2012)

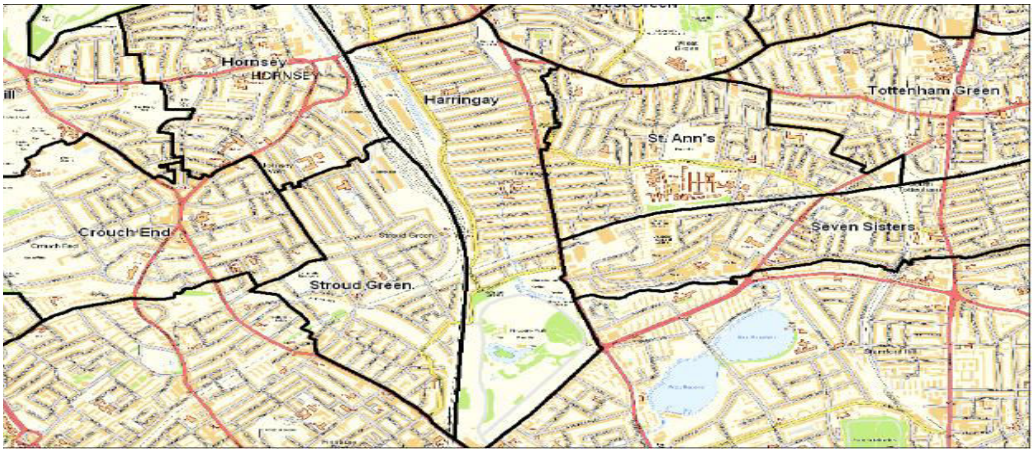


Figure 7.2: A more detailed map of the ward of Harringay (centre) is shown here. The map highlights the urban nature of the area and the shows Green Lanes as the eastern border of the ward, this section of which

is dominated by Turkish food shops, restaurants. (Source: London Borough of Haringey website, Ref:C, 2012). (*Approximate scale: 2 inches : 1 mile)*

Turkish speaking population in Harringay

The London Borough of Haringey as a whole is very ethnically diverse. According to the 2001 census over 55% of its total population are from ethnic minority backgrounds (2011 census demographic profile data yet to be published for public use by the Borough at time of survey fieldwork). There are two difficulties in identifying the Turkish population in the area. Firstly, there was no specific category in the census data for those of Turkish origin. The information must be inferred from a combination of other data. The 2001 census was the first to include the "other white" category in its ethnicity questions. This category can be taken to include those of Turkish origin although clearly it may include other cultural/ethnic groups (although not "white British" or "Irish" as these both have specific categories). There is also a general "other" census category which may have been chosen by some of Turkish origin. Other data was also helpful, such as school pupil rolls, census questions about religion and language surveys.

Secondly, it should be noted that the term 'Turkish Speaking' or TS is a term commonly used by both the respondents themselves and in local community and government literature. This is the term that is chosen for use in this research. It is taken here to include those of Turkish origin and Turkish Cypriot origin, although the specific place of birth is recorded for each respondent. The cultural groups referred to in this research refer only to respondents' choice of cultural category. Place of birth in the main criterion used here to categorise cultural groups of the respondents. In addition, in some sections of the analysis, respondents' first language is an additional criterion used; this is pointed out where this is used. The 'control' group of UK-born residents is similarly defined simply as those born in the UK and whose first language is English, regardless of racial or ethnic heritage.

The London Borough of Haringey, in 2001, had the third largest "other white" population at 34, 750 (16.1%) in London (LBH Ref: a, 2012). According to the Office of National Statistics' (ONS) definition of regions, 31% of this "other white" population are from 'Eastern Europe', a region defined as including Turkey. This is just under 5% of the total population of LBH in 2001. In addition, of those residents born in 'Eastern Europe', nearly 68% were born in Turkey. This is the largest proportion of "other white" residents born outside the UK (LBH, Ref: A, 2012). Of the remaining "other white" groups, 20% are from western Europe (this may include some Germans of Turkish origin) and 14% from the ONS's 'middle east' (which includes Cyprus, so very probably includes migrants from Turkish Cyprus). Of those born in the 'middle east', the majority (77%) were born in Cyprus. This appears to be the closest we can get to the proportion of the Borough population of Turkish cultural origin. These figures do demonstrate why this Borough is a good place to find out about the cuisine culture of immigrants and, particularly, those of Turkish origin.

Migration in and out of the borough

The LBH ranked 13th highest in London for the number (4950 or 22 per 1000) of overseas arrivals it gained in 2009/10 but it should be also pointed out that almost the same number of people left the LBH to live overseas (ONS, 2005-2010). Of the new arrivals, Poland and Hungary rank highest as source countries (2380 in 2011), consistently topping the lists from 2008 – 2011. Turkey ranks 8th on the list for each of these years with 490 new arrivals in the same time period. In addition, high numbers of existing UK residents moved in and out of the Borough (Figure 7.3). The year 2007 – 2008 was the peak year for new National Insurance registrations at 13,650 (LBH, Ref: a 2002 – 2011). The Borough has been experiencing continued immigration over many years and, therefore, a changing cultural mix of residents. The population turnover is

high making accurate counts of some of the more mobile groups, such as younger immigrant workers and their families, difficult.

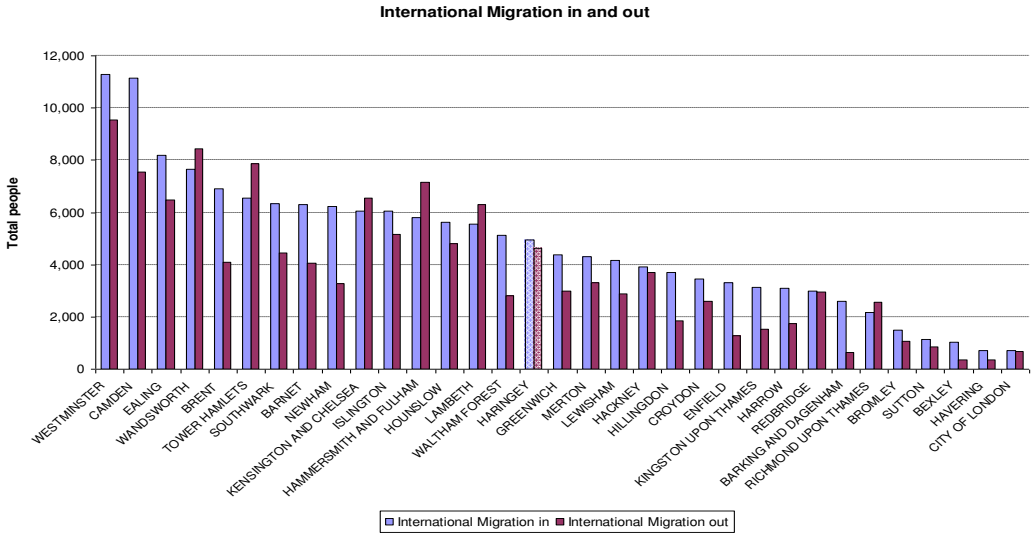


Figure 7.3: Compares the movement in and out of different London boroughs. Source: 2005-2010 Mid Year Estimates, ONS. Produced in the London Borough of Haringey "Borough Profile Demographic Data: Population".

7.4 Research methods: Sample population

The main selection criterion for each study was residency in the Harringay ward. A questionnaire was designed for use for all respondents, first in the pilot study and then an adapted questionnaire designed for use with all respondents in the main study. The pilot study questionnaire was conducted largely through interviews, with some self completed by respondents, and conducted in 2006 involving 31 respondents. In 2012/13 the main survey of 113 respondents was completed; the majority self-completed by respondents and about 20 questionnaires completed through face to face interview.

In the pilot study the aim was for all questionnaires to be completed by individuals who were immigrants to the UK - first or (maximum) second generation and most respondents were Turkish speaking and of Turkish origin. The main survey included responses from the Turkish speaking community but also from immigrant residents

from other parts of the world. This shift of emphasis was for several reasons. Firstly, it was apparent that the ward's cultural profile had changed over the decade 2001-2011 and other distinct immigrant groups were emerging. It had, at times, been difficult to recruit enough residents from the Turkish speaking community to the survey in comparison to other residents. Lastly, it was felt that a comparison between different immigrant groups would be useful. In addition and importantly, the main survey differed in that it sought a comparison (control) group of residents born in the UK and for whom English was their first language. Most, but not all, of this control group were of British cultural heritage (ie parents also born in the UK).

Survey design

Of the several different approaches and techniques possible for this type of fieldwork, a combination of survey and some more in-depth interviews was initially decided upon for the pilot study. A more qualitative research approach was thought to encourage the necessary recognition of the impact of my subjectivity as a researcher (Marshall, 2006:3). In addition, it was hoped that this style would provide more "holistic" information about cultural identity and change.

Practical considerations were also important. A survey was thought to be a practical technique of investigation within the time frame. Questionnaires seemed most convenient for many of the working and busy residents approached as it meant that, after a brief explanatory discussion, they could complete the form in their own time and it would be collected at a pre arranged date a week or so later. Interviews in the main survey were arranged largely in cases where residents did not feel confident to complete the questionnaire in English on their own.

With any such survey it is realised there are disadvantages. Patterns and relationships that emerge from the collected data can only ever be a snapshot of a particular time

and place. Any generalisations argued from such patterns should be done so with caution. A disadvantage of the completion of questionnaires in an interview setting with individual respondents is the time that would be required to complete a sample of 100 or more. However, in contrast, the issue with the self-completed questionnaires was that some were not fully completed or answered poorly or hastily, possibly because some questions were not clear enough and not well understood despite considerable piloting.

Questionnaire design

For the main survey the questionnaire was redesigned extensively. It was shortened by removing original questions whose answers had not provided useful enough data. This appeared to be the case, particularly, with the longer, open answers. The quality of the additional detail they were intended to provide did not sufficiently balance the greater difficulty required to interpret their answers in a meaningful way. This revised design was also to allow easier self completion for the larger, more varied resident sample of the main survey, some of whom had poor knowledge of English.

Thus, all the questions in the main survey were 'closed questions'; they included multiple choice, ranking or required only simple short answers, usually from a limited set of suggested answers. Some points considered particularly important were asked more than once in differently worded questions. This was an attempt to check the reliability of their answers and to see if the phrasing of the questions affected answers. It was also recognised that respondents might modify quantities or actions in order to provide what they perceived as the more favourable answer.

Sampling strategy and considerations

Both surveys used a 'non probability', 'quota sampling' strategy. This strategy refers to the sampling of a convenient group from within a pre-defined and selected

population/group within the wider population (Blaxter, 2003:163). Neither sample can be described as using a truly systematic or stratified sampling, as would have been the preferred method, due to constraints on access to respondents. Even with the more quantitative approach of the main survey, the sample sizes (for the separate groups) were too small for statistical analysis. Generalisations made from this data need also to be made with caution. However, as Marshall argues, such, "findings may still be transferable", and are, therefore, still valid and useful (2006:42).

It is recognised that, although these studies were defining the areas by ward, clearly residents don't restrict their day to day activities of work and home life to ward boundaries. Thus, the sphere of influence of the source centres of contact with residents (schools, shops, community centres) served residents from neighbouring areas and vice versa. Even school catchment areas, which are relatively narrow do not correlate with ward boundaries and families may move. It also seemed a little pedantic to exclude the few responses from residents living on ward boundaries as this fact, in itself, was unlikely to affect the nature of their contribution to the main survey sample population.

The pilot study

Respondents for the pilot survey largely described themselves as of Turkish or Turkish Cypriot origin; mostly first generation and were all either living or working in the ward of Harringay, on or near to Green Lanes. Both men and women were approached, although more questionnaires were completed by women. It was relatively easy to find people from the younger adult age groups (20s) to interview but, no doubt due to work and family time pressure, much harder to find those in the 30s – 50s willing to be interviewed. There was, undoubtedly, an element of self selection amongst potential respondents with those most interested in discussing cuisine or their immigrant experiences most likely to volunteer. It is also possible that the café /restaurant

environment in which many of the Green Lanes respondents were approached included a greater than average number of people (workers and customers) with an interest in discussing cuisine.

The value of the pilot study was in the range and detail of the responses and, with its focus was on the individual viewpoint (Marshall, 2006:33), it helped suggest useful areas to pursue in the main study. Greater discussion was encouraged also as a means to help the design of sharper questions in the main survey. Some patterns begin to emerge which were explored further in the main survey, such as cuisine preferences affected by how long respondents had lived in the UK. In practical terms, the evaluation of the pilot study enabled a more concise selection of the most useful questions. In addition, the feasibility of accessing a suitable respondent sample could be better assessed. Lastly, perhaps most significantly, the evaluation of the data analyses focused the subsequent literature review and re-consideration of the core research questions.

The main survey

In contrast to the pilot study, the main survey questionnaires were delivered to residents, either directly or via local schools, businesses and one local community centre for respondents to complete on their own. As in the Pilot study, there would also have been an element of 'self selection' amongst respondents. Of the nearly 1000 questionnaires given out for the main survey 113 were returned in a usable (completed) state. Those who chose to take part may well have had a greater than average interest in cuisine or be particularly enthusiastic participants in surveys or both. It was hoped that the much larger quantity of questionnaires given out would provide a more demographically representative set of responses in terms of age, occupation, gender and education than the pilot study.

Consideration of ethics and subjective position of researcher

As in all research it was important to consider the effect that my own personal interests, understanding, prior assumptions and unconscious bias might have had upon the interpretation of the research data. It was equally possible the very choice and phrasing of questions in the survey affected how respondents answered. However, arguably it is not unreasonable to assume that much research is initially motivated by questions that arise from a researchers' prior interests, suggests Marshall (2006: 30) and so some level of bias or assumption may not be uncommon. Nonetheless, care should be taken to demonstrate that these interests do not unwittingly bias important judgement in interpretation of research results.

All questionnaires for pilot study and the main survey were kept anonymous. Respondents were asked to provide some personal background details (such as age, occupation, education) but nothing that would have made them identifiable. Only one questionnaire, in the main survey, was returned with a note challenging the request for these background details and two other respondents stated that they chose not to complete all the place of birth details. Each questionnaire was given a number reference and location code (such as the school from which they were collected) when the data was collated. The respondent/form was referred to by only the number reference subsequently. All respondents approached for interview were given a clear explanation as to the aims of the research and why it was being carried out and by whom. The same information was provided to management staff at each local institution which agreed to distribute questionnaires. Each questionnaire distributed for self completion had an explanatory note and research email contact details attached.

7.5 Profile of the study area

The London Borough of Haringey stretches from the affluent ward of Highgate in its west to the much poorer wards in Tottenham, bordering the Lea Valley on its eastern

border. Some of the eastern wards rank as some of the most deprived in the UK. The Borough as a whole is ranked as the 4th most deprived borough in London and deprivation is linked with effects on employment levels, crime and health (LBH, Ref: b, 2012). In 2009 the total Borough population was recorded as 225,000 (LBH, Ref: c, 2012). The population of the Harringay ward was 11, 131 (LBH, Refs: c & d, 2012). The Borough encompasses a wide range of incomes and education levels and is culturally and ethnically diverse and becoming more so. (LBH Ref a, 2011).

Place of birth and ethnicity

Within the survey the proportion of UK-born and non-UK-born respondents was identified. It was not always easy to compare this with census data as the there was a lack of differentiation in the 2001 census for the Other White category (a significant factor in trying to identify many people from Turkey or Eastern Europe). Figure 7.4 compares the ethnicity of the survey (pilot and main) respondents with that of the ward and borough as a whole. This survey did not seek to offer an ethnic profile representative of the Harringay ward, nor could this have been achieved as a higher number of Turkish and UK-born respondents were required (for minimum group sizes) than would be strictly representative of the local area as a whole.

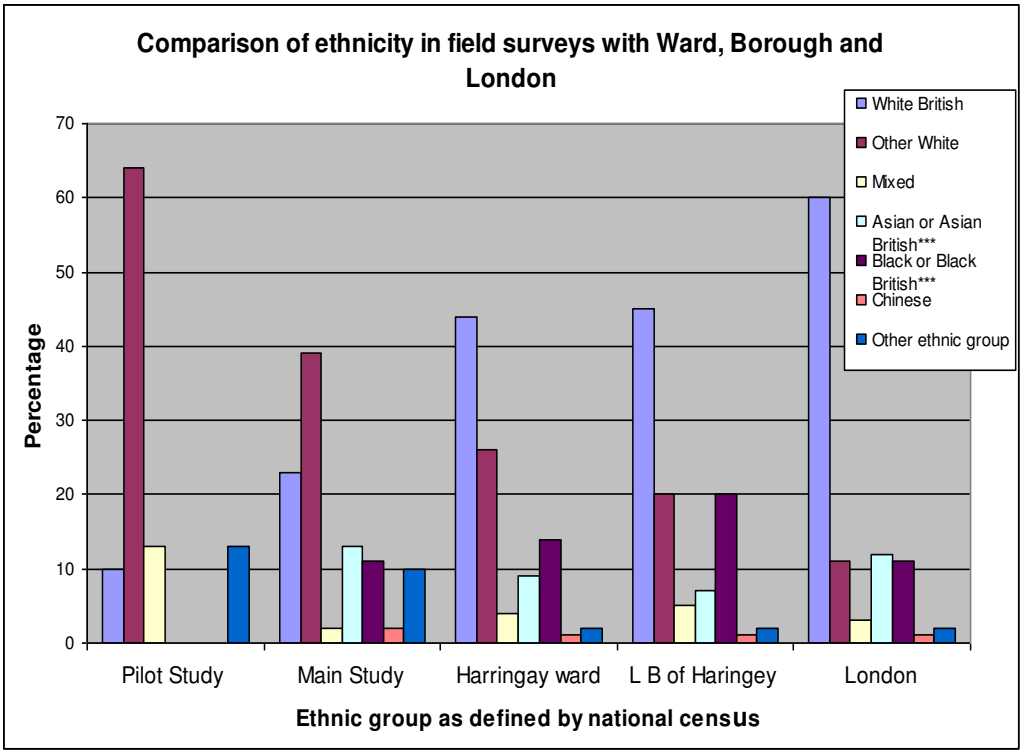


Figure 7.4: Shows ethnicity of the respondents included in field surveys and compares to the ward, borough and London as a whole. The categories above are those used for the 2001 and 2011 censuses. See appendices for data and notes.

Given the limitations of defining ethnicity, it was decided that the main source of information for defining groups in this survey was respondents' place of birth. There were 43 respondents within the UK-born group and 68 within the combined non-UK-born (or immigrant) group. Of the latter, the Turkish/Turkish Cypriot born immigrant group had 15 respondents. Two other noticeable 'groups' emerged: 13 residents from Eastern Europe and 14 from Sub-Saharan Africa. The remainder of residents from all other regions produce a combined total of 26.

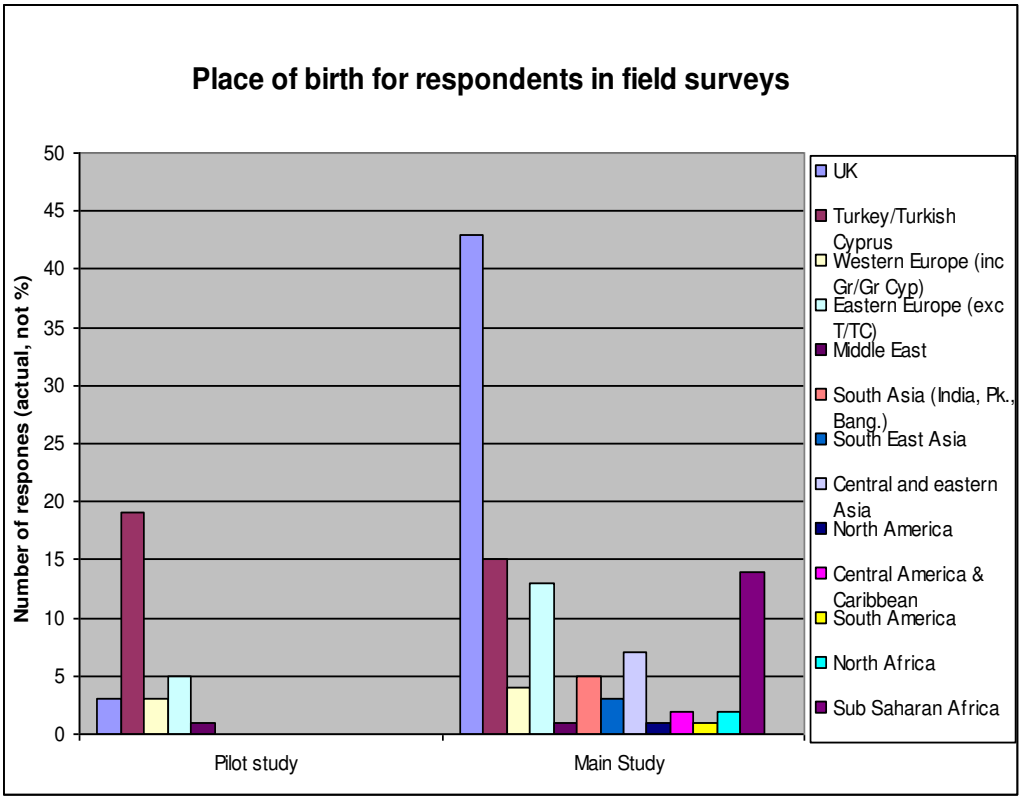


Figure 7.5: Shows the place of birth for all respondents (presented as number of responses rather than %) in both surveys. Definitions and justification of regions used above are in the appendix notes with the data. Note that all 31 respondents in the Pilot survey completed this question and 111 of 113 answered in the Main survey. See appendices for data and notes.

Respondents' ancestry

Whilst the use of place of birth as the criterion for groups is straightforward and avoids assumptions about respondents' sense of cultural identity, it is not without its limitations. It should be remembered that many UK-born respondents may have parents or grandparents born elsewhere and, conversely, some of the non-UK-born respondents may have migrated to the UK as small children and feel themselves as part of British culture. Assumptions about cultural identity and heritage cannot be made based simply on place of birth. This is particularly true in a dynamic and multi-cultural borough such as Haringey and at a time in London in which the concept of British culture itself be interpreted in different ways by even the UK-born residents. This limitation could have been, in part, overcome by further investigation of ancestry (such as places of birth of grandparents) but such detailed data was thought to be beyond the scope of this survey. Thus, it was decided to maintain respondents' own place of birth

as the main criterion for grouping and to ask just for their parents' place of birth to which some specific reference could be made where considered particularly pertinent to the analysis.

When the respondents for the main survey are viewed as a whole, we see a high proportion (76%) of those who were born in the same country as their parents which indicates that for many of the respondents theirs was the first generation to migrate from their origin country. Of the remaining 24% of respondents, most of these (17%) had both parents born in a different country to them. This suggests that their parents had moved together and the respondents were then second generation immigrants. In fact, noticeably in all of the immigrant groups as well as the survey as a whole, very few respondents had parents each from different countries. The pilot survey showed very similar proportions (77% of total had been born in the same country as their parents).

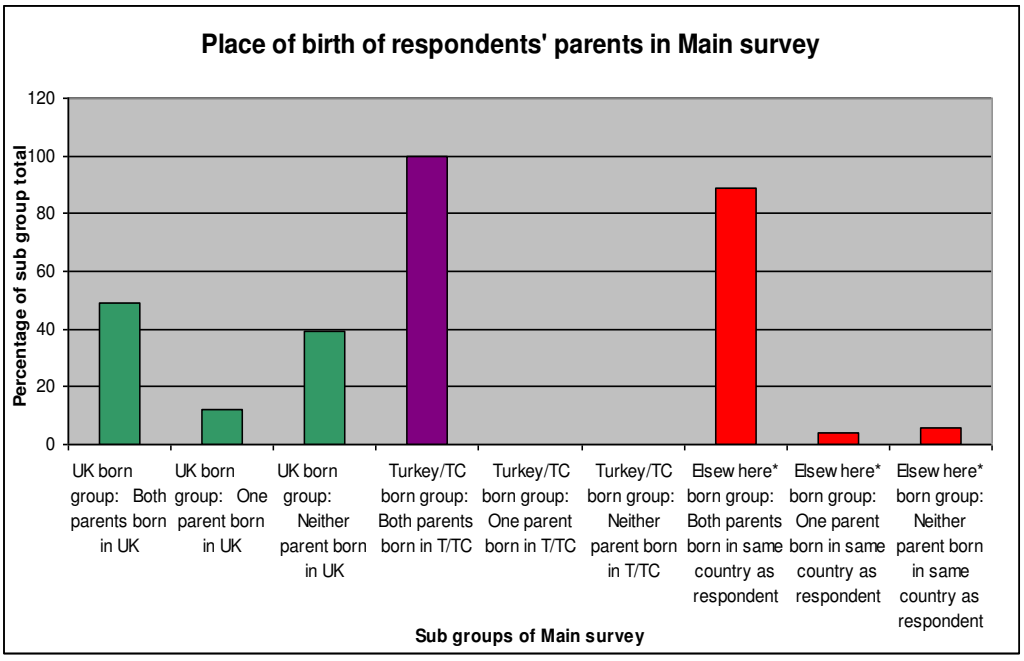


Figure 7.6: Compares the ancestry of the respondents, through their parents' place of birth, in three groups: UK-born, Turkey/Turkish Cyprus born and all those born elsewhere (exc T/TC). Proportions of each sub group are given in percentages. See appendices for notes and data.

Perhaps surprising is that only about half of the UK-born group had parents also from the UK. Thus, many of the UK-born residents in the main survey are quite likely themselves to be second generation immigrants. Looking at all the non-UK respondents, where-ever their origins, it is noticeable that a much greater proportion were the first generation to migrate. By far the vast majority of immigrants had parents who were both born in their origin country. Of course, the data collected does not tell us whether there had been migration in earlier generations but it does indicate relative stability of community in immigrants' origin countries prior to emigrating to the UK.

Age and gender

Although the main factor to be examined for its effect upon knowledge transmission was migration and cultural group, it was acknowledged that there are potentially other aspects of Harringay ward residents' demographic profile that could be significant. Some of these, such as age and length of time spent in the UK are also analysed whereas, unfortunately, time did not permit examination of others. However, brief details of gender, households, income & education levels and households for the ward are included here to help provide a fuller picture of the characteristics of this area.

The age profile for Haringey is younger than the London average. Harringay ward, as does the Borough as a whole, has a higher proportion of young adults (20-34) than London as a whole, although a notably lower proportion of under 18s than either the Borough or London (ONS, 2008). This would suggest that these young adults are moving in to the ward from elsewhere (rather than having grown up in the area) and could be the result of a large student population. Interestingly the 0-4 years age group in Harringay is growing and matches that of the rest of the Borough and London; probably a product of the recent rise in birth rate in the Borough as in many other London boroughs (LBH, Ref: c, 2012). There is a significant difference (7 years) in life expectancy between the borough's eastern poorer wards and those in the west (LBH,

Ref: e, 2012). The overall male/female split for the borough is almost even and as expected, with 50.7% male and 49.3 female. However, the gender split is less even in some age groups.

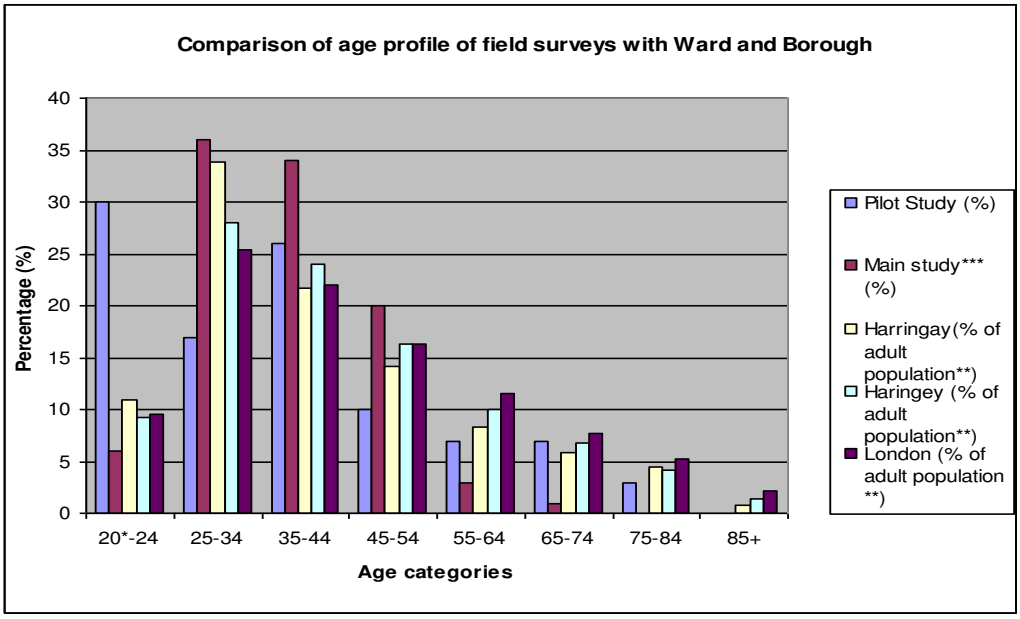


Figure 7.7: Compares the ages of respondents to the Pilot and Main studies with that of the Harringay ward, the LBH and London**.** See appendices for data and notes.

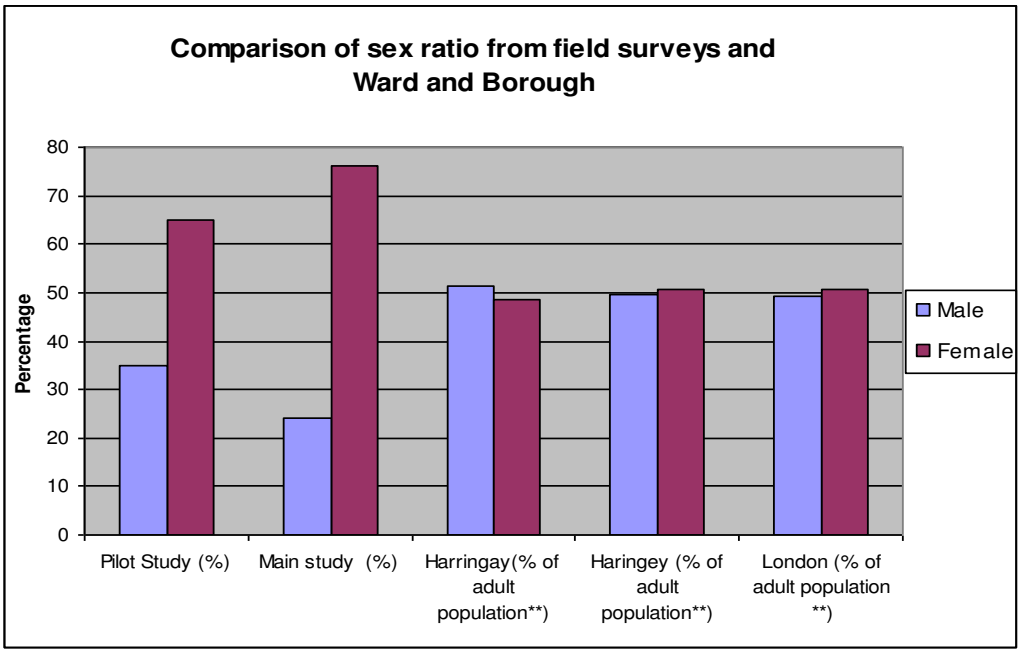


Figure 7.8: Compares the percentage of men and women respondents in the Pilot and Main studies with that of Harringay ward and the LBH and London. Se appendices for data and notes.

Income and education

The average gross salary household income was £27,368 in 2008 which compares to £28,772 as the London average (CACI, 2008). The LBH ranked as the 18th most deprived in England (Index of Deprivation, 2007) and 5th most deprived in London (Index of multiple Deprivation, 2007). Harringay ward is approximately middle ranked for deprivation amongst the wards. (CACI, 2008). There is quite a polarised education and skills' base with 21% of residents of working age with Level 1 qualifications or below and nearly 4% with Level 4 or above (Level definitions are given in Figure 7.9).

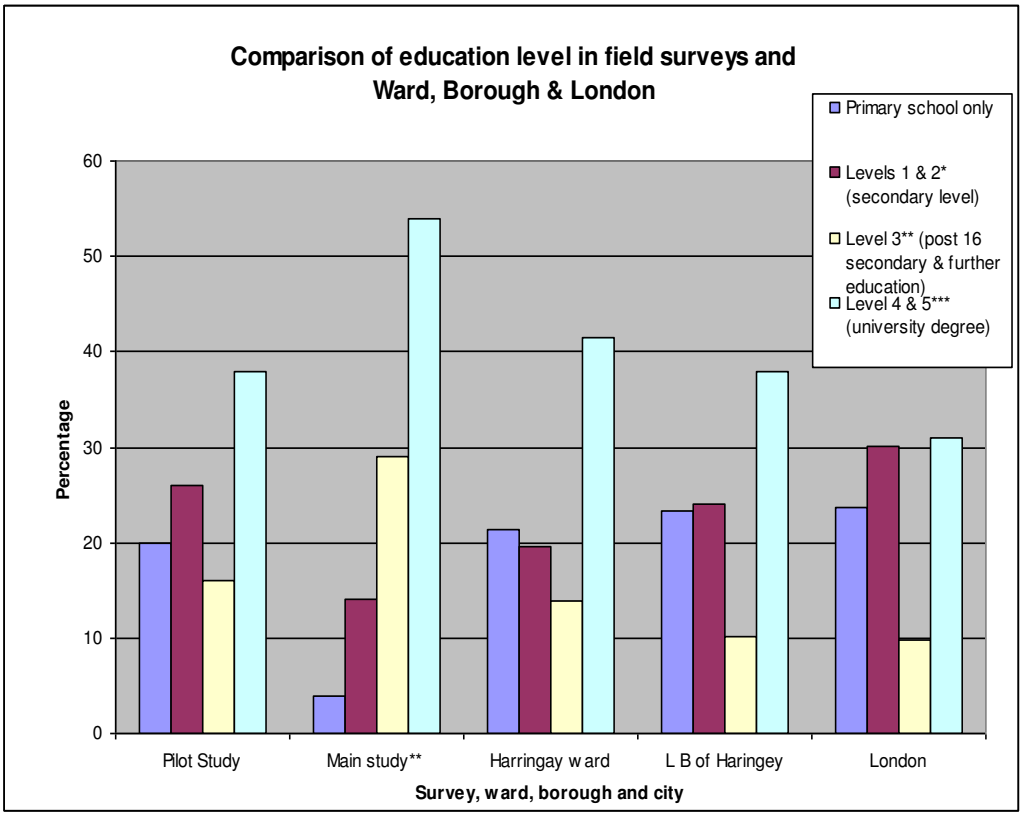


Figure 7.9: Compares the education levels (using census categories and definitions) for respondents to the Pilot study and Main study with that of Harringay ward, the LBH and London. See appendices for data and notes.

Household composition

What was of interest here was the number of multi-generational households and how this might affect cultural knowledge transmission. There were 92,000 households in the borough in 2010 (LBH, 2010) of which 29% of households had dependent children. As elsewhere in London, a large proportion of households were single occupier (36% in

LBH; very similar to London average). Figure 7.10 gives an indication of comparative family size in Harringay ward and the Borough. Harringay ward has a similar proportion of 'family' households as the Borough. The proportion of single adult headed households with dependents is lower in Harringay than the borough as a whole.

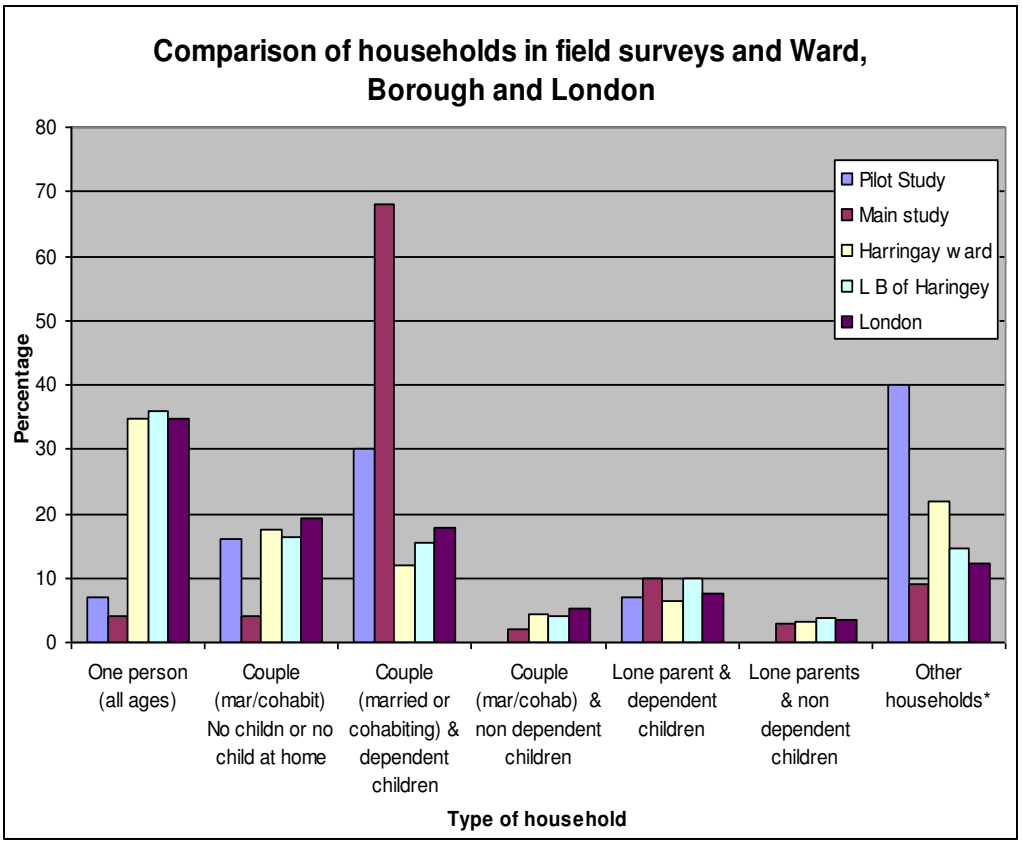


Figure 7.10: Compares the household composition for respondents to the Pilot Study and Main Study with that of Harringay ward, the LBH and London. See appendices for data and notes.

Notes on sources of information

Most of this population information was gained from the 2001 Census data as presented publicly by the Office of National Statistics (ONS), the Greater London Authority (GLA), the National Census and the London Borough of Haringey's (LBH) Business Intelligence department. Although the census is considered the most comprehensive source of demographic and social data, it should be remembered that the 2001 census experienced a 17% non response rate in LBH, a figure which the ONS attempts to compensate for in its statistical analysis (ONS 2001 census information on LBH website, 2012). The latter source was the most referenced with data used from its individual 'Ward Profiles' (copies of the full Profiles are in the appendices). The Ward

Profile data is largely complied by the Borough from the Census data with some data from the Mid Year estimates compiled by National Census. All Census referenced data here is from the 2001 Census as the 2011 Census had not yet been released to the LBH for Ward Profile updating at the time of writing in 2012.

Chapter Eight

Presentation and analysis of field study results

Introduction

Food and cuisine are a very significant component of many people's sense of their cultural identity. The responses to the main survey clearly show this to be the case. One could reasonably speculate that food's cultural importance is, in part, due to its portability. These results indeed show that food and cuisine are important equally to both immigrants (non-UK) and UK-born residents. Food and cuisine, as with other cultural components change over time and through movement of people. However, the results in this chapter show that the pattern of change is not uniform, that cuisine is a complex cultural concept comprised, itself, of different components and elements. These parts are differently valued by people and, because of this, change at different rates.

The focus in this research is on what effect movement (migration) has upon this change in cuisine. We can see evidence here that migration clearly has an impact of how cuisine knowledge is transmitted and that immigrants' perceptions and experience of cuisine, in some key areas, do differ noticeably from those born in the UK. We can also see here that there are nuanced and interesting differences between different immigrant groups indicating that specific cultural heritage is a significant variable in food culture. However, in many instances, the differences are greatest between immigrant and non-migrant regardless of the latter's respective origin and other variables such as the migrants' age, occupation or education.

This chapter is structured around the core research questions in Themes A and B, described in Chapters one and seven: 1) How important is cuisine to cultural identity?, 2) Are some parts of food culture more important to cultural identity?, 3) Do different elements of the food knowledge change at different rates?. The main focus of the data analysis concerns questions: 4) What

are the main transmission routes (sources) of food knowledge?, and, 5) What are the main modes of learning about cuisine? The data concerning question 6), 'how do factors such as age, region of origin and the length of time (immigrants) have lived in the UK affect transmission routes and learning modes?', is analysed alongside the data for questions 4 and 5 in this chapter. Data regarding Theme c questions are not presented in a separate section but also discussed alongside that for questions 4 and 5. The results of each of these are presented in turn. The overarching question is what effect, if any, does migration may have on people's experience of the above five key areas? Thus, for each question the results from the survey as a whole are presented first, as a starting point. Comparison is then made between results from respondents born in the UK ('UK-born group') and all the immigrants ('All non-UK-born migrants'), followed by comparison between the different immigrant sub-groups.

The results of the survey are presented alongside analysis of the results. The actual data can be viewed in the appendices. The majority of the results analysed here, presented largely through graphs and tables, are from the main survey. Where results from the pilot survey were noteworthy they have also been mentioned. The data is not subject to statistical analysis as, once broken down into the UK/immigrant sub groups, the data sets were not numerically large enough for statistical analysis. However, data is presented as percentages in most graphs for ease of comparison between the sub groups. A summary analysis is at the end of the chapter.

8.2 How important is cuisine to sense of cultural identity?

The first research questions were intended to establish the validity of the research premise that food is very significant in contributing to many people's sense of their cultural identity. Confirmation of this point is clearly a vital prerequisite to further investigation of how food and cuisine are affected by and contribute to cultural inheritance. The data shown in Figure 8.1 clearly shows that for both the whole group of respondents and for the various sub-groups food is viewed as very important to cultural identity.

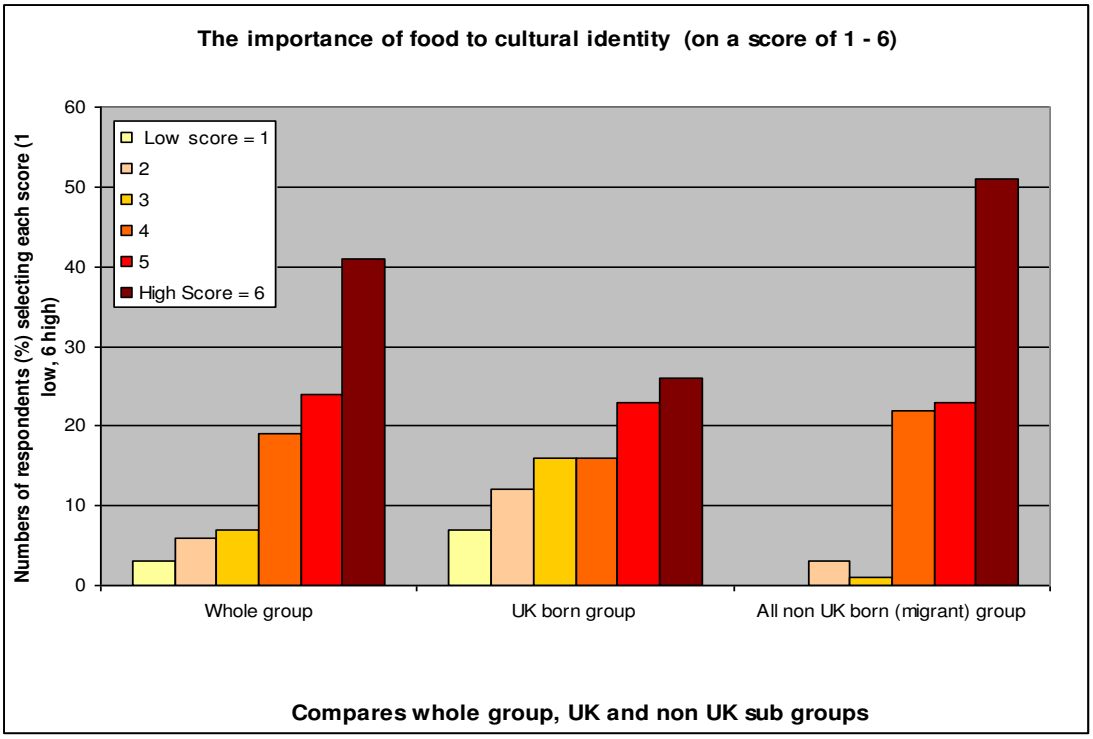


Figure 8.1i This compares the answers given by the whole group, UK-born and non-UK-born respondents when asked to score the importance of food to their sense of cultural identity. The highest score that food could receive was 6 and the number of respondents who scored food's importance as 6 is shown in brown. Source:
main study Q1.Data and notes in appendices

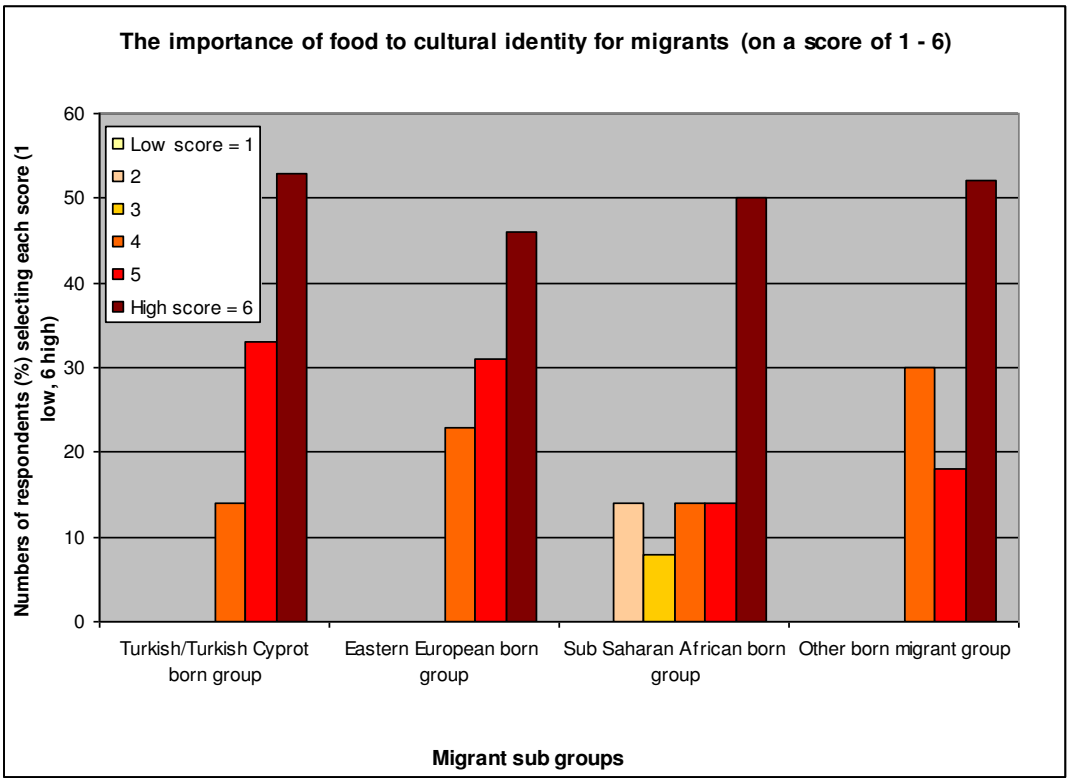


Figure 8.1ii This compares responses between the immigrant groups when asked to score the importance of food to their sense of cultural identity. The highest score that food could receive was 6 and the number of respondents who scored food's importance as 6 is shown in brown. Source: main study Q1.Data and notes in appendices

Interestingly, we can see that the non-UK-born group shows a higher proportion of respondents scoring food more highly than the UK-born group. Whilst the latter group still have the highest proportion of its respondents scoring food as a high "6", the scores have a much more even spread. Food is important for the UK-born group but *very* important for immigrants regardless of their origin (Figure 8.1ii). About half of all respondents in each of the immigrant groups scored "6". The Turkish and Eastern European respondents gave overall higher scores for food's importance. The Sub-Saharan African and Other born migrant respondents showed a greater spread of scores.

The survey also aimed to establish how important food was compared with *other* (everyday) aspects of culture. To this end respondents were also asked to compare six different common contributors to people's sense of culture, including that of food. (It is realised that the choice of these six cultural aspects was subjective. They were chosen from the informal discussions that came about from the pilot survey face to face interviews). An additional point here is that some respondents slightly misunderstood the structure of the question and didn't rank each of the six aspects against each other but, rather, each separately from 1 - 6. However, on reflection, this does not exclude those answers as an overall sum of the ranking scores still allows comparison of what respondents thought was most important to them.

Each sub-group of the main survey and the group as a whole thought that food was more important to their sense of cultural identity than any of the other five suggestions (Figure 8.2ii). Whilst true for all groups, food is cited as the most important aspect particularly strongly by the Other born immigrant group. Of course, this is numerically the largest of the immigrant groups. Also noticeable, is UK-born group which showed the lowest proportion of respondents as citing food as 'most important' (21%). In the UK-born group other cultural aspects were also given high rankings, such as music at 19%. If we compare, for example, the UK and Turkish sub-groups specifically we notice that Music, Home decoration and Film/TV all appear more

important to the UK-born respondents than the Turkish respondents. Among the Turkish group 27% of respondents selected food as the most important cultural aspect. This figure was significantly higher than the other 5 cultural aspects (clothes was the next highest scored at 18%). All of the separate immigrant sub-groups showed at least 25% (Turkish and Eastern Europeans) of their respondents as selecting food as most important (27% of Sub-Saharan Africans and 30% of 'Other born' immigrants).

The interesting question is then to what extent this difference is a product of cultural differences in their respective homelands or a result of migration and a relatively short time resident in a new home/area? For example, it might be a reasonable suggestion that home decoration is given a lower status as a reflection of individuals' identity and values if they have not lived long in a place, have had little time to acquire home possessions or do not yet view this as a longer term home. Items for the home are also less likely to be transported from an immigrant's homeland, at least initially. Food (knowledge) and clothing (the cultural aspects ranked most highly by the Turkish sub group) are more portable and may, therefore, take on a proportionately greater cultural importance for migrants.

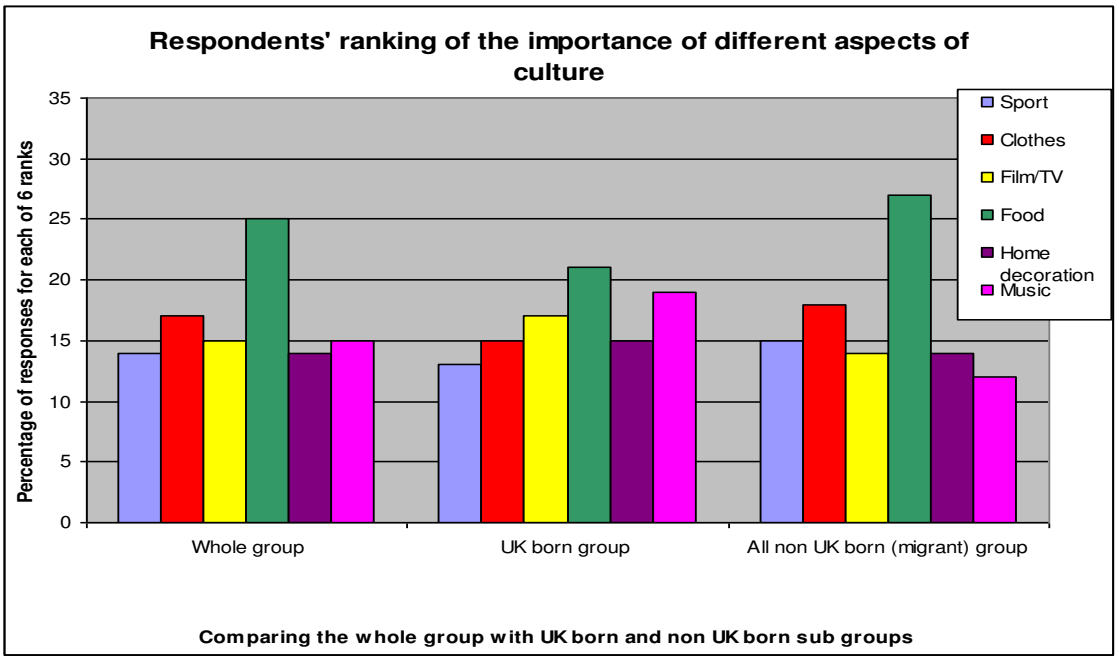


Figure 8.2i Respondents were asked to score, from 1-6, the importance of six different aspects of culture. Source: Q2, Pt1. Data and notes in appendices.

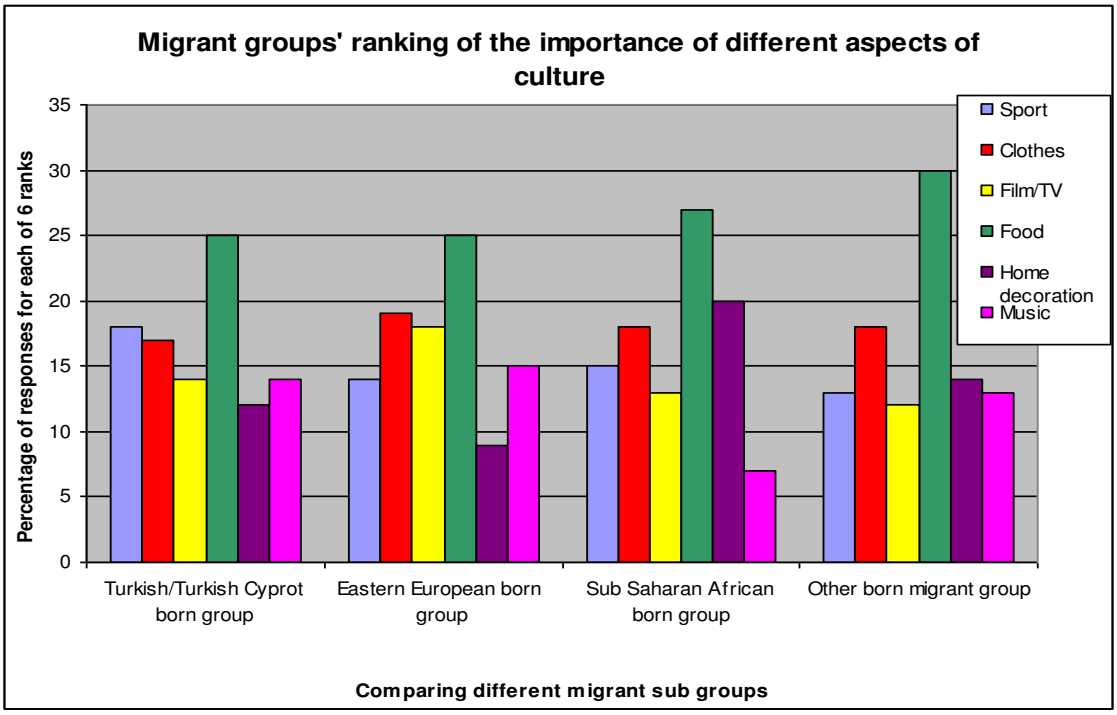


Figure 8.2ii Comparison of results of immigrant sub-groups' ranking of importance of different cultural components. Source MS Q2. Data and notes in appendices.

8.3 Are some parts of cuisine more important to cultural identity than others?

As discussed in chapter 5 there are several potential ways to deconstruct cuisine in order to investigate the differential rates of change of its parts. Cuisine can be broken down according to those things that contribute to different sensory characteristics of a dish such as the ingredients used, cooking methods or particular combination of flavours that make that dish distinctive. These things are to be termed the *components* of cuisine here. Cuisine could also be deconstructed into the different *elements* that make up meal construction; the dishes that make up a meal and how these vary between meal types. The socio-cultural *context* of the meal (such as special occasion meals versus the food eaten everyday) is yet another avenue of investigation. This survey sought to focus on a combination of some of these parts when investigating differential importance and rates of change of cuisine and the resultant data regarding cuisine components, elements and context is presented here in turn.

Retaining original ingredients when preparing a culturally authentic dish is much more important to the respondents (both UK-born and non-UK-born) than either using the same cooking methods or using traditional flavourings (defined as those used in childhood or their homeland) (Figure 8.3). For all the immigrant sub-groups cooking method was the least important to respondents. Most noticeable was the Turkish sub group within which no respondents chose cooking methods as the component that they least want to change.

These results were initially something of a surprise as it had been anticipated that flavourings would be more significant to respondents in terms of their perception of cuisine authenticity. The work of Elizabeth Rozin (1992), as discussed in Chapter 5, on comparing different cuisines around the world had concluded that the significant defining characters of different cuisines are their flavouring combinations. It had been expected, therefore, that this component would be the one respondents would least want to see changed. However, these results do confirm the hypothesis that different components of cuisine are imbued with different values in cultural heritage. Cuisine components do not change at the same rate and may be varyingly susceptible to change from competing cultural influences and over time.

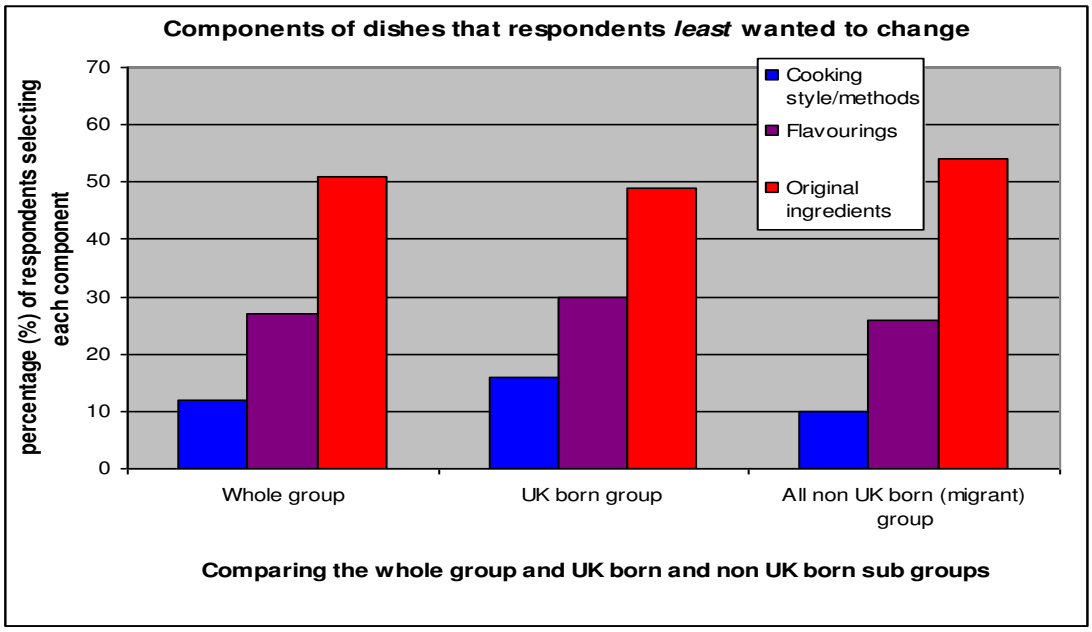


Figure 8.3i Component (from the three suggested) respondents ***least*** want to change when preparing an authentic dish (ie a dish from their homeland or childhood culture). Source Q12, Pt 3. Data and notes in appendices.

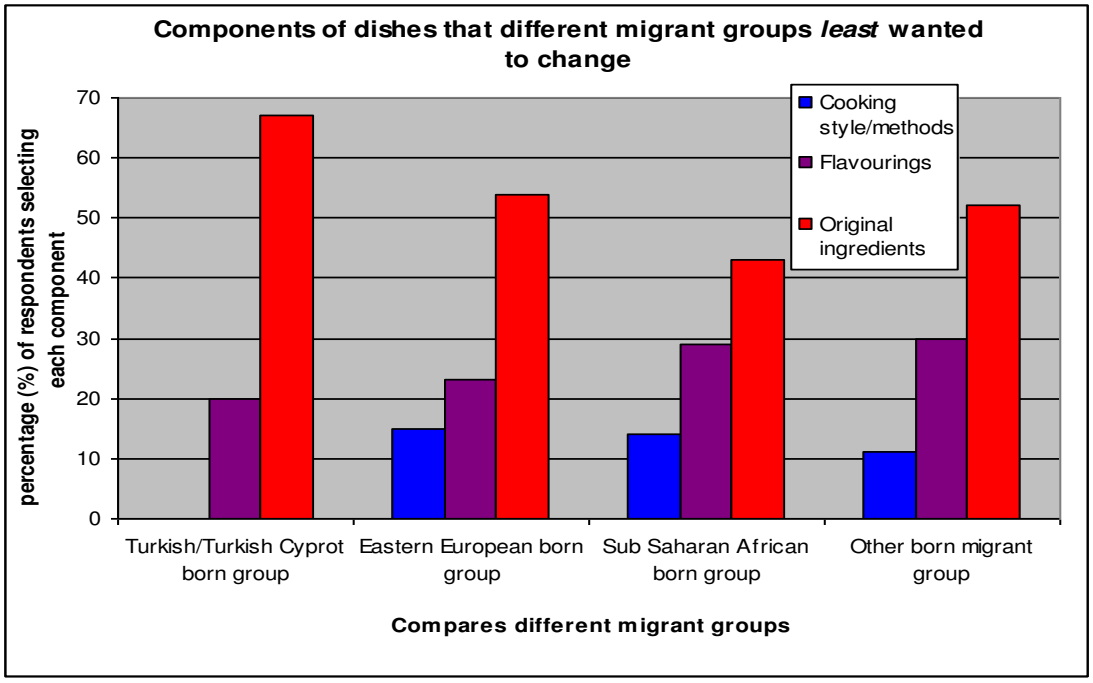


Figure 8.3ii Shows which component of a dish (from the three suggested) would respondents from the immigrant sub-groups ***least*** want to change when preparing an authentic dish. Source Q12, Pt 3. Data and notes in appendices.

As well as being asked which single component they would least like to change, respondents were also asked to rank the three components. The results (Figure 8.4) support the findings above, that using original ingredients is considered the most important of the components in maintaining the cultural authenticity of a food dish. The pattern of preference between the three components is similar to Figure 8.3, although the distribution of responses here was significantly less marked with only slightly more respondents ranking original ingredients as more important then flavourings and cooking methods respectively. The difference is a little more marked amongst migrants. Comparing the immigrant sub-groups, the greatest difference in rank scores between food components is seen in the Sub-Saharan African and 'Other born' groups. The Eastern Europeans and Turkish groups showed little difference.

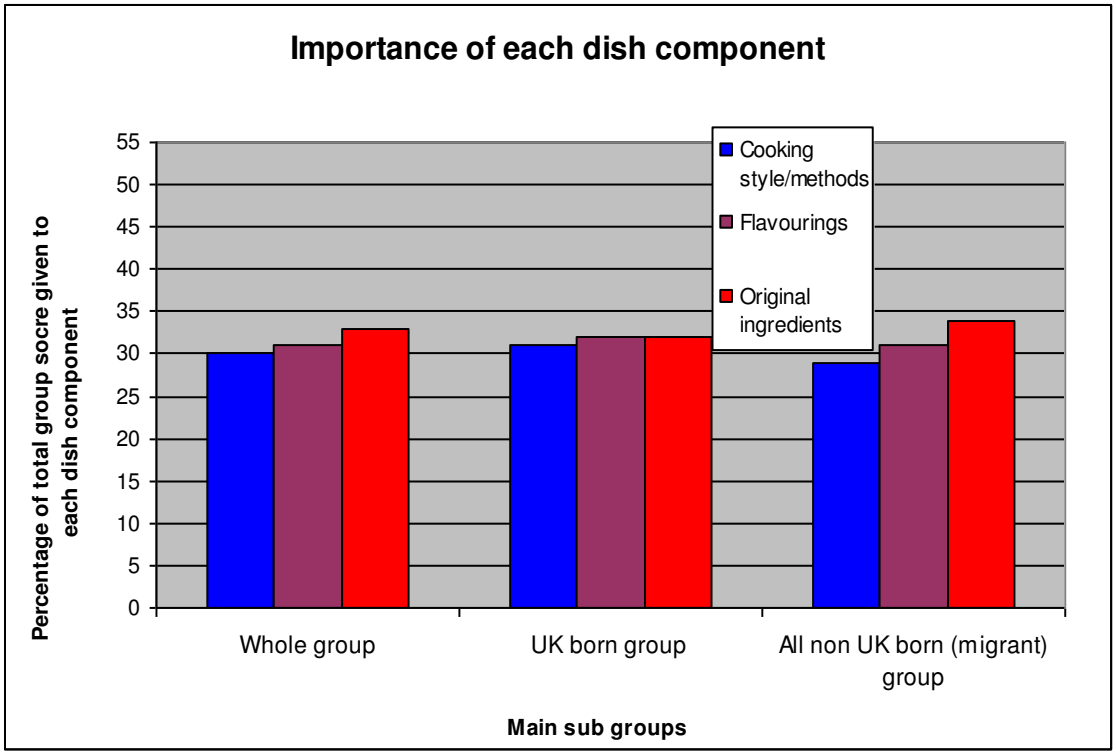


Figure 8.4i The results from respondents asked to score from (0 – 5) how important they thought each component was for maintaining authenticity for a special event meal. This graph shows the total group score by adding all the rank scores for each dish component. Source Q13(a,b,c). Data and notes in appendices.

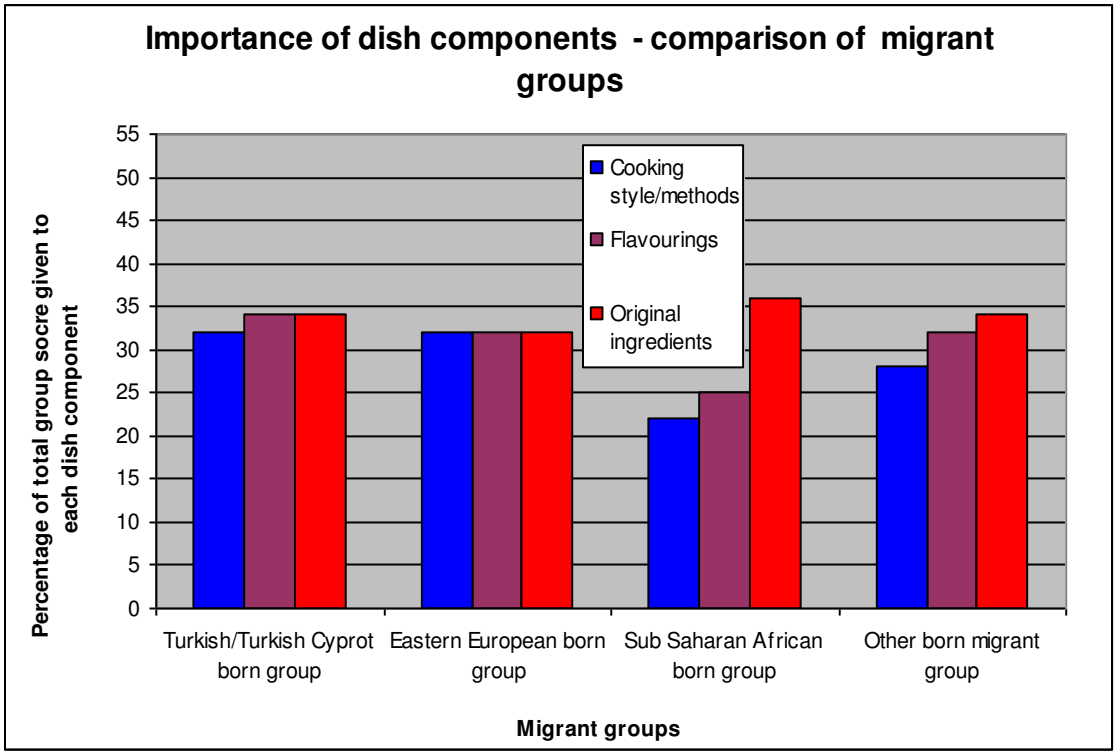


Figure 8.4ii This graph compares the results for the immigrant sub-groups. The results were calculated as above. Source Q13(a,b,c) . Data and notes in appendices.

There are several possible explanations for the different spread of results shown in Figures 8.3 and 8.4. Firstly, the wording of Q13 (Figure 8.4) was slightly different as it referred respondents to (specifically) "special event" meals (such as family occasions, weddings) and respondents may have put greater weight to this distinction than when asked more generally. It could be that when preparing food for special events most respondents, of all backgrounds, consider maintaining *all three* original components to be necessary to its authenticity, whereas in more general cooking maintaining just one original component, the ingredients, may suffice in satisfying the desire for cultural authenticity.

It is also possible that when compelled to select only *one* component as the most important (as for Q12 in Figure 8.3), most respondents selected ingredients and this does reflect the greater value placed on original ingredients for cultural authenticity. However, when respondents are asked to rank the three components separately, the high score gained by ingredients is followed fairly closely by the other two components. None of the components gain low total scores which shows how important all three are considered overall.

It is also possible that respondents' differing levels of familiarity or knowledge of their culture's traditional cuisine affected how they viewed the different elements of a dish. Those who were more knowledgeable about their cuisine might feel more strongly about the importance of flavourings, for example because, it could be argued, they appreciate the importance of flavourings in creating the distinctive characteristics of a food dish. However, when these two sets of data from the survey were compared, cuisine familiarity and component respondents least wanted to see changed, the results did not bear out my expectations. The clear majority of respondents (Table 8.1) described themselves as familiar with their traditional food to some degree. Indeed, the single most cited response was that of "very familiar" and almost as many people said they ate traditional food all the time. In each of the top three categories of respondents most knowledgeable about their cuisine, original ingredients are cited as the

component that the respondents least want to see changed most often and this is be a large margin (Table 8.1). For the (numerically) very few respondents who described themselves as not knowledgeable about the cuisine, there was no significant difference between their choice of components. Thus, is would appear the dominant choice of original ingredients as being the component considered most important for maintaining authentic cuisine is made, for most people, from a position of cuisine familiarity rather than lack of interest.

Comparison of traditional cuisine knowledge and dish component respondents least want to change

Respondents described themselves as…	**Original ingredients**	**Original Flavourings**	**Original cooking style**	No clear answer
Eat this food all the time	19	10	1	4
Very familiar with this food	20	9	3	3
Quite familiar with this food	15	8	6	3
Not confident with this food	3	3	1	1
Limited knowledge of this food	1	1	2	0

Table 8.1 . This table compares respondents' level of knowledge of their culture's traditional cuisine and the element of traditional cuisine dishes they would not want to change. Figures are actual numbers (not %) for the survey group as a whole. 113 respondents. (Sources Q5 and Q12). Data in appendices

The relative importance to respondents of different components of food dishes is shown in Figure 8.5i (also using data from Q13). The UK-born group have a greater spread of scores than the immigrant group; fewer respondents choosing the two higher scores in the former. This may be indicative of the more mixed and overall less strong view of the importance of the cuisine components than immigrants. This may possibly reflect the slightly lower importance that UK-born respondents attach to cuisine's role in cultural identity (as we saw in Figures 8.1 and 8.2), although the actual numerical difference here is small.

There is greater variation between the four immigrant sub-groups (Figure 8.5ii) than between the immigrants as a whole and the UK-born group. The Eastern European and Turkish groups gave, respectively, the highest proportion of the higher scores. The other two immigrant sub-

groups gave fewer of the highest score but proportionately of the second highest score (the Sub-Saharan Africans are most pronounced in this respect). These results could also indicate the higher importance given to the cuisine components by the Eastern European and Turkish groups than the other immigrants but it should also be noted that these were also the two groups who gave the higher proportion of low scores ('score 2 or 1). It is possible that these respondents were simply more nuanced in their responses, giving a greater range of scores. Of course, this itself might be the result of more careful consideration of the role of cuisine but this would have to be a very tentative suggestion.

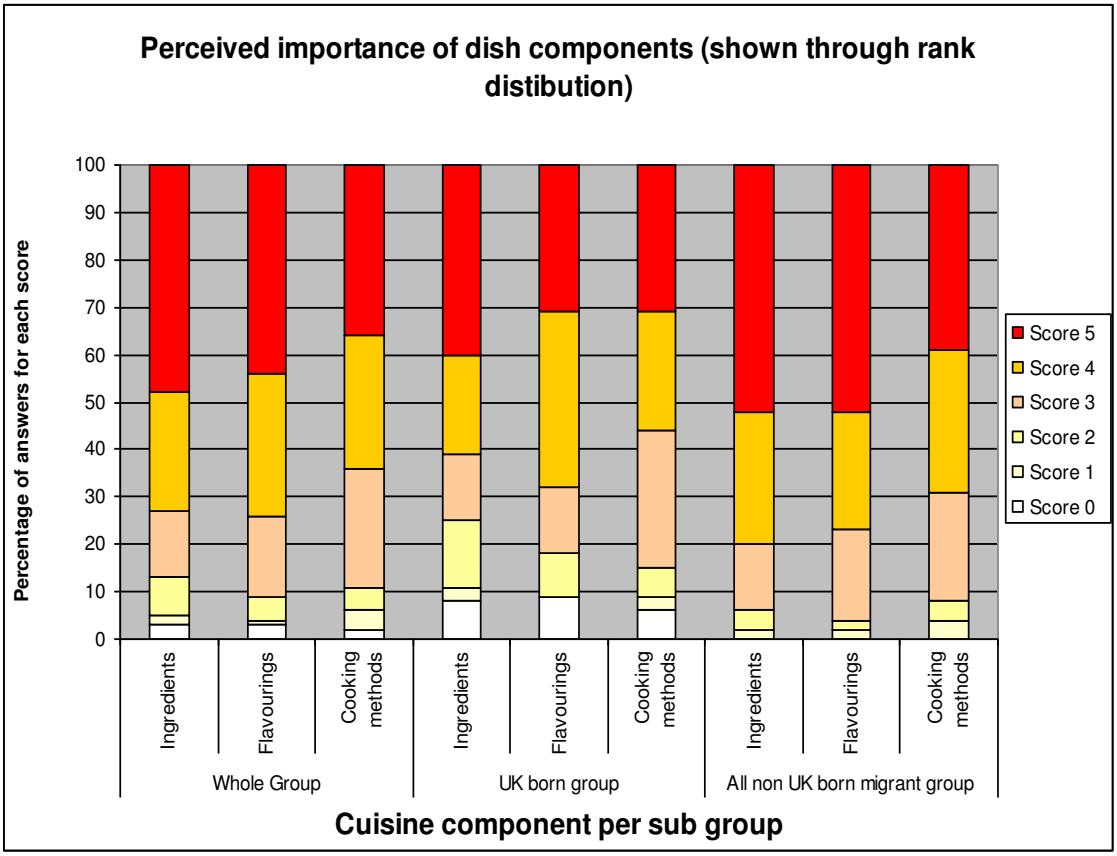


Figure 8.5i. Shows the rank distribution for each dish component (ie the actual number of respondents who choose each rank -from 0 – 5 - for the importance they placed on each component in an authentic dish. This compares the survey group as a whole with the UK-born group and the non-UK-born migrant group. The colours in the bars correspond to each rank with the lowest rank at the base of the bar and the highest at the top. Source: Also Q13 (a,b,c). Data and notes in appendix.

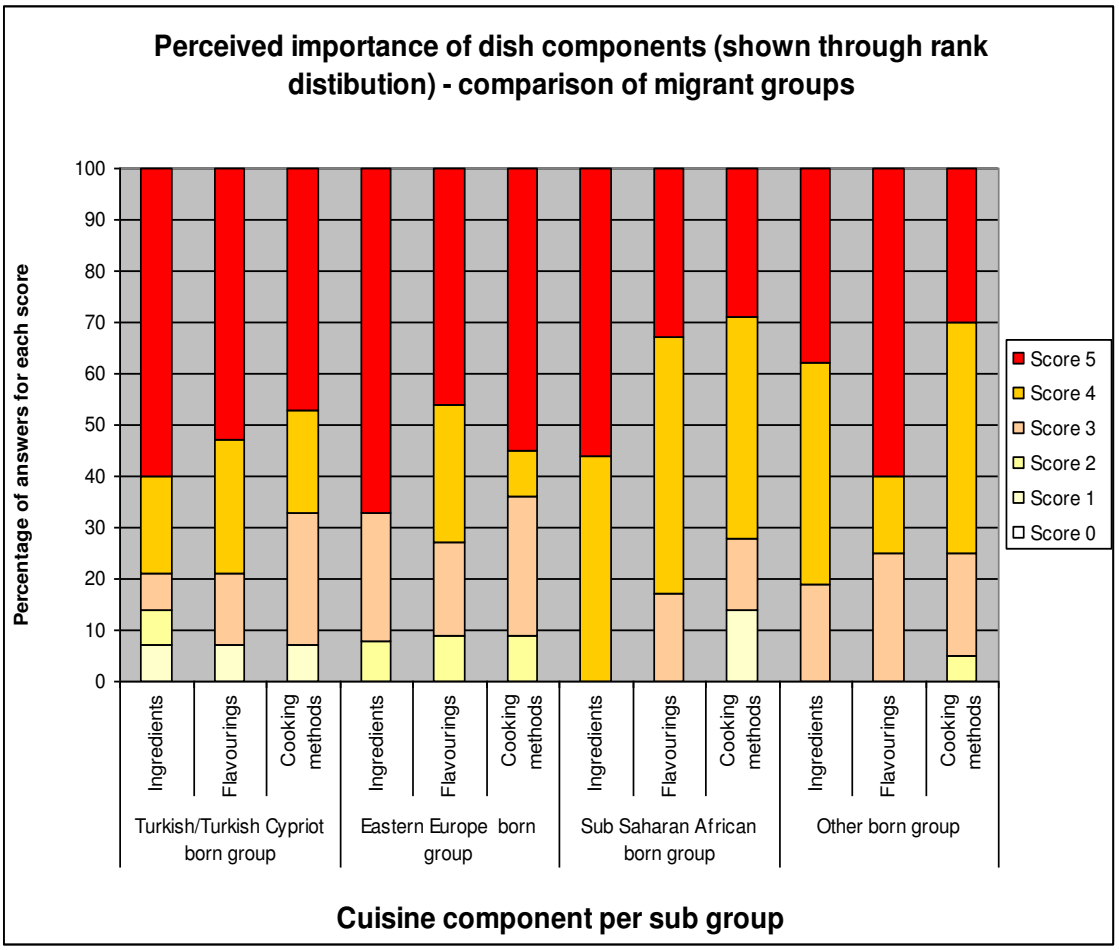


Figure 8.5ii. Shows the rank distribution for each dish component as in Figure 7.5i above. This compares results between the fourim migrant sub-groups. As above the colours in the bars correspond to each rank with the lowest rank at the base of the bar and the highest at the top. Source: Also Q13 (a,b,c). Data and notes in appendix

Another approach to understanding the cultural value of different cuisine components was to compare respondents' willingness (adventurousness) in trying different aspects of a new meal. The UK-born group included a greater proportion of respondents who, given the four options, said they would be most likely to try a whole new meal/dish (Figure 8.6). These respondents could be viewed as being more adventurous or willing to experiment with cuisine generally rather than seeking the cultural security of choosing just one novel component or element within a meal selection that was otherwise quite familiar to them. By this measure all the non-UK-born respondents appear less adventurous (less willing to try a whole new meal).

The UK-born group also had a noticeably smaller proportion of respondents who said their preference would be to try familiar dishes. These results are probably not surprising for those born in the UK and, therefore, most surrounded by cuisine long familiar from their childhoods. It may be that that the cultural security that a very familiar cuisine environment brings emboldens these respondents to be adventurous with new dishes when going out to eat, at restaurants or with acquaintances for example. However, the social context and custom of meals may, conversely, remain unchanged for longer periods for UK-born respondents than immigrants, as they have had no obvious and direct break in their cultural rituals surrounding meals.

Comparing the different immigrant sub-groups (Figure 8.6ii) we see the Turkish group are most willing to try whole new meals and the Sub-Saharan Africans are the least. Interestingly, the Eastern European group had a noticeably greater proportion of respondents than the other groups who chose the option to try a mix of familiar and novel dishes in a new meal. Perhaps this arrangement is felt by this group of immigrants to provide sufficient cultural security of some familiar dishes whilst allowing modest experimentation with some dishes within the meal.

Unlike all the other groups, there were no respondents from the Eastern European group who selected the option to try familiar dishes but with some aspect changed. We could conclude that, when in a new country, this group is comfortable with trying whole new meals or including novel dishes within a familiar meal but they strongly dislike modifying their own culture's dishes. We could speculate that this reflects long established cuisine traditions with firmly prescribed recipes for dishes.

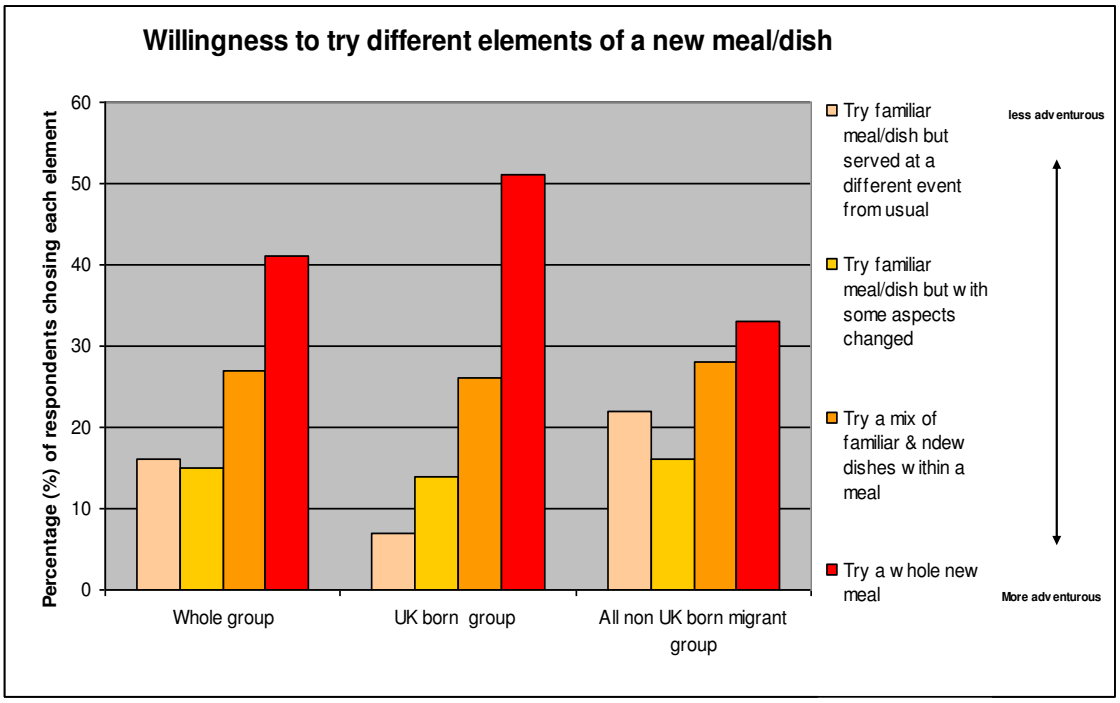


Figure 8.6i: Shows how willing respondents were to try new elements of a meal or dish. These different elements are also shown on a brief spectrum of adventurousness. Comparison is made here between the survey group as a whole and then all the UK-born respondents and all the non-UK-born respondents. Data and notes in appendices. Source Q11, Pt 3.

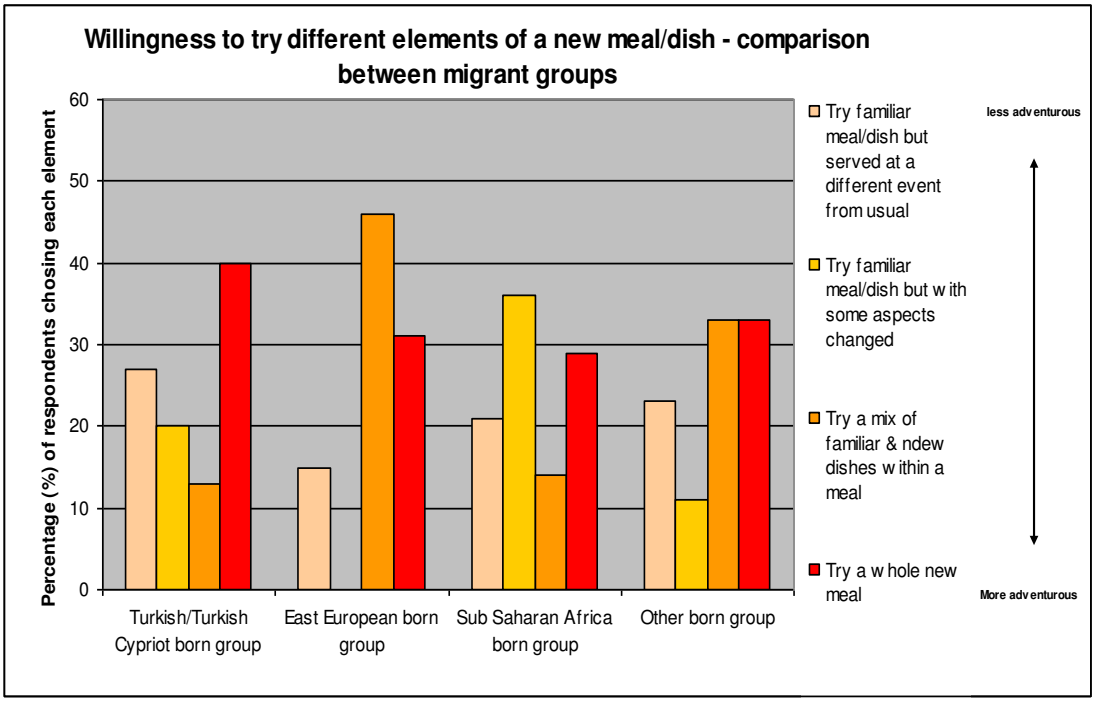


Figure 8.6ii: Shows how willing respondents were to try new elements of a meal or dish. These different elements are also shown on a brief spectrum of adventurousness. In this graph comparison is made between the four distinct immigrant sub-groups. Data and notes in appendices. Source: Q11, Pt 3.

The other three immigrant groups share a more similar pattern with each other. The Turkish group has the most even distribution of preferences for the four options amongst its respondents. Compared to the UK-born respondents, the Turkish immigrants would appear less willing to try whole new meals or include a mix of new dishes within a familiar meal. However, they are more willing to adapt familiar (Turkish) dishes and more willing to eat familiar dishes in non traditional contexts. As we know from previous results that cuisine is important to their sense of culture, this could show that many of the Turkish respondents prefer to eat Turkish meals and dishes. The social prescription outlining which meals should be eaten in a particular context may be less restrictive and the essence of a Turkish dish may not be perceived as being threatened by changes to component parts where necessary. As with the Eastern European group we can speculate as to whether these different preferences are the product of particularly priorities in Turkish cuisine. It could be concluded here that the different cultural groups sampled here do place different priorities upon different elements of cuisine. They are not equally willing to experiment with the different elements of cuisine.

8.4 Do different components of cuisine knowledge change at different rates?

The rate of change of cuisine and its components is difficult to calculate without a longitudinal study. In this investigation, therefore, information to answer the rate of change question was gathered two ways. First, we may be able to infer rates of change from the relative importance respondents attached to cuisine components. Rates of change may be different for special versus everyday meals. This does, of course, assume that respondents are less willing to change/adapt/experiment with components that they are strongly attached to. Second, respondents were asked directly about their preservation of traditional cuisine and their perception of outside influences on their cuisine. This data also provides an indication of the likely rates of change of aspects of their cuisine.

Preservation of traditional cuisine for special events

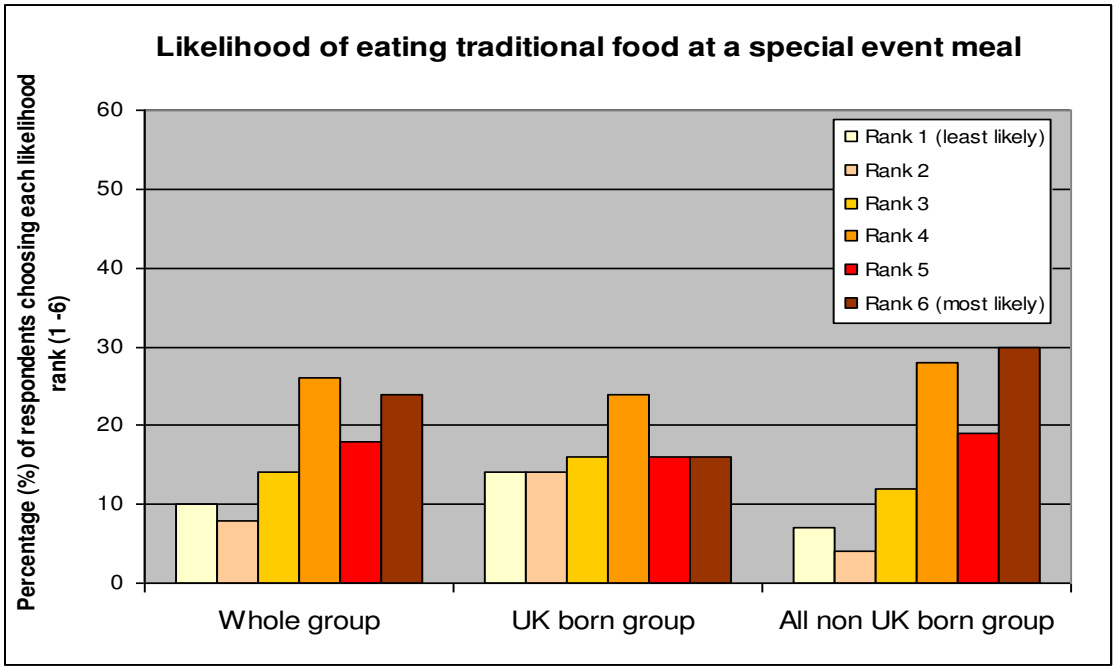
Figure 8.7i compares the ranking respondents gave to the likelihood of traditional food being served at special event meals. A high likelihood of eating traditional food is seen here as indicating a desire to wish to preserve this cuisine. Traditional food was defined to respondents as food dishes from their childhood and/or (for those newly moved to the UK) their homeland. The most common likelihood rank chosen by respondents, taking the survey group as a whole, was rank 4 (out of 6) (Figure 8.7). In fact, the three higher ranks (representing greater likelihood of eating traditional food) gained far more responses than the three lower likelihood ranks for the survey group as a whole. It is concluded, therefore, that the majority of respondents commonly experience eating the same food as they grew up with for special event meals.

Interestingly, the UK-born group results were noticeably different from that of the migrants in that they showed a much more even spread of chosen ranks. Only a slightly higher proportion (56%) of the UK-born respondents chose one of the three ranks. Clearly, many thought that it was not particularly likely that traditional food would be served at (even) special event meals. The figure was very different for non-UK-born group where 77% of respondents chose one of the higher ranks. Thus, a significantly greater proportion of immigrants stated that there was a strong likelihood of eating traditional food at special events. These results could suggest that rates of change of special event food is slower for immigrants than for those born in the UK. A possible explanation is that there is less strength of feeling about maintaining traditional dishes for special events for those born in the UK. This could be because there is the far greater range of cultural material and rituals that perform the role of cultural memory aides for the UK-born group and the maintenance of specific celebratory dishes and meals becomes less important.

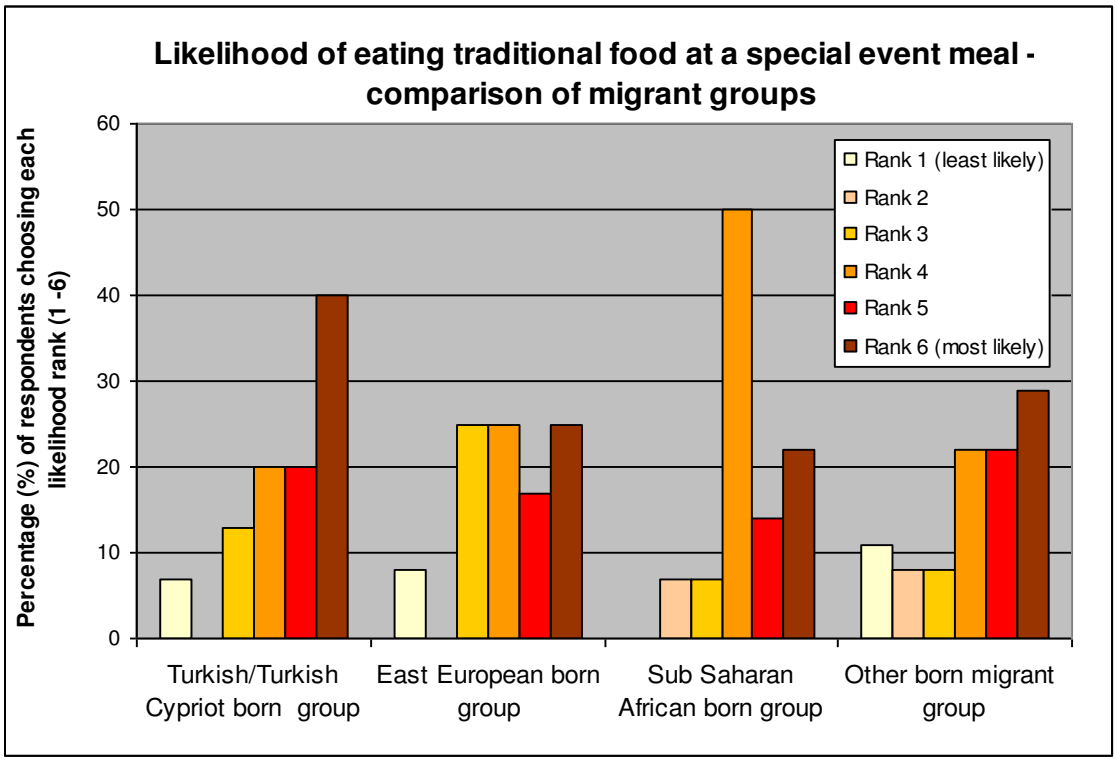
Comparing the immigrant sub-groups (Figure 8.7ii), we can see that (similarly to the immigrants as a whole) the greatest number of respondents chose the higher likelihood ranks in each

separate group. For all sub-groups except the Sub-Saharan African group, the single most chosen rank was the highest rank. Both the Sub-Saharan African and the Turkish groups had a high proportion of their respondents choosing one of the three higher ranks (86% and 80% respectively) This compares to only 67% for the Eastern European group and 73% for the 'Other born' group. However, within the Sub-Saharan African group only 20% had chosen the highest rank (6) compared to 40% of the Turkish group. Thus, the Turkish group would appear to be the most likely to eat traditional food at special events indicating that they have the slowest rate of change (slower than those born in the UK and than other immigrants).

This result was what was expected and adds support to the theory that meals for special events change relatively slowly, particular for groups which place a high value on food within their culture. It is argued that this may be because the food at such events is imbued with much cultural significance as it has become part of the tradition and ritual of the event, and part of the collective cultural memory. It is argued here that special event food is more resistant to influences over the passage of time and migration.



Figures 8.7i How likely respondents thought it was that traditional food would be served at a special event meal . The percentage of respondents who chose each 'likelihood' ranks is shown. The survey group as a whole is shown and compared with UK-born and non-UK-born sub-groups. Source Q4,Pt 1. Data and notes in appendices.



Figures 8.7ii Also show the how likely respondents thought it was that traditional food (ie food from their childhood/homeland) would be served at a special event meal (such as family wedding, celebration). Comparison is made here between the four different immigrant sub-groups. Source Q4, Pt 1. Data and notes in appendices.

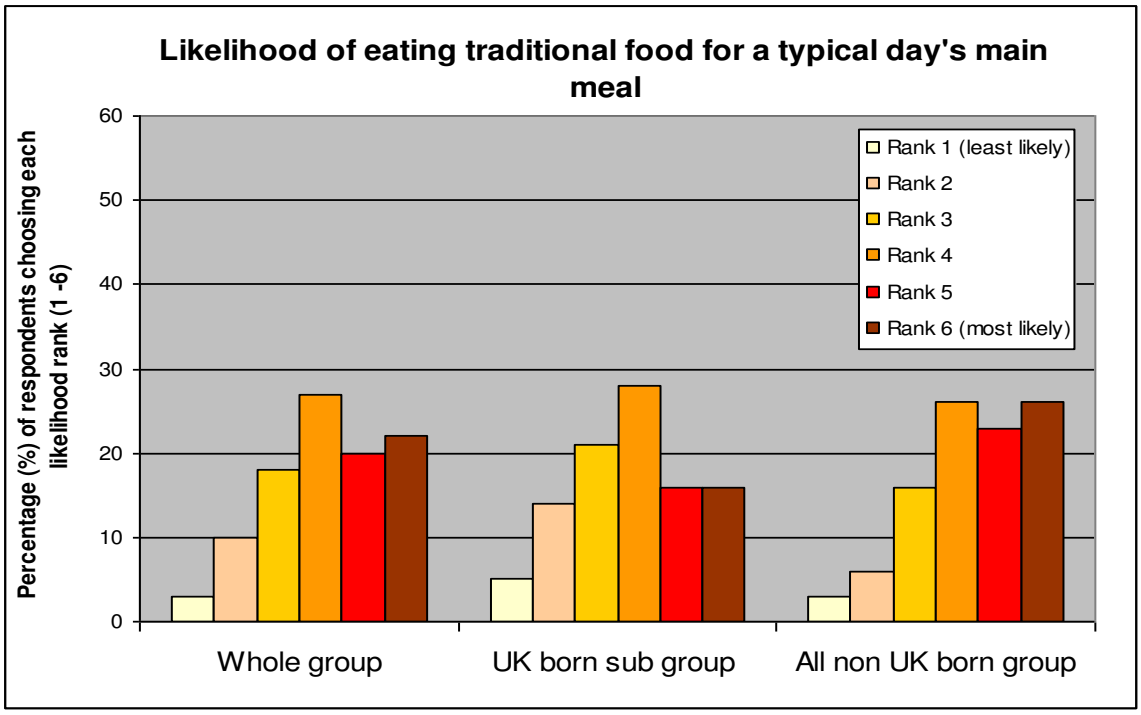
Preservation of traditional cuisine for typical main meal ('everyday' meals)

It had been expected that everyday meals would change at a faster rate than special event meals. This would be because they were more susceptible to the impact of new cuisine influences as they are not as laden with cultural significance and value. It was expected that this trend would be true for both immigrant and UK-born groups.

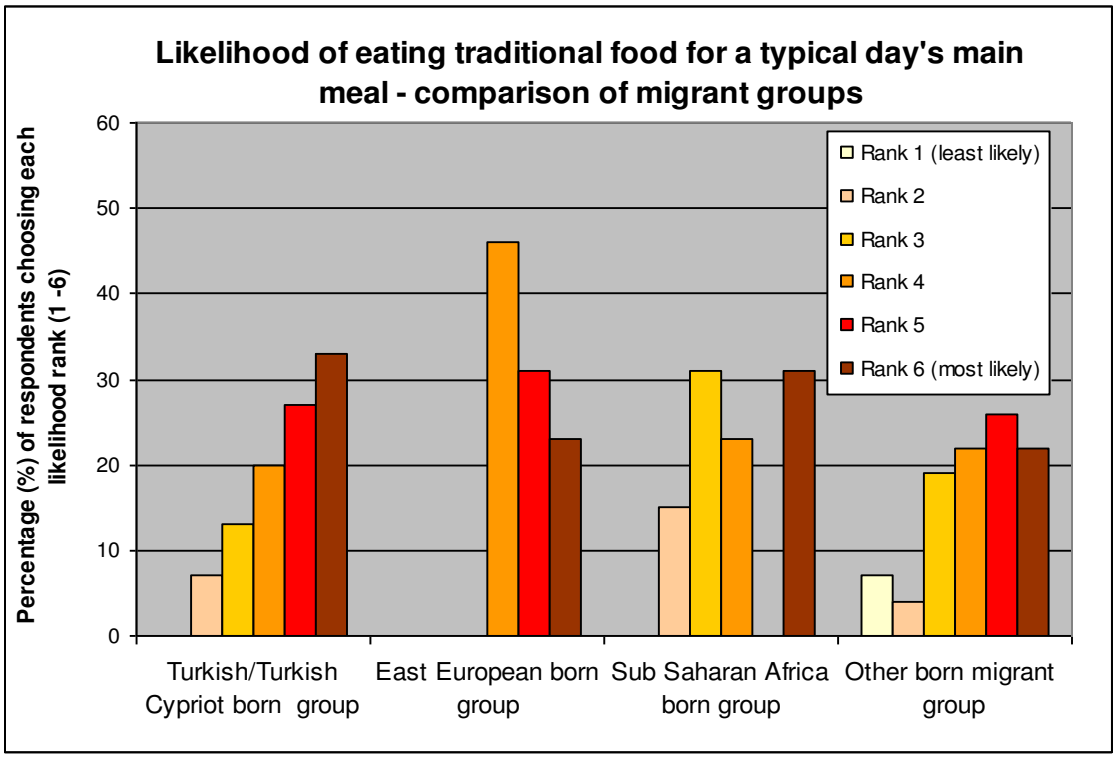
Contrary to expectations, however, a similar (overall) pattern was observed for everyday meals as for special event meals (Figure 8.8i). The fourth likelihood rank is the most commonly selected rank for the survey group as a whole and the three higher likelihood ranks (4,5 & 6) were also the most cited. This is similar to the results for the special event meals. Many respondents appear still loyal to food they grew up with even for their everyday meals. In addition, the proportion (for the survey group as a whole) of lower ranks cited are very similar to

that for special event meals; they are just slightly differently distributed. The proportion of the UK-born group choosing one of the three higher ranks was 56% for the special event meals and 60% for the everyday meals with slightly greater clustering of the middle ranks. A similarly small difference was seen for the non-UK-born group with 77% choosing the higher ranks for special event meals and 75% for the everyday meals. This indicates that UK respondents were even more likely to be eating traditional food for everyday meals than special event meals and the non-UK-born group, slightly less, but, overall, there is very little difference in the rate of change for both groups of respondents between that for special event and everyday meals.

Looking at the immigrant sub-groups (Figure 8.8ii), the Turkish(80%), Eastern European(100%) and 'Other born' (70%) groups show overwhelmingly the largest proportion of their respective groups choosing higher ranks (as they did for special event meals). Thus, it would seem that most of these respondents think it very likely to have traditional food for everyday meals. The Turkish and 'Other born' group were the same or very similar proportions to those for the special event meals and the Eastern Europeans show even greater likelihood of eating traditional food. The rates of change of food for everyday meals is indicated to be similar to (slower for some immigrants) that of special event meals. The only exception here is the Sub-Saharan African group which shows a distinctly different pattern with a much more even spread across the ranks than the other immigrant sub-groups and when compared to their own group regarding special event meals. Only 54% of their group chose the higher ranks, suggesting that they are only moderately concerned with eating traditional food for everyday meals.



Figures 8.8i Show the how likely respondents thought it was that traditional food (ie food from their childhood/homeland) would be served at a typical day's main meal. The percentage of respondents who chose each 'likelihood' ranks is shown. The survey group as a whole is shown and compared with UK-born and non-UK-born sub-groups. Source Q4, Pt1. Data and notes in appendices.

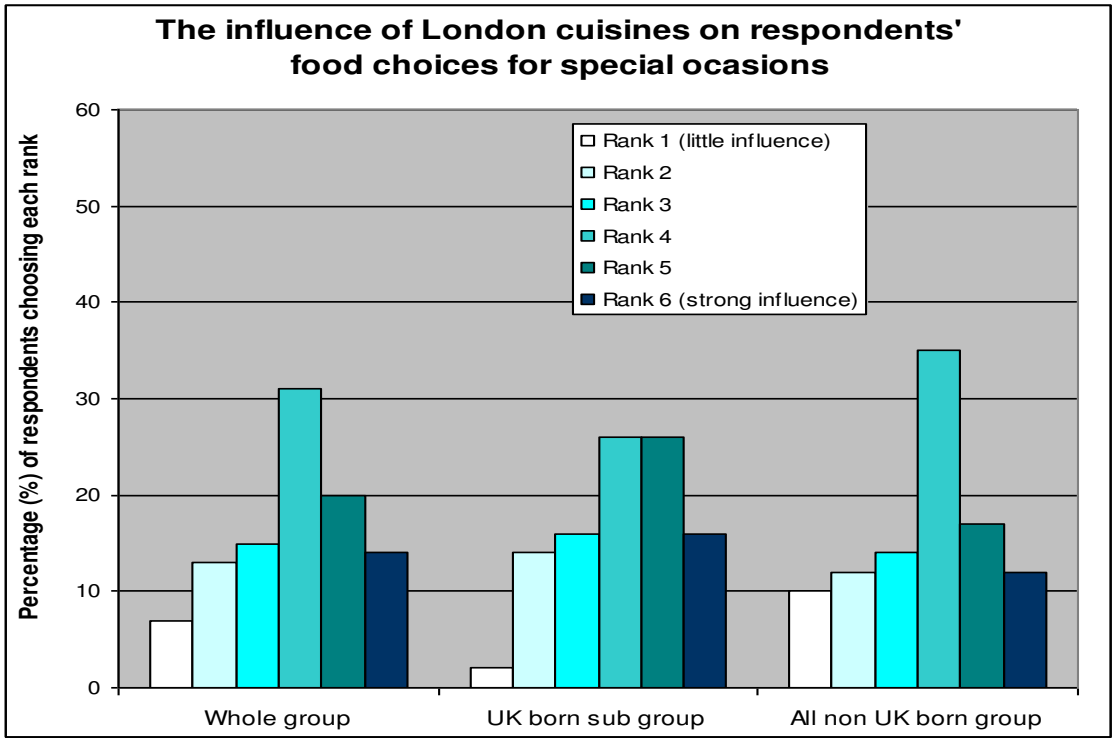


Figures 8.8ii Also show the how likely respondents thought it was that traditional food (ie food from their childhood/homeland) would be served at a typical day's main meal . Comparison is made here between the four different immigrant sub-groups. Source Q4, Pt 1. Data and notes in appendices.

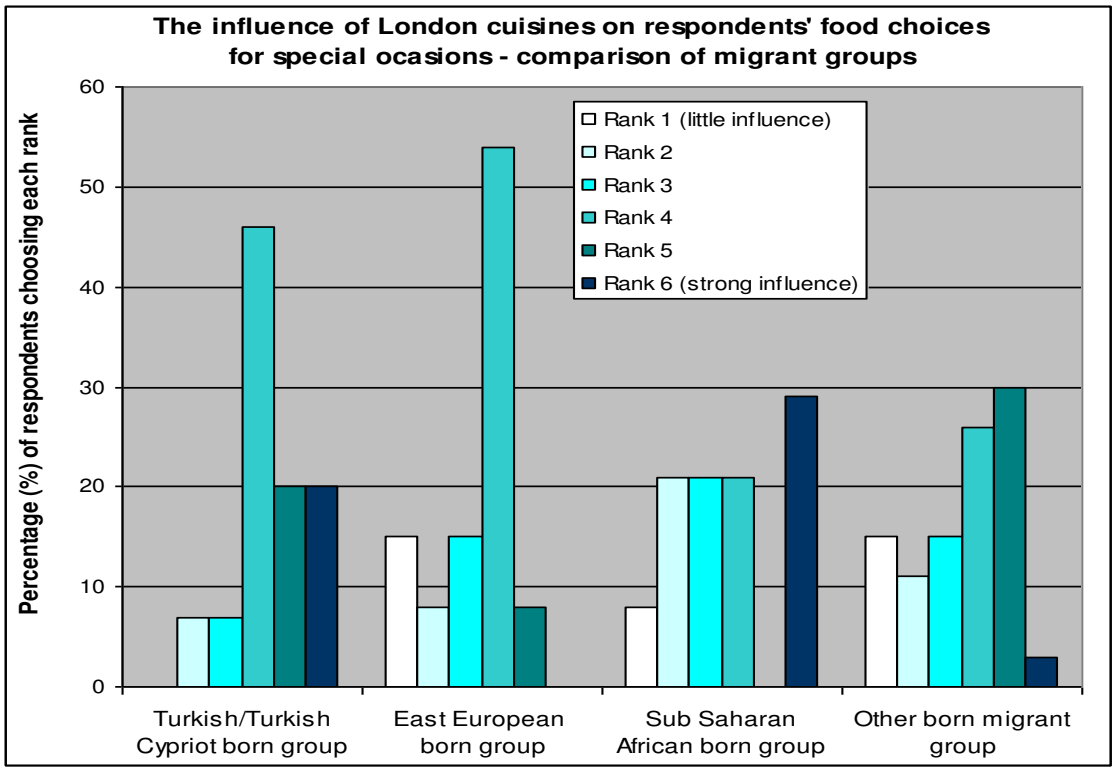
Influence of other cuisines on special event meals

These conservative cuisine preferences appear in spite of the acknowledgement by respondents that they are influenced by the many different cuisines on offer in London. Respondents, as a whole group and for most of the immigrant sub-groups, claim a moderately strong influence from other cuisines for both their special event food eaten at home (Figure 8.9) and for everyday food (Figure 8.10). We can see clearly that for both special event and everyday food the most frequently selected rank for the survey group as whole was 4 (rank 1 indicating little influence and 5, a strong influence). If the top three ranks (representing the perceived strongest influence) are compared with the bottom 3 ranks (perceived least influence) we can also see a clear trend. Regarding the influence of other cuisines on their special event meals, 39 (35%) of all respondents selected the 'least influence' ranks and 74 (65%) selected the 'stronger influence' ranks. Of the UK-born group 68% chose one of the top three ranks (strongest influence). This compares to 64% for the non-UK-born group. The UK-born group would seem slightly more influenced by other cuisines than immigrants.

For special event meals we can see that all but one of the immigrant sub-groups has a higher proportion of respondents choosing the top three ranks ('strong influence'). The proportion of respondents claiming that other cuisines had 'strong influence' was the highest for Turkish born group at 86%, followed by the Eastern European group (62%) and the 'Other born' group (59%). The 'Other born' migrant group claimed other cuisines have a smaller influence but the majority still felt the influence was stronger rather than weaker. Only the Sub-Saharan African group were evenly split with only in their views over the extent of influence on their food.



Figures 8.9i: Shows the perceived extent of the influence of different London cuisines on respondents' special event food choices. The respondents chose from 6 ranks with rank 1 representing little influence upon their food choices and rank 6, strong influence. The graph shows results for the survey group as a whole and then compares this with all the UK-born respondents and the non-UK-born (immigrants) respondents. Source: Q15. Data and notes in appendices.



Figures 8.9ii: As above, this shows the perceived extent of the influence of different London cuisines on respondents' special event food choices. The graph shows compares results between the four different immigrant sub-groups. Source: Q15. Data and notes in appendices.

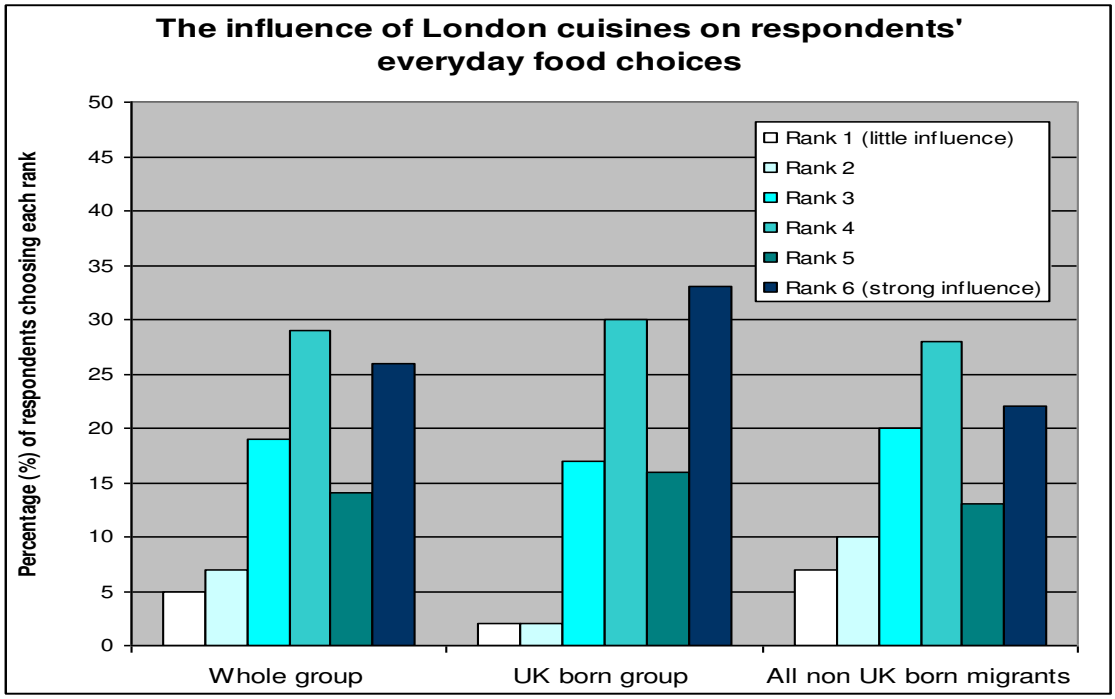
Influence of other cuisines on everyday food

For everyday home meals the pattern was very similar: 35 (31%) of all respondents selected the 'least influence' ranks and 77 (69%), the 'stronger influence' ranks. The slightly greater number of respondents that felt their culture's everyday food was more strongly influenced by other cuisines than their special event food is understandable and points again to the higher cultural value placed on special events' foods. The higher the cultural value or significance attributed to a particular meal, the stronger it holds out against external influences and the slower its rate of adaptation.

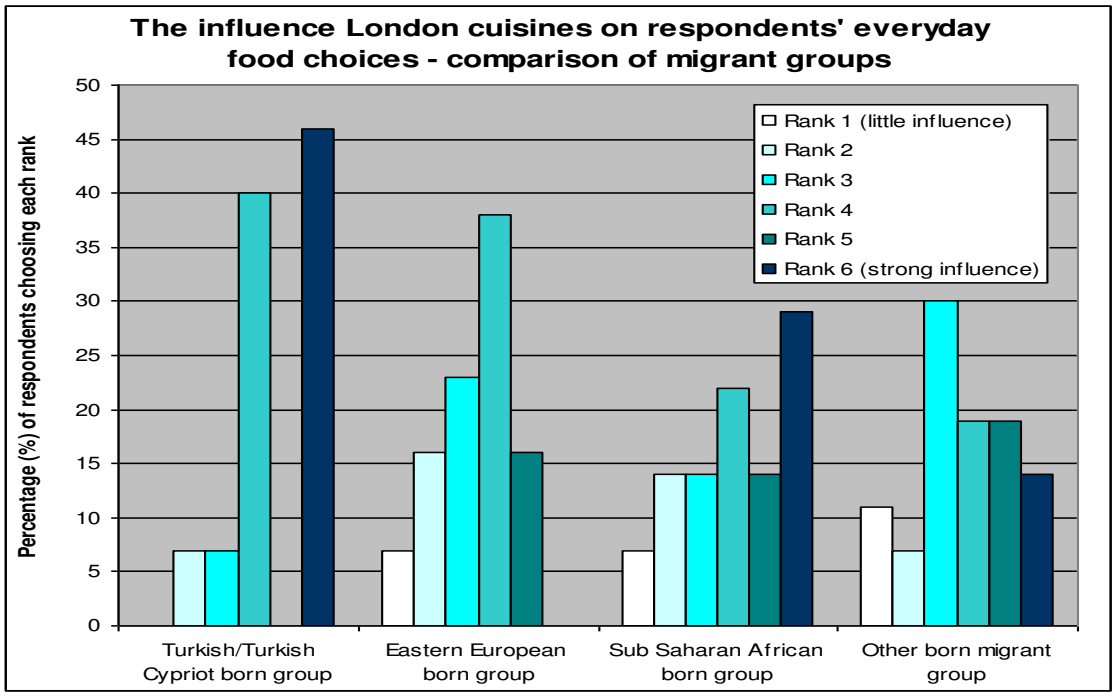
For everyday food the majority of respondents from all the sub-groups still felt that there was a stronger rather than weaker influence from other cuisines, although two of the immigrant groups claimed reduced level of influence than for special event food (Eastern Europeans only 54% claimed stronger influence and for the 'Others born' group, just 52%).The Turkish group felt much the same as for special event food influences. The Sub-Saharan African groups both, however, felt the everyday food was even more strongly influenced by other cuisines.

The pattern of respondents' perceived influence of other cultures' cuisines does is not as expected. The unexpected results could possibly be the product of respondents tending to provide more 'positive' answers, such as answering in the affirmative or adding more 'strength' to their ranking answers. During some of the face to face interviews it was clear that some respondents wanted to be helpful and positive in their engagement with the questionnaire. However, it is also quite possible that the results shown in Figures 8.9 and 8.10 could genuinely be product of respondents' awareness of the influence of other cultures' cuisines upon their own but also that this influence (or potential influence, as it might be interpreted) might not necessarily lessen the actual daily experience of continuing to eat culturally traditional food. If this is the case, then we can also debate the extent to which this experience reflects the true situation or people's (immigrant and UK-born) conflicted, confused or dissonant desire to

simultaneously enjoy the influence of novel cuisines whilst wanting the preservation of their food traditions.



Figures 8.10i: The perceived extent of the influence of London cuisines on respondents' food choices for everyday meals. The respondents chose from 6 ranks. The graph shows results for the survey group as a whole and then compares all the UK-born and the non-UK-born (immigrants) respondents.Source: Q14. Data and notes in appendices.



Figures 8.10ii: As above, this shows the perceived extent of the influence of different London cuisines on respondents' food choices for everyday meals. The graph compares results between the four different immigrant sub-groups. Source: Q14. Data and notes in appendices.

Examining a link between eating traditional cuisine and perceived threat to the cuisine

The next stage was to examine whether there might be evidence of an association between the respondents' ranking of the likelihood of eating traditional cuisine for their 'everyday' food and perception of influence of other cuisines upon their everyday food? As the results above for everyday food showed greater variation it was just these dishes that were looked at here and comparison was made between the UK-born group and the combined non-UK-born group. As far as the UK-born respondents were concerned there is not a clear relationship here (Table 8.2). Respondents who perceive a strong outside influence upon their traditional food are fairly evenly spread in their likelihood of eating traditional food. The single largest category is a lower rank for 'outside influence' and only ranks 3 for 'likelihood of eating'. Thus, it would not appear from this data that those who perceive the greatest outside cuisine influence are not necessarily more likely to eat traditional food.

The results are different for the non-UK-born respondents however (Table 8.2ii). Most of the categories with the greater number of respondents (more than 4) are in the higher 'likelihood of eating' ranks and the higher 'outside influence' ranks. The single largest categories (6 respondents each) are likelihood rank 4 influence rank 3 and likelihood rank 5/influence rank 4 – all higher ranks. This suggests that there might well be a relationship between those non-UK-born respondents who perceive a strong outside influence on their cuisine and are also most likely to continue to eat their traditional cuisine on a daily basis. Of course, this data is not evidence that the perceived threat is the causal factor in respondents eating traditional cuisine but the association of data indicates a possibility.

UK-born respondents		The likelihood of eating traditional cuisine for their 'everyday' food. Q4 0 less likely – 5 most likely					
		0	1	2	3	4	5
Perceived influence of other cuisines upon their tradition everyday food. Q14 0 little influence – 5 strong influence	0		x				
	1	x		x	xxx		
	2			x	xxxx		xx
	3		xx	xxx	xxx	xx	xx
	4		x	x	xx	xx	
	5	x	xx	xxx		xxx	xxx

Table 8.2i: This table shows the number of UK-born respondents who selected each rank of perceived influence of other cuisines upon their own everyday food and the likelihood of eating their traditional cuisine for everyday food. Individual respondents are indicated by a blue x. Sources Q4, Q14. Data in appendices.

Non-UK-born respondents		The likelihood of eating traditional cuisine for their 'everyday' food. Q4 0 less likely – 5 most likely					
		0	1	2	3	4	5
Perceived influence of other cuisines upon their tradition everyday food.Q14 0 little influence – 5 strong influence	0				xx	x	
	1				xx	x	xxxx
	2		x	xxx	xxxx	xx	xxxx
	3	x	x	xxx	xxxxx	xxxxxx	xxxx
	4	x		xx	xxxx	xx	xxxxxx
	5		xx	xx	xx	xxx	

Table 8.2ii: This table shows the number of non-UK-born respondents who selected each rank of perceived influence of other cuisines upon their own everyday food and the likelihood of eating their traditional cuisine for everyday food. Individual respondents are indicated by a blue x Sources Q4, Q14. Data in appendices.

8.5 What are the main transmission routes (sources) of cuisine knowledge?

This aspect of the investigation focused on how migration affects the passing on (transmission) of cuisine knowledge and customs. Do immigrants learn their cuisine in different ways and from different sources to that of UK-born respondents? This area of the investigation was the focus of the research as a whole although it was essential to establish, first, that cuisine was important to the residents and, secondly, to identify which part of cuisine was considered the more or less important.

To establish the general level of potential receptiveness to new food influences, respondents were asked to rate the influence they perceived friends and current media had upon their food choices at this time (Q16, Pt 4). Such influences are what are termed here 'horizontal' sources as they do not involve sources of food knowledge from their homeland or parents generation. Both UK-born group and the non-UK-born group were largely positive in their responses; 58% of the UK-born group and 62% of the non-UK-born group selected one of the two more positive responses ("activity seeking new ideas" or "enjoying new food ideas" from these sources) (Figures 8.10bi and 8.10bii). For both groups (and for all but one of the immigrant sub-groups) the single most popular answer was that respondents "enjoyed" new food ideas. The trend in choices along the spectrum of level of influence was remarkably similar in all groups. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that these respondents were aware of the sources of new food information available to them as part of their lives here in London. The sources of new knowledge they did choose and the modes of this knowledge acquisition would appear to be of their making.

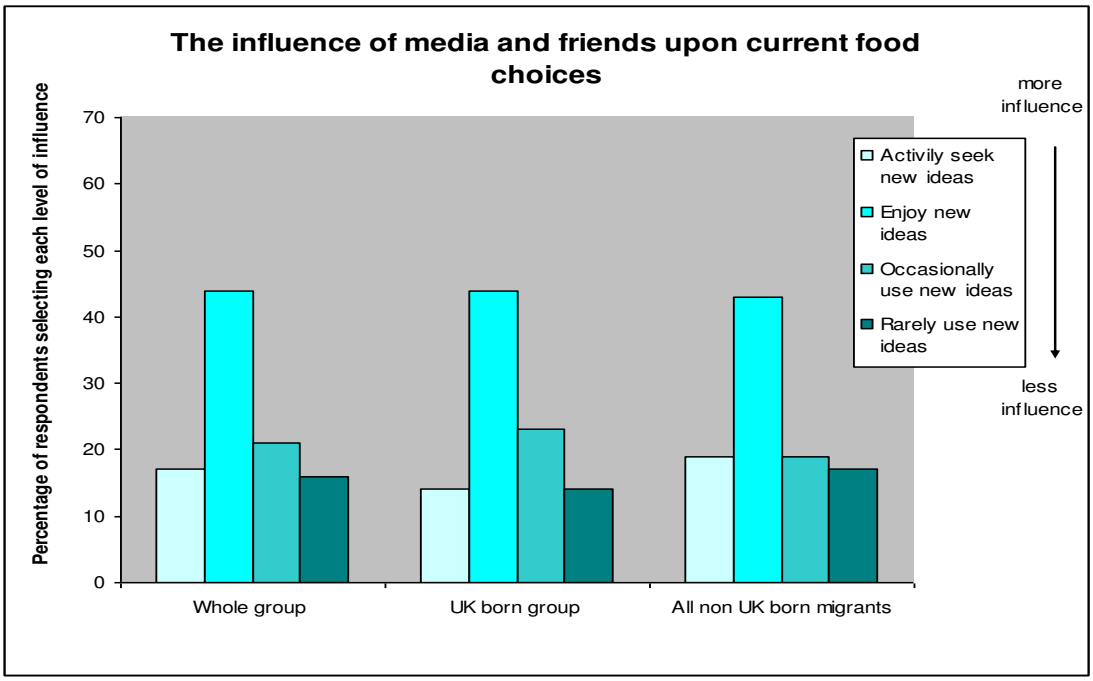


***Figure 8.10bi**: Compares the perceived influence of horizontal sources upon survey group as a whole and the UK-born and non-UK-born respondents. This was assessed from Q16 which asked about the perceived influence of new food knowledge from media and friends upon respondents. Source Q16. Data in appendices.*

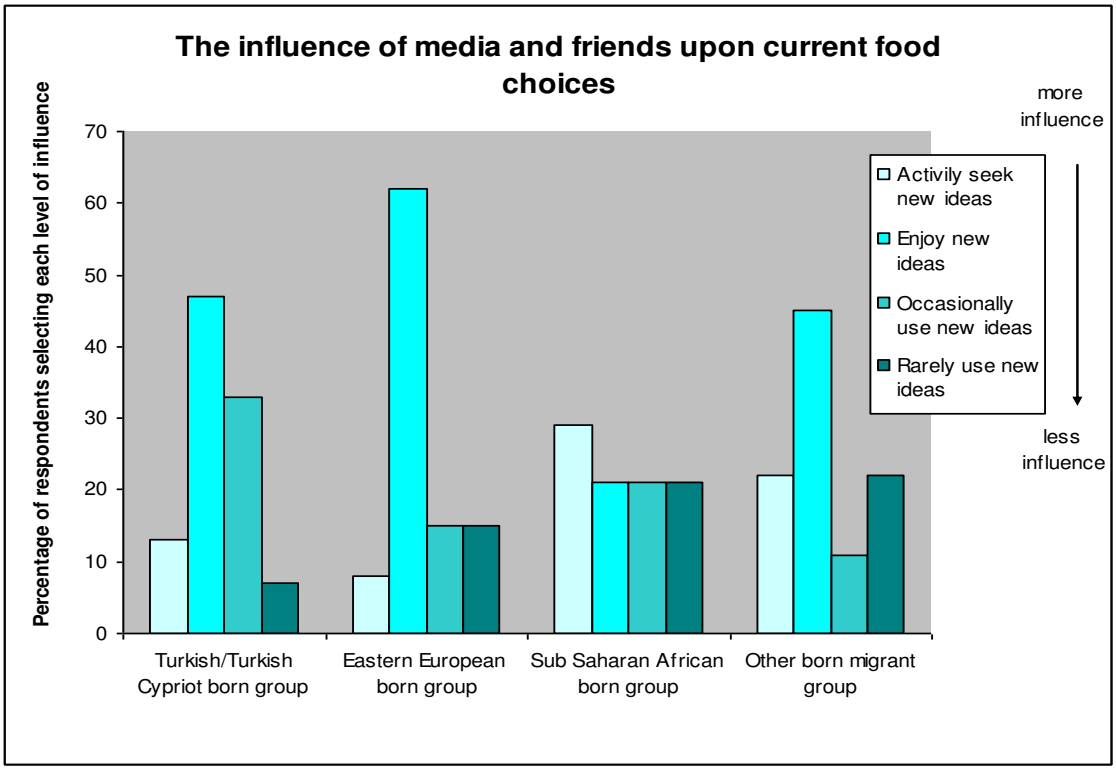


***Figure 8.10bii**: Compares the perceived influence of horizontal sources of food information upon the four different immigrant sub-groups. As above, this was assessed from Q16 which asked about the perceived influence of new food knowledge from media and friends upon respondents. The level of influence is shown through four categories. Source Q16. Data in appendices.*

Willingness to try new food

One of the most striking differences that appeared between the immigrant respondents and those born in the UK was in their preference for trying out new cuisines. When also asked (Q10, Pt 2) about their preference for cuisine when trying a *new* dish for the *first* time, it was shown again that immigrant respondents were more conservative in their cuisine choices than those born in the UK, preferring a new dish from their own cuisine repertoire (Table 8.3).

	UK-born group		All non-UK born group	
	Actual	Percentage	Actual	Percentage
A dish from respondents' childhood culture *(ie that to which they were born into)*	12	28	49	71
A dish from another culture's cuisine.	30	70	19	28
No answer	1	2	1	1

Table 8.3: Shows the marked difference in proportions of (UK-born versus non-UK-born) respondents who would choose (when trying a new dish) from their own culture's cuisine or from another culture.

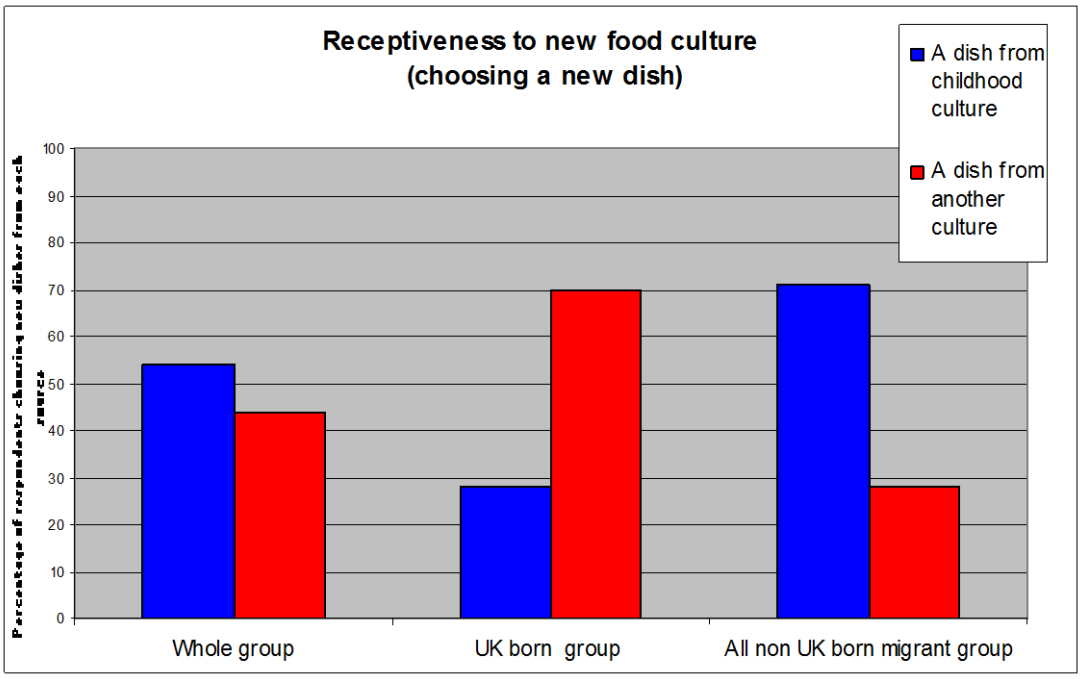


Figure 8.11i: Compares the proportion of respondents from the survey group as a whole and those born in the UK and those born elsewhere in terms of their receptiveness to other cultures' food. This is based on proportion of respondents within each sub group who, when choosing a new dish, would select from a culture other than their traditional culture. Source Q10. Data in appendices.

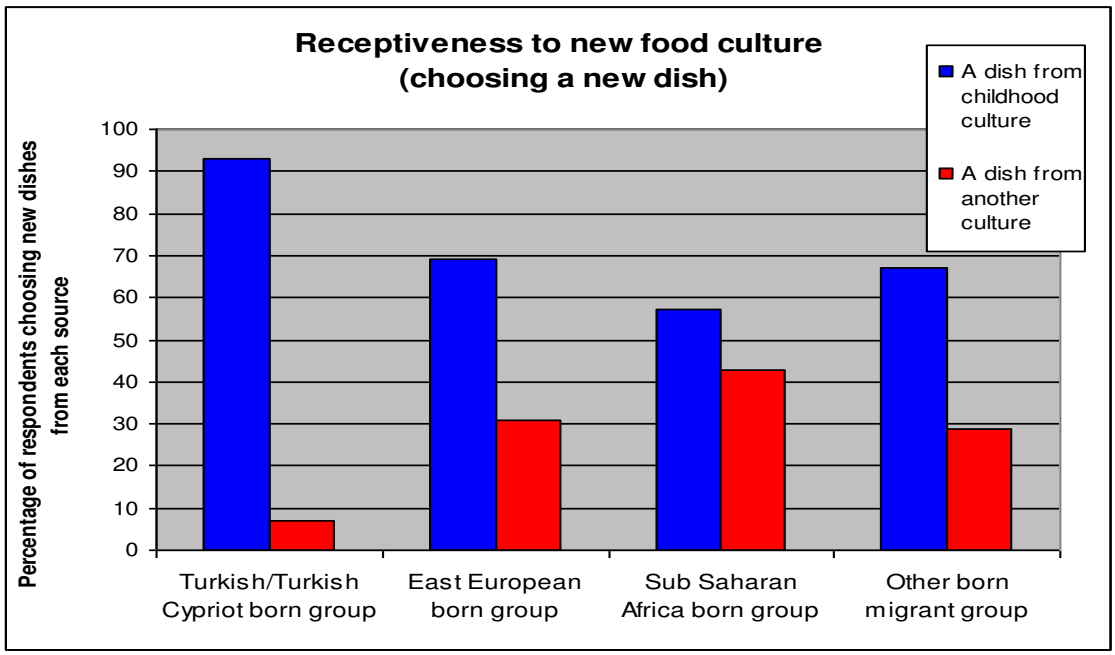


Figure 8.11i: Compares the proportion of respondents from the survey group as a whole and those born in the UK and those born elsewhere in terms of their receptiveness to other cultures' food. This is based on proportion of respondents within each sub group who, when choosing a new dish, would select from a culture other than their traditional culture. Source Q10. Data in appendices.

All immigrant groups demonstrated the preference for choosing from their own cuisine, but some much strongly than others. Of the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot born group, 93% of respondents said they would choose from Turkish cuisine. Of the other immigrant groups the percentage that preferred to choose new dishes from their own cuisine ranged from 69% (Eastern Europeans) to 57% (Sub-Saharan Africans) (Figure 8.11ii). Taken as a whole, the percentage of all immigrants who preferred to choose a new dish from their own cuisine was 71% (with 28% choosing a dish from another cuisine). This is in marked contrast to the UK-born group for whom the preferences are almost exactly reversed: 71% of respondents preferring to choose from another cuisine to that which they grew up with and 28% preferring their usual cuisine. Thus, coupled with the results shown in figure 7.6, it would certainly appear that the UK-born group are much more adventurous when it comes to trying new cuisine and the immigrants, generally, much more conservative in their new food choices.

Transmission of cuisine & food knowledge

One of the aspects of the investigation of most interest was the effect of migration upon the routes of transmission of food or cuisine knowledge or, in other words, the main source of food knowledge for respondents. The expectation was that that we would see a difference in source/route of knowledge between residents born in the UK and immigrants. Specifically, it was expected that immigrants would, have to rely proportionately more upon horizontal sources than UK-born respondents and correspondingly less on vertical or oblique transmission of food knowledge. This is argued to be because immigrants are removed from everyday access to the food culture of their homeland community,

The influence of horizontal sources upon food choices

However, the results that emerged (Q6, Pt) were not as expected (Table 8.4 Figure 8.12). Instead, all respondents said they received the significant part of their main food knowledge from parents (the main ‘vertical’ source), whether born in the UK or not. Indeed, the non-UK-

born group received a greater percentage of their food knowledge from vertical sources (parents, grandparents) than UK-born respondents. The UK-born group received a greater percentage of food information via horizontal transmission (friends and peers, books and TV) than the non-UK-born group. The main horizontal sources cited were friends/peers with schools/colleges contributing only a small proportion for all groups. Oblique transmission did not appear to play a large part in passing on food knowledge to any of the respondent groups. However, when added to the vertical sources (both sources being the ancestral generation for respondents) the difference in routes of transmission of food knowledge is even more marked between non-UK and UK-born groups.

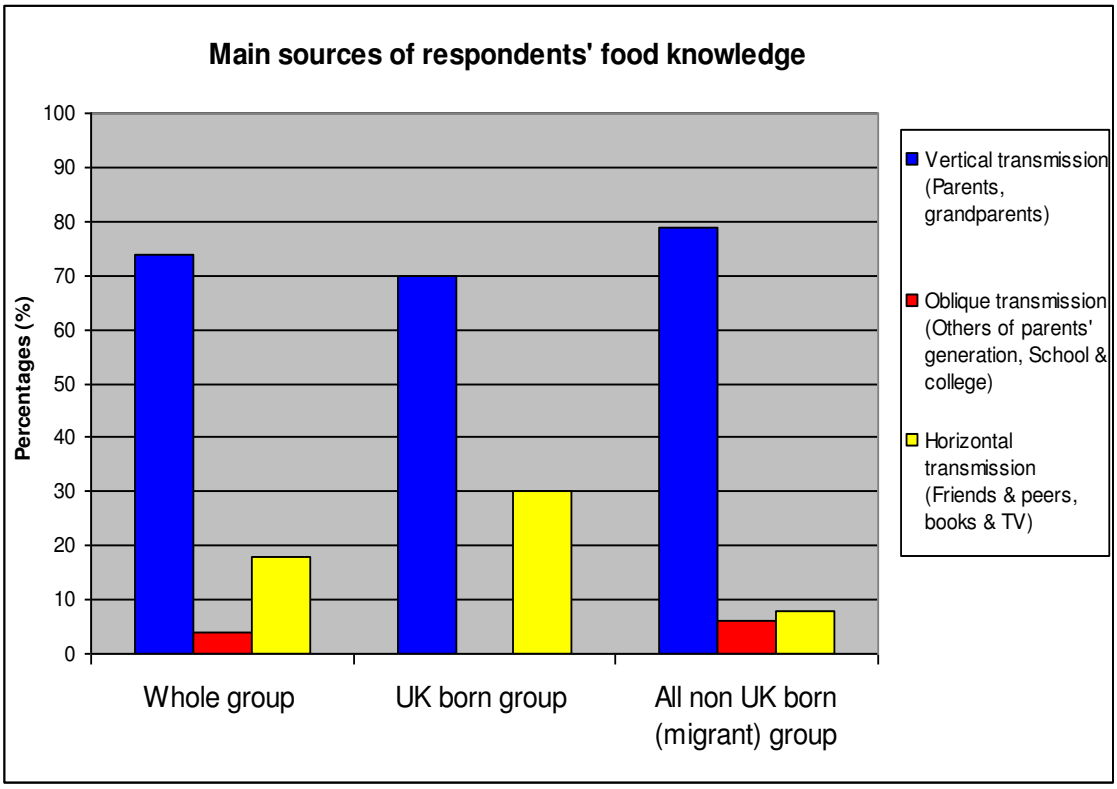


Figure 8.12i: Compares the percentages of respondents who acquired their main food knowledge from the three broad routes, vertical, horizontal and oblique. The survey group as a whole is compared with that of respondents born in the UK and those born elsewhere. Source Q6, Pt 2. Actual data and notes in appendices.

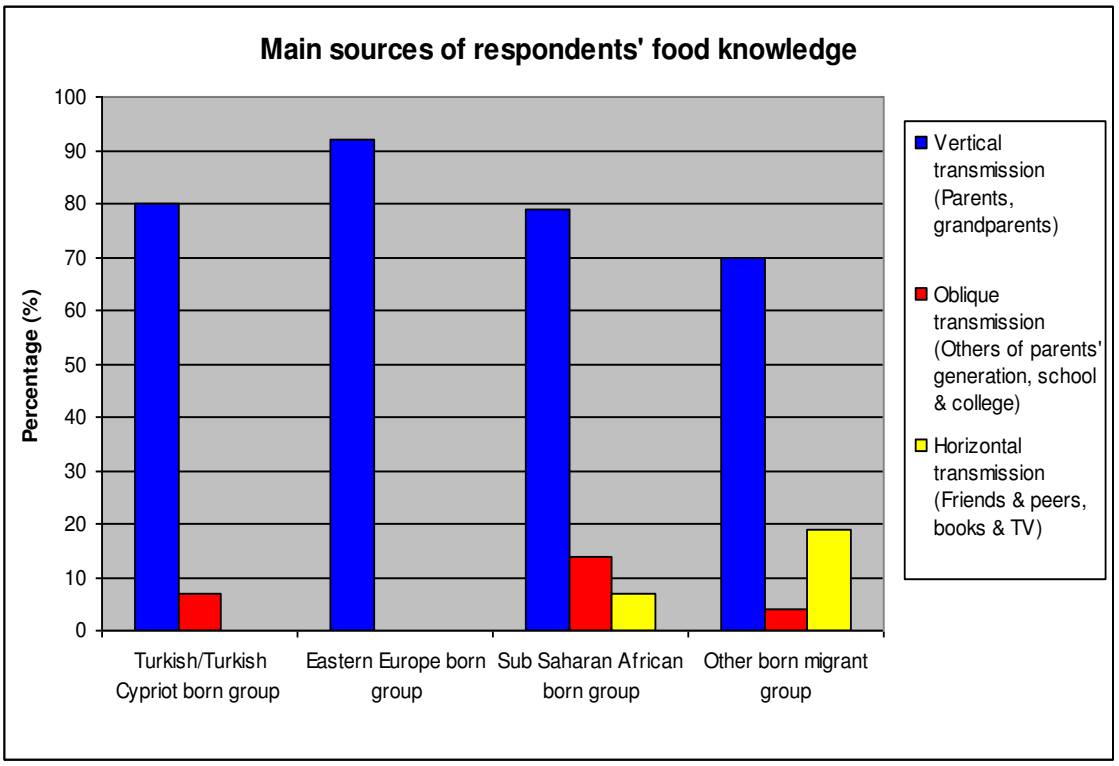


Figure 8.12ii: Compares the percentages of respondents who acquired their main food knowledge from the three broad routes, vertical, horizontal and oblique. The four migrant sub-groups are compared. Source Q6, Pt 2. Actual data and notes in appendices

These differences between the immigrant groups are shown in Figure 8.12ii. The Turkish and Eastern European groups are notable for including no respondents at all citing horizontal transmission as main source of food knowledge. The 'Other born' group had the highest proportion of respondents citing horizontal sources but even for this group the figure was less than 20%. Contrary to expectations, therefore, it would appear that, in terms of food culture at least, vertical sources of knowledge are the dominant sources for most people regardless of where they were born. The importance of vertical sources of food knowledge for immigrants (and from others from the older generation) would appear to outweigh the inevitable disruption to cultural assemblage that migration must bring.

The proportionately greater reliance of the UK-born respondents upon horizontal sources for their main food knowledge is also interesting. These results would suggest that the initial hypothesis was wrong. People born in the UK, whilst still relying for the greatest part of their

food knowledge from parents and grandparents make greater use of information sources from their contemporaries and contemporary culture. Interestingly also, those born in the UK said they gained no food knowledge at all from oblique sources (eg schools and colleges). Thus, a conclusion here could be that indigenous populations make greater use of their contemporary cuisine culture in terms of learning about food/cuisine to complement what they learn about food from their parents. Immigrants do not make the same use of knowledge from their new (host country's) cuisine culture, preferring to privilege the food culture of their upbringing. Assuming that this conclusion is valid it then gives rise to several further questions such as a) does time since immigration affect immigrants' willingness to lessen food culture ties to vertical (homeland) sources and increase their use of horizontal (host country) sources? In addition, is immigrant/indigenous status the prime causal factor in determining reliance on particular food information sources?

Comparing sources of food knowledge with years lived in the UK

Vertical sources of food knowledge are clearly important to all respondents, including immigrants. It may be that there is not a significant difference between immigrants and those born in the UK, as originally hypothesised, or that that changes in transmission of food knowledge does occur as a result of migration but not in the immediate years following immigration. The first generation of immigrants may remain loyal to the cuisine knowledge originating from their homeland (vertical sources) and a change in sources of knowledge occurs only after immigrants have lived in the UK for some time (a distinction that would not be evidence in Figure 8.12). It is also possible that the disrupting experience of the process of migration itself leaves immigrants with a desire to maintain an even greater allegiance to homeland cuisine than had they not migrated.

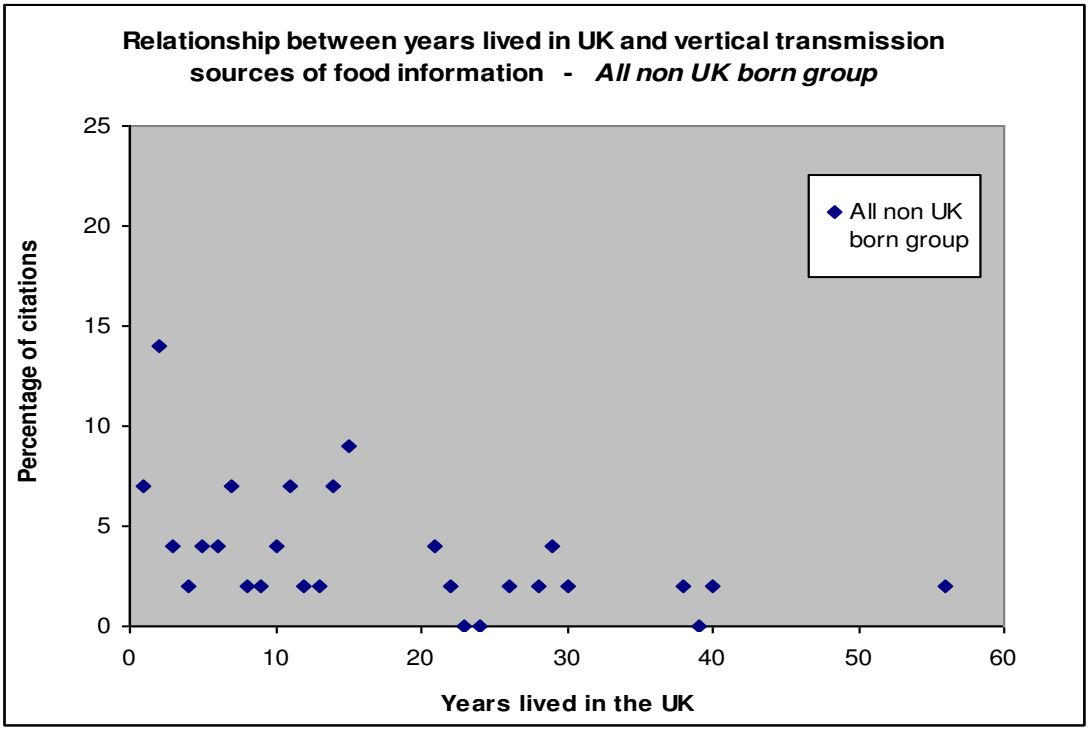


Figure 8.13i: The relationship between the number of years lived in the UK and percentage of citations by all non-UK-born respondents of vertical sources as being their main source of food information. Taking this group as a whole we can see that there is a reduction in the percentage of respondents citing vertical sources as their main source of food knowledge as the number of years lived in the UK increases. Notes in appendices (ref: Q6, 20, 19, 23b MS).

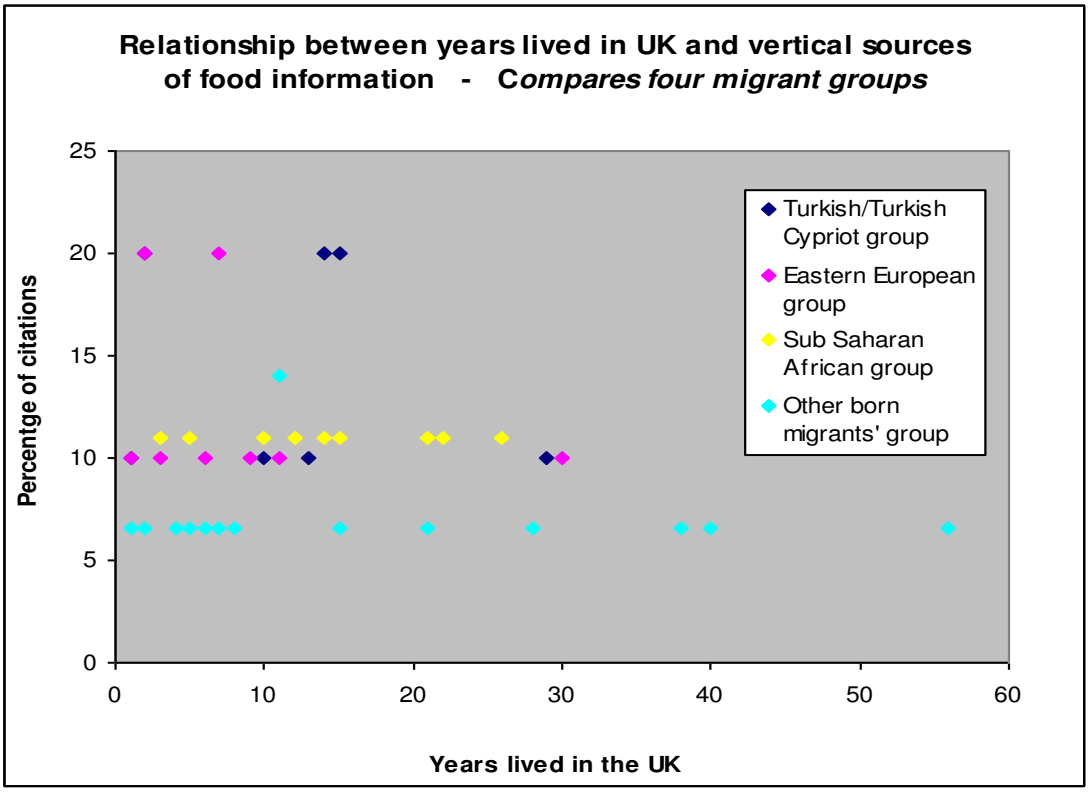


Figure 8.13ii: : This shows the relationship between the number of years lived in the UK and the percentage of citations by immigrant respondents of vertical sources as being their main source of food information. This graph shows the four immigrant sub-groups separately it becomes clear that, taken separately, the relationship between years lived in UK and vertical sources are not evident for these immigrants. Notes in appendices (ref: Q6, 20, 19, 23b MS).

The pattern emerging in Figure 8.13i suggests that vertical sources are very important to more recently arrived immigrants. The graph appears to show that the longer immigrants have lived in the UK, the less often they cite vertical sources as their main source of food knowledge. This suggests that immigrants are becoming less reliant on their original food knowledge from home as they become more settled in their new home of the UK. The obvious conclusion could be that immigrants become proportionately more receptive to new source of food knowledge. However, the total (and percentage) numbers of immigrants citing horizontal sources is very small so there is certainly no evidence that use of horizontal sources becomes *more* important than vertical sources for immigrants as they live in the UK longer. This does not mean, of course, that immigrants (as all respondents, perhaps) become more receptive to a contributing influence of a variety of different horizontal sources. Thus, it may simply be that immigrants are claiming that all sources of food knowledge diminish in importance as they live longer in the UK. Or, that they still use largely use the food repertoire learnt from their homeland but they recognise that this store of knowledge is not being replenished.

Arguably, the slowing of the replenishing vertical transmission narrows the cultural assemblage for immigrants and this results in proportionately greater weight being placed upon the maintenance of surviving cultural memories, such as remembered recipes from the homeland. This may create a sort of founders' effect in term of cuisine knowledge; somewhat random aspects of the relatively limited assemblage of immigrant traditional cuisine knowledge gain greater cultural significance through more frequent repetition and reference. The result of this may be that particular cuisine aspects then gain greater prominence within the immigrant group's cuisine assemblage than is the case in the larger cuisine range continuing in the immigrants' homeland.

It should also be noted, as shown in Figure 7.13ii, there the pattern is not nearly as clearly marked when the four immigrant groups are considered separately. The Turkish and Eastern European groups show changes over the years lived in the UK, the 'Other born' groups shows a slight change but the Sub-Saharan African group showed none. For the Sub-Saharan Africans there is no change in the percentage of respondents citing vertical sources regardless of having lived in the UK for 3 or nearly 30 years.

Age and sources of food knowledge

Of course, any patterns observed in Figure 8.13 could be the result, instead, of the *age* of the respondent. Figure 8.14i compares respondent age and percentage of respondents citing vertical sources as their main source of food knowledge. For both the UK-born group and all non-UK respondents a relationship is apparent between age and percentage of citations; greater age corresponds with citations of vertical sources. For immigrants, although the relationship was not extremely strong, it is similar to that observed in Figure 8.13i (vertical source citations and immigrant length of time in the UK). Thus, it is difficult to say whether it is the time lived in the UK that lessons the importance of vertical sources for immigrants or, simply, their advancing age or, possibly, a combination of both. When we look at the four immigrant groups separately again the picture is less clear, although there does appear to be at least a tentatively indicated relationship between age and vertical sources. Within each of the separate immigrant groups older respondents cite vertical sources less often (Figure 8.14ii).

The suggestion of the significant role played by advancing age is further supported in Figure 8.14iii which compares the citations of horizontal sources as the most important with age of respondents. Interestingly, for the UK-born respondents, horizontal sources also appear to become less often cited with older respondents. A possibly similar trend may be observed very tentatively for the immigrant group (as a whole), although not as pronounced. The conclusion overall here is that age of respondent is, arguably, the significant factor affecting all

respondents in terms of how important sources of food knowledge are and whichever food source was considered the more important for a respondent, this becomes less so with age.

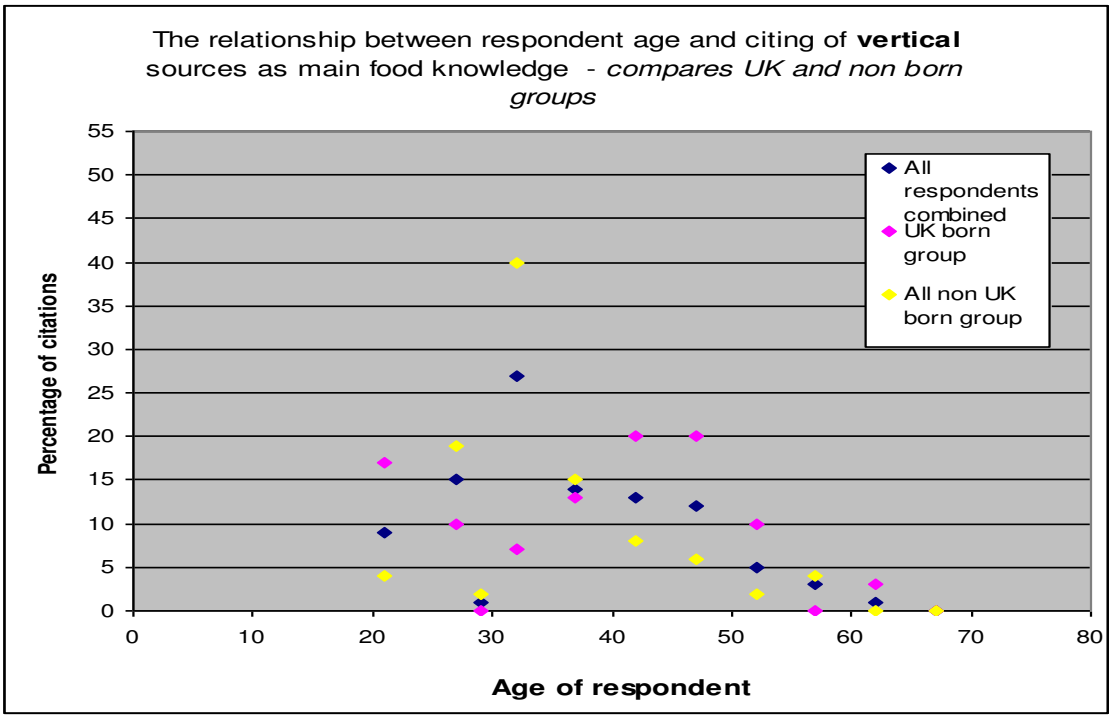


Figure 8.14i: Shows the relationship between age of respondent (as averaged from within the 5 year age brackets selected) and the percentage of citations by respondents claiming vertical sources as main source of food information. The group as a whole is compared with those respondents born in the UK and those born elsewhere. (Ref: Q6, 23i main study).

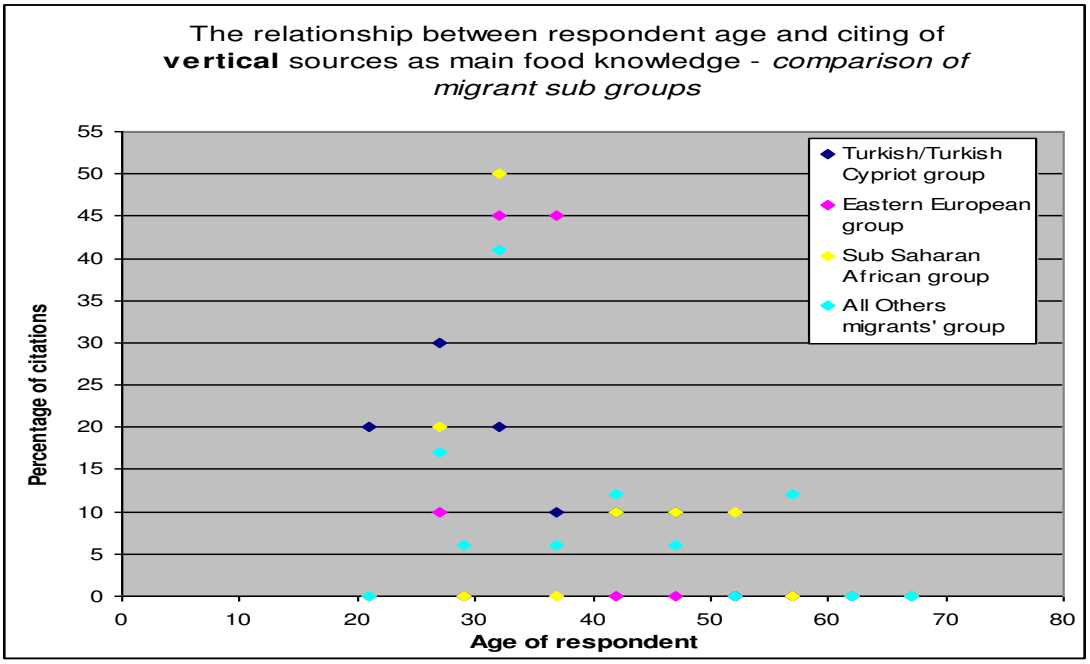


Figure 8.14ii: As above this shows the relationship between age of respondent and the percentage of citations by respondents claiming vertical sources of their main source of food information. The four separate immigrant sub-groups are compared. (Ref: Q6, 23i MS).

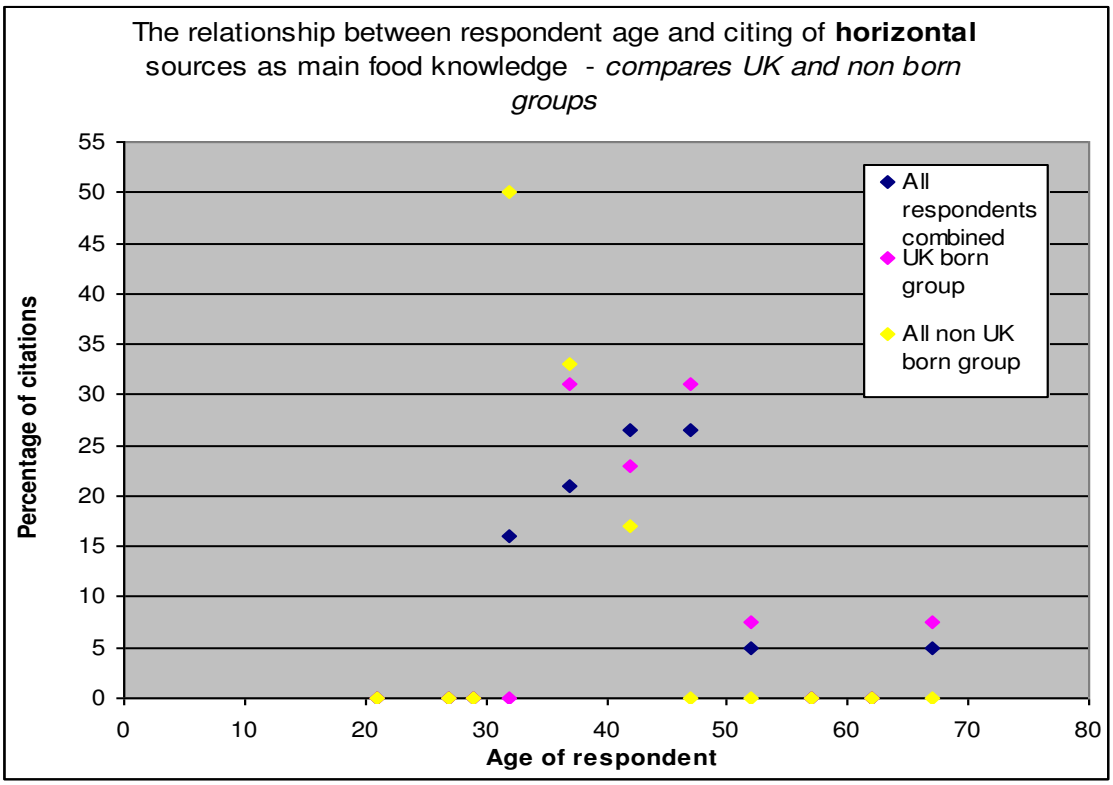


Figure 8.14iii: Similar to graphs above, this shows the relationship between the age of respondents and the percentage of citations by respondents claiming horizontal sources of their main source of food information. The group as a whole is compared with respondents born in the UK and those born elsewhere. It should be noted that the actual numbers involved here are much smaller than for vertical sources and for this reason the separate four immigrant sub-groups are not shown in a graph. See data and notes in appendices. (Ref: Q6, 23i MS).

Place of birth of UK-born respondents' parents

Having seen that age of respondent appears to have an effect upon use of vertical sources of food knowledge, I also wanted to examine the effect of another indicator of greater UK cultural influence, that of place of birth of respondents' parents. Vertical sources of food knowledge dominate regardless of place of birth of parents (Figure 8.15). There is not a large difference in results for those respondents with parents born in the UK and those without in terms of main source of food knowledge (62% of UK-born parents citing vertical sources compared to 76% of non-UK-born parents). UK-born respondents who also have UK-born parents do cite vertical sources as their main sources less often and horizontal sources more often than respondents with neither parent born in the UK. Thus, it would appear that the greater the UK influence (through age or having parents born in the UK) the less important vertical sources become. Several possible reasons for this could be suggested. Greater UK cultural influence results in

greater receptiveness to peer pressure and media. Or, it could be because of lower emphasis from the parental generation on maintaining traditional food as means of conserving cultural identity.

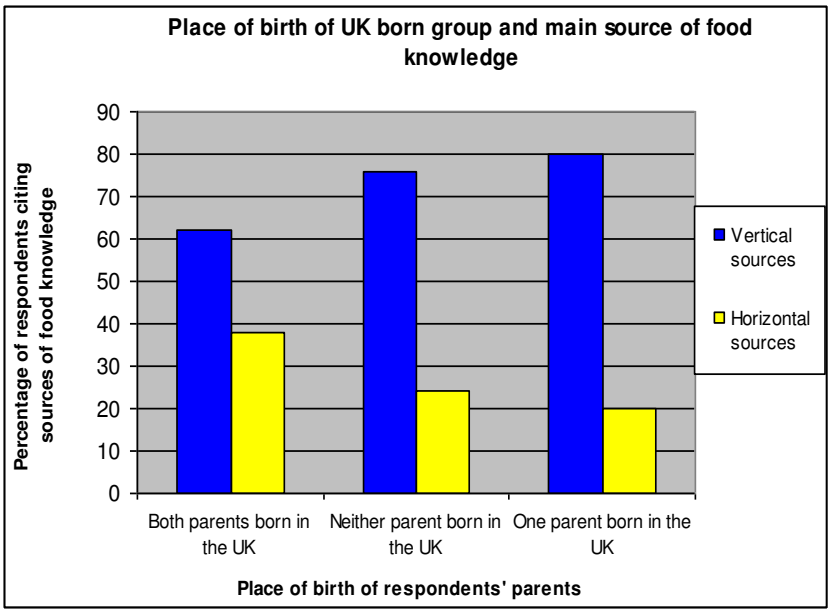


Figure 8.15: Shows the main source of food knowledge for UK-born respondents grouped by parents' place of birth. It should be noted that the actual number of respondents for two left hand sub-groups is similar (21 & 17 respectively). The number of UK-born respondents with one parent born in the UK is very small (5 out of 43 total UK-born respondents). Thus, the percentages for that sub group may not be as significant. No respondents cited oblique sources as their main source. Ref: Q6, 19ii,19iii, 19b. main study.

Place of residence of immigrants' parents

Immigrants were also asked where their parents currently (or last, if deceased) lived (Q21) as well as where they were born. For the immigrant group as a whole 70% had parents who still lived in the respondents' country of birth and 20% now lived in the UK. For each of the separate immigrant groups the largest proportion of the respondents' parents still lived in the same country as they were born in. Of these 14 immigrant respondents (in total) who have parents living in the UK, most of them (71%) came to the UK as children or teenagers with their parents, whilst 29% arrived as adults in the 20s and 30s and we may assume their parents came later to join them in the UK (Q20, Q21). Thus, for the 71% (and particularly so for the 30% who came as younger children (ie <10 yrs old) the influence of the UK upon these respondents' food knowledge will probably have been greater. Indeed, the degree of potential influence of UK cuisine may not be much less than for those respondents who, whilst themselves born in the UK, have both parents who were born elsewhere. (This latter group

actually accounts for 40% of the total UK-born group). In fact, it may be that, in reality, the concept of connectedness to UK cuisine culture is a blurred one that should be viewed as a spectrum rather than as determined by the fairly crude categorisation of place of birth.

In terms of the effect of parentage upon sources of food knowledge, we can see that a higher proportion (86%) of migrants whose parents now live in the UK cite vertical sources as their main source of food information (Q6, Q21). This is true of three of immigrant sub-groups (Turkish, Eastern Europeans and Sub-Saharan Africans). This compares with 75% of migrant respondents whose parents live in the same country that they were born in who cited vertical sources as most important.

*Percentage (%) of responses citing **vertical** sources*	Turkish /Turkish Cypriot group	Eastern European group	Sub-Saharan African group	'Other born' group	All immigrants (combined)
Respondents with parents living now in the UK	100	100	100	60	86
Respondents with parents living in same country born in	67	83	83	71	75

Table 8.5: Shows the percentage of respondents citing vertical sources as their main source of food knowledge according to where their parents now lived and the immigrant sub group they belonged to. Ref: Q6, Q21. It should be noted that (unusually) some Turkish respondents did not answer this question. (Data in appendices)

These results are in contrast to those for UK-born respondents as we would have expected to see higher importance of vertical sources for those immigrants with lower parental connection with the UK. It may be that the for a non-UK respondent, having their parents also living in the UK does not increase the UK cultural influence effect for them, rather the opposite. Having immigrant parents also in the UK has a similar effect to more frequent exposure to the homeland and the corresponding pressure to maintain cultural identity through the conservation of traditional food. It is also possible that becasue the actual numbers involved in these sub categories were small (some missing answers), the data cannot provide a clear picture.

Place of birth of immigrants' parents

Unlike the UK-born respondents, the place of birth of immigrants' parents obviously will not tell us about immigrants' cultural links to the UK. However, the information is useful in informing us about the cultural continuity of the immigrants' background and, thus, in turn, the strength of ties with their homeland culture. It could be argued that the more generations of a family have lived within a region, the greater the knowledge of that region's cuisine and the greater the strength of the ties to the region's cuisine. The vast majority of all the immigrant respondents had been born in the same country as that of their parents. For the Turkish/Turkish Cypriot group *all* of the respondents parents were born in the same country, for the Eastern European and Sub-Saharan African groups the figure was 92% and for the 'Other born' group, 89%. In other words, for almost all of the immigrant respondents surveyed, the move to the UK is the only (international, at least) migration within at least two generations. In addition, for each of the respective immigrant groups the vast majority cited vertical sources as their main source of food knowledge (Table 8.6) suggesting that the food knowledge brought to the UK represents knowledge very familiar to that of their parents growing up and, very likely, grandparents.

Number & % of respondents citing vertical sources	Turkish/Turkish Cypriot group	Eastern European group	Sub-Saharan African group	'Other born' group	All immigrants (combined)
Both parents born in the same country as respondent	12 (80%)	11 (85%)	11 (79%)	18 (67%)	52 (75%)
Only one or neither parent born in the same country as respondent	0 (0%)	1 (8%)	0 (0%)	2 (7%)	3 (4%)

Table 8.6: The number of immigrant respondents (by group) who citied vertical sources as their main source of food knowledge according to whether they were born in the same country as both parents or not. The percentage figures are calculated out of the total number of immigrants in each cultural group. 55 of the total of 69 immigrant respondents are included here. Of the remaining 14, 9 had parents born in the same country but cited non vertical sources, 3 gave no answer and 2 had parents born elsewhere and citied non vertical sources.

The effect of migration upon horizontal transmission of food knowledge

A further way to look at the effect that migration has upon transmission of food knowledge is to look at how frequently food ideas are passed on *from* the respondents to others (their friends and contemporaries (another from of horizontal transmission). The pattern of frequency selection is quite similar for all respondents, whether born in the UK or not (Figure 8.18). The UK-born group has a slightly more even spread of respondents across the frequency categories. A large percentage of UK-born respondents (43%) said that they didn't often pass on food knowledge (defined as responses to the fist two categories of 'rarely' and only a 'few times every ten years'.). The remaining 53% who answered this question selected the more frequent categories ('once or twice per year' or 'every month'). The non-UK-born group, however, were a little more likely to pass on food knowledge with 66% having selected the more frequent categories (34% selected the less frequent categories). So, immigrants (as a whole) appear more likely to pass on food knowledge to their contemporaries than those born in the UK.

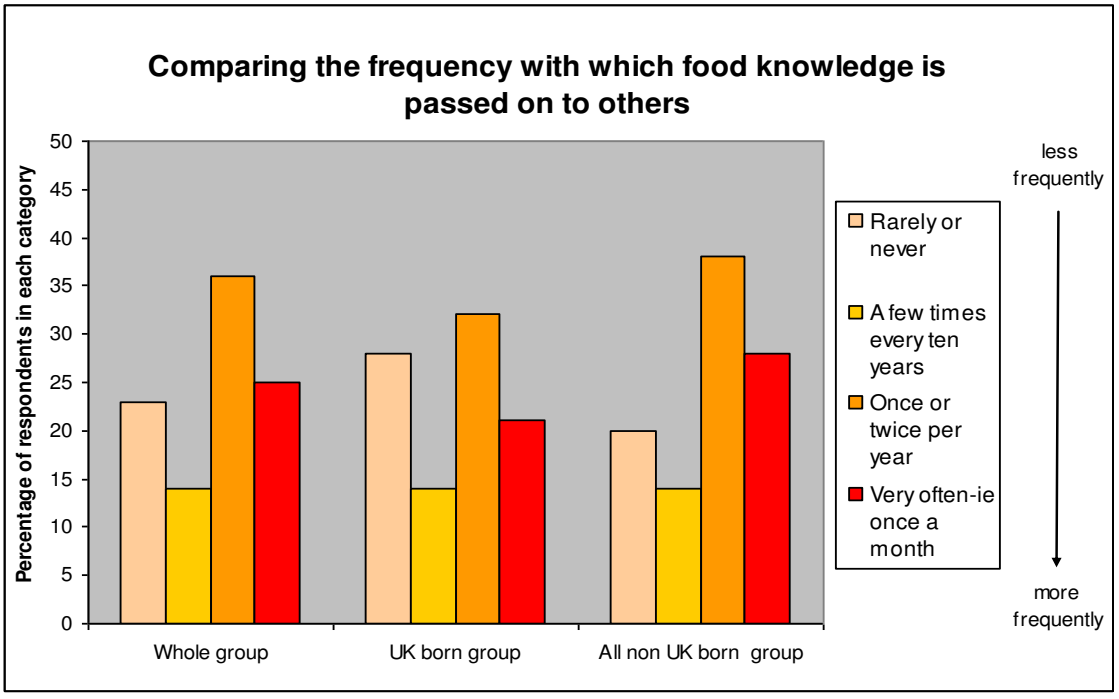


Figure 8.18i: Shows the frequency with which respondents pass on food ideas to friends and contemporaries. This first graph compares the survey group as a whole with those born in the UK and those born elsewhere. (Q6, Q18). Data in appendices.

The answer "once or twice a year" remains the most cited for UK-born and non-UK-born groups as well as for each of the separate immigrant groups, except the 'Other born' group of whom many pass on food knowledge even *more* frequently (Figure 8.18ii). However, a marked difference, is that each of the four separate immigrant groups are significantly more likely to pass on food knowledge overall. This can be seen most clearly when the four possible 'frequency' answers are grouped into two categories of 'less' or 'more' frequently. In the Eastern Europeans Sub-Saharan and 'Other born' groups the majority of respondents were 'more' likely to pass on food knowledge (70%, 65% and 67% respectively). For the Turkish group the proportion of 'more' frequent transmission responses is slightly lower at 60% but still constitutes the majority of responses and is still greater than those born in the UK (53%). This breakdown confirms the conclusion above that all immigrants are more likely to pass on (or transmit) food knowledge to their peers and some immigrants very significantly so.

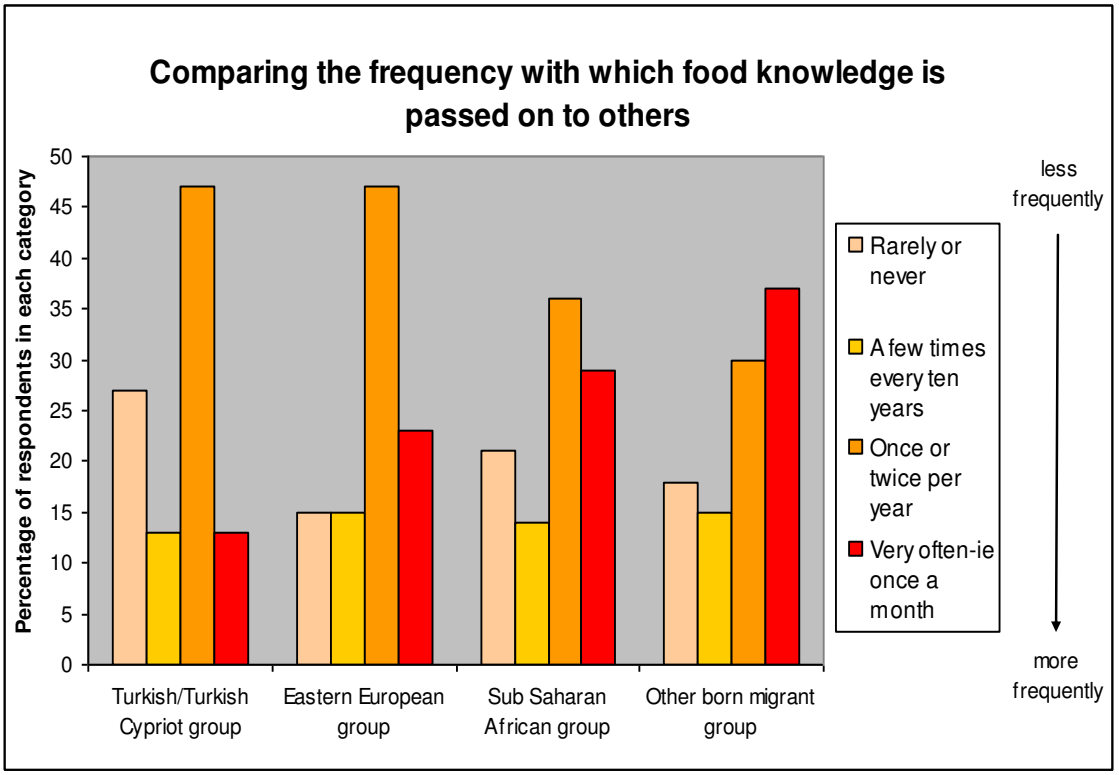


Figure 8.18ii: Shows the frequency with which respondents pass on food ideas to friends and contemporaries. This graph compares the different immigrant sub-groups. (Q6, Q18 MS). Data in appendices.

Thus, so far it is evident that non-UK-born respondents receive more of their food knowledge via horizontal transmission that UK-born respondents. This would support one of the initial hypotheses for this section that immigrants would make greater use of horizontal transmission than UK-born respondents. This was further tested by examining the difference between UK-born respondents whose parents were born in the UK and those whose parents were not (as shown in Table 8.7). The same pattern emerges. Thus, in addition to the evidence above that immigrants make greater use of horizontal transmission routes, it would appear that greater use of horizontal transmission is also seen in respondents with either one or both immigrant parents. Conversely, respondents whose parents were both born in the UK are less likely, although the difference is small, to pass on food knowledge horizontally.

At first these results may seem at odds with the results discussed earlier that showed the UK-born respondents were more likely to be influenced by horizontal sources. However, both sets of results are not necessarily contradictory. The variety of different horizontal sources may be significant here. It could be that the UK-born respondents receive more of their food knowledge from particular horizontal sources, arguably the media (in the form of TV programmes and recipe books) than immigrants but it is immigrants who actively pass on food knowledge to their peers. In other words, UK-born respondents are recipients of much wider mass media cultural information. Immigrants receive proportionally more food culture from within their respective communities, from their elders, and proportionally share more food culture with others in the communities.

	Percentage of UK-born group of respondents with…			
Frequency	both parents born in the UK	neither or only one parent **(combined)** born in the UK	neither parent born in the UK	one parent born in the UK
Less frequently	52	32	41	0
More frequently	48	59	46	100

Table 8.7: Compares the frequency of horizontal transmission (passing on food knowledge from respondents to their peers) between UK-born respondents with parents born in the UK and those where one or both parents were born outside the UK (Q18).

Transmission of food knowledge via written sources

Lastly, as part of the examination of different knowledge sources, the study asked how old the recipe books were that respondents had recently used. The results showed a fairly even split between the number of UK-born respondents who said they had used fairly new recipe books (recipes acquired up to 5 years ago) and those who said they older recipe books (acquired 5 or more years ago): 58% to 42% respectively (Figure 8.21i). This split was almost the same for the non-UK-born group: 56% to 44% and is almost identical to the split for the whole group. The single most often cited answer for all respondents was that recently used recipe books were between "1 to 5 years old". We can conclude, therefore, that immigrant and the UK-born groups were, overall, very similar in respect of proportions of respondents with older and newer recipes. The only noticeable difference observed (Figure 8.21i) is that a higher percentage of migrants (31%) had the oldest category of recipe books (10 years +) than those born in the UK (15%) (Figure 8.2i). This finding would, of course, fit in with the previous data that indicated the immigrants cite vertical sources as the main food knowledge source. Older recipe books are, presumably, more likely to include those bought from a immigrant's homeland. Their use represents use of vertical sources in this respect.

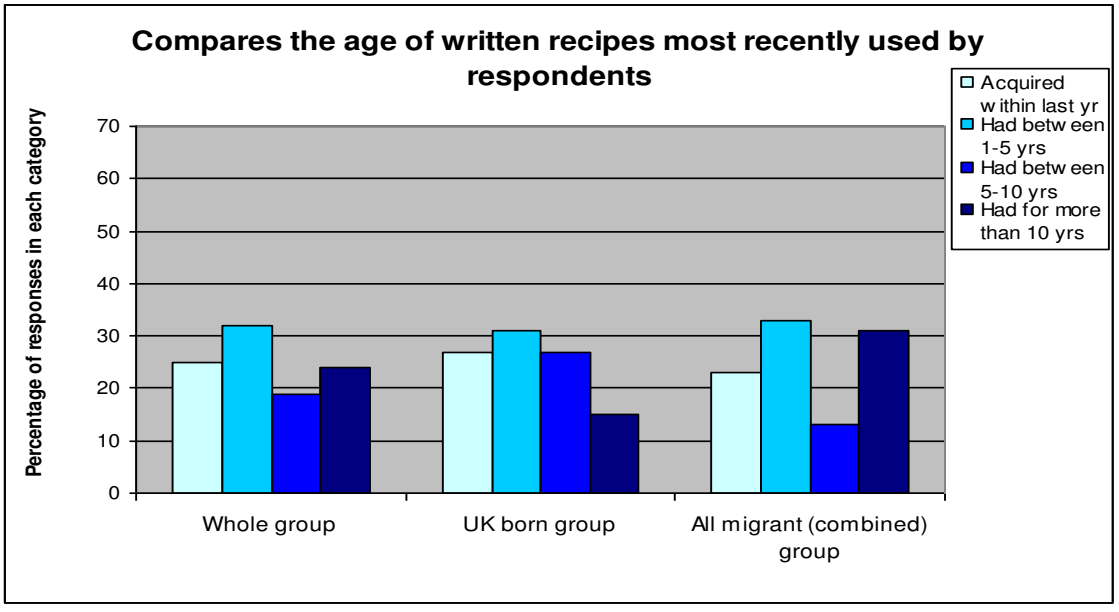


Figure 8.21i: The age of most recently used written recipes and compares responses between the whole group, those born in the UK and all immigrants. The total from which these percentages were calculated included all answers except those of: "rarely used written resources" or "no clear answer". (Q17 main survey). Notes and data in appendices.

Within the immigrant sub-groups, the Turkish and 'Other born' groups had similar split in responses to that of the UK-born group (Figure 8.21ii). However, the Sub-Saharan and Eastern European groups differed markedly. The former included many more respondents (89%) who said they had newer recipe books (ie up to 5 years ago) whilst, in contrast again, of the Eastern Europeans only 36% said they had newer recipe books. It is difficult to explain these variations. It is possible that the Sub-Saharan born group had less access to written recipes in their homelands and have, thus, acquired proportionately more such books since moving to the UK, whereas the Eastern European group may have had great access to books in the homeland resulting in a desire for fewer recent acquisitions. The percentages mentioned above were calculated from the responses (for each sub group) who said they used written recipes. However, many respondents replied to Q17 that they "rarely used written recipes" and the variation between the sub-groups in this respect is also interesting. This is looked at in the next section on modes of cultural transmission.

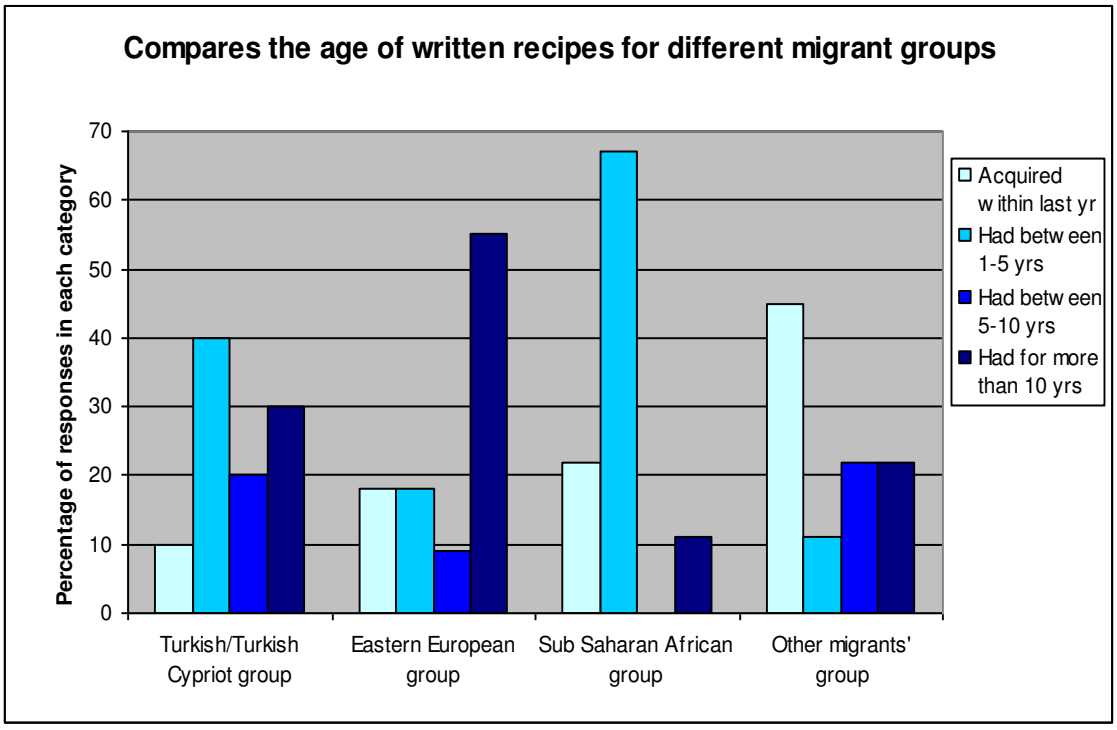


Figure 8.21ii: compares the age of the most recently used written recipes (whether books or notes) for different immigrant groups. The total from which these percentages were calculated included all answers except those of: "rarely used written resources" or "no clear answer". (Q17 main survey). Notes and data in appendices.

8.6 What are the main modes of learning about cuisine knowledge?

This section looks at respondents' preferred learning styles (or modes) for acquiring new food/cuisine knowledge and how migration affects these preferences. The two main learning modes examined here are those defined by Boyd and Richerson (2005) and introduced in Chapter 3: 'social learning' and 'individual learning'. Either method can lead to increasing one's knowledge about new cuisines and, therefore, could be considered an adaptation strategy by immigrants to their new cuisine surroundings.

The term 'social learning' refers to acquiring new food knowledge through the choosing of complete new dishes prepared by others (usually in a social situation). This can be viewed as learning through imitation. The assumption here is that introducing a new dish constitutes cultural imitation (copying) as the 'new' dish becomes included in the repertoire of the respondent's chosen food. It is not particularly relevant whether this repertoire incorporation is the result of including a new dish (in its copied form) in home cooking or just through its selection in restaurants. In either case, the dish from another culture's cuisine has now been copied and incorporated wholesale into the respondents' cuisine repertoire.

In contrast, 'individual learning' refers to experimenting with new dishes oneself. This could involve practising with new recipes or cooking methods, often at home rather than in a social situation. The 'cook' is free, even if following a recipe, to alter any aspects of the dish's preparation from the ingredients, the flavourings to the cooking/preparation methods. The cook may then continue to change any of these aspects at a subsequent occasion yet again. Even where a 'culturally authentic' recipe is followed, it is argued that the individual attempt to re-create a novel dish represents an attempt to learn about the cuisine 'environment' from "direct information from personal experience" (Boyd & Richerson, 2005:12). Of course, it is realised that the 'proxies' used here for 'social' or 'individual learning' modes are not perfect. For instance, cooking at home may simply involved the wholesale copying of another culture's

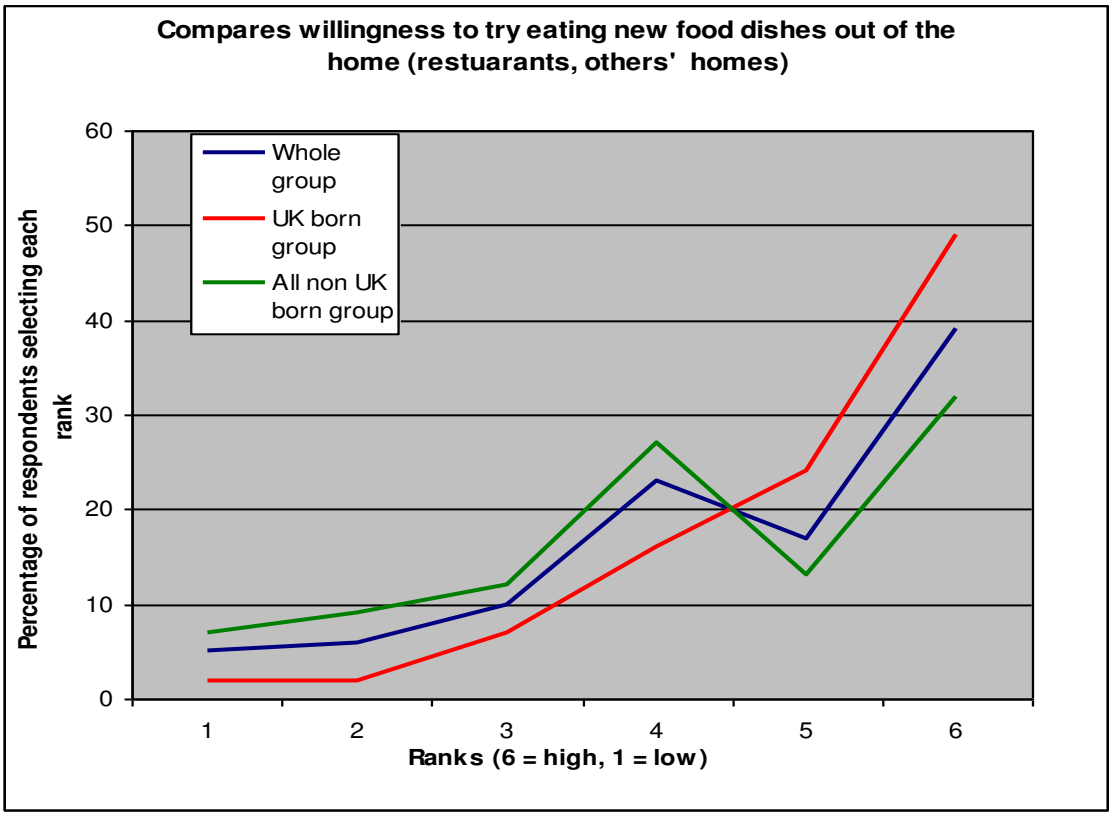
recipe in its original form and, conversely, respondents may try a new dish in a restaurant and then re-create it in partial or changed form later at home.

Comparing willingness for trying new dishes out of the home (social learning mode)

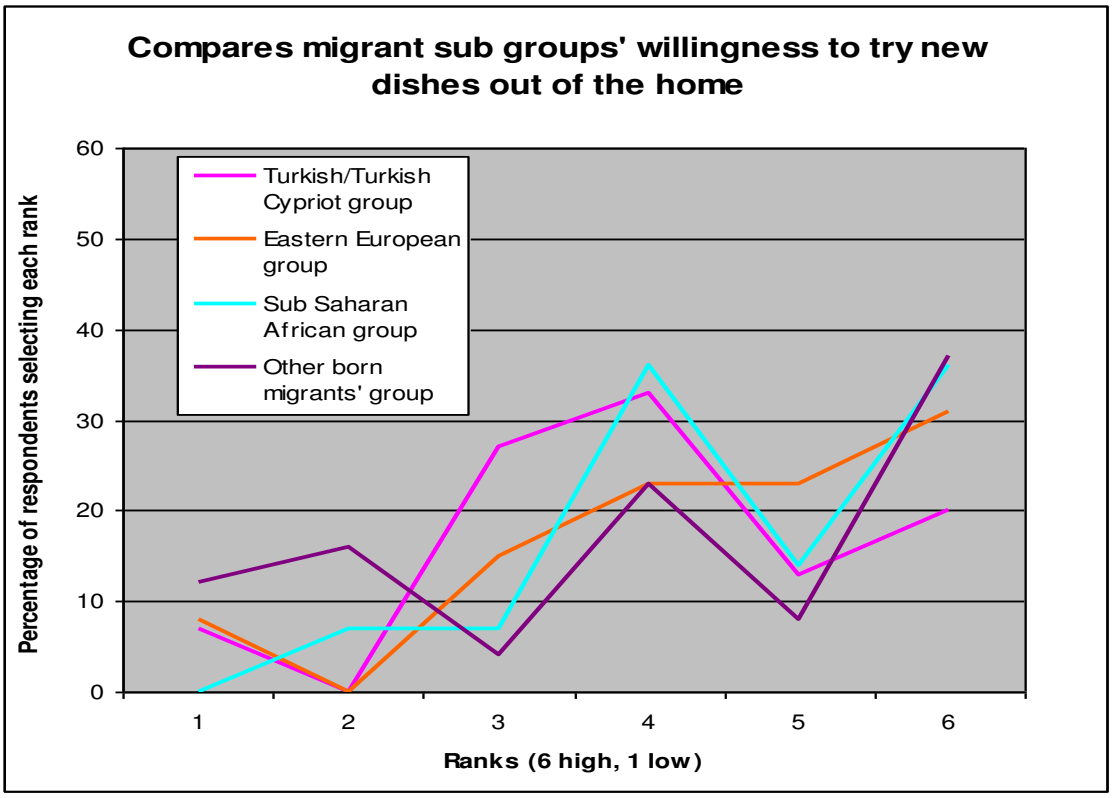
Respondents were asked to rank their willingness to try new dishes prepared by others, such as in restaurants (Figure 8.21) as well as their willingness to experiment with new cooking styles themselves at home (Figure 8.22). These results were intended as proxies for investigating, respectively, social learning versus individual learning mode preference. The first result, perhaps obvious and expected but still worth making explicit, is that the great majority of all respondents, UK-born or not, gave 'positive' responses when asked about their willingness to try new dishes. This was true for each method (learning mode) of acquiring new food knowledge. This finding further supports our evidence here that most respondents *like* to learn about new food. Once this was established, the main question here is *how* do respondents prefer to learn about new food.

For both UK-born group and the non-UK-born group a large percentage of respondents selected the highest (most willing) rank; 49% (UK-born) and 32% (non-UK-born) selecting rank 6 out of a scale of 1 – 6 (Figure 8.2i). These are high proportions of respondents from the respective groups, particularly the UK-born group. In other words, nearly half of all UK-born respondents said they would be *very* willing to try new dishes when eating at restaurants or friends' houses. If the 6 possible ranks are grouped into two categories of '*more willing'* (ranks 4-6) and '*less willing'* (1-3), we can see that 89% of the UK-born group selected the 'more willing' ranks and 72% of the non-UK-born group. These figures again show the overall high level of willingness (by both groups) to try new dishes out of the home; considered here to indicate high level of willingness to use social learning modes to acquire new food knowledge). The UK-born group is the most willing to try social learning methods to acquire new knowledge.

Comparing the separate immigrant groups' (Figure 8.21ii) results with that of the UK-born group, the immigrant group with the most similar results is the Eastern European group. This is followed by the Sub-Saharan group, the 'Other migrants' group and, lastly, the migrant group most divergent from that of the UK-born group, the Turkish group. This is true for the overall trend (from rank 1 to 6) and for the percentage of the *more willing* ranks (4-6). Of the Turkish group 66% selected one of the *more willing* ranks compared to 89% for the UK-born group, 86% of Sub-Saharans and 77% for the Eastern Europeans. A higher percentage of Turkish respondents selected (the more moderate) ranks 3 or 4 than did for these ranks in all other cases (Figure 8.21ii). It would appear, therefore, that of all the immigrant groups, the Turkish group is very noticeably the least willing to acquire new cuisine knowledge through social learning mode.



Figures 8.22i Compares the UK and non-UK-born groups' willingness to try new dishes when out of the home (such as in restaurants). This measure is considered a proxy for social learning. The graph compares the level of willingness (popularity of social learning) between the UK-born and non-UK-born group. Source: Q8. Data in appendices.



Figures 8.22i Compares the four immigrant groups' willingness to try new dishes when out of the home (such as in restaurants). This is considered a proxy for social learning mode . Source Q8. Data in appendices.

Comparing willingness for trying with cooking new dishes at home (individual learning mode)

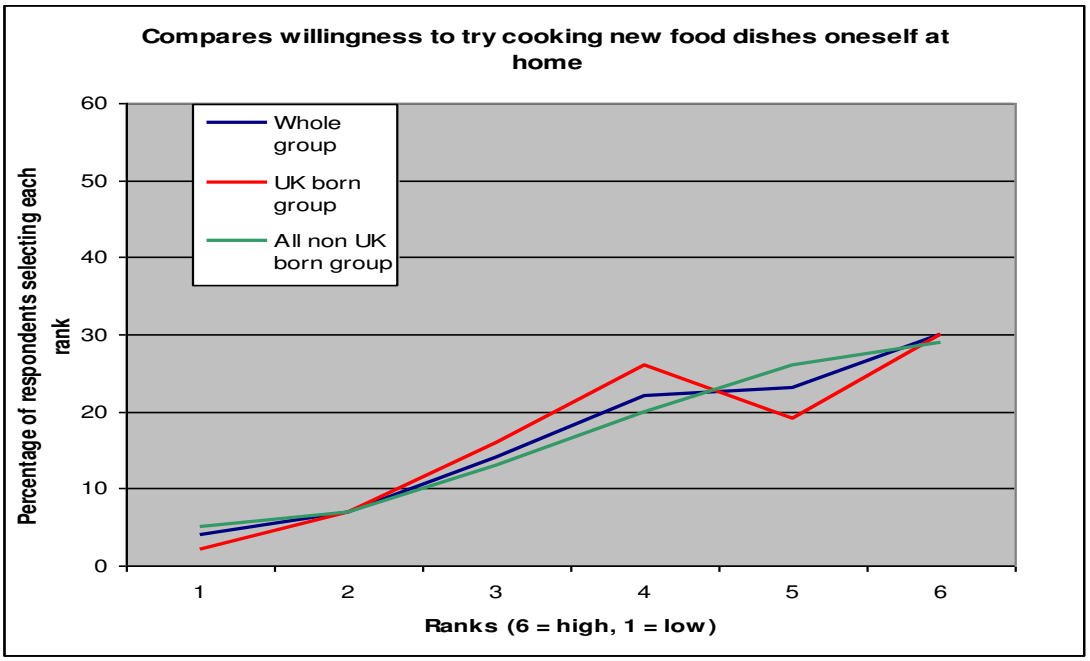
Comparison of willingness to experiment with cooking new dishes oneself at home (viewed as an indicator of individual learning mode) is presented in Figure 8.22i. Here we can see that the UK-born group and non-UK-born groups had very similar percentages of respondents who chose the highest rank of 6 (30% for UK, 29% for non-UK-born). The combined figure for the three 'most willing' ranks was also very similar for both UK and non-UK-born groups: 77% for UK and 75% respectively. Thus, there appears little difference between the two groups in their willingness to acquire new food knowledge through individual learning modes.

The non-UK-born group also has a similar combined figure for the 3 'most willing' ranks for individual learning mode as it did for social learning mode (75% chose these ranks for individual mode, 72% for social mode). The non-UK-born group (as a whole) appear equally happy to acquire new food knowledge through either learning mode. However, the UK-born

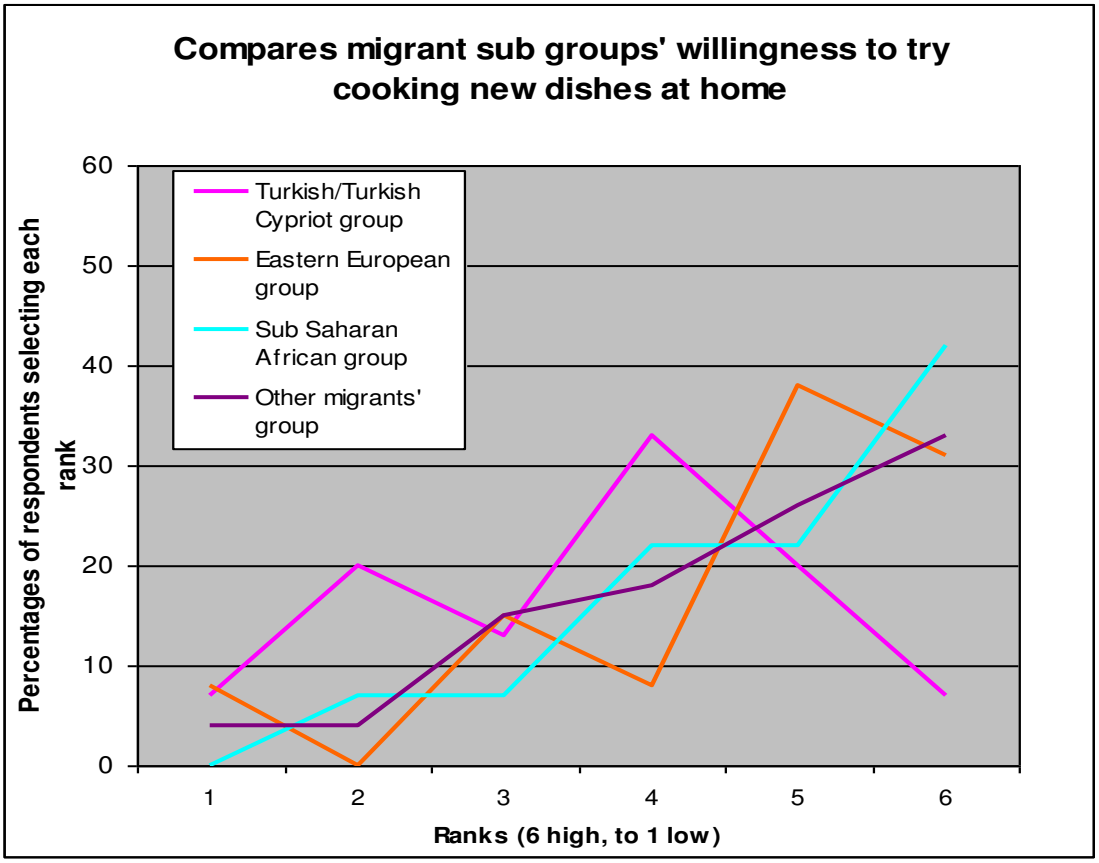
group, interestingly, do not. For the UK-born group, 77% of respondents chose the 'most willing' ranks for individual learning mode, 89% chose these ranks for social learning mode. Indeed, the overall trend of rank selection from 1 – 6 (despite fluctuations) is very similar for all but the UK-born respondents' noticeably greater willingness for social modes of learning. Therefore, we can conclude here that UK-born respondents have a noticeable preference for social learning modes over individual learning, they have a greater willingness for social learning than non-UK-born respondents and the non-UK respondents have a slight preference for individual over social learning mode.

	Summary comparison of key data comparing UK-born and non-UK-born groups and individual and social learning mode preferences.			
	% of respondents who chose highest rank		% of respondents who chose top 3 ranks	
	Social learning mode	**Individual leaning mode**	**Social learning mode**	**Individual learning mode**
UK-born group	49	30	89	77
Non-UK-born group	32	29	72	75

Table 8.8: Compares the key data from graphs Fig 8.21i and Fig 8.23i comparing UK-born and non-UK-born groups and their preferences for social and individual learning modes. (Source Q8, Q9).



Figures 8.23i: Willingness to experiment with cooking new food dishes at home; considered an indicator of individual learning mode preference. The UK-born and non-UK-born groups are compared here. (Q9). Data in appendices.



Figures 8.23ii: Compares the four immigrant groups' willingness to experiment with cooking new dishes themselves at home. This is considered an indicator of individual learning mode preference. (Q9 MS). Data in appendices.

There is less divergence between (most of) the immigrant groups and the UK-born group in terms of willingness to experiment with cooking new dishes at home (individual learning mode) (Figure 8.23ii). The Eastern European and 'Other born' immigrant groups had almost the same percentage of their respective respondents who selected the 3 'most willing' ranks: 78% and 77% respectively). The Sub-Saharan African group is the most willing of all immigrant groups to use individual learning; 86% of its respondents selected the 'most willing' ranks. The Turkish group, once again, appears much less willing than the other immigrant groups to try individual learning mode (60% chose 'most willing' ranks). It will be remembered that this group was also the least enthusiastic for social learning.

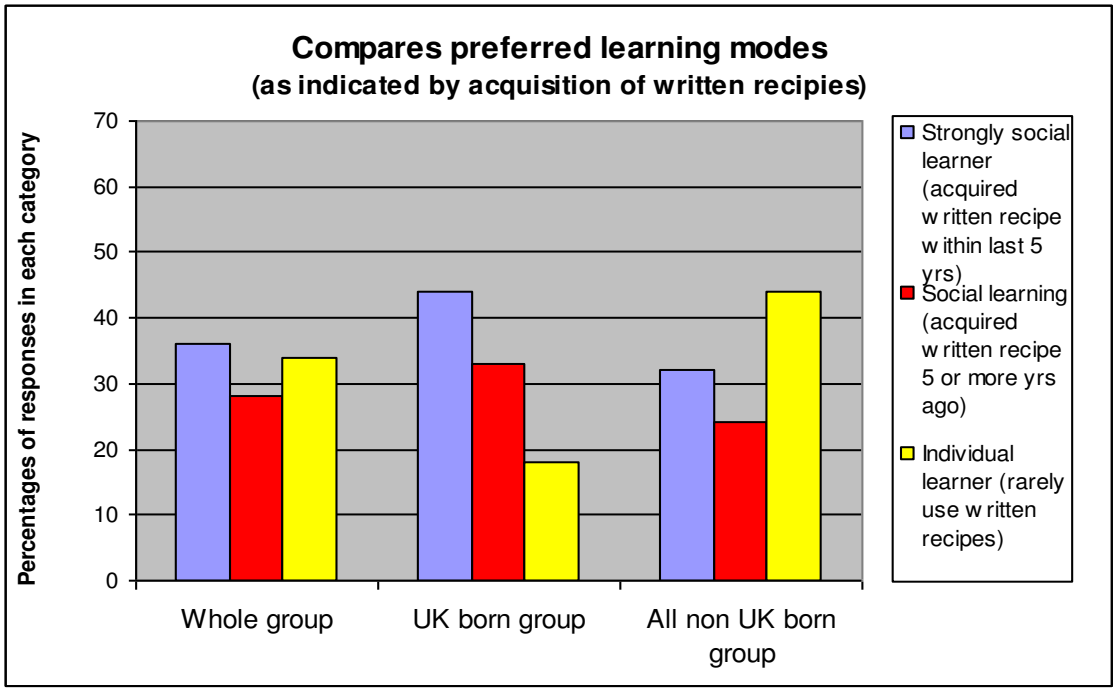
This lower figure from the Turkish group obviously lowers the overall non-UK-born group percentage of respondents who chose the 'most willing' ranks for individual learning. For instance, if the Turkish group are excluded from the overall non-UK-born figures, they percentage who chose the highest rank 6 was 35% and 79% who chose one of the top 3 ranks. (These can be compared with the data in Table 8.8). In this light we can see that the other three immigrant groups had a greater preference for individual learning modes than the UK-born group.

Thus, the results of the separate immigrant groups' analysis confirms that most immigrants appear more willing to utilise individual learning modes than social learning modes with the notable exception of the Turkish group who are the least keen on either modes. This final point does suggest that it may well be that the Turkish group are simply much less willing or interested in acquiring food knowledge from other cultures' cuisines generally, regardless of the method of acquiring such knowledge. When new dishes are encountered this may be at one of the many restaurants offering Turkish cuisine in the local area of the survey. The large, visible and well catered for Turkish speaking community in this local area may have contributed to this group's 'behaving more like that of the established UK-born group in their food learning preferences. As discussed at the start of this chapter, the Turkish group stated the food was very important to their sense of cultural identity; much higher than the UK group and a little higher than all other migrant groups.

Use of written recipes as evidence of learning modes

It is suggested here that the proportion of older and more recently acquired written recipes reflects different use of horizontal and vertical information sources. The proportion of usage of written versus non written food information sources may also indicate preference for social versus individual learning modes. This is argued because written recipes represent the imitation of cooking skills and knowledge from others in society and, therefore, are part of social

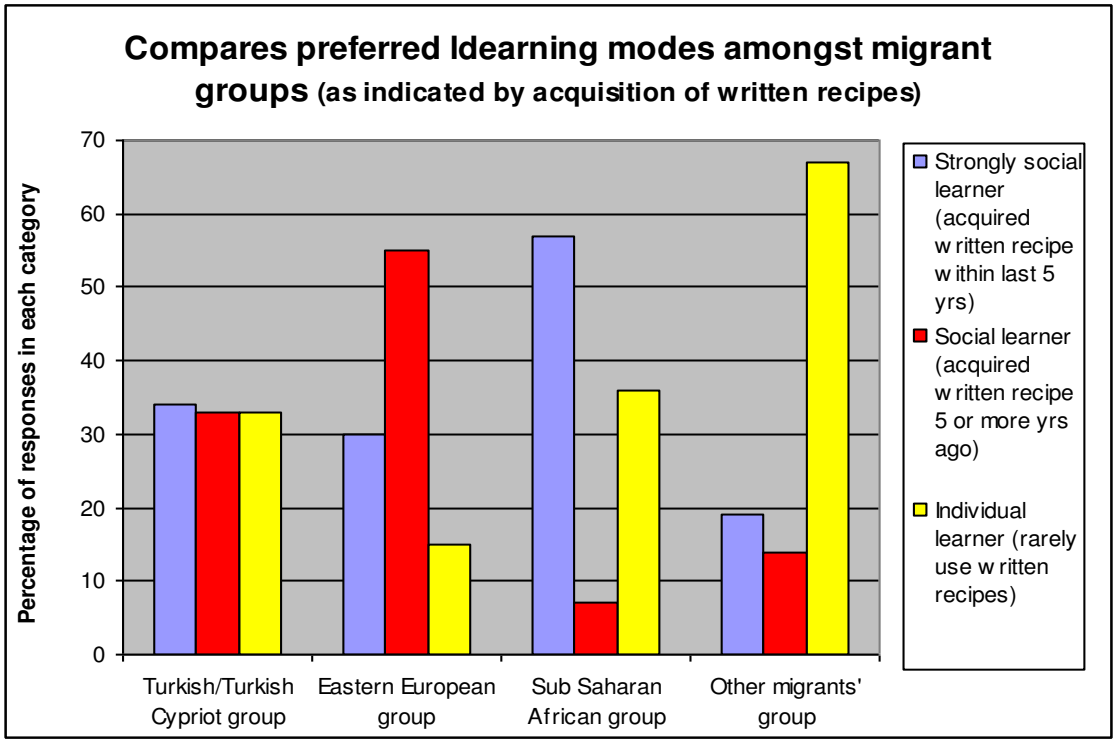
learning. Conversely, a limited or "rare" use of written recipes would indicate greater reliance on experimental style of learning about cooking or individual learning. Examining the use of written recipes by the survey group as a whole (Figure 8.23i it can seen that about a third (34%)of the total of those that gave clear answers said that they "rarely used written recipes". Responses regarding the age of the written recipes that had been recently used have been grouped into two broad categories: recent acquired written recipes (36% for the whole group) and those acquired longer ago (28%). This split for the whole group is, broadly as might be expected.



Figures 8.24i: Compares preferred learning modes (as indicated by age of most recently acquired written recipes) between the whole group and respondents born in the UK and those born elsewhere. The blue and red columns represent social learners and the yellow, individual learners. (Q17). Data in appendices.

The difference in the proportion between the UK-born and non-UK-born groups is quite marked (Figure 8.24i). The UK-born group has a much greater proportion (77%) of respondents saying they use written recipes (indicating preference for social learning mode) than the non-UK-born group (56%). Only 18% of the UK-born group say they don't use written recipes (individual learners) compared to more than twice that number in the non-UK-born group (44%). Thus, it

could be concluded that the non-UK-born group are more likely to use individual learning modes, although for both UK-born and non-UK-born groups the majority of respondents made use of social learning modes. Interestingly, of the social learners, there is a greater proportion with more recently acquired written recipes amongst the UK-born group. It could well be that the concept of social and individual modes of learning should be viewed as along a spectrum rather than as opposing styles. A suggestion could be made that the UK-born group response distribution is indicative of a strong preference for social learning as highly social learners prefer to imitate the novel food ideas (recent recipes).



Figures 8.24ii: Compares preferred learning modes (as indicated by age of most recently acquired written recipes) between the four different immigrant groups. The blue and red columns represent social learners and the yellow, individual learners. (Q17). Data in appendices.

The responses for the different immigrant groups were very different. The Turkish group responded in a very similar way to that of the survey group as a whole; a fairly even split between the three categories (Figure 8.24i). Compared with the UK-born group the Turkish group included a greater proportion of individual learners (18% and 33% respectively). The

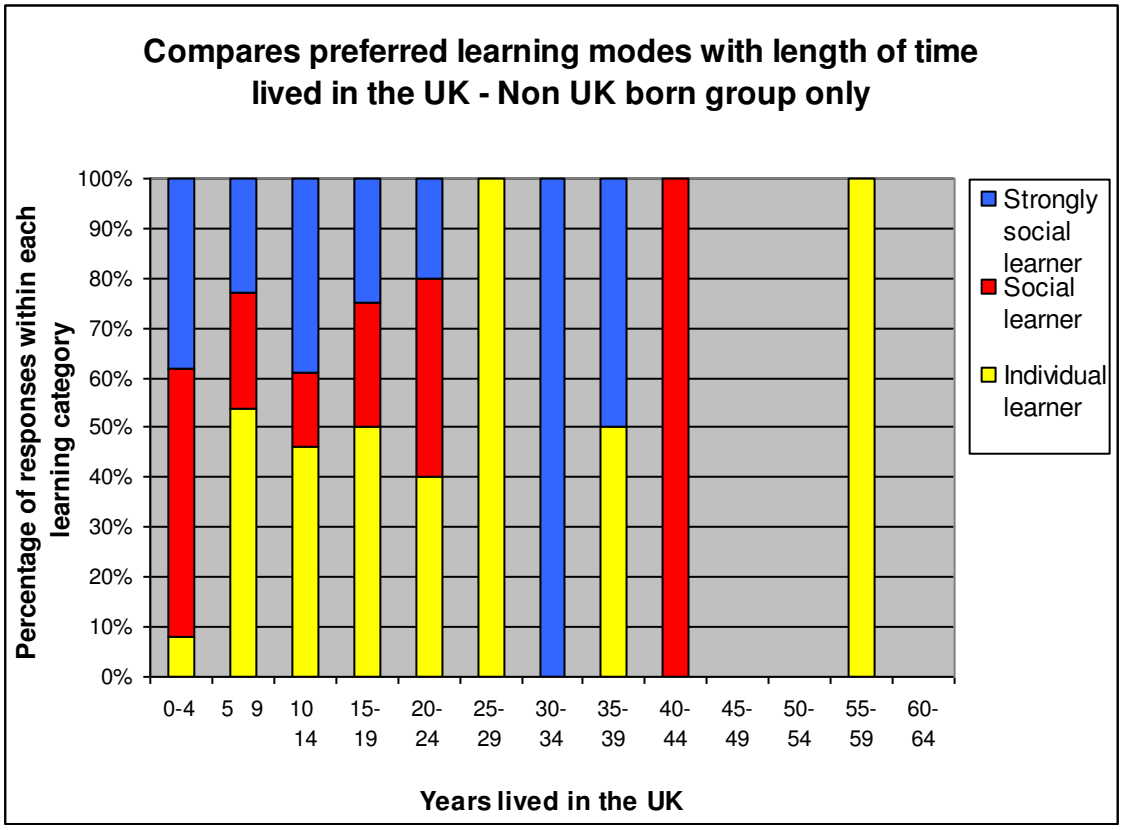
Sub-Saharan African group included 36% individual learners and the 'Other born' group an even larger number, 67%. Only for the Eastern Europeans was the proportion of individual learners similar to that of the UK-born group (at 15%).

So, proportionately more non-UK-born respondents, in all immigrant groups except one, made use of individual learning than UK-born respondents. Suggesting an explanation for these immigrant differences is not straightforward. It is possible that the more divergent (in cooking methods, flavourings, and ingredients) an immigrant cuisine culture is from that of the UK, the lower the reliance on social (imitation) learning modes. Such social learning is very likely to involve much UK originated or transmitted sources of cuisine information (for example, broadcast media) and this may not be as utilised by immigrants. For periods following their migration to the UK, immigrants may choose to experiment with new cooking themselves at home - remembering and adapting cuisine information from their homeland. It could be argued that Eastern European group's home cuisine has more in common with aspects of UK cuisine, that Turkish and Sub-Saharan each respectively less so. The 'Other born' group is, of course, a mix of immigrant respondents from many different countries (but not including the above regions) whose numbers were not large enough to be grouped into distinct named origin regions. By definition then, respondents in this 'Other born' group may have even smaller diaspora communities in this area of London and, thus, even less desire to make use of social learning.

The effect of length of time lived in UK upon preferred learning modes

After observing that the non-UK-born group had a higher proportion of respondents who preferred individual learning mode, it was useful to see whether the length of time spent living in the UK had an effect upon immigrant respondents' preferences. The explanation suggested above for immigrants' greater preference for individual learning modes (compared to UK-born respondents) was their lack of familiarity and, thus, engagement with, current sources of UK

cuisine culture. We might expect, therefore, to see an increasing preference for social learning modes the longer an immigrant has had to engage with UK cuisine culture, but that does not appear to be the case (Figure 8.25). There is no indication that overall proportions of learning preferences really change the longer respondents spend living in the UK; the proportions actually remain quite similar for years 0 – 24.

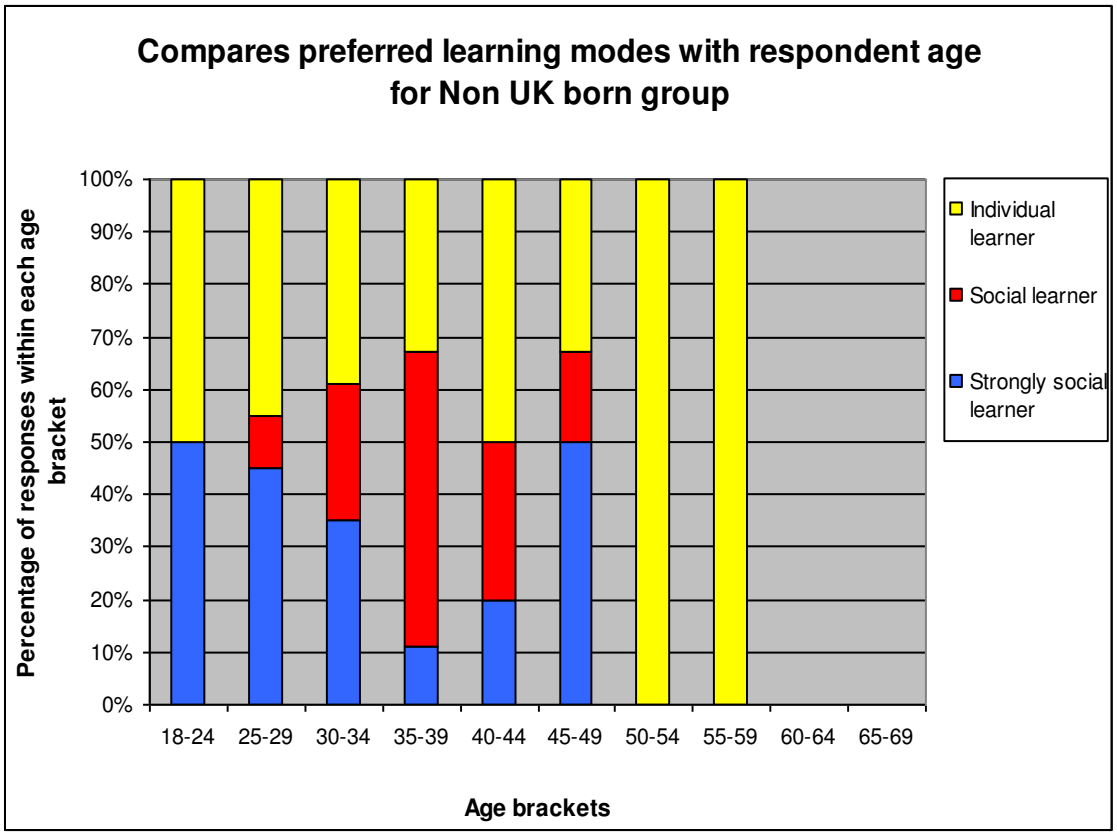


Figures 8.25 Compares preferred learning modes (as indicated by age of most recently acquired written recipes), for the non-UK-born group only, with these respondents' length of time lived in the UK (grouped into 5 year time brackets). The blue and red columns represent social learners and the yellow, individual learners. Note: 56 (of 70) non-UK-born group were able to be included here. Of the other 14, 7 classed as individual, 3 as social, & 4 as strongly social learners. (Q17 & Q20i). Data in appendices

The effect of respondents' age upon preferred learning modes

The age of respondents, both UK-born and non-UK-born groups, was also compared with learning mode preferences (again using the written recipe indicator) to see if increasing age had any bearing on preferences. There were no definite relationship for either group (Figures 8.26i and 8.26ii). For the non-UK-born group there is, in the first four age brackets, an increase in the proportion of social learners but this trend then reverses. The peak ages for social

learners 35-39 year olds and the 45 – 49 year olds (67% in each case), although the 45 – 49 year old have the greatest proportion of 'strongly social learners'. Interestingly, noting (as above) that most migrants arrive in the UK in their early 20s (the mean average age for arrival is 22 years, 8 months) the 45 – 49 year old age group corresponds with the 20-24 years in the UK bracket which sees the highest proportion of social learners (if we exclude the most recent arrivals and the 30+ year bracket where the proportions begin to oscillate hugely, in part, as a result of very low actual numbers of respondents). The important point is that there is no evidence here of a relationship between age of non-UK-born respondent and learning mode preference and the immigrants' greater preference (compared to UK-born respondents) for individual learning does not appear to obviously diminish as they get older.

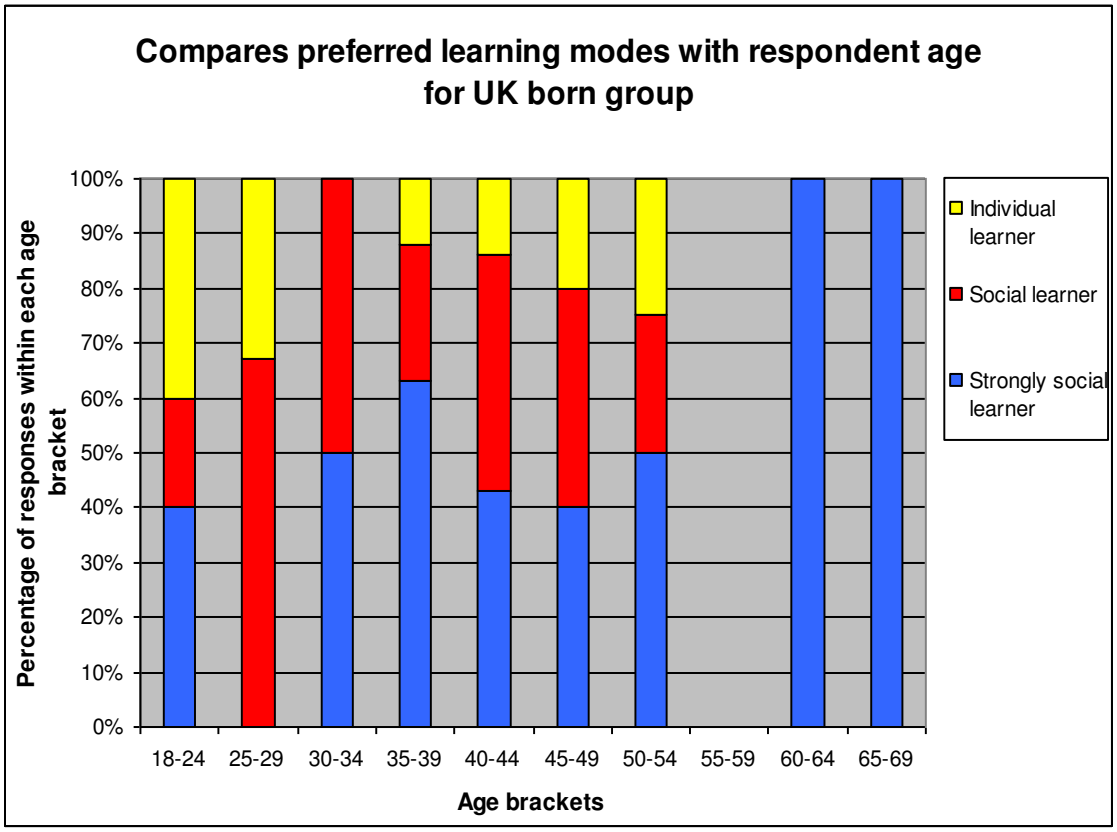


Figures 8.26i Compares preferred learning modes (as indicated by age of most recently acquired written recipes) with respondents' age. Data here for non-UK-born group. 64 respondents are included out of 70. Note that of the 6 who didn't give their age, the split was equal between learning modes (2 each). (Q17 & Q20i). Data in appendices

The UK-born group displays its much higher proportion of social learners that we have already noted across all age brackets (Figure 8.26ii). There is no definite relationship evident between age of respondent and trends in changing learning mode preferences. The proportion of social learners is at its lowest at 60% for the young adults, increases to include all respondents in the 30 34 age bracket, but then steadily decreases again until the 50 – 54 age bracket. (As for the non-UK-born group, the single learning category shown in the older age brackets is, in part, due to the very low actual numbers involved. In all but the youngest age category (18 – 24 years) we can see that the UK-born respondents have noticeably lower proportions of individual learners than the non-UK-born group.

One tentative trend that may be significant is that for both groups the youngest adults (18 – 24 year olds) have the highest proportion of individual learners, 40% for the UK-born group and 50% for the non-UK-born group. This proportion of individual learners then decreases to (broadly) the age of 40 years (in both groups) and then (broadly) increases again, in both groups, until the 50s. So, even thought the overall proportions of individual versus social learners are different in the two groups, this pattern is the same, indicating that this may be age related.

The theory outlined already is that individual learning modes involves experimentation and innovation whereas social learning involves imitation of existing ideas. Perhaps it is not surprising to see more use of the innovation in developing cuisine knowledge by the younger adults and greater use of more socially compliant learning styles in the middle years of adulthood, often a period of time pressure from work and families that might discourage the time-heavy use of innovative, experimental learning.



Figures 8.26ii Compares preferred learning modes (as indicated by age of most recently acquired written recipes) with respondents' age. Data here for UK-born group. 41 respondents are included her (of 43 group total). 2 (both 40-44 yrs old) gave no learning preference. (Q17 & Q20i). Data in appendices

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8.7 Summary of results

In this final section, each of the five key research questions are addressed in terms of the data from the survey. Data from the group as a whole is used here first to give an overall response. Next the data from the UK-born group and the non-UK-born (all immigrants) group are compared. Lastly, where there is a noticeable difference between the four immigrant groups this data is referred to as well.

How important is food to cultural identity?

Survey group as a whole: The vast majority of respondents considered food very important to their sense of cultural identity (Figure 8.1i). Over 40% of all respondents selected the highest 'score' of importance. Food was also considered the single most important of six aspects of culture, such as music, clothes, sport. 25% of all respondents selected food as the most important compared to the next most selected cultural aspect, clothes, at 17% (Figure 8.2i).

Comparing UK-born and non-UK-born groups: The importance of food to cultural identity was significantly greater for non-UK-born respondents than for those born in the UK. 26% of the UK-born group selected the highest score of importance compared to 51% of the others. A similarly high figure was true of the four different immigrant groups. 100% of the respondents from three of the immigrant groups selected one of the top 3 scores of importance (scores 4-6); only the Sub-Saharan African group included some respondents selecting scores of lower importance (Figure 8.1ii).

More UK-born respondents (27%) also selected food as the most important of the six cultural aspects than non-UK-born (22%). Of the four different immigrant groups, the Other born group had the greater percentage (30%) of its respondents selecting food (Figure 8.2ii).

Are some components of food culture more closely tied to cultural identity?

Survey group as a whole: All of the three cuisine components that were asked about (ingredients, cooking methods, flavourings) were considered important and, in many cases, very important by almost all respondents (Figure 8.4i). When asked which component they would least like to change, the largest number (51%) of respondents stated 'original ingredients'. It would appear that this is considered the most important for cuisine authenticity by respondents. Using original cooking methods was considered least important, only 12% of respondents selected this component as least wanting to change (Figure 8.3i).

Comparing UK-born and non-UK-born groups: There was little difference between the UK-born and non-UK-born groups in terms of importance attached the three cuisine components and nor between that component respondents would least like to change. Of the latter, the Turkish born group had the highest percentage of respondents, 67%, selecting original ingredients as the component they didn't want to change (Figure 8.3ii).

However, the UK-born respondents were the most adventurous when it came to trying new food; 51% of them were willing to try whole new meals compared to only 33% of the non-UK-born group. A higher percentage (38%) of the non-UK-born respondents choose the less adventurous options of trying a familiar dish but in a different setting from usual or with just some aspects of the dish changed. Only 21% of those born in the UK choose these options (Figure 8.6i). There was quite a lot of variation between the immigrant groups with no obvious pattern emerging. The Turkish born group had the highest percentage (40%) willing to try a whole new meal and the Sub-Saharan African group, the least at 28% (Figure 8.6ii). Interestingly, however, Turkish respondents were less willing to adapt aspects of Turkish dishes and less willing than other immigrant groups to mix Turkish dishes with other dishes within the same meal.

Do different elements of food knowledge change at different rates?

Survey group as a whole: All groups showed a moderately strong desire to preserve their (respective) traditional cuisines for both special event and everyday meals. There was not a significant difference in desire to preserve special event or everyday meals for the survey group as a whole (Figures 8.7i & 8.8i). This apparent keenness to preserve traditional cuisine is argued to suggest a slower rather than faster rate of change for their cuisines, although the data here does not allow us to quantify this in years.

Despite the desire to preserve their respective traditional cuisines, all groups claim a moderately strong influence from other cuisines, for both special event and everyday food choices (Figure 8.9i & 8.10i). This influence was (for both UK and non-UK-born respondents) was felt most strongly upon the choices for everyday food than for special event food choices

Comparing UK-born and non-UK-born groups: The UK-born group, surprisingly, were slightly more likely to want to preserve everyday food than special event food; 60% of respondents selecting the three 'most likely to preserve' ranks for everyday meals (Figure 8.8i), compared to 55% for special event meals (Figure 8.7i). The equivalent percentages for the non-UK-born group were 75% (everyday meals) and 76% (special event). Thus, we see that the non-UK-born respondents are significantly keener to preserve both types of meal than there UK-born counterparts. This would suggest a slower rate of change for cuisines of non-UK-born respondents that for those born in the UK.

There are variations between the immigrant groups. The 'Other born' group and the Turkish groups were both equally keen to maintain their special event meals as their respective everyday meals (although the Turkish group were keenest overall for both meals). In contrast, the Sub-Saharan African group were much keener to perverse special event meals than their everyday meals whereas the Eastern Europeans were keener to preserve everyday meals (Figure 8.78ii & 8.7ii).

The influence of other cuisines upon the respondents' food choices was also compared for the UK-born and non-UK-born groups. The UK-born group experienced a greater influence from other cuisines (79% selecting on of the three strongest influence ranks) than the non-UK-born group (63%) upon their everyday food choices (Figure 8.10i). There was much less difference between these two groups in terms of the influence felt upon their special occasion food (66% and 64% respectively). Within the non-UK-born group, the Turkish group felt the influence

upon their cuisine more strongly than other immigrant groups; 86% of the group selecting one of the three stronger influence ranks for both everyday and special event food choices. Both the Eastern European and the Sub-Saharan African groups both felt stronger influence upon their everyday food (77% and 65%) than upon special event choices (62 and 48% respectively).

In contrast, the 'Other born' migrant group felt a stronger influence upon the special event choices (59%) compared to that upon their everyday food choices (50%). So, interestingly, whilst it was the Turkish born group that was the keenest to preserve their cuisine, they were also the immigrant group who perceived the greatest influence of other cuisines upon their own. Possibly the latter experience is what has made this group more protective of their traditional cuisine or the importance of cuisine to Turkish cultural identity (as noted in Figure 8.3ii) results in influences or threats to this cuisine being perceived more strongly.

Who are the main sources of food knowledge (transmission of knowledge)?

Survey group as a whole: In terms of the main source of respondents' knowledge of food, the significant majority (73%) said that they had acquired this from their parents or grandparents; what is termed here as 'vertical' transmission of cultural knowledge (Figure 8.12). Only 18% said their main source of food knowledge came from friends, peers, media and books (termed 'horizontal' sources) and less than 5% cited 'oblique' sources (schools and others of parental generation). Although it is clear that parent/grandparents are the main source of knowledge for most respondents that did not mean they were not receptive to the influence of horizontal sources. The majority (61%) were; of these nearly half (44%) said they enjoyed new food ideas from friends and media and 17% said the activity sought new food ideas. Only 16% said they rarely made use of new ideas from horizontal sources. In terms of the respondents themselves being the source of horizontal food knowledge (passing on food knowledge to their friends and peers), the most commonly cited answer given (36%) was that such knowledge was usually passed on once or twice a year. Overall, 51% of respondents passed one food knowledge to

others annually or more frequently (Figure 7.18i). For the survey group as a whole there is evidence of a relationship between increasing age and a lower percentage of respondents claiming vertical source or horizontal sources as being their main source of food knowledge (Figures 8.14i and 8.14ii & iii respectively).

Comparing UK-born and non-UK-born groups: The significant contribution of vertical sources to food knowledge was even more marked for non-UK group (79%) than for the UK-born respondents, 70% (Figure 8.12i). However, the longer the non-UK-born respondents lived in the UK, the less likely they appeared to claim vertical sources as main source (Figure 8.13i). There was not a significant difference between UK-born group and non-UK-born group in the influence of horizontal sources (Figure 8.10i). The same percentage (44%) of non-UK-born respondents said they enjoyed new food ideas. However, immigrants were very noticeably more conservative in their cuisine preferences generally. 71% of immigrants said they would choose a dish from their own cuisine over one from another culture's cuisine. In contrast 70% of those born in the UK would prefer to choose a dish from another cuisine (Figure 8.11ii). In addition, a greater number of UK-born respondents (30%) than non-UK-born group (8%) said that they had acquired food knowledge from 'horizontal' sources. (Figure 8.12i). This indicates that non-UK-born group are much more conservative in their general cuisine preferences. Non-UK-born respondents passed their own food knowledge to peers more often than those born in the UK: 65% of them said they did this at least once a year compared to 54% UK-born respondents (Figure 8.18i).

There was not a large difference between the different immigrant groups in terms of their main source of food knowledge. 70% of each group said vertical sources were main source; Eastern Europeans had the largest percentage at 92% and the 'Other born' group, the lowest at 70% (Figure 8.12ii). There was greater difference between groups in the influence of horizontal sources. The Eastern European group were most influenced by horizontal sources (70%

'actively seeking' or 'enjoying' new ideas), compared to 65% and 60% of the 'Other bor'n and Turkish groups respectively and only 47% of the sub-Saharan group (Figure 8.10ii). Interestingly, the Turkish group were far more likely to choose a dish from their own cuisine (93% of their group) than from another culture's cuisine compared to 70% of Eastern Europeans , 67% of 'Other born' respondents and 57% of the Sub-Saharan group (Figure 8.11ii). The immigrant group which passed on their own food knowledge (horizontally) to peers were most frequently were the Eastern Europeans (72% at least once a year) compared to the Turkish group in which 60% passed on food knowledge this frequently (Figure 8.18ii). Overall, the Turkish group appears the least interested in horizontal sources of food knowledge, either as recipients or sources of such knowledge transmission.

Lastly, the place of birth or residency of respondents' parents was compared. Of the UK-born respondents with UK-born parents, 62% cited vertical sources as their main source of cuisine knowledge and 38% cited horizontal sources. This was in contrast to those with parents not born in the UK; 76% cited vertical sources and 24%, horizontal sources (Figure 8.15). In contrast, for the immigrant group respondents whose parents now also lived in the UK 86% cited vertical sources. For immigrant respondents whose parents lived in their homeland country, a lower 75% cited vertical sources as their main knowledge source (Table, 8.5)

How do people acquire new food knowledge (modes of learning)?

Survey group as a whole: Several indicators were used to suggest preference for social learning or individual food learning modes. One such indicator is the willingness to experiment with cooking new dishes at home and to try new dishes outside the home. Respondents gave similar proportions (75% and 79%) of positive answers (moderate to very willing) for both individual and social learning modes respectively (Figures 8.23i & 8.22i). This suggests that there may not be actually very much difference in learning mode preferences. There was a more marked different between respondents' use of written recipes. These were used to

indicated a preference for social versus individual learning modes when acquiring new food knowledge: 36% categorised as 'strongly social learners', 28 as 'social learners' and 34% as 'individual learners' (Figure 8.24i). So, these results indicate nearly twice as many respondents were social learners rather than individual learners.

Comparing UK-born and non-UK-born groups: UK-born respondents had a noticeable preference for eating new dishes out of the home (social learning); 89% of the UK group gave positive responses here, with 49% giving the *most* (out of a choice of 6 ranks) positive response (Figure 8.22i). This compared to 72% of the non-UK-born group giving positive responses (with just 32% of the *most* positive response). Interestingly, there was no difference between these groups in regard to their enthusiasm for cooking new dishes at home (individual learning); 75% exactly of both UK-born and non-UK-born groups gave positive answer (Figure 8.23i). For this indicator, therefore, the non-UK groups do not show a significant preference for the different learning modes, whereas the UK-born group clearly prefer the social learning mode.

Using written recipes as indicator of learning modes, the UK-born group showed an even stronger preference for social learning; 75% were social learners and only 18% categorised as individual learners. In contrast, 56% of the non-UK-born group were social learners and 44% individual learners (Figure 8.24i), quite a marked difference. Once again, therefore, whilst social learning is the preferred learning mode for both groups, it is much more strongly so for those born in the UK.

There appeared to be no relationship between length of time lived in the UK (for non-UK-born respondents) and learning mode preference (using the written recipe indicator); the higher levels of individual learning preference for the non-UK-born group did not decline with time (Figure 8.25). Similarly, there was no clear evidence of a relationship between age of

respondents and learning preference when each of the groups (UK-born and non-UK-born) were looked at separately. However, there was a similarity in pattern observed when the two groups were compared which is noteworthy. Both groups had highest number of individual learners amongst youngest adults and this proportion of individual learners (broadly) decreased up to the middle adult ages (40s) for both groups Figures 8.26i and 8.26ii).

Between the different immigrant groups there was considerable variation. Comparing willingness to eat new dishes out of the home (social learning), the Sub-Saharan group were the keenest (87% gave positive responses) and the 'Other bor'n (68%) and Turkish (67%) groups, the least (Figure 8.22ii). The Turkish group also gave the lowest percentage of positive responses (59%) for cooking new dishes at home (individual learning) of any group by a significant amount. The other three immigrant groups were much more positive about individual learning; 77% and above gave positive responses (Figure 8.23ii). The Turkish are, thus, noticeably less enthusiastic about learning about new food via any method than other groups. The Turkish group also noticeably stand out from the other groups in terms of their use of written recipes: 66% were social learners and 32% individual learners. The Sub-Saharan group also had 63% as social learners but almost all of these were strongly social learners whereas the Turkish group were evenly split. Many more of the Sub-Saharan African group were social learners overall (85%) but the 'Other born' migrant group, in contrast, had 66% preferring individual learning so clearly this indicator saw a great variation (Figure 8.24ii).

Chapter nine

Conclusion

Introduction

The primary aim of this research was to investigate how the knowledge set that contributes to a sense of cultural identity and material culture was affected by migration. The stimulus of the external cultural environment is considered of paramount importance for people's development, as argued by behaviourist theory (Harris, 2002:20). It follows, therefore, that the impact of migration has the potential to be very significant as it changes this external environment. Migration presents a potential threat or disruption to the speed, routes, and mechanisms inherent in the transmission of cultural knowledge from one generation to the next. A respondent, whether immigrant or born in the UK is not a passive viewer of the cultural environment in which they find themselves. Their "active engagement" is central to their gaining of knowledge, as Wenger (2009:210) argues. How people interact with their cultural environment, via different learning modes and sources, is significant in their learning about and, therefore, their ability to adapt to changed cultural environments.

As discussed in Chapters two and three, material culture is both product and transmitter of cultural identity. The concept of the importance of "artefactual language" (Diston, 2010:16) as applied to the use of symbols can be extended to include material culture. Material culture, including cuisine, is part of the constructed cultural niche. However, it should be remembered that recipients of knowledge are not passive and the subjective filtering of the cultural knowledge they acquire will modify this knowledge (Hamilakis, 2004:296). This modified state may, in turn, be what is then passed on to others, such as via horizontal transmission to peers or further vertical transmission to the next (descendent) generation. The result of this form of knowledge variation contributes to a

form of cultural 'founder effect'. This skews the cuisine knowledge received from vertical sources, particularly for immigrants, even before the years of living in their new UK home have had an impact on their cuisine and cultural identity.

As material culture is a complex issue and comprises many aspects, my research focused on one specific area and the evidence demonstrated here for the importance of cuisine to cultural identity justified its choice for investigation. The results here demonstrate that cuisine is a valid and useful indicator of migration's impact upon cultural transmission more generally.

The structure is similar to that of Chapter 8's summary of results; each of the core research questions from themes A and B are looked at in turn in relation to both the results and the literature examined in chapters 2 to 6. Lastly, the evidence to support the theme C questions is discussed.

9.2 How important is cuisine to cultural identity?

The results from the survey support the theory of the importance of food to people's cultural identity. Food is perceived as very important part of cultural identity as it is part of culture's material goods, tangible and on display for others to clearly seen. If its role as part of material culture is doubted because of individual food item's short lived nature, it shouldn't be. The ephemeral nature of a meal does not detract from its role within material culture because (like other cultural expressions, such as music) dishes and meals can readily and pretty universally be reproduced in the same form repeatedly (assuming the necessary knowledge and skill). In this way, a meal can be considered a potentially long lasting item.

The survey demonstrated the particular importance of cuisine's transferability and its essential nature for immigrants. As a result immigrants thought cuisine even more important to their cultural identity than those born in the UK (Figure 8.1). This could well be because even where immigrants are poor and not able to bring much in the way of material goods from their homeland, they will usually be able to bring written recipes and memorised knowledge of their homeland cuisine and, so, recreate this aspect of the homeland material culture. Food may, therefore, become proportionately more important as a means of demonstrating cultural identity and memory.

Fludernick (2003:263) described in Chapter two how immigrants may "idealise" aspects of their past (homeland) culture during, particularly, the period of struggling to adjust their definitions of cultural identity. This idealised cultural memory may then encourage an "imagined" past community and add greater significance to the material reminders of the homeland that are readily visible, such as food. (This added cultural significance would thus be 'greater' than the same food dish would have ever received back in the homeland). This further helps us understand why immigrants might add relatively more significance to cuisine in creating cultural identity. Cuisine is not just a cultural concept or idea, of course. Its many material components, such as the equipment used or the ingredients included in dishes form part of the cultural environment (niche) of the immigrant respondents in their new environment.

Another important concept discussed in Chapter two is that cultural memories are not necessarily historically accurate accounts of the past. They are, in part, emotional responses to personal perceptions of the past. Sutton's (2001:9) described cultural memories as the product of "interaction between the past and present"; a concept that acknowledges the impact that current experiences can have on the perception of the past. Therefore, how immigrants feel about their experiences affects how they

remember and identity with their homeland cuisine. The very experience of being an immigrant may mean that the process of creating cultural identity is different to that of someone living in the country of their birth and their family's birth.

9.3 Are some components of cuisine more important to cultural identity?

It is argued that it is the flavouring of a dish that is the most important in terms of reconstructing an authentic meal (an authentic cultural memory) (Rozin, 1992:xiv). Next in importance is the method of preparing and cooking the dish and, lastly, the specific ingredients. Evidence of this relative importance of component parts was expected from the survey. However, the results showed this not to be the perception of most respondents in this survey; the largest proportion thought original ingredients were the most important in maintaining the authenticity. There was no significant difference between different groups (immigrant or UK-born) in this respect.

Clearly, the use of certain ingredients is important in cooking and it may simply be that most people perceive them as the most significant part of a dish, contrary to what anthropological food studies have argued (Rozin,1992:xiv). A possible explanation was that, as the most obvious initial choice, original ingredients were most often cited by respondents who did *not* do too much cooking themselves and, therefore, perceived the inclusion of specific items as crucial to a dish. Such non hands-on cooks did not appreciate the contribution to the character of a dish or meal that flavouring combinations and cooking method can make. To test this, respondents' familiarity with their traditional cuisine was compared with the choice of dish component they least wanted to see changed (Chapter 8, table 8.7). The significant majority of respondents described themselves as familiar with their traditional food with many describing themselves as "very familiar". Of these respondents, original ingredients dominated

their choices of component they least want to see changed (Chapter 8, table 8.7). So, it does appear that the view of original ingredients as the most important for maintaining authentic cuisine was being made by respondents from a position of cuisine familiarity rather than lack of interest or culinary ignorance and these results should be accepted as valid.

What is also interesting is that food dish ingredients (of the three material components investigated) could be argued to be the most visible. Clearly, cooking methods and flavourings both also involve tangible, material items (ie equipment or herbs and spices), but ingredients (meat, fish, fruit, grains, vegetables and so on) are remembered well as they are so commonly observed in kitchens and restaurants inhabited by respondents. They are, thus, the most obvious material evidence for respondents of their particular cuisine and of their cultural niche.

9.4 Do different components of cuisine change at the different rates?

Investigating the rates of change for different food elements had two purposes; to add to understanding of the above question (which parts of cuisine are most important to cultural identity) but also to determine any evidence of cultural learning stages. The idea that there are definable stages of learning (as discussed in Chapter 2) was developed further by psychologists such as J Bowlby (1969 quoted in Harris, 2002:32) who argued that factors such as emotional development and the relationship between learner and teacher have an impact upon these stages. If we extend these ideas beyond their original educational setting it could be argued that migration also represents an experience of emotional vulnerability that could affect how immigrants acquire, in this case, cuisine knowledge. Immigrants may also have a different relationship with potential sources of cultural knowledge. They are unfamiliar with

many horizontal sources by which such knowledge is acquired (UK TV programmes or books, for example) and experience a gradual distancing from their homeland vertical sources (their own parents and grandparents).

The likelihood of continuing to eat traditional food is taken as indication of the rate of change (or preservation) of such food. The results in Chapter 7 do indicate that different types of food change at different rates and, thus, it is also reasonable to assume, does the cultural store of knowledge of these foods. In particular I examined the different elements of 'everyday' or 'special occasion' food and found evidence that respondents continued with (or preserved) these elements at different rates, although the pattern was not as clear as expected.

For example, it was not the case, as anticipated, that respondents were keener to preserve what they considered to be their 'special occasion' food than their 'everyday food'. In the case of the non-UK born respondents the (high preservation) rates were almost the same for both types of dish. The reason for this could be simply because *all* food dishes take on extra cultural significance for migrants (as referred to in 9.2) increasing the desire to preserve *both* everyday and special dishes more than might have been the case for these same respondents before they had left their homeland. Two of the immigrant groups (Turkish and Other born immigrants) which had given very high scores for the importance of food to cultural identity (as discussed above in 9.2) also had high proportions of respondents wanting to preserve both everyday and special event dishes. This further supports the association between a generally high desire to preserve traditional food and lack of differentiation in this desire between different dishes.

The UK born group had a proportionately greater concern with preserving "everyday food' rather than 'special event' food. This is more difficult to explain but could be a product of the descriptions and definitions used regarding 'British' cuisine. There has been a long standing tradition of non-British cuisine (traditionally, French) being viewed as 'haut cuisine' in Britain. UK born Britons might view and value their 'everyday' food as being more significant as these are, in contrast to 'haut cuisine' are valued as traditional local dishes (British food being valued as lower status dishes, French dishes valued as higher status). The desire by UK born respondents to preserve 'everyday' food could be, therefore, seen as a desire to preserve local traditions. Similarly, if many UK born respondents view typical special event meals as being of non local origin then their replacement with a different high status/expensive foreign dish may be of less concern culturally. Of course, this explanation is not entirely comprehensive as there are clearly several well known, iconic British special dishes associated with British cuisine such as roast dinners and recognition of these may account for the 55% of UK born respondents who did wish to preserve 'special event meals'.

Explaining the influence of other cuisines

The perception of outside influence upon traditional everyday food eaten was likely to be a factor in determining respondents' desire to preserve their own food and, thus, rates of change. However, although it was the UK born group who perceived a stronger outside influence upon their cuisine, there did not appear to be any clear relationship between individual respondents' ranking of influence and their likelihood of continuation to eat their traditional food on a daily basis. It may be simply that the UK born respondents are aware of the many influences on British cuisine but this is not a determining factor in their everyday food choices. I conclude that the higher rates found of the non-UK born groups eating their culture's own food for everyday meals are not an attempt to preserve cuisine identity in the face of multi-cultural cuisine threat.

However, for the non-UK born respondents, although they appear to be proportionately less concerned (or aware) of outside influences upon their food, there is a much closer relationship between individual respondents who chose a high rank for both 'likelihood' and 'outside influence' (Table 8.10ii). This could indicate a causal relationship; it is concluded that the greater the perceived threat to immigrant respondents' cuisine, the greater their desire to continue eating it as a means to preserve it. Preserving cuisine is a way of preserving one important aspect of cultural identity.

One of the theories that this research wanted to investigate was that of the cultural niche as inheritance system (Odling-Smee, et al: 2003). A cultural environment would be created by the community which inhabited it and this environment with particular selection pressures felt upon the cultural behaviours of future inhabitants. I would argue that the observed influence of (what for the non-UK born group was) the new UK cuisine environment upon their food choices adds support to the cultural niche construction concept.

9.5 What are the main transmission routes (sources) of food knowledge?

The most significant source of food knowledge was the vertical source (parents, grandparents) for the survey group as a whole. This was true for both UK born respondents and immigrants as well as those born in the UK but with parents born elsewhere. Both groups were receptive to horizontal sources but these were noticeably less important and, again for both groups, oblique sources had little influence.

There are several explanations for the dominance of vertical sources suggested. The nature of food is that it largely exists in the domestic realm and, therefore, it is not

unsurprising that the major domestic sources of knowledge (parents, grandparents for example) dominate. It a characteristic of the information that forms cultural identity that it is often ancestral, passed down through the generations more so than other types of knowledge. Much cultural identity is also family or community identity and so the influence of oblique sources (such as formal education) or horizontal sources (contemporary media) might be less significant. However, clearly this cannot be more than one contributory factor as many things combine to create cultural identity and some of these, for example music and clothes' fashion preferences, are clearly predominately influenced by horizontal sources.

Regarding the differences between UK born and immigrant respondents, the initial theory had been that the effect of migration upon food culture (and culture generally) would be to make people less reliant on vertical sources of knowledge and correspondingly greater users of horizontal sources. The theory of niche construction (Odling-Smee, 2003: 355) discussed in Chapter 2 suggests that conditions of cultural stability would encourage the dominance of vertical transmission as this route was the most energy and time efficient at transmitting cultural information in such conditions. The dominance noted of vertical sources for cuisine knowledge transmission for the UK born respondents was, therefore, expected. However, the dominance of vertical sources for the immigrant group seems, at first glance, to be unexpected, even to confound the niche construction theory. In fact, these fieldwork results showed the immigrant group (as a whole) was even more likely than the UK born group to be reliant on vertical sources as their main source of food knowledge and were less receptive to new ideas from horizontal sources. It might appear that the anticipated period of relative cultural instability that that many immigrants experience did not have the effect of encouraging greater use of horizontal information sources as this research had predicted.

However, arguably, these results by themselves do not provide the full story. Two additional sets of results must be considered. First, immigrants are also more conservative in their food choices (selecting new dishes from their own cuisine) than respondents born in the UK. An explanation for immigrants' low use of horizontal sources might be that they, as yet, lack a sense of relationship with their new surroundings. A lack of relationship with the environment is associated with a lower sense of value attributed to it (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001:72). Also, it should be remembered that the citing of vertical sources as main source appeared to decline both with age (of all respondents) and with length of stay in the UK (for immigrants). The first point suggests that immigrants turn inwards to a culturally secure community of their fellow compatriots in order to maintain and develop their cultural identity. Immigrant 'communities' can be varied; some might comprise a large population such as the Turkish speaking community in north London whilst others might be a handful of family or friends with shared cultural background. But the important point is that this new 'community' becomes, for a time at least, the cultural landscape within which the immigrant respondent lives and seeks cultural references. The wider cultural landscape of London or the UK sits beyond this boundary.

The continued lower levels of immigrants' receptiveness to horizontal sources suggests either greater reliance upon oneself, household or fellow immigrant friends. The latter sources should, but may not, have been considered by respondents when describing the use of horizontal sources (a problem with the survey question wording which may not have made clear that all contemporaries are included as horizontal sources). Nevertheless, the theory that immigrants would engage proportionately more with contemporary food culture, freed from constraints of maintaining the ancestral cuisine lineage was not supported, at least as regards sources of cuisine information.

As regards the unexpected results I obtained for vertical sources, these also need careful examination. They may also be, in part, the product of a lack of fine tuned questioning of the precise nature and time period of food knowledge transmission. It is now realised that a distinction should have been made between the main source of food knowledge in the earlier part of a respondent's live (for example, in youth or as a young adult) as opposed to the continuing main source of knowledge. The greater reliance on vertical sources by immigrants in this survey probably reflects the origin of the first sources of knowledge. By the nature of being an immigrant, that source of knowledge was finite and cannot be fully replenished. UK born respondents, in contrast, can (for the most part) make continuing reference to vertical sources across their adult lives. When they cite vertical sources as their most significant source of food knowledge they may well be making a summary judgement of this source over their lifetime so far. Thus, the nature of the question becomes different from different standpoints.

A further possible explanation is that migration, at least in the short term, makes people more culturally inward looking. The 'immigrant status' is perceived, by the immigrant respondents, as presenting a threat to their original cultural identity and (as discussed with regard to outside influences) this causes people to be more inclined to preserve their traditional cuisine. The greater the perceived threat, the more conservative people become with their cuisine and, thus, the slower the rate of cuisine change. This phenomenon may only be experienced in the short term for immigrants, before the process of assimilation and acculturation (of both immigrant and UK born resident) begins to take effect.

Another explanation for the immigrant group seeming to rely not less, but more on upon vertical transmission is that the experience of migration has caused immigrants to choose a cuisine knowledge source which has, arguably, been passed on with greater targeted intent than other sources (as discussed in Chapter 3). In making slightly more use of horizontal transmission, the UK born group are argued to make use of sources which, whilst undeniably including some intentional audience targeting, are probably less specifically aimed at passing on information for the maintenance of specific cultural identity in the next generation. In contrast, the immigrant group are recipients of the type of targeted knowledge that (Aunger, 2009:37) is more likely to determine particular sets of cultural behaviour.

Variation between immigrant groups' preferences for different cuisine knowledge sources and modes of learning could also be explained by the differences in characteristics of the immigrant community. The feeling of much shared cultural value, collective cultural memory combined with a sense of continued cultural separateness are classic characteristics of diasporas, as describe in Chapter 2 (Cohen, 2008:10). These types of immigrant communities will maintain their unique identity through the deliberate preservation of a cultural "boundary". Such a boundary, it is suggested, would be evident in lower use of horizontal knowledge sources and, possibly also, lower rates of individual learning mode. Of the immigrant groups asked to cite their main sources of cuisine knowledge we can see that the Eastern European and the Turkish groups include no respondents who cite horizontal sources. It is perhaps not coincidental that both these cultural groups appear (particularly) well represented (with a range of services) in the part of London where this survey was conducted. This indicates, at least, a strong community of culturally specific traders and customers and, arguably, indicates these groups are the closest of those in the survey to being considered 'diasporas'. The Sub-Saharan African and 'Other born' groups do include

some respondents citing horizontal sources (7% and 19% respectively). There is, in the same area at least, much less obvious visible evidence of the equivalent 'community' serving Sub-Saharan cultures. The 'Other born' group necessarily includes respondents from many countries and is not a culturally defined group such as the others. A similar pattern emerges in the results about the level of influence felt by migrant groups from media and friends; the Eastern Europeans and Turkish groups included the fewest respondents who seek or claim to enjoy new cuisine ideas from these horizontal sources.

So, in simple summary, the immigrants were more reliant on vertical sources as their main cuisine information source than those born in the UK but much less receptive to new ideas that came from horizontal sources than the UK born group. A final comparison was between place of birth/residency of respondents to determine if there was a gradation of UK cultural influence and changing use of sources. For the UK group the trend appears to hold true with those respondents with parents born in the UK citing vertical sources less often than those whose parents were born elsewhere. So, again, the greater the UK cuisine influence, the lower reliance on vertical sources. As it was assumed that the parents of the immigrant respondents were probably not born in the UK, in this case immigrants were asked if their parents now also lived in the UK.

The immigrants with parents living now in the UK, however, were more rather than less likely to cite vertical sources which seem to confound the trend. However, referring to the explanations above, that a strong immigrant community may actually result in slower cultural adaptation to the host culture, these last results may make sense. For immigrants, faster cuisine adaptation occurs with greater severing of homeland ties. Immigrant respondents moving to the UK with their parents (or having parents follow

them to the UK) maintain these homeland links. It would seem likely that the immigrant group respondents, had they (their families) remained living in their homelands, would have relied less on homeland vertical sources and proportionately more on horizontal sources as their UK born respondents (of UK born parents) appear to.

9. 6 What are the main *modes* of cuisine learning?

In the case of cuisine learning modes, the original expectations had been that social learning mode would be the more popular overall, particularly with the majority of UK born respondents. The same culturally stable conditions experienced by many UK born respondents that encourages vertical transmission of knowledge is also argued to lead to lead to the dominance of social modes of learning. As discussed in Chapter 3, the fact that social learning modes dominate at a population level (in culturally stable conditions, at least) should not be considered problematic as successful transmission of cultural knowledge will be more effective where the majority of people in each generation are social learners (Boyd and Richerson, 2005:13) rather than (innovating) individual learners. Therefore, in this light, when assessing the survey results, even a small increase in percentage of individual learners in the immigrant group compared to the UK born group could be evidence of the impact of migration .

It has been argued that imitating new food dish ideas tried and tested in restaurants or others' homes (social learning) is usually an easier method for people to acquire food knowledge. Cuisine knowledge gained through imitation requires less time and effort by the learner to acquire, at least, a satisfactorily usable level of competence. Theories of learning (Harris 2002:25) suggest that social learning involved the learner adjusting what Piaget termed their 'schema' (or understanding) to fit knowledge from their environment. Individual learning, by contrast, involved interpreting new knowledge

to fit with their existing pre conceptions. The different learning processes would be suitable in different situations. Acquiring any new cultural knowledge is inherently risky, upsetting a learner's cultural 'equilibrium', a position that is felt to create vulnerability. Social learning could be argued to be more suited to cultural environments that are more familiar and trusted, conditions created by the stability referred to above. Learners may be more compliant in such environments and thus willing to alter their understanding in the face of new knowledge. In an environment experienced as less stable (such as a new culture may be perceived) a learner would be less trusting and less likely to try to adjust what they learn without abandoning their existing understanding.

There are also more potential costs involved in individual learning; greater time needed and risk associated with creating new food dishes which may not always be successful. It could be argued, therefore, that social learning is the more efficient social behaviour in most circumstances, particularly since innovation (the main advantage to the efforts of individual learning) may not even be particularly desired by many 'learners' of food or cuisine. Thus, it may be reasonable to expect that, generally and all other things being equal, social learning mode would be the more commonly preferred learning mode for most people.

With similar reasoning to that for sources of food knowledge, it was argued that distance from their homeland would allow immigrants to feel less constrained by social pressures to maintain loyalty in their traditional cultural cuisine. The reduced social pressure would encourage the riskier learning methods of experimentation with food dishes; some of these failing but other innovations being successful. Less familiarity with sources of information about different cuisines in the UK might also lessen desire to learn about them through imitation.

It was expected that migration would have an impact upon learning modes and its effect would be an increased proportion of immigrants with a preference for individual learning modes. When environments are changing fast, individual learning would be the "more adaptive" strategy, the niche construction theory argues (Odling-Smee, 2003;355). Thus, a relationship had been predicted between, on the one hand, the pre-dominance of both vertical transmission and social learning for the UK born group and, contrasting dominance of horizontal transmission and individual learning modes for the immigrant group.

Clearly not all these expectations have been borne out by the results from the survey. Migration, and the less culturally stable conditions that it was believed to create, does not appear to have caused a big immediate shift in transmission preferences as discussed above. With regard to social learning, results show a greater preference, overall, for social learning. This is the case for the UK born and non-UK born groups and for 3 of the 4 separate immigrant groups. So, at first analysis, it appears that migration has also not had the anticipated effect upon learning modes. However, the results also show that, whilst social learning mode dominates overall, immigrants *do* have a greater preference for individual learning than those born in the UK (and a correspondingly reduced preference for social learning). Up to 19% fewer immigrants were shown to use social learning modes than the UK born respondents. One indicator showed 43% of immigrant respondents with a preference for individual learning, compared to only 18% of those born in the UK. Given the higher rates of social learning preference amongst UK born respondents, it would appear, therefore, that migration indeed has had an impact upon cuisine learning mode preferences.

No evidence of a relationship was observed between immigrants' time lived in the UK and learning preferences; the higher proportion of individual learners amongst immigrants does not decline with time. This was a somewhat unexpected result as the assumption had been that greater exposure to UK cuisine culture would encourage the increasingly stable conditions that encouraged immigrants to return to social learning preference. These results could suggest that the impact of migration (cultural instability from disjointed engagement with the UK cuisine and immigrants' homelands) actually lasts for the rest of a first generation immigrant's life.

It was argued in Chapter two that the effects of migration upon cultural change should be viewed as a continuum; a process of change across the first and subsequent generations. Instead of a sudden cultural break, immigrants and their families are more likely to experience a process of gradual compromise and adjustment (Fludernick, 2005:275).

This is in contrast to the impact of migration upon respondents' knowledge sources (greater use of vertical sources). Comparing length of time spent in the UK in that case a clear relationship could be demonstrated between lessening use of vertical sources and the time that immigrants' had lived in the UK. This may be explained by the obvious point that the availability of vertical sources (parents, grandparents), by their nature, must reduce as respondents' become older, particular from their middle adult years. Whereas, the preference for learning modes remains a more genuine choice as both modes potentially continue to be available throughout a respondent's life

Of course, it is difficult to distinguish the effects of increasing age of immigrants with time lived in the UK and for this reason it was useful to compare the effect of increasing age upon UK born respondents with immigrants. Whilst there appears to be a

relationship emerging between increasing age and decreasing use of vertical sources, for UK born respondents as well, it does not appear as strong as that for immigrants. So, it would seem that migration results in greater use of vertical sources, but that this effect is greatest in the more immediate aftermath of migration and lessens with time and age. UK born respondents made more use of other (horizontal) sources and this greater mix was more likely to continue through their lives.

Interestingly, though, whilst there is a less direct and obvious relationship between increasing age and changing learning mode preferences, the pattern of change observed for immigrants is very similar to that noted for UK born respondents. In both cases, the largest proportion of individual learners is amongst the youngest adults; this proportion (broadly) decreases until the middle adult years (broadly the 40s) and then increases and fluctuates in later ages. This similarity of pattern suggests that, as well as cuisine learning mode preferences being affected by migration, age is clearly also an important contributory factor. Whatever the overall popularity of individual learning mode, this is most likely to be used by young adults and least likely by adults in their 40s. An explanation offered earlier was that the greater pressures of work and family life for the middle aged adult group reduced attractiveness of the time demanding individual learning modes and these pressures were felt by immigrant and non immigrant alike.

9.7 Is there evidence that immigrants' cuisine environment has changed and exerts new selection pressures?

Research questions 7 and 8 sought to investigate whether the cuisine assemblage (or environment) had changed for immigrants and, further, whether there was evidence that a changed cuisine environment was exerting different selection pressures upon its inhabitants. The immigrants' cuisine environment had changed in that the immigrant

group were subject to influences brought about by learning about cuisines in the UK and they were experimenting more with new cuisine ideas. However, these changes were relatively limited and less than might have been expected. Certainly, the first generation immigrants included in this fieldwork were continuing to rely on vertical sources and social learning as much as they could, it appeared. It would seem that the innate popularity within all populations of both vertical sources and social learning must be strong enough that preference for these transmission processes continues even in adverse conditions and even where it might be more adaptive (effective) to make proportionately even greater use of horizontal sources and individual learning.

A factor affecting the degree of changes to immigrants' cuisine environment is, very clearly, time. Time affects how the environment is experienced by immigrants but in complicated ways. The greater the age of the individual immigrant and the longer the time lived in the UK (and away from their homeland influences), the more the immigrants' environment has changed (as evidenced through reduced use of vertical sources). However, the 'age' of the wider immigrant 'community' they inhabit also plays a part. The more established and sizeable the immigrant community (a product of the years it has been established in the UK for), the more effectively this immigrant community can replicate the immigrants' homeland environment. This has the effect of slowing cultural change.

As immigrants (and arguably all respondents) appear to be naturally conservative, a 'diaspora' type immigrant community appears to dampen any incipient move to greater individual learning or use of horizontal sources (the transmission processes leading to faster cultural change). In fact, perhaps contrary to expectations, the experience of migration appears to even encourage this tendency to cuisine conservatism, arguably

as a defence against perceived cultural threat and the uncomfortable vulnerability of cultural identity that this could create.

Question 8 is harder to answer. If the conclusion regarding question 7 above is that there is evidence for only limited change to the immigrants' cuisine (cultural) environment then it would seem less likely that this modestly changed environment could exert very different selection pressures than it had in the past as far as the immigrant group was concerned, at least. It is acknowledged that there is not strong evidence from this fieldwork of significant new influences from the wider cuisine environment upon the immigrant groups. Certainly such influences are felt by the UK born group; this group do appear to be influenced significantly by the inevitable changes in selection pressures that arise from a constantly changing UK wide cuisine. However, for the immigrants I would argue that the key factor is one of time-scale. As immigrant communities are gradually further exposed to and become part of the wider UK cultural environment, I would hypothesise that they will experience greater change to cuisine selection pressures (just as the UK born group do) but evidence of this would need to come from further research into the experiences of second and third generations of immigrants.

9.8 Evaluation and further research

It has been shown that cuisine is an important contributor to most people's cultural identity as is its use as an indicator of changes in cultural transmission. However, the use of cuisine for the latter has also proved trickier than first envisaged. Arguably, as with other examples of material culture, people's relationship with cuisine is complex and changeable and, perhaps most significantly, cuisine is embodied with cultural meaning and memory that can be very individual and personal.

Perhaps in common with other potential disruptions to the cultural transmission process, migration has been shown to have an demonstrable impact although, crucially, not as a 'single' event, rather its impact is best described as a continuing process, in fits and starts, experienced over the time frame of a generation and probably much longer. This process, at times, includes periods of leaning more heavily on homeland knowledge sources or periods of little change of cuisine knowledge (consolidation of absorbed new knowledge). In this way the adjustment and adaptation of transmission of cuisine knowledge may not be very different to that of adaptation of other forms of cultural knowledge.

As well as comparing responses from residents born in the UK and those born elsewhere, additional factors were thought to be potentially significant. The most important of these factors was argued to be the impact of different immigrant origins. This is the factor chosen for analysis here. In addition, the length of stay (for immigrants) in the UK was thought an important indicator of the level of knowledge and attachment to UK culture that immigrants might feel as was the age of respondents.

However, there were many other factors that could potentially have an impact upon how people experience migration and adapt to new cultures. The frequency of links for immigrants with the homelands was considered to be significant in affecting the speed of cuisine adaptation. The relative "ease" of global communication today must mean that cuisine knowledge from immigrants' homelands can be "replenished" more fully, as argued by Suarez-Orozco (2005: 73) in Chapter two. Gender is another factor (Esman 2009:107) that affects rates of cultural adaptation, as do factors such as motivation to migrate, household composition and level of education. Data for some of these factors had been collected in the survey but, unfortunately, time and space constraints meant

that a decision was made not to included detailed analysis of these additional factors. However, it is recognised that examination of these other variables would be of value in further research on this subject.

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